

BOONE'S LICK

HERITAGE QUARTERLY



- **FRANKLIN IN THE NEW WEST: PART 2**

- **BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS**

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Telling The Untold Story of Franklin—Part 2: Slavery Was a Central Component

THE LEGALIZED INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY is a central component to historian Lynn Morrow's chronicle of early Franklin and the Boonslick in Part 2. The bondage and importation of African Americans to the New World in the early 17th century would, in two centuries, become the catalyst for the development of the emerging Missouri Territorial frontier, following President Thomas Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France.

The ratification of the Louisiana Purchase treaty by the Senate on October 20, 1803, doubled the size of the United States and opened up the continent to its westward expansion. It also stimulated the already increasingly contentious debate in the young nation over the issue of slavery and its possible extension into the new territories, a dispute that culminated in the Civil War (1861-1865).

The institution of slavery and the politics around it played a central role in the establishment of Missouri statehood (1821) and a larger role nationally as determined by the Missouri Compromise (1820) that admitted it as a slave state and Maine as a non-slave state, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which resulted in the Missouri Compromise being overturned and allowed that slavery could be decided by popular vote ("popular sovereignty"), no matter where a new state was.

We should note, too, the infamous Supreme Court Dred Scott decision (1857), influenced by Justice Roger B. Taney, whose "Opinion of the Court" stated that Negroes were not citizens of the United States and had no right to bring suit in a federal court. The Supreme Court not only upheld slavery in United States territories, it declared the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional.

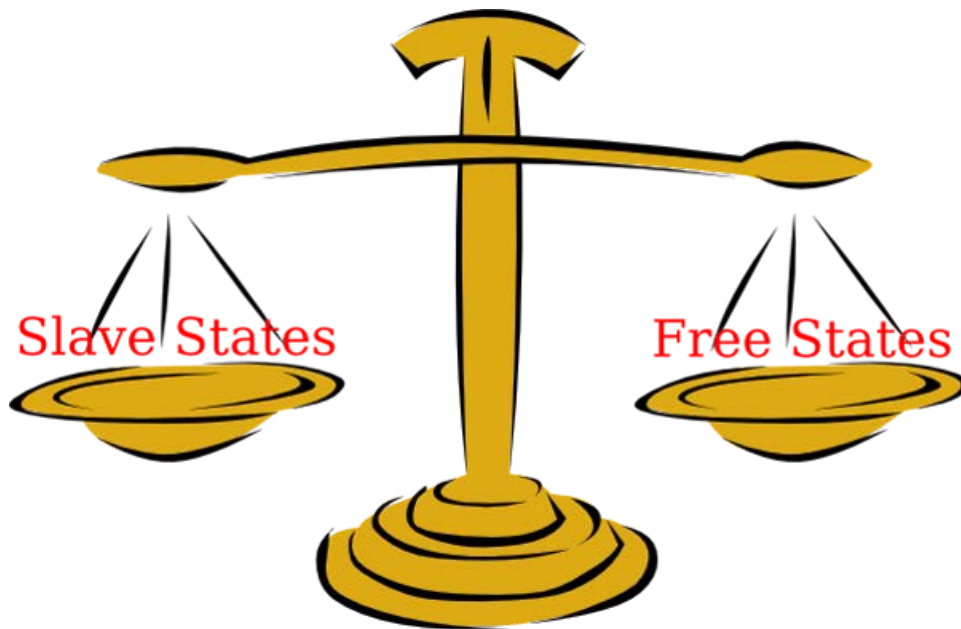
Political and cultural milestones such as the Missouri Compromise had their connections to the Boonslick, as historian Morrow notes in his accounting of the founding of Franklin and the daily life of its inhabitants and their extended connections to the existing worlds of commerce and politics to the east.

Additional chapters in Part 2 include "Chariton Neighbors," "Franklin Streets and Fields," and "Franklin Connections to the General Assembly."

Coming in the fall issue-Part 3 (September/October)

Franklin in the New West: "It rose with fictitious splendor"
by Lynn Morrow

Chapters included in Part 3: "Destination Franklin," "Built to Last," A Well-connected Virginian."



Part 3 Chapter on "Destination Franklin" opening paragraphs:

"President Monroe scheduled the land office at Franklin to open for sales in September 1818, but it was not to be. Disappointing to Franklin settlers was that the first register appointee declined, and then New Englander Charles Carroll received the envious Franklin land office patronage appointment at a later date in July 1818. His son, Henry, wrote to James Madison in March

1818 recalling the friendship of the Madison and Carroll families, saying that he wanted "to fix myself at Boon's Lick in Missouri Territory," and that Henry Clay had recommended him for land office register or receiver although "no patronage of Government has ever reached any member of our family." Madison returned a letter saying that he had written President Monroe "to express my favorable sentiments towards you and my respect for the worth & wishes of your father." The federal government awarded the position to father Charles Carroll. But, Charles had to attend to 'indispositions of his family.'

"A week later, after receiving official approval from the Treasury Department, Henry began a journey of six weeks from Washington D.C. to Franklin to begin work as an acting register. He arrived in Franklin to begin business in July 1818. The land receiver, Gen. Thomas A. Smith, was already there and had begun setting up an office. Public business opened for pre-emption filings in November 1818, while sales to surveyed land had to wait until February 1819. As it turned out, land patents often did not arrive back to settlers for two years or longer, frustrating settlers who wanted their land certificates in hand."

—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: 660-888-3429. 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.

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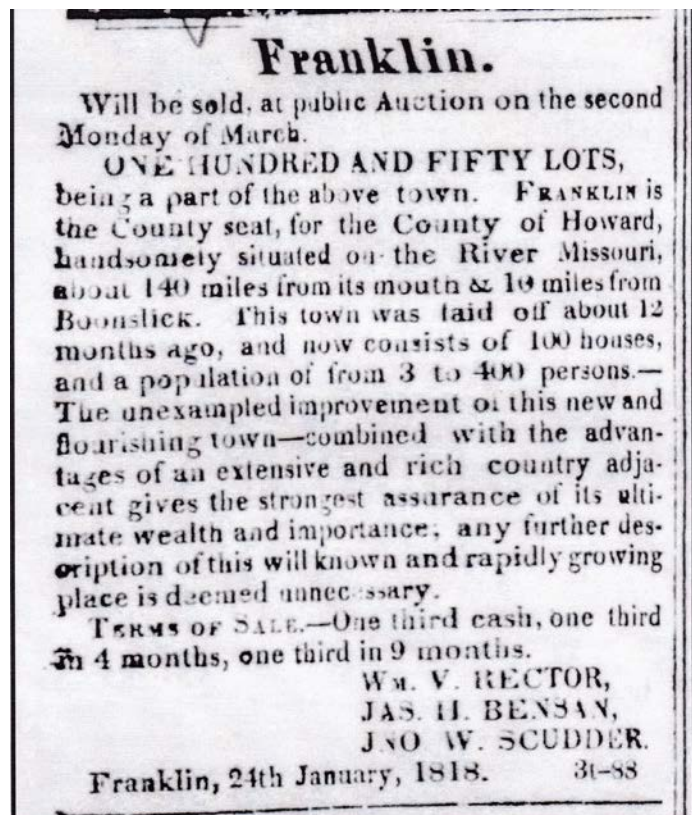
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LOTS WILL BE SOLD: Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser-St. Louis, February 6, 1818. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project.

COVER: Mother and Child on Slave Auction Block. Courtesy of New York Public Library Digital Collections. Public Domain.

PAGE 2 ART: Free or Slave: The Missouri Compromise allowed Missouri of 1820 to come into the Union as a slave state and Maine as a non-slave state, maintaining a 12-12 Congressional balance of states in the Union. Clke.com Clipart-Public Domain.

Franklin in the New West: “It rose with fictitious splendor”

Part 2

By Lynn Morrow

Constitutionalized Slavery

AS SOON AS THE *INTELLIGENCER* BEGAN BUSINESS IN FRANKLIN, in April 1819, it benefitted financially from advertisements for runaway slaves, slave auctions, and slave hires, just as the town’s namesake and slaveholder, Ben Franklin did in Philadelphia. Press commentary on the status of bonded property was common in its columns. *Intelligencer* subscribers asked for Negroes to rent “six or eight well-acquainted with chopping” to clear the bottom land. Chopping never ended for slaves, nor cutting cord wood for fuel. Missouri’s territorial assembly petitioned Congress for statehood with slavery in November 1818.¹

Readers will notice a historic distinction for runaways identified in the *Intelligencer*. The slaves retreated to areas they once knew east of Franklin, and not north to upper Illinois or Iowa, as the abolitionist movement did not start until the 1830s. Thus, runaways used the St. Charles Road (Boone’s Lick Road), perhaps trying to remember a master’s mission or simply not knowing how else to travel without Underground Railroad help or a safe haven to advise fugitive slaves. During John Mason Peck’s visit in 1818, he walked through Franklin’s town of “seventy families” situated on the border “of a heavy forest.” He, too, knew that Franklin traders who went to St. Louis could buy “A likely Negro Girl, 18 or 20 years of age, for Six or eight hundred bushels of CORN, and a large quantity of hay.” Wealthy John Hardeman with his two dozen slaves opened up his Fruitage Farm and ten-acre experimental garden with such labor to clear “towering cottonwoods, elms, and oaks, and grub dank willow thickets.”²

Elsewhere, the felling of trees led to opening tobacco fields. It was different across the river in Howard’s sister Saline County, where a number of former Howard County settlers eventually landed. Saline had an amazing 505 square miles of prairie, 66% of the county was covered with grasses and abundant wildflowers, and timber scattered along its various creeks. The annual prairie burnings killed uncounted numbers of snakes. Building a cabin on the edge of a timber belt adjacent to a large prairie for hay was a boon for stockmen. Owners of prairie east of St. Charles rented it for corn and wheat cultivation well before statehood. In 1825, [*Intelligencer* editor Nathaniel] Patten reprinted a notice from Edwardsville, Illinois, that “a drove of 184 large heavy bullocks passed through this place the 15th of May for the state of Ohio. They were collected in Saline County, Missouri.” The following year, Patten bragged about the fall immigration “for two or three weeks” crowding the streets of Franklin with families in wagons “prepared to fell our forests and plant our prairies.” Early settlements in Saline County appeared in the Missouri River Valley and Blackwater Valley breaks as immigrants encircled Saline on the north, east, and south.³

The *Intelligencer* carried ads for runaway white soldiers and vocational apprentices, too. Legal penalties for non-compliance

RAN AWAY

FROM the subscriber, living in the Spanish Needle Prairie, on Sunday night last, a

A Mulatto Negro Man,

named

Washington,

about 35 years of age, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, a little cross-eyed.—It is supposed he will make for a free state. Took with him when he absconded, three pair of pantaloons, (one of Irish linen, one of blue domestic, one of jeans, mixed with blue & white)—one pale blue cotton coat, and one pale blue jeans cotton coat—three waistcoats—one domestic cotton shirt, and a ram hat.

Any person or persons who may apprehend and deliver said negro to the subscriber, shall receive ten dollars, and all reasonable charges paid—or ten dollars, if lodged in any jail, or secured, and information given, so that he may get him.

ANTHONY T. WILKERSON.

Howard County, Aug. 14, 1824. 1

RAN AWAY: Missouri Intelligencer-Franklin, August 14, 1824. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

applied to both. Burgess Taylor was an apprentice “to the coopering business” for Waddy T. Currin in Moniteau Township. Between 18 and 19 years old, he took flight from his job. Currin’s ad “forewarns all persons from harboring, hiring, or dealing with him in any manner” as Currin was determined to “put the law in force

against anyone so doing.” He titled his public notice, “One Cent Reward!” and concluded that the “above reward will be given to any person who will return said apprentice to the subscriber, in Howard County, but no thanks.” Likewise, David Workman offered “One cent reward” for “Christopher Carson, a boy about 16 years old,” who ran away from his saddler’s work in Franklin. Satire was often sport in the *Intelligencer*.⁴

The woods that blanketed the landscape had more than trees as obstacles to farming and travel. Eons of time had deposited water that spread across sections of bottoms in swamps and in other places that formed lakes teeming with fish. The latter, of course, provided a source of easy-gotten protein for the pioneers. But, improvements meant felling trees, girdling trees that would cut off the flow of nutrients in the bark and make them easier to remove later, often with oxen and chains pulling the stumps, and slaves ditching and draining square miles of swampy bottoms and lakes in Boone’s Lick and Franklin Townships. Bridle paths weaved their way through the environment, and a new traveler could not depend on signage for directions.

White and slave labor shaped the culture of agricultural labor in the fields, with the management of stock, building and repairing tools for blacksmithing and carpenter work, clearing the land and construction of buildings of all sizes. Taxing physical work by male field hands was exhausting and dangerous with most injuries attended with folk treatment and/or medicine. Workers sliced their feet open when chopping wood, they fell off horses, and suffered snakebite. Slaves cared for animals, cooked, cleaned, and nursed white children. Non-slaveholders hired female and male blacks monthly, seasonally and annually. Major Stephen Long wrote in 1820 that “The labor of one slave is here reckoned sufficient for the culture of twenty acres of Indian corn.” The distinction between free, white labor, and black slaves’ work was paramount to continuing slavery and its child racism for white supremacy to flourish. Thomas Hardeman declared that “for slavery, the political hobby horse in the general government, I will remark, an exalted benevolence will, in my opinion, extend it as wide as the nature of the case will possibly admit.”⁵

So committed to the control of and definition of blacks were Missouri’s first generation of settlers that it delayed the transition from territory to statehood. Newspapers recorded how incensed white settlers were -- they tried to prohibit mulattos and free blacks from immigrating to Missouri. Settlers threatened rebellion and secession from the very government that they were trying to join!⁶

Proslavery radicalism at Franklin astonished some residents. A few supporters organized into a proslavery vigilante band in response to one man’s support for anti-slavery. In June 1819, Methodist evangelists held a camp meeting nearby. Humphrey Smith and his wife from New Jersey immigrated to Howard County in 1816 and pre-empted a claim on public land. At the camp meeting, Smith asked [George] Sexton “how he could be a member of the Methodist Church, and at the same time hold negroes in slavery, as it was contrary to the discipline of the church, at which he was offended.” Enslavers came to Sexton’s defense to say “God had made negroes for slaves and white men for masters.”

The argument escalated until the preachers came over and asked Smith to be silent.⁷

On July 17th at midnight, several men invaded Smith’s house. They beat him with clubs, dragged him outside for more of the same, and struck his wife in the head. The outraged woman grabbed her swingling board, a two-foot sword-like tool for beating hemp or flax fibers, and bashed the man who held her husband against the fence. The couple broke loose, ran into their cabin, and bolted the door. Smith later snuck out of the house and hid in his cornfield. The next day Smith’s neighbors came to see him and said “they were astonished at such conduct.” Another camp meeting was scheduled a few miles from his house, but slaveholders sent word that if he attended they would beat him again.

Smith complained to the local justice of the peace. The authorities convened a Franklin grand jury to investigate the allegations of rioting at Smith’s house. To Smith’s bewilderment, Howard County’s grand jury “instead of indicting the rioters for committing the outrage, have presented Mr. Smith for provoking it.” The Edwardsville editor

sarcastically noted that “Boon’s Lick is the place from whence it was gravely proposed, a few weeks ago, to send missionaries to civilize the people of Illinois.” When the Smith’s pre-emption and its improvements became available for purchase at a GLO land sale a slaveholder outbid him for it. It’s likely that the Smiths left Franklin.

Local revivalist religion and its leaders did not stay quiet on the question. In October 1819, the Mount Pleasant Baptist Association at Mount Zion Meeting House titled a long discourse “To the Senate and House of Representatives of America, in Congress Assembled,” and sent their view to the *Intelligencer* that the *St. Louis Enquirer* reprinted. “We regret the existence of slavery at all ... and look forward to a time when a happy emancipation can be effected, consistent with the principles of ... justice ... the constitution does not admit slaves to be freemen; it does admit them to be property.” The Baptist congregation was supported by its membership of Cooper families, elders William Thorp and David McLain, moderator Edward Turner and the clerk, George Stapleton, a prominent grist miller, in their log building not far from Franklin.⁸

James Madison wrote to Lafayette in France about his displeasure over the whole debate. Madison said, “imposing various disqualifications which degrade them [blacks] from the rank & rights of white persons” is part of “these perplexities that develop more & more, the dreadful fruitfulness of the original sin of the African trade.” Nevertheless, the Missouri Compromise was negotiated and Missouri government, like the national government that constitutionalized slavery, had its pro-slavery constitution. St. Louisans illuminated transparencies in celebration. The press wrote “We were diverted by a representation, a slave in great spirits, rejoicing at the permission granted by Congress to bring slaves into so fine a country as Missouri.” Not one of the Booneslick’s delegation of 20 who offered to serve in the territorial convention favored any slavery restriction. Economic democracy did not exist for blacks in the Booneslick.⁹

An agricultural product that gradually grew around Franklin that male slave labor produced was hemp. The work was backbreaking, although larger hemp production became rooted in Saline and Lafayette Counties. Nevertheless, Howard County always had hemp growers and by 1821 a newly married Virginia entrepreneur, who married locally, tried to capitalize on and expand the local market. Isaac Bernard in 1821 constructed a rope walk in Franklin. The hemp could be fashioned into cordage for beds, but most cordage was imported. He advertised “Bed-Cords, Leading Lines by the dozen, and Tarred Cordage” that would be sold at McKinsey’s store in Franklin. He appealed to the farmers to come by and make a deal to supply him so he could fabricate the finished products and merchants could cease relying on Philadelphia warehouses. He kept a supply of hemp seed for clients who wanted to work with him. The popular Bernard became Franklin postmaster in 1823.¹⁰

As the name implies, a rope walk was a long, rectangular building. Bernard’s business grew and he ran out of space in town. So, in 1823, he built a new rope walk “in the suburbs of Franklin” and announced he was “ready to supply cordage and twine of all descriptions.” He offered a “liberal discount to those who purchased largely” and in 1825 as Santa Fe Trail money circulated in Franklin, he said he would “pay a liberal price in CASH for good clean HEMP delivered at his Rope Walk, adjoining Franklin.”¹¹

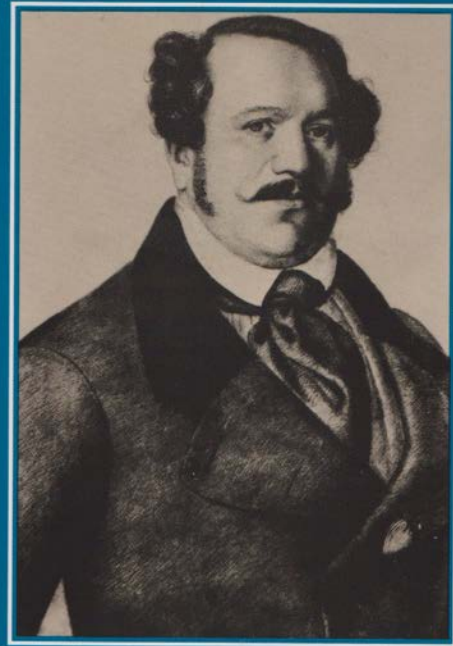
It’s a good bet that the long, airy, high-pier foundation building did not fare well in the 1826 flood. Dr. Nathaniel Hutchinson partnered with Bernard and they moved to Boonville that fall to engage the “Ropeing business and the culture of hemp.” So, Bernard built a third rope walk. The partners advertised they would pay cash “at their Rope Walk near Boonville and that they would pay all necessary charges from Franklin, across the ferry, and to the walk.” Obviously, Bernard did not want to lose old clients in Howard County.¹²

The move to Boonville was a sagacious one. They prospered in business, became landowners and slave owners, five each. All five of Bernard’s were male and worked at the rope walk. Within 25 years, Bernard retired and his son worked as the clerk to account for the hemp and sales. The doctor’s slaves appear to be a family for domestic work.¹³

During the high river water of June 1823, just before Bernard became postmaster, a keelboat delivered an unusual visitor to Franklin. A German naturalist and explorer, Duke Paul of Wuerttemberg, came to town. He wanted to walk to the Arrow Rock bluff and to Fort Osage and on to the Kansas River to join his boat and other explorers there. Franklin locals did not welcome him. He was able to purchase a “an extremely wretched and frail one-horse cart” and spent the night with a resident Frenchman, a lucky coincidence. Booneslick settlers were virtually all unchurched, others were Protestant Americans or black slaves. The Duke’s French companion from the boat accompanied him and a young lad of Franklin agreed to guide them westward the next day.

Duke Paul described Cooper’s Bottom after a decade of “settlement.” The first two miles west was passable – the old Fort Kincaid neighborhood of agriculture. But then, “The rough trail, dignified with the name of road, was so poorly defined that the traveler often lost it from sight altogether, and it contained so

DUKE PAUL OF WUERTTEMBERG ON THE MISSOURI FRONTIER: 1823, 1830 and 1851



Hans von Sachsen-Altenburg
Robert L. Dyer

DUKE PAUL OF WUERTTEMBERG (1797-1860) was a distinguished European scientist who visited the Missouri frontier, including the Booneslick region, three times during his life—1823-1830 and 1851. The extensive journals of his first trip up the Missouri River, including time in Franklin, are included in the book *Duke Paul of Wuerttemberg on the Missouri River*, a collaborative effort by Robert L. (Bob) Dyer and German historian Hans von Sachsen-Altenburg. The book was published in 1998 by Pekitanoui Publications, Boonville, MO., an enterprise established by Dyer, who died in 2007. Dyer, a longtime member and former president of the Booneslick Historical Society, established the Society’s publication, *Boone’s Lick Heritage*, and served as its editor for the first ten years. The book cover is a charcoal portrait of Duke Paul of Wuerttemberg ca. 1830, courtesy of the Schlossmuseum, Bad Mergentheim, Germany.

many trees broken off by the wind and so many swampy places that I often spent hours in overcoming these obstacles in our path.” One swamp bordered the road for a mile. At the end of the swamp, the cart broke down in a deep hole, but his French companion, after a halt of two hours, temporarily repaired it with his ax. The Duke wrote, “We made seven more miles through the swampy primeval forests” toward the Missouri River. But, the naturalist did enjoy seeing “the forests of beautiful trees spaced apart and a dense composite undergrowth of herb-like plants ... sycamores mixed with luxuriant *Gleditsia* [honey locust], locust, ashes, and oaks.”¹⁴

Although Duke Paul passed north of John Hardeman’s Fruitage Farm and botanical experiments, he did not visit them. The Hardeman acreage was the most unstable land along the Missouri

River from Arrow Rock to Franklin. The year before, in 1822, the river encroached on the county road as it “destroyed all the banks along the old road” so that the road was moved inland. In fact, the county court in 1822, directed road work on the Franklin to Arrow Rock Ferry “to avoid the water in Nash’s Prairie.” It is likely that large pieces of deadwood from the floods were continually lying on and near Hardeman’s property and throughout Cooper’s Bottom. Nevertheless, that spring Hardeman was selling apple trees and seeds for hemp agriculture, but visitors to his place normally came by water or crossed on the Hardeman Ferry. Once the Duke arrived at the Missouri River it required “almost an hour to get across, the raft had to be pulled a mile upstream” and its ferryman had to dock it on the right bank coming back to Arrow Rock.¹⁵

Diarist John Glover, on a business trip, traveled east to Arrow Rock ferry in October 1826 and crossed to stay at Col. Benjamin Cooper’s. He concluded the land was “swampy and very unhealthy,” paid his 50-cent bill, and rode to Franklin for breakfast. It would take a generation to dramatically modify the open woods of Howard County although farmers planted crops and tobacco among the deadened trees.¹⁶

After the Duke was well on his way, Franklinites celebrated Independence Day. In 1821, Mrs. Mary Peebles had sold her tavern lot to another for a commercial livery. So, to celebrate July 4th, 1823, the “Franklin Guards assembled, marched to a grove on the edge of town, heard several speeches, and returned to the public square.” Then, the day’s social highlight at “2 o’clock was the table spread in an arbor adjoining the residence of Mrs. Peebles.” Franklinites offered toasts, the band played, and the militia discharged artillery. The evening ball was held at John Shaw’s popular tavern. Young women, tutored under teachers J. C. B. and Ann E. Washington, performed at “an examination in Mrs. Peebles’ long room in the Ornamental parts of Female Education.” The event planners encouraged parents and the public to attend. Peebles arranged public balls on the occasion of George Washington’s birthday to show off all “the beauty and fashion of the town.” Few women, like Mary Peebles, managed a business in Franklin. The Washington couple provided classical educations in Franklin during the mid-1820s.¹⁷

Still, any attendees to a Franklin public function who traveled from Boonslick Township to Franklin Township had to be committed to the trip. Historian James Denny wrote how the Franklin to Arrow Rock Road continued to be troublesome. All county roads had an overseer appointed by the county court. In this case, as late as 1826, it was Otto Ashcraft, who in 1822, was one of many threatened in the press by Ira P. Nash for occupying one of his alleged pre-emption properties in Cooper’s Bottom. Perhaps Nash and Ashcraft made an accommodation.¹⁸

Regardless, Ashcraft remained on his claim, but like numerous road overseers, was not diligent in his official capacity in scheduling maintenance. A complaint came his way: “The road leading from Franklin towards Arrow Rock ferry ... lying between George Yonts and Joseph Coopers containing in length three miles and in breadth 20 feet was greatly obstructed and out of repair by reason of certain brush and trees one foot and less in diameter and certain limbs of trees as may incommode horsemen and carriages and certain stumps of more than 12 inches high standing and lying in and upon part of said road, also by reason of certain causeways

over swamps and low ground” Duke Paul would still have recognized the swampy road. However, Ashcraft was found guilty by the J.P. [justice of peace] of neglecting his duties.¹⁹

The environmental difficulties along most frontier roads through the timber between St. Louis and St. Charles into the varied western Booneslick network of local roads still required that knowledgeable travelers carry axes with them. And, editor Patten wrote that overseers required watching. “A traveler every few miles is liable to be lost, by some fork in the road without sign boards, or by a neighborhood track, often larger and better improved than the main road. Overseers, to your duty!” Immigrants who came to the 1830s Booneslick traveled roads in significantly better shape than the territorial-1820s migrants did.²⁰

Chariton Neighbors

Booneslick socio-economic demographics of immigration were diverse as in most frontier regions. What is clear is that slavery was pervasive and central to the economy.

Thomas Hart Benton’s slave Ben guided Dr. John Sappington into the Booneslick to inspect land for investments. In 1817 the doctor settled near Chariton. On July 4, 1818, Chariton’s chief promoter, Duff Green, offered lots for sale in the new town 24 miles from Franklin. Slaveholders in Chariton were already advertising for runaway slaves. “Joe, 23 years old, stout made, neat in his person, had blue jeans, home spun coat, long tail, and a wool hat. I will give 10 dollars if taken in this county or 25 dollars, or if out in the territory and lodged in jail so that I can get him, I will pay 50 dollars and all reasonable charges.” And, at a farm six miles from

Wanted to Purchase
A NEGRO GIRL.
BETWEEN 12 and 20 years of
 Age, for which cash will be gi-
 ven. Should there be any children,
 they will also be purchased.
 The subscriber has about eighty
 head of Cattle, which, together
 with some cash, he will barter for
 young Negro property.
WILLIAM ISH.
 Saline County, head of Bear }
 Creek, Oct. 2, 1824. } 8 4*w

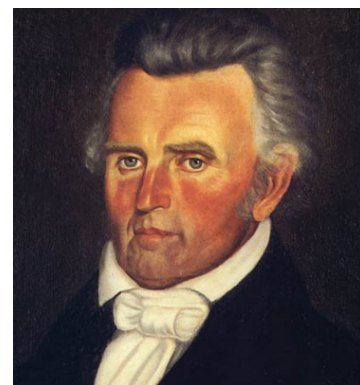
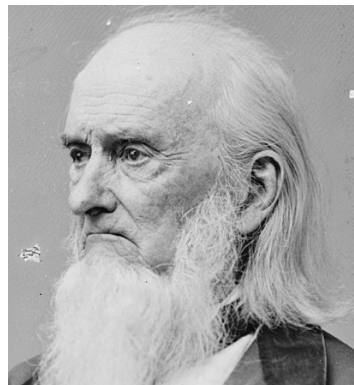
WANTED TO PURCHASE: *Missouri Intelligencer*-Franklin, November 13, 1824. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

Franklin, a landowner wanted to hire “One or Two Negro Men, that can be well recommended for their honesty and industry,” and another person “Wanted to Hire, A Negro Man & Woman.”²¹ Philadelphia merchants, Comfort Tiffany & Co., a leading store

in Chariton, advertised “Negro Kerseys [shirts] and Patent nailed Shoes, for negroes” for masters to purchase. Lewis Green, once Duff Green’s slave, became slaveholder John Moore’s skilled bondsman, and worked as the town’s blacksmith honing his skills for years.²²

David Manchester, working in “Chariton, Missouri Territory, in 1819,” wrote to his sister in New York about how he and other bachelors had fared during the winter. Manchester related that government land was \$1.50 per acre, but said that most nearby land sold from \$2-\$6 and the majority around Chariton was \$4 and up. “We have all bought land in the Missouri bottom. Salt has sold this winter as high as \$3.00 to \$5.00 per bushel.” As a comparison, corn commanded 20 to 30 cents a bushel and wheat 25 to 30 cents. Reflecting the contemporary tension over Missouri statehood, Manchester complained of “the damned contracted New England men are our greatest opponents. They are jealous of us and envy us because they think that we will be admitted into the Union on equal footing with other states and become a large and powerful state. Poor insignificant Devils, who cares for you? We will have our right in spite of you But now [they] want to make slaves of us, no the people of Louisiana never will submit The boys are employed in building some houses in Chariton for themselves ... Our employment last winter was carrying on the distillery business.” Manchester said that he had acquired employment in surveying lands in the county.²³

Manchester’s neighbor, Dr. John Sappington, with power of attorney from Thomas Shackelford in Franklin, Tennessee, acquired lands for him near Jefferson, the Saline County seat; the Shackelfords immigrated at statehood. Duff Green had surveyed land in Saline County and he and Sappington speculated in tracts together, while Green advertised his speculative town lots in St. Louis. Merchant Green founded stores in Chariton, Franklin, and St. Charles, and became Chariton’s postmaster. Green’s ads typify business at Booneslick stores. When the store owner was out of town, he typically advertised in the newspaper who was his “attorney in fact” during his absence to collect debts and carry on commerce in his name. Green would receive for debts or merchandise, “pork, corn, wheat, tobacco, beans, peas, onions, beeswax, potatoes, lard, butter, tallow, flax, town linen, deer-skins, furs ... in fact any sort of produce.” Merchants traded these items again locally or sent barreled amounts of them downriver in flatboats that stayed close to shore. Green became Howard County’s representative in 1820 and state senator in 1822. Gov. Alexander McNair appointed Shackelford as a Saline County judge in February 1822, as he and his wife’s Pulliam relatives built



NOTABLE PERSONS: L-R, Alexander McNair (1775–1856), Duff Green (1791–1875), and John S. Sappington (1776–1856). McNair was the first governor of the state of Missouri, defeating Territorial Gov. William Clark in 1820. Green was an American teacher, military leader, Democratic Party politician, journalist, author, diplomat and industrialist. Sappington was a frontier physician in Tennessee and Missouri who became wealthy and famous as the creator and dispenser of “Sappington’s Anti-Fever Pills,” a quinine-based patent medicine for malaria and for fevers in general. All three men were influential in the early 19th-century development and political affairs of Missouri and the Boonslick. *Image credits, respectively, State Historical Society of Missouri, Wikipedia, and Friends of Arrow Rock.*

homesteads on higher ground near Jefferson, “about six miles from Chariton,” and put their slaves to work. Shackelford served as an election judge in Jefferson Township.²⁴

Enslavers were always faced with those who attempted and succeeded at running away, and negroes in many circumstances frightened the whites. In fall 1819 the Franklin board of trustees met and issued a set of “bye laws” at town trustee and merchant John Gaw’s house. Chariton soon implemented a similar ordinance. The Franklin board of trustees passed a resolution “establishing [slave] patrols & giving them leave to lash unfortunate Negroes at their discretion.” John Sappington, in 1821, was chair of Franklin’s board of trustees and “fashioned the town’s [official] ordinance for slave patrols. The trustees determined to contract with “three suitable persons to act as patrols” who would choose a captain. Their mission was to “patrol the streets and examine the kitchens and other harbors for negroes ... two nights in each week for one and a half hours beginning at nine o’clock.” They were “to punish all negroes whom they were to find off the premises of their owners or employers after nine o’clock without a pass by laying on stripes not to exceed ten.” Moreover, those found gambling could receive 25 lashes. The patrol had complete discretion to “disperse any collection of negroes, especially on Sunday.” Slave owners knew that too much religion for bonded people did not bode well for their masters. Later, county government established township slave patrols. The patrol assignments lasted a couple of months, then a new group took their place.²⁵

By 1820, Dr. Sappington advertised for his runaway, “Jim, 19 or 20 years of age, tolerably stout male, very active and strong, capable of asking or answering questions with as much ease as any servant. It is probable he is well dressed. It is likely he will make for the state of Illinois or New Orleans.” Sappington offered a \$40 reward for someone to jail Jim and “all reasonable charges if brought home” to Chariton. In May 1821, while Sappington was still at Chariton, he bought more slaves in Tennessee for his expanding business in Missouri. Sappington’s neighbor near Chariton, James Earickson, one of Chariton County’s first judges and a justice-of-the-peace, advertised for his runaway. “A NEGRO

MAN named Joseph” twenty-six-years-old, six feet high, “stout and athletic,” will probably run “toward Illinois as he attempted to get to that state last October.” Earickson and his son-in-law, Talton Turner, contracted to supply beef to western military forts and for Indians’ annuities. As historian Christopher Phillips wrote, “... for these residents slavery was perfectly consistent with, even essential to, frontier development.” Most families participated in multiple economies and slaves contributed to nearly all of them.²⁶

Talton Turner is representative of an elite immigrant archetype to Franklin where he launched his career and became a political Whig among other commercial Whigs who founded Glasgow, a riverside commercial successor to Franklin. Talton Turner would come to know more about New Madrid certificates than anyone in Howard County. In 1817, Philip Turner’s family, slaves, and sons that included Talton, from Madison County, Kentucky, and other passengers arrived at Franklin in a keelboat. Talton had a new job, deputy surveyor for William Rector, Surveyor General of Illinois and Missouri, headquartered in St. Louis. Turner became a principal surveyor for the expanding new town of Franklin. Rector was aware of the competing New Madrid boundary claims and needed competent surveyors to help settle disputes. Turner may have also gravitated toward Chariton because of all the survey work in the military bounty lands in the Grand River country that began in 1818. Talton likely had a letter of introduction from his Kentucky patron and teacher, Gen. Green Clay (a Henry Clay cousin) with whom Turner had lived as a protégé. A majority of the claims were near the Missouri River between Franklin and Chariton, an area he walked over for years with his chainmen, as well as other surveyors. By 1824, Talton Turner lived in the upper Hurricane Creek area.²⁷

Green Clay had a distinguished career. He served in the Virginia legislature, Kentucky House of Representatives, and in the Kentucky Senate when he built his estate Clermont, north of Richmond. He was a Revolutionary War veteran and Major General in the War of 1812. Importantly, he became a leading surveyor for 1777-80 Kentucky,

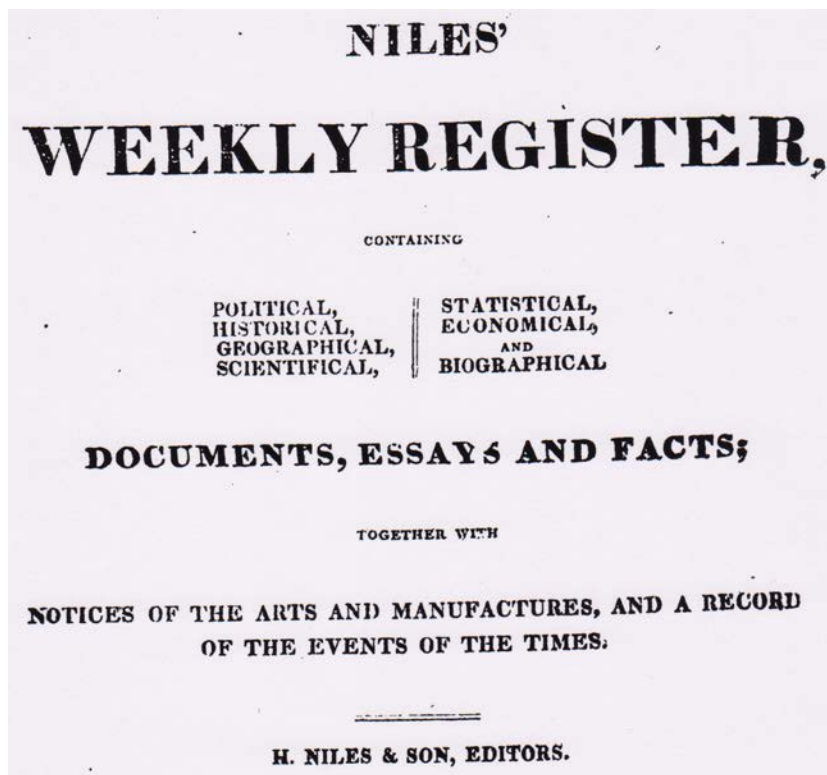
that included fighting with the Boones at the siege of Boonesborough in 1778, continued as a county surveyor, commanded the Madison County militia, amassed tens of thousands of acres, had distilleries, taverns, ferries, large amounts of slaves, cultivated tobacco and hemp, was one of the wealthiest men in Kentucky, and friend of the Turner family. Young Talton Turner left home to live with Clay at the Clermont estate, where he learned surveying and strategies in acquiring and managing real estate.

In Missouri, Turner lived in the Chariton area, but his business demanded that he be in Franklin on a regular basis at the GLO office to consult with the land register and receiver. He spent nights in Franklin with friends. Like many successful surveyors, he speculated in real estate, too, and had to register his own claims. One, a 1,600 acre investment south of Chariton became the real estate for town-founders of Glasgow. While in Fayette for his county business, he likely visited relatives: his brother-in-law,

John B. Clark, Howard County court clerk, 1824-34, who married his sister, Eleanor, in 1826, and his father-in-law, state senator, James Earickson, elected in August 1828, until appointed state treasurer, 1829, and was elected in 1831. In Jefferson City, former Franklin land register, and Earickson’s friend, John G. Miller, Missouri’s only governor ever elected without opposition in 1828 when Earickson lived in the state capitol, spent much time together as there was no governor’s mansion for the chief executive. When session was not active, Gov. Miller lived in a two-story, brick house, north of the courthouse in Fayette.²⁸

New Madrid claims were a touchy subject in Franklin and numerous court cases involved them. Corruption in their origins and details was common. They had to be “carefully surveyed in the field before any sale could be made of

contiguous lands.” They were odd shaped and “had to be adjusted to the section lines of the new land survey.” Turner must have been exacting, as the GLO kept him employed for years bringing an outsider’s impartiality to settle boundary disputes. By 1829, he had the licensed ferry at Chariton that he rented. A traveling diarist on May 4, 1830, saw four flatboats being loaded at the boatyard for



NILES WEEKLY REGISTER was a national magazine published in Baltimore, Maryland, by Hezekiah Niles from 1811 to 1848. The most widely circulated magazine of its time, the *Register* was the nation’s first weekly news-magazine and “exerted a powerful influence on the early national discourse.” In Vol. XL—September 1828 to March 1829—*Niles Weekly Register* published Missouri census aggregates for 1828. Of interest is Howard County ranks first in number of slaves, including one hundred more than St. Louis (county percentages: Marion—25, Ste. Genevieve—24, Callaway—23, Boone, St. Louis, and Washington—19). A Public Domain document.

New Orleans. Locals told him “ten or fifteen large flatboats are loaded here annually” for the Louisiana destination. The Franklin government land office relocated to Fayette in July 1832.²⁹

Chariton, like Franklin, was home to several long distance merchants. By 1817, Stephen Donohoe advertised Philadelphia and Baltimore dry goods at his St. Louis store, but in 1819 moved to Chariton. The following year, St. Louisan James Glasgow had his merchant’s license at Chariton. Glasgow became deputy circuit clerk under Edward B. Cabell. About 1819, James Glasgow’s father-in-law, James Ross formed a partnership with William Glasgow. Another James Ross son-in-law, John Aull, advanced his name to create the Aull and Glasgow firm. At statehood, the Aull and Ross firms, and their partners, were major merchants locally. Chariton promoters advertised to build a brick courthouse that would be 40’ x 45’, two stories, 27’ high and on a stone foundation in 1820, but the project became stillborn and local government continued to meet in taverns. The *Niles Register*, a national political and business paper in Baltimore, reported in 1819 that “about eighty houses and several brick buildings are now being erected. A year ago, the town only had five or six unchinked cabins on the town plot.” Promoter and clerk of the court Duff Green was likely the source of information for the *Niles Register*. An aspiring journalist, Green authored part-time legislative reporting for the *Intelligencer* in Franklin.³⁰

Col. John B. White, a saddler from Madison County, Kentucky, set up shop in Chariton with his son, John R. White. The Whites, like so many, became involved in land issues that had to be settled. John Robert White would become a prominent Missouri slave trader. In 1822, perhaps inspired by the success of the Aull and Ross firms, Stephen Donohoe, John T. Cleveland in Franklin, Henry Lewis, and John M. Bell promoted a Missouri Exporting Company. Like an earlier attempt to launch a Boonslick Exporting Company in Franklin in 1821, and an Agricultural and Commercial Society of Missouri in 1822, all collapsed for lack of subscribers to form corporations for long-distance commerce. Nevertheless, slave trading continued and agriculturalists needed the merchants to ship their surplus to markets. In December 1821, John Sandford advertised two male slaves, both blacksmiths, for sale, as slaveholding immigrants brought skilled slaves to work in their businesses and purchased more. Commercial companies continued, most with partnership agreements to lessen potential liabilities.

John Harrison and Alonzo Pearson, school commissioners in 1823 at Chariton, leased government-owned salt springs to entrepreneurs, as the southwest Spanish and regional trade increased salt production, a principal article of 1820s commerce. The network of wagon roads connected the multiple salt works with grist- and sawmill sites throughout Chariton and Howard counties. The complex history of the regional salt works has yet to be written, but local traffic to them, their business in state and

county records, and appearance as cultural sites in road petitions all suggest that they served as social centers in addition to commercial ones.³¹

Certainly, work at an industrial salt works was hard and dangerous. In August 1821, Nicholas Burckhardt at his prosperous manufacturing site sought a “Ran Away, Daniel, about 6 feet high, well proportioned; has a down look when talking to any person; had a suit of linen clothes.” Burckhardt wanted Daniel delivered in Franklin and the person would be “liberally rewarded for their trouble.” Nicholas had a son, James Burckhardt, who as a minor owned slave Cato at the salt works, but Cato murdered Sam, who belonged to Nicholas. The jury found Cato guilty of manslaughter, but since “damages to the property” was within the Burckhardt family, he was sent back with them for whatever discipline the

Burckhardt’s wished to impose. Burckhardt’s prosperity, however, allowed him to own 20 slaves by 1830, half were males old enough to work in his manufacturing.³²

Salt at Morrison’s Boon’s Lick in 1822 was selling at “50 to 62 ½ cents per bushel” representing a major drop in prices during the depression. The following year, corn plunged to 10 cents a bushel from 75 cents in 1819 and pork and beef brought only \$1.50 per hundred pounds instead of \$5 per hundred. The newspaper

began to carry thousands of acres available for back taxes. Prices slowly increased, as the economy began to get better in 1823. The salt-boilers, large and small, continued their operations at various levels.³³

Merchant elites like James Morrison and Auguste Chouteau, frustrated in their continuing legal claim limbo that included their saline lands, petitioned Congress in 1821 for confirmation of their central Missouri land titles, based on evidence they presented to government officials as far back as February 1818. The growing federal bureaucracy in Washington, D.C., and state governments tended to mute former political influence by the Morrisons and Chouteaus and by now the land business had become too profitable for the federal government and too complicated for timely federal approval, so they had to wait like everyone else for official land certificates.³⁴

In February 1823, the “celebrated steamboat John Ross” that shipped Booneslick products to New Orleans anchored for winter in St. Louis, as it had been doing since 1819. A sudden breaking up of ice crushed one side and destroyed the boat. Ross was able to continue business and in 1824 ran large ads in the Franklin newspaper for his Chariton store for goods received from “Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and New Orleans.” The Aull and Glasgow firm was profitable for years. Kentuckian James Harrison from St. Louis moved to the area in 1822 and joined James Glasgow to create a Glasgow & Harrison firm. Rather than try



THIS LUNETTE in the Missouri State Capitol, painted by Victor Higgins, depicts the sons of Daniel Boone manufacturing salt at Boone’s Lick in central Missouri. Courtesy Missouri State Archives, Ken Raveill Collection.

the Santa Fe Trail, James Harrison joined the flatboat shipments traveling several times to New Orleans. One account thought James Glasgow had a financial interest in the steamer *Globe* that came upriver in the late 1820s.³⁵

By the end of the decade, James Harrison & Company and James Glasgow sold client lands and slaves to settle commercial accounts and Harrison [was] married locally to Maria Prewitt, daughter of a territorial Howard County family. In January 1830, James Glasgow sold a woman, “Vina and her three children, Fanny, Joannah, and Jane, and a boy Nelson.” As often the case with merchant family intermarriages, Thomas Cockerill, one of the Chariton-area merchants, benefited from relatives. Stephen Donohoe’s daughter Matilda married Robert Aull. Cockerill invested with the Aulls in Santa Fe trade in 1832 to make enough money to become a co-founder of the town Glasgow and owner of its first drug store. Likewise, James Harrison and James Glasgow’s successful waterfront trade to Chihuahua, Mexico, co-managed from the Arkansas River by Harrison, boosted Glasgow’s name for consideration of the new traders’ town Glasgow in 1836.³⁶

Franklin Streets and Fields

Franklin quickly became a center of political and economic activity, similar to a boom town based on timber, lead, or iron extraction. Several individuals donated a total of 50 acres from their pre-emption claims in fall 1816 to create the town’s first layout in November 1816 with a proposed 150 city lots. Franklin had a two-acre town square of very small lots, many frontages of only 40 and even 20 feet, barely enough space for a subsistence garden, and primitive, round-log, dirt-floor slave hovels in the rear lots that surrounded the square on four sides. A few buildings emerged in 1817. The town was at the east end of the Fort Kincaid agricultural fields.

After the initial survey, Franklin’s additions were platted in acreages not completely cleared of its timber. John Hardeman, well after the growth of Franklin, wrote to Thomas H. Benton that “Gen. T. A. Smith has had several [trees] cut into rail lengths, 11 feet long, and 7 cuts to the tree, which would require a body of 84 feet of straight timber. A hollow sycamore tree, I measured and found it required 43 feet to compass it.” Clearly, the bottom timber was at its apex.³⁷

Moses Austin, leader of the Potosi lead mines industry, aspired to tie his area “on the way to Boon’s Lick” to enhance his vision of having the Missouri state capitol in Washington County. He influenced Rufus Easton, a delegate to the territorial government, and St. Louis postmaster (1805-15), to request authorization from Return J. Meigs, postmaster general, in February 1816, to

extend mail routes into Missouri Territory’s interior. Easton’s one-term legislative work had included the acquisition of funding to establish 14 post offices in Missouri Territory. An Easton proposal was a route from St. Charles to Isaac Murphy’s (modern Farmington, St. Francois County) to St. John’s settlement (Washington, Franklin County) “to Fort Cooper in Boon’s Lick settlement now erected into a county by the name of Howard.”

Austin wanted another route. He influenced the territorial assembly to pass “An Act for opening a public road from the town of Potosi to Boon’s Lick” in 1816 in his effort to tie the two outstate economies together. Austin influenced the Washington County court to mark a road, “blazed as far as to Cole’s Fort,” for a future post road and emigration to central Missouri. An emigrant’s guide in 1816 praised the rich prairies in the highlands near Cole’s Fort that “stands on the brow of a hill with a rocky base and within a hundred yards of the river. It commands a full view of five miles east down the river and two miles up.” For those wanting to cross the Missouri River to the north side, Hannah Cole’s family operated a ferry. Austin’s vision got the trail to the Osage River, but then it was Howard County’s responsibility to come southeast with “a 12’ cut, and no stump to be higher than 8 inches” with bridges to connect the two projects.³⁸

The Osage River ferryman promoted the trail in 1817. He offered his business and 160 acres “at a point where the great road leading from Mine a Breton, and all the lower part of Kentucky, Tennessee, and this territory, to Boons Lick, crosses the river.” The post road, neither the ferryman’s exaggerated ad, brought lines of wagons to the trail. A few post riders traveled the path, but it was not one that appealed to emigrants going to central Missouri.

The route faded away during the early 1820s.³⁹

The postal authorities asked for additional proposals in fall 1818. One was from “Ste. Genevieve by Potosi and Franklin to Chariton,” once every four weeks. Another was “leave Ste. Genevieve the second Wednesday in November, and each succeeding fourth Wednesday at 6 a.m. and arrive at Chariton on Thursday by 6 p.m. in nine days.” On Friday, the post rider would reverse his direction and have nine days to get back to Ste. Genevieve.⁴⁰

By 1819, Post Master General Return J. Meigs began to publish federal rules to expedite post rider deliveries of mail and work contracts for postal offices. Contractors with saddle bags with letters began to show up on an episodic basis in Franklin, as that post office, too, had to experiment with deliveries. Postal contracts used mileage estimates. The St. Louis postmaster advertised for specific “distances from St.

Will be sold at public vendue on the 2d Monday of November next, the lots which are designated for the county town, or seat of justice in the county of Howard.

Each lot will contain an half acre, laid off so as that each lot will front a street. The terms or conditions of the sale will be 1-3 paid down, 1-3 in six months and 1-3 at the end of the year after sale. Bonds with approved security will be required.

**David Jones,
David Kinkead,
Stephen Cole,
Benjamin Estill.**

Commissioners for the county of Howard.

August 22d, 1816. 6t

LOTS WILL BE SOLD: *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, September 7, 1816. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project.

Louis to Franklin and the Cooper County courthouse.” By August 1819, routes varied annually as demographics of settlement and public roads changed around Missouri and Arkansas, and were advertised in the *Missouri Gazette*. One left St. Charles, went to Pinckney, in Montgomery County, to William Price’s (later Camp Branch) in Warren County, and Franklin once every two weeks. Another delivered exchanges between St. Charles and Franklin over a two-week period. A different one left St. Louis to Franklin and Boonville and then reversed itself over four days. Holdovers from Austin’s “Boon’s Lick Road,” vision, an older Ste. Genevieve to Potosi to Franklin route, traveled once every two weeks and reversed itself. Lastly, a Franklin to Pinckney and back again to Franklin was once each two-weeks. Route directions did not settle down for years. By 1822, community leaders in the new Gasconade County local government was asking again for “a proper course from Potosi to Boonville on the Missouri and commissioners to view the layout and mark the road.”⁴¹

Still, in 1819, Maj. Elias Barcroft effusively advertised land near Franklin co-founder, Benjamin Estill’s farm, for sale “on the great road from Franklin to St. Charles.” Estill himself soon sold his farm, invested in the Alexander Lucas waypoint property “thirteen miles east of Franklin” on the Boone’s Lick Trail, in December 1820, but he later moved to Boone County, where his half-brother Wallace Estill lived. Benjamin chose to manage his Estill’s tavern on the Boone’s Lick Road east of Columbia and offered a stage stop for passengers and horses. Estill died in 1828.⁴²

In Howard County, John Welch, a former state senator from Haywood County, North Carolina, purchased David Kincaid’s pre-emption right to the Fort Kincaid land for “\$700.00 in gold or silver.” Subsequently, Welch purchased land just east of it that became the Franklin race track, and further east settlers developed the town of Franklin. One wonders what happened to the two dozen cabins and business shops each in Forts Kincaid and Hempstead. Settlers dismantled them and may have sold the materials for dependencies on the small town lots of Franklin or to nearby farmers for agricultural dependencies. In the years to come, Welch would have to defend his historic purchase to representatives of the federal government. But, for a time, visions of a road to Potosi or winning bets on a fast horse did not sway Franklin Township people’s attention from wanting regular stage coach transportation and reliable mail to their new town site.⁴³

Franklinites longed for the day to have regular post riders and stage coaches. They heard reports of new lines that crossed the prairies in states east of St. Louis and how St. Louis and St. Charles had regular service. Stage mail delivery did not travel west of Pittsburg until 1818. In March 1819, the growing population in St. Louis helped establish three stage lines for the metro area: once a week from St. Louis to Kaskaskia; a stage twice weekly to Edwardsville, Illinois; and Nathaniel Simonds’s three times weekly coach to the brick stable in St. Charles. The eastern and southern mails arrived twice weekly at Uriah J. Devore’s post office in St. Charles. The *Gazette* editor hoped “gradual improvement of roads,

and the inventions for the better construction of stages and post coaches” would soon reach the Boon’s Lick. By December 1819, “Mr. W. H. Beard from Ohio” had the postal contract for the “mail route from Vincennes to St. Louis and St. Louis to the west and North of the Missouri.” Readers of the *Gazette* hoped for improvements.

The first St. Louis postmaster who had a particular interest in getting mail to Franklin, where his relatives had business investments, was Col. Elias Rector, who served 1819-22 in the patronage position, and was an officer in the St. Louis Guard militia. The St. Louis press talked about proposals for transporting mail to Franklin via stage coach during his term. Killings and robberies of mail contractors on lonely trails made bidders cautious. People living in the Booneslick picked up their mail in St. Louis or travelers brought it with them to central Missouri to place in a tavern “to be called for by the owners.” Franklin’s new *Intelligencer* newspaper inherited the topic for special notice as soon as it launched its first issue in 1819.⁴⁴

Editor Benjamin Holliday expressed Franklinites frustrations. Under a column, “The Mails,” he wrote “Such is the deranged state

Intelligencer Editor Benjamin Holliday expressed Franklinites frustrations in a column entitled “The Mails.” He wrote: “Such is the deranged state of the mail between St. Charles and this place, that we have not been able, for some time, to give any late intelligence: and until this evil is remedied, we do not know when we shall ...”

of the mail between St. Charles and this place, that we have not been able, for some time, to give any late intelligence: and until this evil is remedied, we do not know when we shall. Although we are entitled to a mail once a week, yet for the last two months, we have not received it oftener than once in two weeks,

and even then, the post masters at this place and Chariton had to send for it.” Unfortunately, Franklin’s mail fortunes would not improve much for years.⁴⁵

Entrepreneur Benjamin Owen announced “a new line of Stages from St. Charles to Franklin in March 1821.” He planned to leave Benjamin Emmon’s Hotel and travel two days, Monday-Wednesday, straight to John Means Hotel (tavern) in Franklin. Then, Thursday-Saturday would be his return trip to St. Charles. He didn’t last through the spring rains, as the Boone’s Lick Trail was far too rough for a stage. Proposed in fall 1820, a route ran from “St. Charles, by Marthasville, Pickney, Cote San Dessein, Nashville, to Smithton.” Then, another proceeded to “John Grayman’s, Franklin, Spanish Needle Prairie, Chariton” and on to Fort Osage. Apparently, it was adjusted. In spring 1821, Congress passed “An Act. To alter and establish certain Post Roads.” In Missouri, it included a Boon’s Lick post route from “St. Charles, James Journey’s, John Biven’s, Isaac Van Bibber’s, John Grayum’s, and Augustus Thrall’s to Franklin.” At Franklin, a route went to Arrow Rock and on to Fort Osage, and another simply from Franklin across the river to Boonville. The last route was from Smithton to Augustus Thrall’s. Post riders, not stages, ran these routes for a time.⁴⁶

Mail faced danger on ferries, too. In January 1822, Patten reported that the ferryboat crossing from St. Louis to St. Charles County that included mail to come down the Boone’s Lick Road capsized and lost “saddle bags containing one thousand dollars in silver ... and the mail was also lost.” Eventually, regular steam-

boat traffic between Louisville and St. Louis by the mid-1820s enhanced the possibility of expanding reliable postal reach into outstate Missouri.⁴⁷

Regardless of postal inadequacies, Franklin's real estate business was in high gear. In March 1818, promoters William V. Rector, James H. Benson, and John W. Scudder, who were trying to deny Shadrach Barnes and his friends their pre-emption rights, sponsored another sale of 150 lots in Franklin, "handsomely situated on the River Missouri and ten miles from Boonslick," the salt works. The *Niles Register* published that the first lots that often sold for \$50 were selling in 1818 for \$600. The local promoters claimed that there were "100 houses, and a population of 3 to 400 persons" living in Franklin. Buyers needed one third cash, another third in four months, and the last third in nine months. These promoters were pleased with the sale, for they immediately went to work on another addition. Most immigrants, of course, still preferred to live on detached farms.⁴⁸

In fall 1818, William V. Rector, nephew of the surveyor general, William Rector in St. Louis, and Kentuckian William M. Kincheloe, a blacksmith and surveyor and an 1810 immigrant to Cooper's Bottom, surveyed and added an addition east of the original plat. Kincheloe and Kentuckian Thomas Hickman, in September 1817, had purchased a New Madrid certificate for a handsome \$500 to occupy 250 arpents [approx 210 acres] of land, however, it is unclear whether Hickman sold his rights in it to William Kincheloe and that became part of the Rector and Kincheloe promotion. These two Franklin promoters sold out their lots in fall 1818, and surveyed another group to the river's edge "with a safe harbor" which they sold in summer 1819.⁴⁹

Builders, of course, already had dozens of structures up and occupied in Franklin. Real estate men advertised empty lots, lots on specific streets, but also "a corner lot with a House and Garden containing one quarter of an acre each," that is, turnkey purchases to housing was already normal for buyers. Two years later, one could rent a house and lot on Main Street "with a good kitchen, smoke house, shop and stable attached on a half-acre, well enclosed, with posts and railing, and sufficiently large for garden." Parties could apply to the subscriber (R. Barton at Burckhardt's salt works) or directly to Col. N. S. Burckhardt. Already, Franklin's geography had far outgrown its initial 1816 survey ultimately expanding over 600 per cent in acreage.⁵⁰

In January 1819, the *Niles Register* reported in its Missouri section, "The emigration to Missouri is so great as to furnish a


home market, at very high prices for all the provisions, raised in the territory." Baptist missionary John Mason Peck was in Franklin that month and wrote to the *Missouri Gazette* in St. Louis about the "land fever." Peck penned "Land sells enormously high—almost every quarter that is good, from \$1.00 to \$12.00 per acre. One section sold last week for \$26.25 per acre." The Reverend Peck, went on to Chariton as a guest of Baptist Duff Green to stay and preach. At the same time, the *Gazette* carried an ad "To Boons-Lick Pre-emptioners. For Sale. A New-Madrid Claim for 160 acres. To save fruitless and needless enquiries, the lowest price will be \$15.00 per acre." By June 1819, the *Niles Register* reported "about 1,000 inhabitants living in Franklin" and keelboats regularly leaving with products for New Orleans. That year, the GLO held four public sales of land in Franklin. Professor Malcolm Rohrbough aptly concluded that "to meet the hordes of citizens headed for Boon's Lick country, Surveyor General William Rector got results ... he surveyed anything that did not move."⁵¹

By February 1819, Lilburn Boggs, who had previously been a St. Louis merchant, speculated in "Boon's Lick Lands and Town Lots For Sale," eight one-to-three-acre plots, a ten-acre parcel, and a five-acre lot and large acreages elsewhere. Boggs held premium properties including two large lots on the public square, one 52' x 132', another 82' x 132' and included on the first lot was "an excellent two story brick house, and on the second, a frame house and necessary outbuildings." This brick house became the "Brick House" that William T. Lamme purchased for his mercantile business as Boggs became financially overextended and his partner William V. Rector advertised its sale in December 1819. Boggs included the notice that he "has an excellent keel boat of 20 tons burden, now lying at St. Louis to dispose of on reasonable terms." Boggs's keel-

boat was an average size for the Missouri River. During the recent War of 1812, James Morrison had government supply contracts and used five 20- 25-ton keelboats to make a wartime fortune.⁵²

In July 1819, the newspaper announced that a "Franklin Market House" was organized and trustees built a brick building on the southwest corner of the town square. Franklin trustees, including pre-war immigrant Shadrach Barnes, organized special market days that required reservations for patrons to socialize and share in the exchange of goods. Buildings on the west side of the square became the core of a commercial row. Franklin's muddy streets and rough characters were common, but the great majority of folks wanted improvements and expanding commercial opportunities. By winter, Patten bemoaned the road situation and implored vigi-

Town Lots.



1 LOT on the public square, in the town of Franklin, fronting 52 feet, depth 132, on which there is an excellent two story brick house, a two story frame house & other necessary buildings.

1 corner lot on Main-st. fronting 82 1-2 feet by 182.

8 lots in different parts of the town, well situated for business, 1 3 acre each.

One 10 acre out lot adjoining the town, well timbered.

An undivided half of one 5 acre lot, adjoining same place, and well timbered.

The titles to the above property indisputable; any person wishing to purchase can have any information by addressing a few lines to the subscriber.

LILBURN W. BOGGS.

Franklin, 19th Feb. 1819.—51-44

P. S. The subscriber has an excellent keel boat of 20 tons burthen, now lying at St. Louis to dispose of on reasonable terms.

TOWN LOTS FOR SALE: *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*-St. Louis, March 3, 1819. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project.

lance from the town trustees. "There is scarcely a street within the corporation, sufficiently opened for the common conveniences of riding or walking, and a stranger can with difficulty find his way into town on the St. Charles Road," he wrote. The Boone's Lick Road was a rough, rutted obstacle course.⁵³

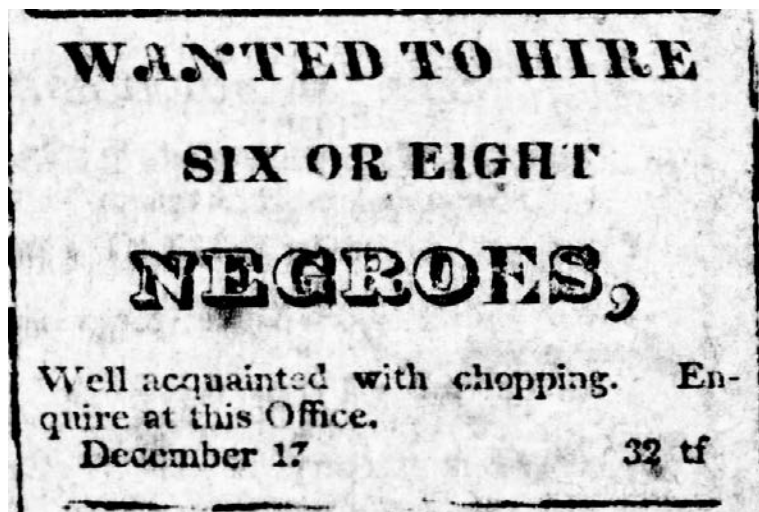
The *Intelligencer* had numerous advertisements for stills, both to sell and to buy. They were part of the regular inventories of Franklin's long-time merchants, William T. Lamme & Co. and Giles M. Samuel & Co. Land speculator William V. Rector diversified his speculation by "Wanted to Hire, TWO stout able bodied Negro Men that understand working on a farm. I wish to purchase two Stills, one to contain about 90 gallons, the other 120 gallons." Slaves knew how to farm and make whiskey just like the whites did. The muscle of black slave labor propelled the Booneslick economy. Joseph Simpson, a man of many parts and business ventures in Franklin from 1819 into the 1820s, and James Ludlow operated a horse mill to grind grain and used oxen to saw plank. He invested in a number of stills, but the national depression caught him with too large an inventory in 1821. He asked "For Sale or Barter, STILLS, with every article requisite for distilling. The stills are the full patent globe of good copper capable of sixty gallons daily." By 1824, Simpson continued to manage a still house west of Franklin on the road to Arrow Rock.⁵⁴

The increased Missouri River travel of soldiers and civilians stopped regularly at Franklin Landing to purchase volumes of alcohol, as its excessive consumption rose to a national topic in the press. Even consumers visiting the Tin Manufactory to shop for stoves saw that the merchants had "on hand and for sale, a few hundred gallons Old WHISKEY, for Cash." Historian Perry Rader wrote, "There was whiskey at every boat landing and in almost every store, and muster day and almost every assembly was marred by fights between drunken men."⁵⁵

The rapid increase in population "and the occupation of nearly all the original lots" led in July 1819, to Richard Gentry and John Welch's purchase of Amos Barnes' pre-emption claim to promote another "East Franklin addition." Gentry and Welch advertised, "READ THIS! We forewarn all persons from cutting, or in any manner destroying the timber on the tract of land lately purchased by us from Amos Barnes," and the owners threatened lawsuits for any imposition. Welch ran a tavern while promoting his real estate. The Barnes and Gentry families – Reuben, the older brother, and Richard Gentry – were from Madison County, Kentucky, and Reuben Gentry had migrated with Benjamin Cooper to the upper bottom land in spring 1810. Reuben improved a tract in Thrall's Prairie, but returned to Cooper's Bottom to develop a farm.⁵⁶

Richard Gentry remained in Kentucky until after the war,

when his family, stock, and slaves, settled in Bonhomme Bottom, a Kentucky emigrant enclave in St. Louis County in 1816, where he



WANTED TO HIRE: Six or eight Negroes. Chopping to clear bottom lands and cutting cord wood for fuel never ended for slaves. *Missouri Intelligencer-Franklin*, December 17, 1819. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project.

became Captain, then Major Gentry in the Missouri Militia. Richard's family spent two years there. Then, in 1818, he moved down the Boone's Lick Trail with a wagon and several children to Franklin. From there, Gentry launched several town-speculations over the next few years. The Gentry-Welch proprietors advertised their lots "in front of those sold last fall by Rector & Kincheloe ... and it has one advantage, not possessed by the old town, which is that the landing of vessels and boats of all sizes can be effected every day in the year with a safe harbor." In addition

to their river-bordered real estate, the same month, John Scudder had other property advertised as out-lots that contained two-to-ten acres that "joined the town plat," continuing to expand the Franklin experiment.⁵⁷

By April 1819, when Nathaniel Patten and Benjamin Holliday issued their first *Intelligencer* issue, promoters had sold several hundred lots and out-lots as Franklin spread into the timbered bottom land. Richard R. Venables, St. Louis merchant and speculator, and recently arrived from Philadelphia, represents the active land speculator. Venables offered land sales in May 1819 at the Cote Sans Dessein tavern for one-third of his Spanish colonial grant land, then another third sold in St. Louis, and the final third of lots sold in Franklin. In Franklin, Gen. Thomas A. Smith owned a parcel in the Cote neighborhood, as did Thomas H. Benton. Their agent, deputy surveyor, Maj. Angus L. Langham, claimed he had "consolidated the land titles at the Cote" and tried to negotiate a land sale to state government to establish a new state capitol there. Venables had another grant at the mouth of the Aux Vasse River where he platted Mexico and agreed to take "one third in CASH or NEGROES, at fair valuation."⁵⁸

In September 1819, Venables advertised "22 acres of out-lots at Franklin, bottom lands nearby and acreages near Chariton" including a New Madrid certificate with Stephen Donohoe. The federal government had awarded 120 New Madrid claims to Howard County, twice the number for any other jurisdiction, or over 42,000 acres. They provided continuing work for surveyors like Talton Turner. Speculators advertised and sold them at Franklin for years to come.⁵⁹

At Franklin, William V. Rector promoted a wide variety of out-lots from two acres, nine acres, and twelve and thirteen acres. Earlier, Rector advertised to hire two "Negro men that understand working on a farm. For such I will give liberal wages." On the public square, Boggs and Rector's store, "In the Brick House," by May 1819, was located "adjoining Dr. Hutchison," but their business

continued only to September 1819. The federal government had appointed Boggs as assistant factor at Fort Osage where he moved until it closed in 1822. In July 1823, he married Jesse Boone's daughter, Panthea, a granddaughter of Daniel Boone, and established a flourishing outfitters business in Independence. As William Lamme & Company moved into the Brick House, Dr. Hutchison, one of Franklin's earliest business men since December 1816, relocated "at his shop, east of the Public Square with recent stock from Baltimore." The doctor, a leader in Franklin's town affairs, devoted his practice to "medicine, surgery & midwifery" and carried an extensive line of drugs and patent medicines.⁶⁰

Historian Jonas Viles totaled up Franklin's early 1820s boundaries to be 2/3 of a section or 426 acres with numerous in-lot and out-lot sizes of real estate for speculation and occupancy. The first plat was 97 in-lots and in three years there were 678 lots. On a map, Franklin's plat concept looked much as the 1822 survey of the City of Jefferson downriver with a central marketing area, nearby lots, and variable acreages for purchase, only the City of Jefferson's size was much larger with four sections, or 2,560 acres. Important was that in both, small acreages surrounded the initial town plat's small lots, a real estate reality for Franklin never drawn for publication. In 1828 New Franklin's plat of 80 lots for commercial and residential streets and large out-lots on the south side of town employed an in-lot and out-lot concept, its two-to-five-acre lots trended south of Sulphur Street. Franklin's out-lots extended eastward toward modern Highway 5. It is likely that not all of Franklin's 678 lots ever sold, but the out-lots may have had a greater sale percentage.⁶¹

The same year, 1823, according to editor Patten, Franklin "contained upwards of two hundred dwelling houses, besides numerous other buildings, and nearly one thousand inhabitants". Slaves constituted 20-25 percent of the people. The great majority of houses were one-story log built away from the town square. Patten boasted that "last year by the record of nearly 300 additional names, the tide of patronage [for the *Intelligencer*] continued to flow in their favor." An itinerant preacher from Philadelphia, Nicholas Patterson, in 1819 wrote that "a few small frames have been put up. A small brick kiln was burned here last summer, which were used in the structure of some of the chimneys, but a

very large portion are made of sticks and clay." Commercial buildings and small shops lined the square and several were within a block off the square. Merchants and residents moved in and out of

Franklin, with special frequency during the early years, and very few businessmen and lawyers remained longer than a half-dozen years. But, commerce near and far expanded in 1823. Patten, however, did point out that the "Boon's Lick country is in the want of water power for the propulsion of machinery." Always the promoter, he predicted the steam engines would eventually solve this problem.⁶²

Then as now, businessmen diversified their investments, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, or they broke even. In spring 1822, young salt-boiler Nicholas S. Burckhardt installed the most difficult technology to maintain in Franklin. He announced a wool carding business. A well run carding business was one of the most profitable on the frontier. For the first year, he may have had only nominal success, as he purchased a special ad in spring 1823 that he had hired a master mechanic, James Ramey, for the same machinery. It "is much enlarged upon and improved and will card 150 lbs. of wool per day. A person experienced in the business (having been engaged in it 10 years in Pennsylvania) will superintend the machine." It apparently did well until the high water of spring 1824 that caused a pause in business, as his June ad announced the machine was

back "in complete operation, has a new set of cards and will be enabled to do good work."⁶³

Within two months, William Ward established competition "at his residence, near Richmond, ten miles from Franklin, on the road leading from Franklin to Chariton, a set of Wool Carding Machinery, entirely new; the cards were imported from Philadelphia." Then an important addition, "the whole will be conducted by a man whose long experience entitles him to confidence as to workmanship." His ten cents per pound for rolls was countered by Burckhardt with "Eight cents, if paid in cash, or Ten cents paid in wool, at the rate of fifty cents per pound." By now, Burckhardt had a manager at his salt works, and was active in committee politics in the General Assembly. He had changed to another associate at the carding machine. Finally, he had enough of carding technology,

WOOL CARDING,
In Franklin.

ON the 15th of May next the subscribers will put in operation a WOOL CARDING MACHINE.

This machine is the same that was running in this place last season; is much enlarged upon and improved, and will card 150 lbs. of wool per day. A person experienced in the business, (having been engaged in it 10 years in Pennsylvania) will superintend the machine.

Wool of all qualities will be carded at 10 cents per pound, and all carding warranted to be executed in a neat and workmanlike manner.

One pound of lard or oil must be brought with every eight pounds of wool.

**N. S. BURCKHARTT,
JAMES RAMEY.**

April 29, 1823. 39 tf

WOOL CARDING IN FRANKLIN: *Missouri Intelligencer*-Franklin, May 6, 1823. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project.

and in spring 1825, advertised a public sale in Franklin “to sell to the highest bidder a complete set of Wool Carding Machinery together with the Running Gear, Cards, and House ready for carding.” Robert Percival took the business and in June 1826 advertised he “is now repairing the machine (under the superintendence of Mr. John McDowell, as able a carder as any in this country) and again in July 1826 proclaimed it was “in complete operation at the same prices” after the high Missouri River rise had passed. McDowell did his job and the Franklin carding business opened again in spring 1827 ready for another season. Boonville, of course, also had its carding machines across the river.⁶⁴

Franklin Connections to the General Assembly

After a territorial state convention meeting in St. Louis, in fall 1820, delegates chose St. Charles as the temporary capitol for their General Assembly deliberations. The combined total of constitutionally mandated senators and representatives that met was 57. The sessions lasted from June 1821 to December 1826. As a town, St. Charles population had gained on Franklin. In recent years, 1816-20, American institutions rapidly changed the face of Main Street. Individuals on the 1816 tax lists doubled in 1817 and the following year had “three times as many American names on the 1818 list as the 1816 one.” Slave owner and storekeeper James Morrison had been a common petit and grand jurymen since the Purchase and became a trustee in 1818. John G. Heath moved from the Booneslick back to his former residence in St. Charles to practice law and competed with the young Thomas H. Benton. In late 1817, Duff Green & Company and brothers John and George Collier, who had goods from Philadelphia and Baltimore in a brick house, traded wholesale and retail on Main Street. Nathaniel Simonds, a modest land speculator, had a tavern that Benjamin Emmons soon purchased, Simonds sold slaves at his house, and slaves were common in litigation. Presbyterian missionary Timothy Flint was there and had already speculated in building American houses. He built “two houses on three lots, five rooms each, with cellars laid with stone and lime and a well common for the two.” Dr. Rowland Willard had moved into town. Flint and others’ Americanization of the cultural landscape changed St. Charles forever. The announcement of the temporary state capitol spurred American commercial investment that included names known well in the Booneslick.⁶⁵

The General Assembly took place on Main Street in June 1821, in the recently constructed brick merchants’ quarters, the Peck Row House on the beginning leg of the Boone’s Lick Trail; it was across the street from James Morrison’s recently expanded and remodeled house. In fact, by then, James and Jesse Morrison owned several properties in town, many that they rented. The French land base eroded as their fur trade work on the river diminished; they did not pay city and county taxes, thus, French names predominated in tax sales and Americans, like the Morrisons, were happy to purchase them. St. Charles became another town dominated by families invested in agriculture, while Catholic Mother Duchesne famously reported in 1819 that “every household has its drunkards.” Jesse Morrison sold one of his buildings for a new “House of Entertainment” in 1820. The Morrisons kept a rental house in Franklin, when they needed to be in Howard County. The Morrisons had maintained St. Charles town properties from the

beginning of the Boone’s Lick salt works in 1805.⁶⁶

James Morrison’s former quartermaster contact at Fort Belle Fontaine, Maj. William Christy, Jr., and his former manager of the Morrisons’ St. Charles store, became a successful St. Charles circuit clerk and merchant ally. His wife, Marie Christy, kept boarders during the Assembly years with so much patronage they were “compelled to hire beds from their country friends” to accommodate their guests. As business proceeded in September 1820 in St. Louis, Christy wrote his former commanding officer at Fort Belle Fontaine, Gen. T. A. Smith in Franklin, “The Election for Senators has not yet taken place. The most influential & honest class of Society here are using their endeavors to get Benton elected, Barton’s election is sure.” By November, the politicians chose Major Christy as one of Missouri’s three presidential electors. On December 31, 1820, after considering several proposals, the General Assembly passed the bill that located the permanent seat of state government at the City of Jefferson, three counties downriver from Franklin.⁶⁷

The General Assembly passed landmark legislation. Important for Franklinites and those who traveled overland, the assembly passed “an Act to provide for the Surveying and marking out state roads” in December 1822. One of Missouri’s most well-known surveyors, James C. Brown, who had worked in Ohio and Indiana with Elias Barcroft and Gen. William Rector, had spent a lot of time in Franklin. He was a road commissioner in 1822 for 40 days on the road from “St. Louis to the seat of Government at \$2.50 daily, or \$100.00, reviewing the general direction and obstacles westward” from St. Charles on the traditional wagon trail toward the Booneslick. Brown was elected a state senator from St. Louis in 1824, surveyed the Santa Fe Trail in 1825, was distant competition as a U.S. Senate candidate against Thomas H. Benton in 1826, but while serving in his state senate seat in Jefferson City, was known as “little fellow from the Booneslick.” Brown in 1828 began a position as clerk of the Supreme Court into the 1830s while still surveying in Missouri.⁶⁸

After Brown’s review of the route from St. Charles westward, actual survey work did not commence for nearly a year. But, in October-December 1823, the first survey into Missouri’s interior along the eastern part of the Boone’s Lick Road occurred. It ran first from St. Louis, across the Missouri River, to St. Charles and then down the wagon path west “to the Permanent Seat of Government” (City of Jefferson). The survey turned southwest near modern Williamsburg and ran by Henry Brite’s Tavern on the edge of Ham’s Prairie, and past Elizabeth, the first Callaway County seat, where George Collier & Company had a small store, and on to Jefferson City. Henry Brite was a commissioner for the court house location and jail and rented his tavern to Callaway County for court business.⁶⁹

Stephen Cleaver, the surveyor, received 86 days’ pay on the “State Road from St. Louis through to St. Charles to the Permanent Seat of Government” at \$5 daily, as Cleaver had to “fund one man at his own expense for marker” work for \$430. Chain carriers received \$1 daily for a 78-day job. State Auditor, and recent Franklin businessman Maj. Elias Barcroft, in St. Charles, approved one of the payments in January 1824 to chain carrier Gilbert James with road commissioners William Biggs and Nathan Boone’s endorsement. To complete this official road business, au-

ditor Barcroft approved employment for Maj. Benjamin Emmons, road commissioner, at \$2.50 daily and 71 days, for final oversight on the road “St. Louis to St. Charles and to the Permanent Seat of Government” for \$177.50. Another road commissioner, Joseph Wells, received the same rate for 47 days along the road to the City of Jefferson in March 1824.⁷⁰

Other contemporary road survey work beyond that to the Permanent Seat took place. Ironically, Nicholas Burckhardt’s survey from the east into the Booneslick, unknown today, is the last echo of Austin’s attempt to tie the mining country with the fabled agricultural Booneslick. It was never used to any extent as advantageous for immigrants or travelers. It went from Columbus, Kentucky, to Chariton above Franklin. For this latter survey, road commissioner Nicholas Burckhardt, always politically active from Franklin, worked 150 days for \$375. George C. Harbison was his chain carrier at \$1 daily. Howard County sent Burckhardt to the constitutional convention in 1820, elected him to the House of Representatives in 1822, he won Benjamin Reeves Senate Seat in 1824 when Reeves resigned, and won the seat outright in 1828.⁷¹

Secretary of State, William G. Pettus, by the nature of his job, required more supplies than his peers. In January 1823, he purchased “1 ream paper for \$11.00 and Fools cap at \$9.00” from merchant George Collier (fools cap paper was oversize like legal size, 8 x 14). Likewise, in March, Pettus, paid \$40 to recent Franklin resident and town developer William V. Rector, now state auditor, for “making two maps of the City of Jefferson.” By March 1823, state government paid trader George Collier \$30 “for copying [state] journals in St. Louis.” The state awarded the capitol survey to Maj. Elias Barcroft, but as he did when he was Howard County surveyor, he sub-contracted to another surveyor for the work, David Sterigere of Callaway County. Barcroft was Howard County’s first senator in the state legislature.⁷²

Although, the General Assembly paid rent for their meeting space, the participants had to rent rooms. William V. Rector paid \$50 to Jesse Morrison for “house rent” in the Morrisons’ commercial income. Nathaniel Simonds, state treasurer since 1822, who had been upriver with William Clark to Fort Osage, had owned a local ferry, stage coach, and tavern, paid James Morrison \$3 monthly for an office. As Secretary, Pettus required additional room, where he used his personal seal on government documents until the General Assembly designed an official one, in July 1823, paid George Collier \$40 “for office rent.” He got caught up again with \$40 cash to Collier “for [completing] one year rent of my office as Secretary of State ending 1st October 1823.” French laborers, as on the Missouri River, cut wood to heat rooms of attendees. In November 1823, for example, Rector paid \$5 to Baptiste Louison “for 10 loads of fire wood.” In 1824, Elias Barcroft rented a room from John Rochester at \$25.60 for four months.

Secretary of State Pettus continued his room rental from George Collier at \$40 for each 60 days into 1824. Collier was reliable in his supply of paper, tape, and payment for freight for which Pettus reimbursed him. Pettus paid Levi Pettibone, who had explored the Ozarks with Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, for distributing copies of the laws. In May 1824, auditor Elias Barcroft finally received approval to purchase a desk for \$20 made by craftsman William A. Lynch in St. Charles. Lynch further fabricated a book press for Pettus and a “block to screw to the State seal” for impres-

sions of the seal on paper. George Collier, by this time, a trader on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, was acceptable to state government in 1824 for the position of Quartermaster General in Missouri, thus manager of the state arsenal of weapons. The state paid Collier for “letter postage on military service” that he supplied. Like his future father-in-law, James Morrison, Collier obtained the position for his reliability as a state government contractor.⁷³

In Franklin, the state withholding of mineral lands from government land office sale was of particular concern to those in the Booneslick. The state assembly finally set up a state-lease program in 1824. They hired Jesse Morrison for 47 days service, at \$3 daily, to inspect the salines in the Booneslick and as a commissioner to “Select the Salt springs” for lease. For comparative judgments, the General Assembly hired William G. Byrd who traveled for 41 days, and Robert M. Stevenson for 43 days, to judge and select the same. Auditor Barcroft, who had been in the salt-boiling business himself near Lamine River when living at Franklin, signed off on their reports. Before long, the GLO advertised leases available in the *Intelligencer* at Franklin.

Patten’s readership was most interested in the legislative action. The irregular mails, he wrote, caused a “non-intercourse” between Franklin and St. Charles. Anxious to hear about the proceedings, the editor wrote “We have not received the St. Charles paper, by mail, for three weeks.” When his complaints reached St. Charles, William J. Redd, Howard County attorney and state representative, wrote an apology: “I now lay before you the acts which have already passed, and which have cost much labor and industry. There is perfect harmony between the Legislative and Executive departments and operations are had with almost unexampled celerity.” The tenor of Missouri politics changed dramatically during the next two years as federal politics pushed Senator Benton and Barton in different directions and individuals in the Booneslick chose sides.⁷⁴

After the state’s political business was completed and moved upriver to the City of Jefferson, three of James Morrison’s daughters married three principal public men in St. Charles – George Collier, William Pettus, and Francis Yosti – all of whom became woven into James Morrison’s trading sphere, and except for Pettus, the other two came upriver on steamboats to Franklin working in the family business for Santa Fe trade and established a store at Chariton. ▲

EDITOR’S NOTE: In 1990, Lynn Morrow was named supervisor of Missouri’s newly created Local Records Preservation Program at the Missouri State Archives, now a national model for federal and state records associations. He retired in 2013. He has published extensively on the history of Missouri and the Ozarks region of Missouri and Arkansas in scholarly journals including the *Missouri Historical Review*. His larger works (co-edited with James S. Keefe) include *Connecticut Yankee in the Frontier Ozarks: The Writings of Theodore Pease Russell* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), and *The White River Chronicles of S. C. Turnbo: Man and Wildlife on the Ozarks Frontier* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994). He is also the editor of *The Ozarks in Missouri History: Discoveries in an American Region* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2013) and was a major contributor to the *Missouri Dictionary of Missouri Biography* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999). He holds undergraduate and graduate degrees in American History from Southwest Missouri State University (now Missouri State University) in Springfield. Lynn and his wife, Kristen, live in Jefferson City.

NOTES

- 1 Negroes for chopping, *Intelligencer*, December 17, 1819.
- 2 Peck's visit, "The Boon's Lick Country," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* (July 1950), 462; Negro girl for corn, *Missouri Gazette*, Jan. 23, 1818; and Nicholas Hardeman, *Wilderness Calling, The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 1750-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977, 78-79.
- 3 St. Charles prairie, *Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1819. Bullocks, *Intelligencer*, June 4, 1825, plant prairies, Nov. 2, 1826. Schroeder, *Presettlement of Missouri*, 1982.
- 4 Apprentice ad, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 27, 1819, and Carson, Oct. 12, 1826.
- 5 Hardeman, *Intelligencer*, April 22, 1820. *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Twaites, Vol. XIV, Part I of James' Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820 (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), 149.
- 6 Gary Kremer, *This Place of Promise* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2021), 59.
- 7 *Edwardsville Spectator*, Aug. 28, Sept. 18, and Oct 9, 1819. Versions of the vigilante incident were reported in the *Intelligencer*, the St. Louis press, and in *Edwardsville*. The story is summarized from the *Edwardsville* paper.
- 8 Mt. Zion organized in Dec. 1817. William Thorp became a well-known Baptist minister in the area. See larger transcript and discussion, *Intelligencer*, October 4, 1819, and overview in Lucas P. Volkman, "Houses Divided: Evangelical Schisms, Society, and Law and the Crisis of the Union in Missouri, 1837-1876," PhD, University of Missouri, May 2012, 48 ff.
- 9 Steve Belko, "A Founding Missourian: Duff Green and Missouri's Formative Years, 1816-1825," Part 2, *Missouri Historical Review* (April 2004), 180; and James Madison to Lafayette, 25 Nov. 1820, Founders Archive Online. See the "Remonstrance" of the 20-member Howard County grand jury, "In seasons of alarm, when the rights of the people have been assailed, or their interests invaded" *Intelligencer*, July 16, 1819, with J. S. Findlay, chairman, including such familiar names as Benjamin Reeves, Ezekiel Williams, Lilburn Boggs, James Hickman, Phillip Trammel, etc., and the twenty men, David March, "The Admission of Missouri," *MHR* (July 1971), 441. The *Missouri Gazette* published the text of the Missouri Constitution in its July 26, 1820, issue. Illumination, *Gazette*, April 5, 1820.
- 10 Rope walk, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 9 and 30, 1821.
- 11 Rope walk, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 23, 1823; Jan. 22, 1824, and Nov. 11, 1825.
- 12 Rope walk, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 23, 1826.
- 13 Bernard and Hutchison details on Ancestry.com.
- 14 Hans von Sachsen-Altenburg and Robert L. Dyer, *Duke Paul of Wuertemberg on the Missouri Frontier: 1823, 1830 and 1851* (Boonville: Pekitanoui Publications, 1998), 66-69.
- 15 Moved inland, Road Petitions, Howard County Clerk's Office, box 2, f. 6 and 8, MSA, and water in Nash's Prairie, box 1, f. 38, MSA. Hardeman's advertised sales, *Intelligencer*, April 29, 1823.
- 16 "Westward Along the Boone's Lick Trail in 1826, the Diary of Colonel John Glover," ed. Marie George Windell (*MHR*, Jan. 1945), 196.
- 17 Peebles, *Intelligencer*, July 30, 1819; Mar. 19, 1821; July 1, 1823; Feb. 28, 1824; Washington, Dec. 11, 1824; and Sept. 30, 1825. Mrs. Peebles provided the ball at the Jubilee Independence celebration, too, *Intelligencer*, July 13, 1826.
- 18 James M. Denny, "The Western End of the Boonslick Road: Columbia to Rocheport to New Franklin to Arrow Rock Ferry Sections of the Boonslick Road," *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Winter 2015-16), 10. In typical fashion, Nash titled his threat, "To all men living, and that may hereafter live", *Intelligencer*, Feb. 12, 1822.
- 19 Ibid., Denny, "The Western End of the Boonslick Road."
- 20 Roads, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1820.
- 21 For Joe, *Missouri Gazette*, Jan. 8, and Sept. 17, 1819. Negro man and woman, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 3, 1819. *Intelligencer*, Dec. 3, 1819. Township slave patrols in *Howard County Minutes*, Book B, June and August 1823. E.g., in 1823, Nicholas S. Burckhardt was on patrol in Franklin Township and Capt. Glen Owen and Joseph Cooper in Boonslick Township. For Sappington's Jim, Lynn Morrow, "Dr. John Sappington: Southern Patriarch in the New West," *Missouri Historical Review* (October 1995), 41-42.
- 22 Chariton sales, *Missouri Gazette*, Jan. 9, 1818. C. Tiffany, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 8, 1822. Brothers Comfort and Otis Tiffany were the traders. Moore's blacksmith, Lewis Green, *History of Howard and Chariton Counties* (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883), 415, 546 and 548.
- 23 Letter, April 19, 1819, David Manchester Letter, C 2064, SHS-Columbia.
- 24 Green in Chariton and any produce ad, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 4 and 15, 1819.
- 25 *Intelligencer*, September 16, 1820. Franklin resolution, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 17, 1819.
- 26 Slave patrol in Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate, Claiborne Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 66 and 81. Sappington's Tennessee slave purchases in Lee Cullimore, *To Make a Fortune*, 24. The exceptionally bad malarial seasons in 1820 and 1821 may have convinced Sappington to move to the Saline County uplands. By 1830, the census listed the number of Sappington's slaves at twenty-five. The county moved the seat in 1831 from Jefferson to Jonesboro, the market hamlet of Sappington's creation, where the seat remained until 1839. Earickson offered rewards of \$20.00 if found in the county and \$30.00 if found beyond, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 25, 1821. Military contracts, *History of Howard and Chariton Counties* (1883), 494-95. Earickson became a co-founder of Glasgow after his election as a state senator in 1828, then resigning to become state treasurer, elected by three votes in the fall general assembly, 1829-33.

27 Much of Turner's background is in *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men, Missouri Volume* (New York: United States Biographical Publishing Company, 1878), 452-53. More is in *Hard Honesty, To Write on Ends As Was at Hand*, RDHardesty blogspot, online, a Squire Turner descendant and cousin to Talton Turner. Military surveys, *Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1817. Flatboats, "Travel Notes of William M. Campbell, from diary entries 1829-1830," Bill Popp, ed., St. Charles County Historical County Archives. William Rector had a farm with a manager three miles west of St. Louis City.

28 Perry Rader pointed out that this house is unique in Missouri history, as three governors occupied it at one time or another – Miller, Thomas Reynolds, and for a short time, Claiborne Jackson, Rader, "John Miller," *The Messages and Proclamations*, Vol. 1 (1922), 103.

29 For more detail, see Walter Schroeder, "Spread of Settlement in Howard County, Missouri 1810-1859," MHR (Oct. 1968). GLO offices, Gary W. Beahan, "Missouri's Public Domain: United States Land Sales, 1818-1922," *Archives Information Bulletin* (July 1980), 17.

30 Donohoe, *Gazette*, May 17, 1817. *Intelligencer*, May 21, 1819, February 18 and June 10, 1820, May 22, 1822. Green reporting, Kenneth L. Smith, Duff Green and the *United States Telegraph*, 1826-1837, PhD, College of William and Mary, 1981, 26. For James Ross and the Glasgows, see *Brothers on the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails*, Mark L. Gardner, ed. (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1993). John Aull moved to Lexington in 1822 and his brothers, Robert and James, followed him there in 1825. But, Chariton remained a busy landing with exports and a boat yard. *Niles Register* in Harrison A. Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1914), 182.

31 *Intelligencer*, ad passim, 1820-23. The 1820 *Federal Census of Manufacturers for the Territory of Missouri* indicated three large Booneslick salt works in operation: the one near Lamine River with 140 kettles and an undifferentiated 129 and 154 kettles for the Boon's Lick and Burckhart's, and several dozen men employed, MSA.

32 Slave Daniel Aug. 28, 1821; Boon's Lick salt, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 22, 1822; Cato, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 6, 1824; the government put all the salt spring land up for sale in 1831, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 27, 1831. Thus, the Franklin land office opened 11,595 new acres for sale, *American State Papers, Documents ... in Relation to the Public Lands, Vol. IV* (Washington D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1859), 858.

33 Ella Johnson, *The Economic Development of the Boonslick Country*, as reflected in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, M.A., University of Missouri, 1931, 44.

34 Morrison and Chouteau, Petition to Congress by Thompson H. Ficklin, *Territorial Papers ... Louisiana-Missouri, Vol. XV*, Jan. 1, 1821.

35 *Globe* in Napton, *Past and Present of Saline County* (Chicago: B. F. Bowen Company, 1910), 366. The *Gazette* called the boat James Ross; it ran the Ohio and Mississippi River markets, June 2, 1819.

36 James Glasgow slave sale, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 29, 1830. Harrison and Glasgow, J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County, Vol II* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, & Co., 1883), 1264, online. Meager family history evidence suggests that James Harrison's younger brother, John Harrison, benefited from Harrison & Glasgow for his agricultural exports that resulted in capital formation for John

Harrison to build several economic ventures around Chariton and Glasgow. James Glasgow's acquisition of federal contracts to supply army forts continued with Talton Turner in Glasgow into the 1840s, *Report No 5571, House of Representatives, 29th Congress, 1st Session, Cyrus Turner—Heirs of, April 6, 1846*.

37 Hardeman's letter, *Intelligencer*, June 10, 1823.

38 Potosi road, *Missouri Laws, Territory of Missouri*, Chapter 169, Jan. 24, 1816. Delegate Rufus Easton to the Postmaster General, Feb. 23, 1816, *Territorial Papers, Louisiana-Missouri, Vol. XV*. Potosi-Boon's Lick, *Missouri Gazette*, Mar. 23, 1816. The emigrant's guide, Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer; or Emigrant's Directory ... Western States ... and the Territories of Illinois, Missouri ...* (Auburn, N.Y.: H. C. Southwick, 1817), 189, online. Brown included some of John G. Heath's writing, a long time lawyer, salt-boiler on Salt Fork of the Lamine River, politician, and river trader, and well known in the Booneslick, who may be Brown's informant about Cole's Fort.

39 Ferry ad, *Missouri Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1817. Surveyors' notes of the day into the 1820s sometimes put Potosi-Boonslick Road on their notes during their work when a section line crossed the trail.

40 Mail proposals, *Gazette*, Oct. 2, 1818.

41 Postal regulations and Missouri and Arkansas routes, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 11, 1819. Mileage, *Gazette*, Aug. 5, 1819. There were additional stops not in my text, e.g., "From St. Charles by Missouri Crossing [mouth of Femme Osage], Montgomery Courthouse [Pickney], St. Johns, Prices, Bibbs, and Big Bonne Femme to Franklin." Great road, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, 1819. Austin's "Boon's Lick Road" is in the Franklin County survey notes, Book A, 1819-1833, p. 7, and April 1819 Survey lines, 1819-1856, Missouri State Archives and passed through the Courtois Creek settlement. Gasconade County road petitions, May term, 1822, MSA.

42 Estill and Boone's Lick Road, David P. Sapp, *Mapping the Boone's Lick Road* (Columbia: Private Print, 2014), 31 & 36. Ad for the Lucas "House of Entertainment on the road leading from Franklin to St. Charles" in *Intelligencer*, Dec. 17, 1820, but Estill purchased the property that month.

43 Welch, Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick Heritage," 155.

44 See Patten's musings for a stage from St. Louis to Franklin in his first issue, *Intelligencer*, April 23, 1819.

45 Mail, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 26, 1821.

46 *Gazette*, Nov. 15, 1820, and May 2, 1821; *Intelligencer*, Feb. 14, Mar. 26, June 11, 1821. John Means' first business was the Franklin Hotel that he sold to William Beatty and George Armstrong, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 7, 1821. See a good discussion of mail delivery in Scharf, *History of St. Louis City, Vol. II*, 1883, 1430-32, online. One wonders if Van Bibber pointed out to travelers the graves of Jesse Bryan Boone, who was buried at Loutre Lick in 1821, followed by the death of his wife, and Isaac's kin, Chloe Van Bibber Boone, in 1822, both buried on the west side of the river. Thrall's Prairie settlers, Anderson Woods and family, were from Madison County, Kentucky, and were part of the community that grew up around Thrall's tavern and store and Lexington post office. It was the sort of hamlet with services that attracted travelers on the Boone's Lick Trail for decades. It is the most documented

tavern stop on the Trail, as a result of University of Missouri historic archaeologist's investigations, and an historical inquiry by Lisa Catherine Heffernan, "The 1872 Missouri Model Farm: The Early Development of Commercial Agriculture in the Heartland," Dept. of History, Washington University, March 16, 1992.

47 Mail lost on ferry, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 15, 1822.

48 Lot sale, *Missouri Gazette*, Feb. 6, 1818. *Niles Register*, July 11, 1818, p. 344.

49 Rector & Kincheloe and house & garden, *Intelligencer*, July 9 and Sept. 17, 1819. Rector and John Besore had a small store, but it dissolved the following month. Kincheloe and Hickman, Marsha Rising Hoffman, *Genealogical Gems from Early Missouri Deeds, 1815-1850* (January 1, 2004), 150. The pre-emption claim belonged to Amos Barnes, a War of 1812 veteran who occupied Fort Kincaid, where he married Dorcas Kincaid. He moved north of Rocheport, then to Columbia and lived on a Rocky Fork township farm in Boone County.

50 Rental house, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 4, 1820.

51 *Niles Register*, Jan. 2, 1819. Peck, *Gazette*, Jan. 27, 1819. Pre-emptioners, *Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1819. *Niles Register*, June 5 and 19, 1819, p. 287. Four public sales, Malcolm Rohrbough, *The Land Office Business* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 134 and 187.

52 Morrison sold his wartime keels in late 1816, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 3, 1816. These inlot and outlot ads (and Boggs' keel boat) are in the *Missouri Gazette*, March 17, 1819, *Missouri Intelligencer*, March 3, May 21, July 2 and 30, and December 3, 1819. Boggs as merchant, *Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1816; Mar. 13, 1818, and Boggs and Rector "Brick House," *Missouri Intelligencer*, May 14, July 2, and Aug. 6, 1819.

53 Market house, *Intelligencer*, July 23, 1819. Roads, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1820.

54 Saw & grist mill, *Intelligencer*, July 23, 1819, stills, *Intelligencer*, July 9 and Aug. 13, 1819. Simpson still house, Road Overseers, Howard County Clerk's Office, box 1, f. 44, MSA.

55 Perry S. Rader, "John Miller," in *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, Vol. 1 (Columbia: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1922), 107. Whiskey, *Intelligencer*, June 17, 1820.

56 Read This! *Intelligencer*, Sept. 17, 1819. Marsha Rising Hoffman, *Opening the Ozarks, Vol I*, 111-12 for Barnes family; John Welch of Haywood County, North Carolina, purchased David Kincaid's pre-emption in Missouri for \$700.00 that included the fort where he still resided in March 1816, Hoffman, *Genealogical Gems... Howard County Deed Book B:229*; Kincaid, in July 1816, became one of the five commissioners to locate the new Howard County seat that became Franklin. Gentry & Welch, *Intelligencer*, July 2, 1819; Welch tavern, *Intelligencer*, June 10, 1820. Joseph Kincheloe was arrested for debt by 1822, managed one of Franklin's distilleries in 1824, and died in 1830 with only 40 acres in Cooper County in his estate sale, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 10, 1822, and Mar. 26, 1830.

57 Richard Gentry, *The Gentry Family in America, 1676 to 1909* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1909), ad passim and online and *Intelligencer*, July 2, 1819, for more lot description.

58 Venables' out-lots in *Missouri Gazette*, Mar. 17. For Smith, Benton, et al at the Cote, Ovid Bell, *Cote Sans Dessein, A History* (Fulton: published by the author, 1930), 61 and ad passim. Venables offered to survey into quarter and half-quarter sections; at Mexico, cash or Negroes, *Gazette*, April 7 & 23, 1819. Venables speculated in numerous Missouri properties and became embroiled in over two-dozen Supreme Court cases, usually as a defendant. One exception was when he sued surveyor James C. Brown for assault in 1819, see MSA judicial databases. He had a dry goods store in St. Louis that also sold New England and Jamaica rum, Holland gin, Lisbon and Madeira wine, and more by the barrel. Venables died in 1836.

59 *Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 15 through Dec. 8, 1819. Steven E. Weible, provided a fine overview of Missouri's first federal disaster relief in his "New Madrid Claims," *Missouri Society of Professional Surveyors* (April 2015). Cooper County had 60 and Boone County 41 claims, while Missouri as a whole had 471 locations. Walter Schroeder's, "Settlement in Howard County, Missouri, 1810-1859," MHR (Oct. 1968), 12, discusses the total of 42,360 acres of New Madrid claims. Angus L. Langham was a quintessential surveyor/land speculator. He died on August 28, 1834, and it took until 1853 for his estate to be settled, as he held claim on 81 tracts of land in Missouri and Illinois, including New Madrid certificates. In his 200-page plus probate case, online, you can see the descriptions of his real estate and note that 8,092 acres were in the Booneslick counties of Boone, Cole, and Callaway, Angus L. Langham probate case, 1835, MSA.

60 Boggs and Panthea, *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, Lawrence O. Christensen et al, eds. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 91. William V. Rector's father was Wharton Rector, brother of William Rector, the Surveyor General for Missouri and Illinois, located in St. Louis. Rector's slave hire, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 27, 1819. William V. Rector was Missouri's second state auditor, 1821-23. Dr. Hutchison, *Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1817. Hutchison's list of drugs, *Intelligencer*, June 10, 1820.

61 Franklin's size of 2/3 square mile, Jonas Viles, "Old Franklin: A Frontier Town of the Twenties," (March 1923), 271, and see his deed book references for Franklin's additions. New Franklin plan, 80 lots etc., *Intelligencer*, Aug. 15, 1828.

62 Patten's one thousand, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1823, and patronage, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 5, 1823. An exception for long legal tenure was Judge David Todd who served the Howard County circuit court from 1819-1836. Todd advertised he hailed from Lexington, Kentucky, and was in Franklin earlier "to act as agent in land business in Howard district," *Gazette*, July 24, 1818. The next year he acquired a ferry license for an Arrow Rock ferry located on land he owned, and rented it to John Ferrill, that he renewed several times and rented its operation to others into the 1830s, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 12, 1819, and see Michael Dickey, *Arrow Rock, Crossroads of the Missouri Frontier* (Arrow Rock: Friends of Arrow Rock, 2004), 56-59, for a discussion of this ferry crossing. Water power, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 9, 1823.

63 *Intelligencer*, May 6, 1823, June 12, 1824.

64 *Intelligencer*, June 16 and July 6 and 16, 1826, and May 17, 1827. Burckhardt in 1824 served on the internal improvements committee and by 1826 on the committee for Salines, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 4, 1824, and Dec. 21, 1826.

65 Fifty-seven, *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri, from 1541 to 1877* (Saint Louis: C. R. Barns, 1879), 211. Jesse B. Boone won the Montgomery County state representative seat (later assumed by Daniel Morgan Boone), but Nathan Boone lost badly for the seat in St. Charles County, *Gazette*, Sept. 6 and 20, 1820. Their father's obituary ran on Oct. 3, 1820, in the *Gazette* (he died Sept 26). Tax lists, Ray Cook, *History of St. Charles, Missouri, 1816-1840*, History Department, Washington University, 1965, 14-15. Duff Green and Colliers, *Gazette*, Dec. 6 and 13, 1817. Flint's houses, *Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1817. Flint had a farm two miles below St. Charles at Point Prairie. See a photograph of the Federal brick Presbyterian Church in St. Charles in John Ervin Kirkpatrick, *Timothy Flint, Pioneer, Missionary, Author, Editor, 1780-1840* (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911).

66 See Morrow, "Boone's Lick in Western Expansion ..." *Boones Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Fall-Winter 2014) and "Salt-boiling to Star-gazing ..." (Summer 2016) for details on Morrison's in-laws. Jesse Morrison sold to James I. Dozier, Ray Donald Cook, "History of St. Charles, Missouri, 1816-1840," History Department, Washington University, 1965, 13. St. Charles tax sales and Mother Duchesne, Tanis C. Thorne, *The Many Hands of My Relations, French and Indians on the Lower Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996), 124.

67 For Alexander McNair's fight over the location of a state capitol, see Ovid Bell, *Cote San Dessein, A History* (Fulton: published by the author, 1930, 57-78; Garland C. Broadhead, "The Location of the Capitol of Missouri," MHR (Jan. 1908); and Jonas Viles, "The Capitals and Capitols of Missouri," MHR (Jan. 1919). Christy, *History of St. Charles County, Missouri (1765-1885)*, ed. Paul R. Holrath (Goodspeed rpt., 1997), 304-05. The Christys named their first son, William Morrison Christy, after James Morrison's brother in Kaskaskia. Christy letter in Smith's Papers cited by Monas N. Squires, "A New View of the Election of Barton and Benton to the United States Senate in 1820," MHR (Oct. 1932), 37. Ruluff and Charles Peck financed Peck's Row and the building was new enough that the second floor had only been rented by local government, but they offered the space gratis to the legislature for executive government deliberations, June 1821-October 1826. However, the politicians later "appropriated \$2.50 a day to Ruloff Peck for the use of his house," Jonas Viles, "The Capitals and Capitols of Missouri," MHR (Jan. 1919), 145. The Pecks had commercial stores on the lower floor, Missouri First State Capitol, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Missouri State Park Board, March 18, 1969, online. Christy as elector, *Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1820.

68 *Missouri Laws*, Chapter 447, Roads and Highways, approved December 19, 1822. Brown, Auditors Papers, Box 3, MSA, and from the Boonslick, "Letters of William Carr Lane," *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society, Vol. 7 (1940), 93. When the north-south 5th Principal Meridian was surveyed by Prospect K. Robbins in October 1815, James C. Brown surveyed its east-west complement, in Arkansas, the base line from which all other surveys were derived in Missouri, e.g., throughout the Booneslick, as well. He surveyed the first plat of St. Louis (1815-18) and most notably was the experienced surveyor chosen for the 1825 survey of the Santa Fe Trail, *Gazette*, June 19, 1818.

69 Brite as vendor to Callaway County, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 14, 1823. In 1826, the Callaway County seat was removed from Brite's Tavern and Elizabeth to Fulton, "The Old Town of Elizabeth," MHR (Jan. 1914), 86-89. John Yates was "the company" in the George Collier-financed store at Elizabeth and they soon moved it to Fulton where Yates became a prominent merchant. There had been a trail

toward Brite's "blazed trees and stakes" since 1820 that carried small numbers of travelers, see complete article, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 26, 1820, transcribed in David P. Sapp, "Mapping the Boone's Lick Road," (Privately published, November 2014), 43.

70 William Biggs was a son of a colonial immigrant, Randall Biggs in 1799, to Spanish Missouri. Benjamin Emmons III was on the territorial legislative council three terms (1812, 1816 & 1818), representative to the territorial convention for St. Charles with Hiram Baber and Nathan Boone; and elected twice to the state senate (1820 & 1822) in St. Charles when working as a road commissioner to the capitol. Emmons opened a tavern in 1821, Cook, "History of St. Charles", 39. Listings, Missouri Legislators, MSA, online, and Steve Ehlmann, *Crossroads, A History of St. Charles County, Missouri* (St. Charles: Lindenwood University Press, 2011), 43-44.

71 *Missouri Herald*, May 27, 1820; *Missouri Republican*, Sept. 18, 1822; *Ibid.*, August 16, 1824, and *Ibid.*, February 7, 1828.

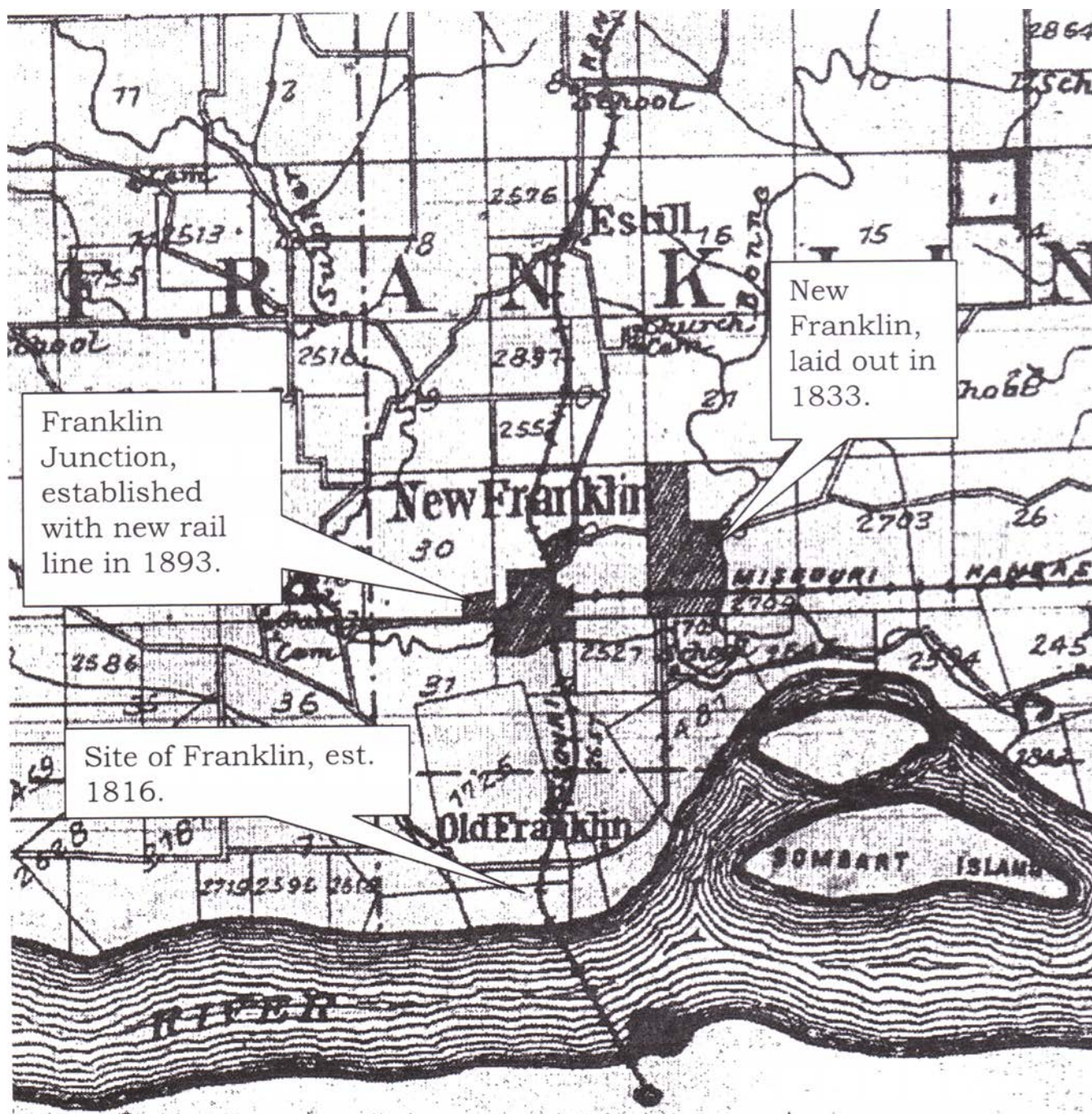
72 A significant portion of the State Auditors' Papers are the only executive government papers not destroyed by the 1837 state capitol fire. They are housed in five unprocessed Hollinger boxes as the State Auditors Papers, MSA, and the current summary is from Box 1, ad passim. The papers add basic details to the General Assembly years in St. Charles and especially to understanding the development of the City of Jefferson. The auditor at the time of the fire, Hiram H. Baber, saved them as he likely had them at home. He owed his position to his brother-in-law, Gov. Lilburn Boggs, both of whom had married granddaughters of Daniel Boone (daughters of his son, Jesse B. Boone, who died in 1821 before completing his work as a constitutional delegate in St. Charles; in June 1821, Daniel Morgan Boone took his place).

However, it's possible, that Gov. John G. Miller appointees, Peter Bass, then Archibald Kavanaugh, and thirdly, Thomas W. Conyers, who all served as "Commissioner of the Seat of Government" into the 1830s, passed the papers on when the legislature in 1835 made the warden of the penitentiary the Commissioner, until 1919. Then the "commissioner" became a Board of Public Buildings. In 1965 the Division of Planning and Construction took the agency, and in 1973 the Office of Administration came into existence as a part of state government reorganization, thus, the records may have bounced through these bureaucracies until they landed in State Archives permanent storage. See Edward W. Hayob, "Capitol Police History," Department of Public Safety, Jefferson City, Mo., online. An overview of the auditor's office is in Victor D. Brannon, *State Auditor and Fiscal Control in Missouri Counties* (Columbia: University of Missouri Studies, XIV 4, October 1, 1939). The auditors' papers complement the Land Sale Books for buyers of parcels in the City of Jefferson, but they are kept in the Rare Docs Vault, MSA, and have to be requested.

73 Collier was still receiving state payments as Quartermaster General in Sept. 1828, Auditors Papers, Box 2, MSA, and his pay warrant was being picked up by John Yates, his partner in Yates' store in Fulton.

74 *Intelligencer*, Jan. 1, 1825.

The Rise and Fall of a Once-promising River Town: Its Legacy Lives On



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: This 1897 Atlas Map of Southern Howard County (by George A. Ogle & Co., Chicago) shows the geographic relationship of Franklin, the original settlement on the north bank of the Missouri River in 1816, and New Franklin. The latter community was established on higher ground about a mile north of the river-port settlement after a series of floods between 1826-28 drove businesses and residents inland from Franklin. The new town dates its founding year as 1828; it was officially laid out in 1833. Historic Franklin left a legacy involving Missouri politics, commerce and society that is still evident 200 years later. The map shows modern-day State Highway 5 approaching both locations from the north and Highway 87, from the west, passing the river-port site of Franklin, now an open field. Several interpretive wayside exhibits are located in a pullout on Highway 87 at the original site of Franklin. Boonville, formally established in 1817, lies directly across on the south bank of the Missouri River. *The 1897 Atlas Map is included in the 2012 National Register of Historic Places Nomination of New Franklin.*

An Evening at Oakwood: BHS Meets at Historic Plantation

NEARLY 80 MEMBERS of the Boonslick historical society and their guests gathered for a special event July 16—an “Evening at Oakwood,” the Fayette antebellum home built in 1834-36 by Abiel Leonard, Yankee slaveholder, eminent jurist, and passionate Unionist.

The meeting was highlighted with comments by Missouri historian James M. (Jim) Denny, who gave overview of the historic plantation house and property and of Abiel Leonard (1797-1863). Before and after his presentation, visitors were able to tour the house and grounds containing additional historic structures.

Denny was the historian who drafted the official Nomination to place Oakwood and its outbuildings on the National Register of Historic Places. He is also the author of a special issue of Boone’s Lick Heritage Quarterly (Vol. 16, No. 3, Fall 2017) that presented an in-depth history of Oakwood and Abiel Leonard.

Oakwood is a Federal style brick mansion with alterations occurring in 1850-51, 1856-58, ca. 1890’s, and 1938. It occupies a wooded 30-acre setting amidst an ensemble of outbuildings on the eastern outskirts of Fayette. By 1860, Oakwood was a 500-acre estate with some 15 slaves living in 3 slave quarters. Significant outbuildings of antebellum origin include two brick slave houses, the second one built in 1857 adjoining an existing brick smokehouse with distinctive diamond-shaped ventilation openings on its

three exposed sides, an ice house with a brick-lined pit, and a fruit cellar with beehive vaulting.

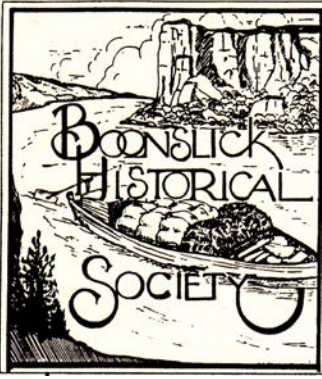
Oakwood was the home of Abiel and Jeanette-Reeves Leonard. Abiel Leonard was a prominent Missouri lawyer, landowner, political figure and slave owner. Leonard, who began practicing law in Missouri in 1819, was also a State Supreme Court Justice during the 1850s.

The property is now owned by Dr. Reuben Merideth, a prominent veterinarian, who purchased Oakwood from the family estate of the late Jasper and Elizabeth Meals, long-time Fayette residents. Oakwood is located at the intersection of Leonard and East Morrison. Dr. Reuben was a gracious host of the Society’s July 16 event. In addition to help guide tours through the historic house, he added to its ambience by arranging for a professional harpist to provide appropriate music for house guests.

The Boonslick Historical Society was founded in 1937 and meets several times a year to enjoy historical topics pertinent to the Boonslick region. Society members have worked together over the years to publish historical books and brochures and to mark historic sites. The Society supported the founding of Boone’s Lick State Historic Site, marked the sites of Cooper’s Fort and Hannah Cole’s Fort, and has placed a restored George Caleb Bingham painting (on loan) with The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art-CMU. .



HISTORIAN JIM DENNY, standing to the right, presents an overview of the history of Oakwood Plantation, circa 1835-36, and its builder, Abiel Leonard. To Denny’s right is one of two antebellum slave quarters built on the property. *Photo by Don Cullimore.*



P.O. Box 426
Boonville, MO 65233



THE WEST FACE OF OAKWOOD AND ITS PORTICO ENTRANCE: Oakwood was built in 1835-36, enlarged in 1850, and given a new portico in 1856. The portico is the main entrance into the spacious two-story house. *Photo by Don Cullimore.*