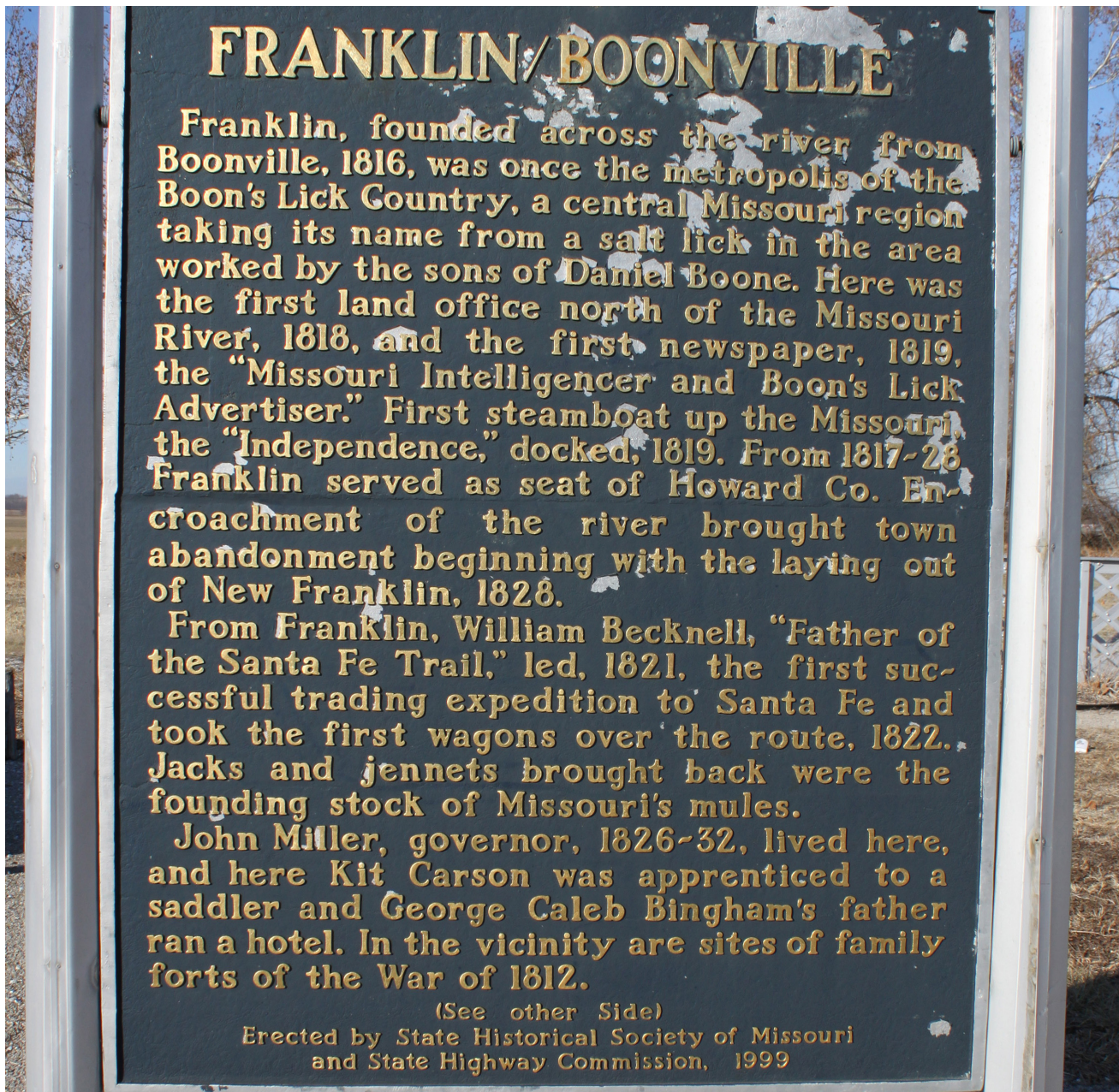


BOONE'S LICK

HERITAGE QUARTERLY



Franklin Historical Sign near original settlement. Photo courtesy of Don Cullimore

- **FRANKLIN IN THE NEW WEST: 'IT ROSE WITH FICTITIOUS SPLENDOR'**
 - **BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS**

VOL. 22 No. 1 — SPRING 2023
BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY PERIODICAL

Telling The Untold Story of Franklin: Like Peeling an Artichoke . . .

THIS IS THE FIRST OF FIVE *BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE* issues to be published during the next 13 months and dedicated to a major essay on the early 19th-century history of the Missouri River community of Franklin in Howard County.

Researched over a period of many months by Missouri historian Lynn Morrow, the essay presents additional information about the original river port settlement of Franklin and the remarkable cast of characters associated with it. It chronicles the considerable influence this place, this period (ca. 1816-1830) and the people associated with it played in the history of the Boonslick region and the territory of Missouri and its evolution into statehood.

Morrow has been a frequent contributor to the pages of the *Quarterly* in the past 12 years and previously when the late Bob Dyer served as editor (1993-2003). Notable among his more recent essays that touched on the Boonslick region have been "Boone's Lick in Western Expansion: James Mackay, the Boones, and the Morrisons", Vol. 13, Nos. 3 & 4, Fall-Winter 2014, and the three-part essay on the extended Morrison Family, "Salt-boiling to Star-gazing: Marriage, Merchants, and Money", Vol. 15, Nos. 2, 3 & 4, Summer-Fall-Winter 2016.

As Morrow notes in the opening of his essay, "Several of Missouri's best legal minds worked at Franklin. But, most of them left after short duration and were not part of an extended social or economic fabric of Franklin society during its late territorial beginnings to nearly 1830 that covered the zenith of its commercial years."

However, he goes on to observe that a larger group of citizens who stayed and/or invested their energies into the emerging river community became the heart of Franklin. These included folks like Hampton L. Boon, a great-nephew of Daniel Boone; Benjamin Cooper's clan, of Cooper's Fort; Santa Fe Trail trader William Becknell; Thomas and John Hardeman, merchants and creators of the Hardeman Botanical Gardens; merchants Alfred W. Morrison, James and Jesse Morrison; newspaper publisher Nathaniel Patten; and many other still recognizable family names.

"Franklin's people," Morrow adds, "ultimately dissolved into a diaspora that spread into the Booneslick region. Before they left, they built a slaveholders' power base that rippled up and down the Missouri River."

Major chapters in Franklin — Part 1 are: "By the People, For the People", "Opening the New West Upriver", "Beginnings with Servitude", "The Threat of a Nash Villainy", "Franklin Becomes the New West".

Morrow's approach to surfacing the often unknown aspects of a regional history is — pardon the metaphor — perhaps like a master chef peeling the crusty, exposed petals of an artichoke to reach the coveted heart of the vegetable—in historiography, the methodology applied to finding the true heart of a place's history.

BHS Spring Meeting March 26 at Ashby-Hodge Gallery

The spring meeting of the Boonslick Historical Society will be March 26 at The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art on the CMU campus in Fayette (see pgs. 22-23). Historians Dr. Mary Ellen McVicker and Vicki McCarrell of Cooper County will present a program on the late Boonslick Artist Florence "Winky" Chesnutt Friedrichs, who was a BHS member.

A tribute to gallery founders, Dr. Joe Geist and Professor Tom Yancey (also BHS members) is also noted in the gallery information.

BHS membership Fees for 2023 Due

Boonslick Historical Society annual membership fees for calendar year 2023 are now due. The dues year is January through December. Membership dues are \$15-Individual, \$25-Family, \$50-Sponsor, \$250-Patron, and \$500-Life.

If you are not already a BHS member and wish to join, send a check made out to the Boonslick Historical Society, P.O. Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233. You will receive our publication, *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly*, and be able to attend annual Society events highlighting the region's history.

Members who do not renew by April 1 will be dropped from the magazine rolls.

BHS Board Officers for 2023

The two-year terms of four incumbent Boonslick Historical Society board members have been renewed for 2023-24. They are: Brett Rogers of Boonville, Larry Harrington of Fayette, Cathy Thogmorton of Fayette, and Sue Thompson of New Franklin. Board member Sue Day of Pilot Grove stepped down at the end of her term in December 2022.

Board members whose terms end in December 2023 are: Jim Steele of Fayette, Sam Jewett of Boonville, Carolyn Collings of Columbia, Don Cullimore of Fayette, and Mike Dickey of Slater. Jim Steele has temporarily passed the president's duties on to Brett Rogers while Jim deals with health issues.

—Don B. Cullimore



Santa Fe Trail Monument to William Becknell, located on Katy Trail on Highway 5 south of New Franklin. Photo by Don 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.

Officers and Board Members 2023

Jim Steele, Fayette, President
Brett Rogers, Boonville, Vice President
and Secretary
Sam Jewett, Boonville, Treasurer
Carolyn Collings, Columbia
Don Cullimore, Fayette
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Don B. Cullimore, Editor

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Don Cullimore & Cathy Thogmorton

BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY

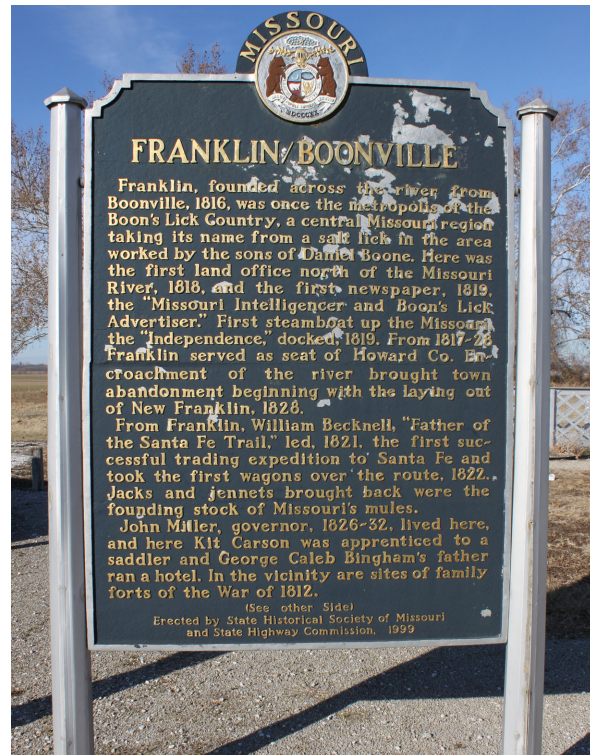
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- Opening the New West Upriver
- Beginnings with Servitude
- The Threat of a Nash Villainy
- Franklin Becomes the New West

BHS News and Meeting Events 22-23

- BHS Spring Meeting March 26 at CMU in Fayette
- Ashby-Hodge Gallery Exhibition Honors Boonslick Artist
- A Tribute to Gallery Founders Tom and Joe
- In Memoriam



COVER: Franklin historical marker erected by the State Historical Society of Missouri and the State Highway Commission in 1999. Located on Highway 87 near site of original settlement in Missouri River bottoms across from Boonville.

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

Part 1

By Lynn Morrow

By the People, For the People

Several of Missouri’s best legal minds worked at Franklin. But, most of them left after short duration and were not part of an extended social or economic fabric of Franklin society during its late territorial beginnings to nearly 1830 that covered the zenith of its commercial years. Rather, a larger group of citizens, who had a mix of boyhoods and girlhoods, young adulthood and families, and middle-age lives, were the heart of Franklin’s neighborhood. And, many intended to stay longer. Their families made investments and profits in merchandising and high production agricultural surpluses common in first generation settlements. They included folks like Shadrach and Amos Barnes, Hampton L. Boon, Benjamin Cooper’s clan, Laurence J. Daly, William Becknell, Thomas and John Hardeman, Thomas and James Hickman, William T. Lamme, Alfred W. Morrison, James and Jesse Morrison, Nathaniel Patten, John F. Ryland, Talton Turner, Thomas A. Smith, Giles M. Samuel, Joseph and Mary Simpson, Alphonso Wetmore, and others who traded and worked for livelihoods and the stability of Franklin. A few like the Coopers, James Morrison and Talton Turner were in and out of Franklin itself. Franklin’s people ultimately dissolved into a diaspora that spread into the Booneslick region. Before they left, they built a slaveholders’ power base that rippled up and down the Missouri River.

Fortunately for us, a New England-bred Yankee publisher, slight of build and not always healthy, Nathaniel Patten, came to Franklin. His *Missouri Intelligencer* newspaper became the most significant outstate paper of early statehood in Missouri. Patten was only occasionally hyperbolic, but he remained primarily descriptive and evocative of his times. He rarely published an obituary although the paper is replete with information for family histories. Although the bustling Franklin thrived on the western edge of Missouri’s population, only a minority constituted his readers, but they thirsted for Patten’s commentaries of the day, the paper’s reprint of columns from eastern presses, state and federal legislative and Congressional reports, and the anonymous political essays. He was surrounded by an eminent Franklin bar,

salt-boiling merchants, long-distance traders, land speculators, transients, preachers, and common folks looking for a place to start a new life, just as he was. He left a valuable legacy for us.¹

The area had great good luck in its regional name, first rendered “Boon’s Lick,” a culturally significant cognomen in a broad frontier that was legendary before the name crossed the Mississippi River. A second major slice of luck was that one of Philadelphia’s leading wholesale merchants, Guy Bryan, sent his sister’s six Morrison sons West to make their fortunes. The Morrisons had the political and economic gravitas to influence American government officials for access to Indian lands and to ally themselves economically as contractors with the federal government to expand a trans-Mississippi vision of America that Thomas Jefferson promoted. The Morrison influence and the Boone reputation was a timely marriage that brought “the idea of a Franklin,” that is a concentrated settlement of Americans who sought family fortunes to modest livings at the edge of Western expansion. Emigrant promotions to the Booneslick called attention to the New Orleans market using the Missouri River that offered profits from the hinterland. Emigrants with a variety of visions for their futures in the Booneslick arrived with “an anxious spirit of gain.”

Opening the New West Upriver

The “idea of Franklin,” a future town made possible by the federal government and entrepreneurship of citizens, came with flatboats down the Ohio River into the West. Americans, by whatever means, were going as far west as they reasonably could.



ORIGINAL SITE: View of Howard County bottoms, looking north across the Missouri River from Boonville, shows the original site of Franklin, ca. 1816-1828, before recurring floods forced relocation of the river-port settlement to higher ground. *Photo courtesy of Don Cullimore*

Invited by the Spanish colonial government in 1796, they were already the majority demography in the trans-Mississippi when Jefferson announced the Louisiana Purchase (1803). St. Charles District and later County became the “Gateway” to the Boon’s Lick salt works in fall 1805 and then to the Booneslick region. A St. Louis feeder route to the gateway route began after the War of 1812. Whether by land or water, men and families with a period of residence in the St. Charles District populated the bottomlands and uplands that surrounded

what became Franklin. Everyone knew that immigration would change new land dramatically and the great majority of settlers expected it to happen as soon as possible. The leadership of John G. Heath, James Morrison, Nicholas Burckhardt, William Christy Jr. and others helped keep St. Charles-based men's eyes on a developing prize that became the Booneslick.²

1805 is the foundational year in the history of the Booneslick. As the federal government's military set up offices in St. Louis, the Morrison traders began negotiations to solve some of their problems. On the way to St. Louis, Brig. Gen. James Wilkinson received word from Maj. James Bruff, who was in Capt. Amos Stoddard's St. Louis quarters in May, that the army did not yet have competent contractors in their supply line for the soldiers. The supply of "salt meat (often putrid) is constantly issued." In June 1805, James Morrison was among dignitaries who welcomed U.S. Army officers at Portage des Sioux on their way to St. Louis to meet the new federal executive, Gen. James Wilkinson, while his brother, William Morrison, was in the boat carrying General Wilkinson from Kaskaskia to St. Louis.

Wilkinson, in July, decided on the building site for Fort Belle Fontaine as the first military fort west of St. Louis. James Morrison contracted to supply oxen as draft animals to the army and as a military contractor he established a swine herd for fresh pork adjacent to the construction of Fort Belle Fontaine on the Missouri River. Morrison established himself as a reliable contractor to the occupants of the new fort and worked with its quartermaster, William Christy Jr., who would become a Morrison ally for years into the future. By September 1805, Wilkinson reauthorized James Morrison's trading license for business with the Osage Indians and made the military decision that enabled Morrison in summer 1805 to establish a salt works on disputed Indian lands with his Boone colleagues and workers from St. Charles. Morrison financed and provided keel boat transportation for a rented salt works claim from James Mackay.³



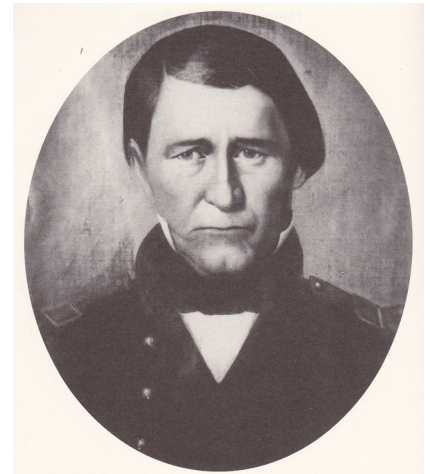
Brig. Gen James Wilkinson.
BHS photo files

No sooner had the St. Charles-based men constructed and began production at the salt works, in October 1805, Wilkinson's son, Lt. James Wilkinson Jr. and 40 men passed the site on their way to inspect the mouth of the Kansas River "with goods transported in the public boat, being the property of individuals friendly to, and connected with General Wilkinson." Wilkinson, took the initiative to send his son upriver ostensibly in a diplomatic mission to Indian representatives in preparation for Capt. Meriwether Lewis's

reappearance "should he attempt to return by the Missouri [River]." They apparently unloaded selected goods at the new salt works. Wilkinson, as chief administrator of Louisiana, and a visionary of Western expansion in his own right, was soon outraged at Indian damages of stolen cattle and property destruction at Boon's Lick in November. He wrote a long letter to the Sauk and Fox leadership instructing them that it was their duty to keep the salt works in a safe zone and if they did not, Wilkinson wrote he "will shut all the doors to your Country," and they could obtain salt and treaty provisions elsewhere.⁴

Wilkinson quickly reported to Thomas Jefferson on November 6, 1805, "It is not by preparing Beds of down, that we are to get rid of unwelcome Guests." In other words, General Wilkinson made it clear that to implement Jefferson's vision that it would require peace among the resident Indians in the mid-Missouri River Valley and Wilkinson implied that he was prepared to convince the Indians with economic pressure or whatever means he had at his disposal.⁵

In 1806, the experienced salt-boiler Daniel Morgan Boone, brother Nathan, and their crew rebuilt, repaired and established the industrial operation with a reliable supply line that involved the military, Indians, and general commerce on the Missouri River. In July 1806, the government appointed James Morrison as a Lieutenant in the St. Charles militia and adjutant to the commanding officer. In 1807 Gov. Meriwether Lewis renewed Indian trading licenses to James and Jesse Morrison, while the salt works was in full blast. James Morrison's agent, Archibald McNabb, set up his sutler's cabin near Fort Osage as soon as it was built in 1808.



Daniel M. Boone. *Archives & Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society*

Thus, Morrison, had men working for him from Fort Osage, at his salt works, and in St. Charles that accounted for his ability to be informed about many things on the Missouri River. The Morrisons' commercial clients in the military, Indian tribes, and private sector supply lines in the Missouri River Valley brought noticeable numbers of men into their orbit of influence that contributed to their prominence.⁶

Salt boilers and Booneslick promoters James Morrison and John G. Heath on Lamine River, always kept a large part of their business in St. Charles. Morrison was St. Charles District treasurer in 1808, and Heath, a lawyer, was clerk and treasurer for the St. Charles court. In June 1809 Morrison and John G. Heath, were in St. Charles as auditors to value resources in an estate division. Heath represented St. Charles District in the territorial assembly in 1808 and 1814. Brother Robert Heath and William Christy Jr. in 1810 worked with

others at Heath's Salt Lick near Lamine River. Manufacturing managers James Morrison and William Christy Jr. in 1811, became justices of the peace in St. Charles, minor political positions that required them to be in town at regular intervals. While Morrison and Heath traveled with regularity in keel boats to St. Charles and back to their salt works, Boon's Lick, by 1812, had become a waystation for westering traders and a labor market for men at the multiple salt works. Morrison purchased agricultural supplies from growers in the Missouri River Valley. Robert McKnight's group camped at Morrison's saline before heading out to Santa Fe and Ezekiel Williams went upriver and then to the Arkansas River Valley in Colorado in 1812. Businessman John G. Heath was Howard County's first circuit attorney (prosecutor) in 1816 and in May 1820 Nicholas S. Burckhardt represented Howard County, as one of 41 men statewide, in the constitutional convention at St. Louis.⁷

The last of the great Eastern forest spread over Howard County's modern boundaries, and was the most extensive of any north of the Missouri River. The woods blanketed the county save for only five square miles of prairie. The bottom land was swampy and never dried out. James Morrison, in spring 1810, brought Benjamin Cooper's clan in his keel boat to the open prairie between Morrison's salt works and Arrow Rock bluff. Cooper had three Negro women to cook for his relations. The Coopers enlarged the natural opening, but Ira P. Nash, a deputy surveyor at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, had surveyed an 1804 claim that included the prairie, several lakes, and the nearby woods that was later confirmed by the Land Commissioners in St. Louis. Hence, Franklin real estate dealers and occupants on the enlarged opening in the woods called it Nash's Prairie, and after settlers founded Franklin, local government still called the path through it Nash's Road. Another in the river bottom was Weedy Prairie; both were "wet prairies" of bottomland. Two small upland prairies were the Spanish Needle south of Fayette and Foster's Prairie (also called Seven Mile Prairie) north of Roanoke, early place names that passed out of use in the 19th century.⁸

Clearing the woods of trees for fuel to feed the salt works industries

included the virgin oaks, cottonwoods, and other timber to open new agricultural ground for homesteads. The work was a constant task for slave labor and white farmers alike. When traveler Henry Marie Brackenridge traveled upriver with Indian traders in 1811, they stopped to visit with Braxton Cooper. He confirmed the forested, rich woodlands, but "the prairies forming but trifling proportions." When Brackenridge tried his first walk through the bottoms near future Chariton, he did so "with great difficulty on account of the rushes, which grow as high as a man's head, and are matted with vines and briars." Walking through the upland woods was much easier.⁹

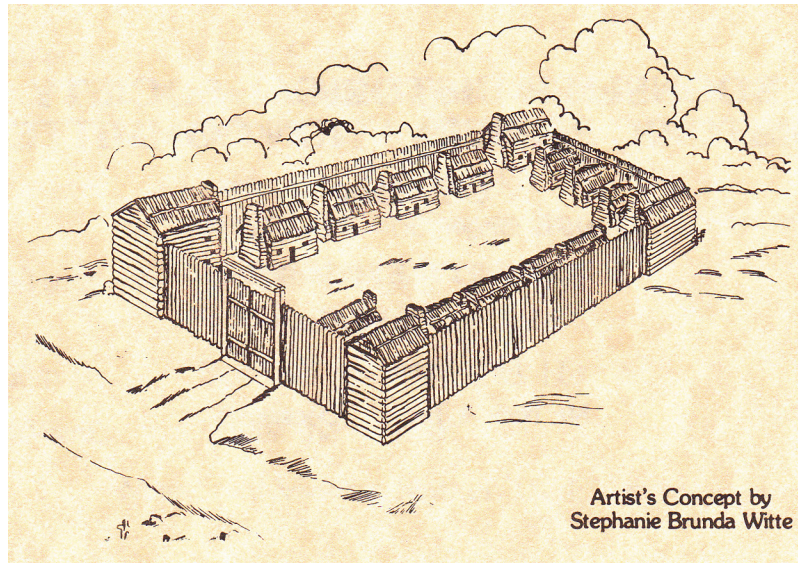
Settlers who bypassed central Missouri for upriver country had

access to lands greatly mixed with woods and varieties of prairie.¹⁰ Early fires set to the Saline County's prairies provided settings for great hunts, while open range swine ran in the timber belts. Ultimately, Saline County's great prairies became the highest priced acreages in post-Civil War Missouri.¹¹

Contrary to the Morrison brothers, the Boone brothers did not stay long at Boon's Lick. By 1808 Nathan leased his interest to three other men from St. Charles for three years. Before the lease was over, Daniel Morgan Boone, took his slaves and gear back to his St. Charles farm. Nathan came back to wrap up his interest in early 1812. When Braxton Cooper returned with Ezekiel Williams from an ill-fated trading adventure in Colorado, James Morrison took Braxton into the salt works as a manager to provide necessary stability to the manufacturing site

that Morrison had doubled in capacity. Concomitantly, in June 1812, the federal government created Missouri Territory. It was just in time for Booneslick settlers to become participants in an international war.

The western military in 1812 turned to "James Morrison as a primary wartime contractor, who became deputy quartermaster general of the army of the Northwest." Morrison's friend, William Christy Jr. was appointed quartermaster for the 1st Regiment of the Missouri Militia in 1813, while Booneslick leader, Maj. Benjamin Cooper, became the superior officer for the 3rd Regiment. The war



COOPER'S FORT: J. M. Peck in his historical *Sketches on The Boonslick Settlement* includes a letter from Gray Bynum to Territorial Governor William Clark (dated July 28, 1814) which puts construction date of the fort as April 1814. It was located in the Missouri River bottom about half a mile back from the river on a prairie two miles west of Boone's Salt Lick. The fort enclosed about one acre of land and had only one gate out of the enclosure. All the doors of the cabins opened towards the courtyard. Twenty-one families and a good many young unmarried men lived in the fort, including leaders Benjamin Cooper, Sarshall Cooper, William Thorpe, and Stephen Jackson. *From Indian Factories and Forts of the Boonslick by William Lay. Artist's concept by Stephanie Brunda Witte.*

in the West was relatively calm and agriculturalists continued to thrive, expand their farms, help supply military contractors, and Morrison's salt works boomed with ration contracts that he delivered on the Missouri and upper Mississippi Rivers in his fleet of keel boats.¹²

In April 1814, federal surveyor, Col. William Russell, whom Thomas Jefferson appointed to replace Antoine Soulard in 1804, wrote to Gen. William Rector, deputy surveyor for the Territory of Missouri, about St. Charles County. Russell commented on its numerous private land claims and salt springs in "Boon's Lick Settlements, which (tho now Indian Land) is perhaps as thickly settled with Farmers as any part of the County" west of the Mississippi.¹³ Russell, of course, was self-interested to have the federal government begin to issue survey contracts in the trans-Mississippi and he knew that resident Americans wanted fee simple ownership to the real estate they occupied although people in the Booneslick knew they occupied Indian territory.

By August, wartime events evolved into real and present danger for the Booneslickers. Col. Henry Dodge brought three militia companies to Fort Cooper, home to Maj. Benjamin Cooper's 3rd Regiment, traveling with some 50 Shawnee and Delaware from southeast Missouri that bolstered the American forces. The Shawnee allies helped quell the immediate threats by capturing several Miami Indians. Several in the Booneslick were not so lucky, including Braxton Cooper Jr. and his father Sarshall, who lost their lives, as did other whites and a couple of slaves. James Morrison changed the manufacturing management again by bringing William Becknell into administration at the salt works.¹⁴

Peace brought new expectations in the country and in towns. In 1815, Jesse Morrison "at St. Charles", and his older brother, William Morrison, at Kaskaskia, and others founded the Bank of St. Louis as co-directors. In summer 1816, military contractor Morrison, sold his cattle and swine herds at Fort Belle Fontaine and five keel boats. After a decade of living on the edge of American civilization, the Booneslick citizens decided it was time to have a new county and a new town. It was not surprising in 1816 that two officers of the first Howard County court were salt-boilers, John G. Heath, prosecutor, and Nicholas S. Burckhardt, sheriff and assessor. Duties of the sheriff were dangerous, but rewarding. In fall 1818, the court paid him nearly \$690 for his annual services. Burckhardt won the sheriff position handily in 1820, doubling the number of votes of his closest competition. In addition to their personal skills, both had hired many men to work for them.¹⁵

Beginnings with Servitude

A significant percentage of the territorial immigrants participated in America's two-century-old institution of slavery. Scholarship about slavery has demonstrated for decades the pervasive violence of it and how it was integrated into all facets of local economies. In 1808, William Clark settled into St. Louis with his slaves before assembling his expedition to go upriver past Boone's Lick to establish Fort Osage. He wrote his brother Jonathan, "I have been obliged [to] whip almost all my people. And they are now beginning to think it is best to do better and not Cry hard when

I am compelled to use the whip." The howl of brutalized slaves accompanied settlers up the Missouri Valley into the Booneslick.¹⁶

Historian David March explained "At first the name Boone's Lick was applied to the place in southwest Howard County where salt was manufactured. The Boone's Lick settlements later became part of the "Boone's Lick Country," as the area settlement west of Cedar Creek [that divides modern Boone and Callaway Counties] was called. As time passed, the name was sometimes used loosely to refer to an undefined area that embraced interior settlements in the vicinity of the Missouri River. Howard County became the first important political and economic county as newcomers spread over a geography that later birthed several counties. In fact, in St. Louis in early 1817, the newspaper reported "salt springs are numerous particularly in Howard County (commonly called Boon's Lick)...." The widespread occurrence of dozens of small salines occurred because the natural water levels near the surface had not dropped from manufacturing or consumption by man and beast. These salines, regardless of size, were a great advantage for prosperous cattle raising, as owners did not have "to salt" the animals. Even the Loutre Lick saline along the well-traveled Boone's Lick Trail at Van Bibber's tavern was welcome for stock watering by traveling immigrants.¹⁷



BOONE'S LICK: Current-day photo of Boone's Lick saline in Boone's Lick State Historic Site, Howard County, near Boonesboro. Water from the saline was boiled down to make the salt, which was shipped down to St. Charles-St. Louis on flatboats where it could be sold.

BHS photo files

Isaac Van Bibber had spent years in the St. Charles County bottoms and was a well-known figure in town before he moved to Loutre Lick. Orphaned as a small child, Daniel and Rebecca Boone adopted Isaac into their growing family. Isaac grew up in Kentucky and married Elizabeth Hays, a granddaughter of Boone's. The Van Bibbers immigrated with the Boone families to St. Charles County, where in 1800 he rented several acres from David Cole in Darst Bottom on the Missouri River, occupied a cabin on it, and raised corn. Isaac spent a tour working at the Boone's Lick Salt Works, and in fall 1811 was part of a work crew that went with the elder Daniel Boone, and Daniel Morgan Boone's slave, Derry Coburn, to a cave near the mouth of Big Piney River in modern Pulaski County to mine saltpeter. Soon, a middle-aged, prospering Isaac purchased a teenage slave girl, Matilda.¹⁸

Isaac took Matilda to St. Charles at the beginning of the Boone's Lick Trail. She argued with Isaac that she was a free person having lived in Indiana before being captured and sold to persons in the Missouri Territory. Matilda's complaints irritated Isaac. So, her master took his raw hide whip and brutally assaulted the shrieking Matilda writhing on the street. Town onlookers told Isaac that it was not a good idea to whip his slave in such a public place for all to see. In April 1814, Isaac came into town again with Matilda, who still protested her condition. As before, Van Bibber whipped the screaming Matilda on the street in broad daylight. This time, Van Bibber's actions came to the notice of an upcoming attorney, Matthias McGirk from Tennessee, who had served on the St. Charles territorial legislative council since 1813. McGirk, unlike the general public, did not accept the extreme punishment on a defenseless black girl.

'Slaveholders usually threatened, harassed, beat, raped, maimed, and whipped their bonded peoples out of the public eye ...'

McGirk took Matilda's case, "Matilda a free black girl v. Isaac Van Bibber," to the St. Charles County circuit court in April 1815. McGirk had just come home from representing St. Charles in the second territorial General Assembly, "where the most important result was the creation of two judicial districts, the northern and the southern. The northern included St. Charles, St. Louis, and Washington counties." McGirk claimed that Van Bibber "beat, wounded and ill-treated Matilda whereof Matilda was in great danger of losing her life and at another time again beat, wounded and imprisoned and ill-treated the said Matilda." Isaac held a bill of sale for Matilda and thus had the legal right to dispense physical punishment to her or imprison her at his discretion. The litigation reached the Supreme Court where McGirk won Matilda's freedom in 1817, the earliest successful freedom suit in Missouri preserved in the State Archives.¹⁹

In slaveholding Missouri, violence saturated the institution of slavery. The irony of Matilda's case was that Van Bibber exercised his abuse in public, rather than in private. Slaveholders usually threatened, harassed, beat, raped, maimed, and whipped their bonded peoples out of the public eye, often while slaves were in chains or tied to a post. Lilburn Kingsbury related that "Boonslikers" referred to the post as "the wild horse" when a master or overseer tethered and beat his slaves. Masters victimized slaves by psychological trauma in verbal and physical threats, and whites circulated unending salacious scandal mongering about them. Missouri's slave population did not volunteer to become chained or to become mulattos, a mixed race of 20 percent of the black population by 1860. Van Bibber's viciousness does not replace any history, it only adds to what we already have. History is not one dimensional.²⁰

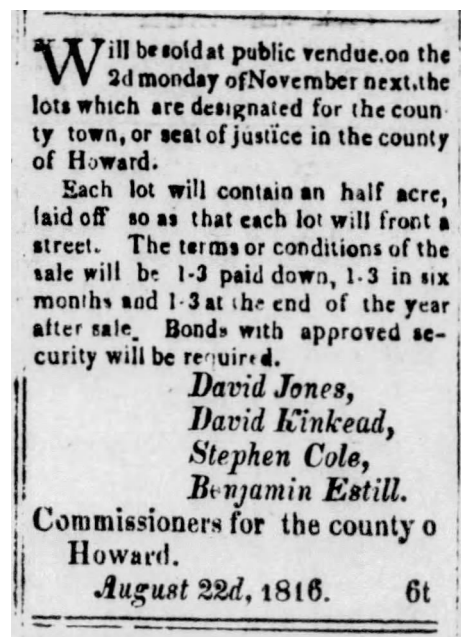
Although Matilda disappeared from the historical record, we know Van Bibber moved to the upper Loutre River Valley where he built cabins around Loutre Lick, a shallow salt pond, for travelers. He began in a small building by fall 1816 and financed a larger one after statehood. He was a Mason, and became a legendary tavern keeper on the Boone's Lick Road, an extrovert and philosopher who told stories to guests, but probably not Matilda's story.²¹

McGirk briefly worked with his brother, Andrew S. McGirk, a Franklin attorney. Then Matthias became Missouri's first Supreme Court chief justice in 1820, a seat he held until 1841, and he was joined by Franklin's first resident attorney in Howard County, George Tompkins, who lived at Nicholas Burckhardt's salt works in summer 1816 and was the only attorney for clients at the county's first circuit court session. By July 1816, Tompkins was the authorized agent to collect subscriptions for the *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser* published in St. Louis.

Tompkins was one of five men in Howard County "authorized to take testimony for property lost or destroyed while in military service" in the late war. In St. Charles County, two of the five authorized for the same work were William Christy Jr. and Jesse Morrison. Franklin's only newspaper conduit from 1816 to 1819 was the *Missouri Gazette* that ran advertisements for Franklin and Howard County residents. Alexander McNair was the federal register of lands for the U.S. Government Land Office (GLO) in Missouri Territory housed in St. Louis. He certified George Tompkins as a deputy land register in Howard County in spring 1817 and appointed William Christy Jr. as deputy land register for St. Charles County to begin taking applications for pre-empted land for priority review in anticipation of a federal land office opening in outstate Missouri. Tompkins' applications were turned over to the new acting federal land register, Henry Carroll in Franklin in 1818. Maj. James Morrison, part-time resident at Franklin and St. Charles, was among the most vocal who complained to the federal

government that he and his neighbors demanded a government land office to file their land claims.

The land issue became quarrelsome right away. By June 1817, Sheriff Nicholas Burckhardt posted, "Advice" in the *Missouri Gazette*. "All persons holding New Madrid claims or Spanish Grants, located in the county of Howard, either confirmed or unconfirmed, would do well to forward lists of the same to me immediately, and thereby prevent me from being under the disagreeable necessity of imposing a double tax upon their lands." In fact, it appears that Nicholas Burckhardt secured most of Howard County's early government records at his salt works, suggested by his regular reporting in the *Missouri Gazette* "taken from my books in the Sheriff's office." Acting government land register,



Will be sold at public venue: *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, August 1816. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project.

Harry Carroll, announced in October 1818 that he had the list of claims that Thompkins collected in his office, while Thompkins represented Howard County in its last territorial legislature in 1818. The attorney presented petitions that asked for the “incorporation of the Franklin Library Company” and that “certain administrators remove certain papers from the county of St. Charles to the county of Howard.”²²

Tompkins’ legal wisdom surfaced for all to see. He served on the Supreme Court, 1824-45. McGirk and Tompkins became “two of the staunchest proponents of freedom litigation” until the process was regressively modified by the Missouri legislature in the 1840s. Although it was illegal to import slaves from Africa, the internal American slave trade among families, counties, and states was brisk and slaveholders sold thousands of Missouri slaves to someone near and far.

Immigration along the Boone’s Lick Trail transplanted a slaveholding society from the Southern Uplands. Publicist John G. Heath advertised in the *Missouri Gazette* in December 1815 “To Emigrants wishing to settle at Boon’s Lick” that they could purchase “corn fed pork and beef, much cheaper at Boon’s Lick than in any other part of this Territory.” Moreover, the new Howard County in 1816 kept track of its productive adult slaves. The county court ordered that owners of “every Negro or mulatto slave between the ages of 16 and 45 years” owed fifty cents to the local government annually, the same rate as “every able bodied single man of 21 years old or upwards not being possessed of property of the value of \$200.” These rates were twice that of those for “any horse, mare, mule or ass above 3 years old.” At a time when local government was habitually underfunded and “in the red,” the tax on slaves was a primary revenue stream.²³

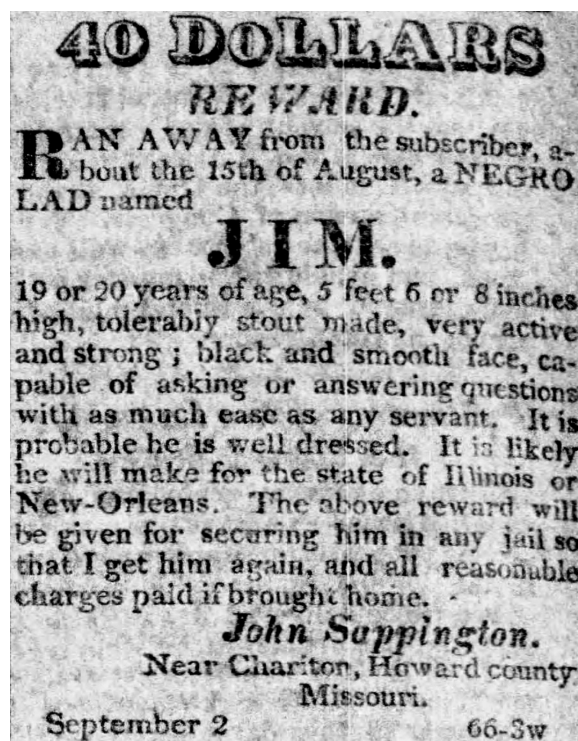
Slaveholders in Howard County advertised runaway slaves in the *Missouri Gazette*. Leven Cropper offered “Twenty Dollars Reward” for “Phill, about 23 years of age, has a scar on his upper lip, heavy, robust, and likely. He had a blue cotton roundabout, and a coarse linen shirt and overalls. I suppose he is lurking in this county [Howard].” Slaveholders on the Boone’s Lick Trail did likewise. Daniel Morgan Boone in 1819 at Loutre Lick advertised “100 Dollars Reward” for SAM, about 36 years of age ... he took with him a negro woman named SILE, the property of J. Journey, likewise a bay mare upwards of 16 hands high ... a rifle gun and considerable clothing, he will no doubt pass for a free man ... deliver to either of my brothers, Jesse B. Boon or N. Boon of St. Charles County ... There is no doubt but he has made for Canada.” Boone added that “it is presumable he has got a pass from a white

man in St. Charles county,” thus there is a lot more about this story that may involve an early local abolitionist who was known to encourage slaves to consider fleeing to Canada.²⁴

The territorial legislature belatedly passed an 1817 Act to allow for selling lots in Howard County “laid off in the fall of 1816.” A new post office was another sign of better times ahead. Dozens of families still lived inside the stockades of the late war where blacksmiths, small stores, and taverns operated. Maj. Benjamin Estill moved into Fort Hempstead by March 1816 and advertised in the *Missouri Gazette* in summer 1816 his “House of Entertainment” tavern that “Mr. William Noland, an honest and respectable young man” would manage and attend to the public. One of his winter’s residents at the tavern was Jere (Jeremiah) Kingsbury from North Carolina, who came for an extended look at the country before deciding to emigrate the following year. Estill advertised that he “will have on hand a few staunch horses for gentlemen.” Estill knew what he was doing with a stable. He was an experienced horse trader, made a fortune in Madison County, Kentucky, driving herds to Charleston, South Carolina, until the British and War of 1812 caused him to lose most of his property. At age 42 he came west with neighbors, but his wife died on the trip in Illinois. When he arrived, Estill joined “forted men” to start a new life and became aco-commissioner to locate a new “county town,” Franklin.²⁵

In September 1817, William Rector, Surveyor General for Missouri and Illinois in St. Louis, wrote to Josiah Meigs, the new federal General Land Commissioner, that “I do think it will be an advantage to the W. States to create a Land Office for the sale of lands in Howard County and for that office to be fixed in a central part of the district.” The *Missouri Gazette* had already publicized that Benjamin Estill and his colleagues sold lots on November 2, 1816: “each lot will contain a half acre, laid off so that each lot will front a street.” The very first road petition to the court

in 1816 was for one from Franklin to the Howard County line to intersect the trail to St. Charles (i.e., the Boone’s Lick Trail). As the momentous sale date approached, Sheriff Burckhardt had only one merchant’s license to report in May 1816, but in November 1816 after lot sales, he listed 17, counting three ferrymen. Thomas Hardeman purchased three of the 12 lots that fronted the public square and his son, John, began one of the first general stores in Franklin. Byrd Lockhart, a surveyor from Illinois, arrived in town and worked as clerk in Hardeman’s Franklin store in 1817. It was from this store that John Hardeman loaned his friend Thomas Hart Benton in St. Louis the money to purchase a set of law books to begin study for the profession. By 1819, Lockhart became a ferryman between Franklin and Boonville and rose quickly in



\$40 reward for Jim: *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 1820. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project.

The Threat of a Nash Villainy

In November 1803, 30-year-old Gov. William Henry Harrison at Vincennes, Indiana, wrote to Lt. Gov. Charles DeLassus in St. Louis that the U.S. Senate had ratified the purchase of Louisiana for the Americans. Isaac Van Bibber and thousands more were already there. So was a deputy surveyor named Ira P. Nash. After the Louisiana Purchase became public knowledge, the legal status of private colonial land claims dominated much of Missouri's politics. Land speculators whose home base was in St. Louis, spent lots of money on lawyers in an attempt to void pre-emption rights of frontier settlers and gain ownership of their improvements and claims so the speculators could purchase land in their names elsewhere. Many were genuine, but fraudulent claims abounded. Surveys, actual and fabricated, became evidence in the courts. Floating New Madrid claims after the war only complicated the land issue for settlers. Following war with Britain, by the 1820s, Franklin was Missouri's most viable inland town and it became the scene for a classic legal battle over colonial and pre-emption claims.²⁷

The Board of Land Commissioners in St. Louis convened from 1805 to 1812 to rule on hundreds of applicants with colonial surveys, with the majority rejected. American survey work in the Missouri Territory began in 1815 and alleged claims "shingled" over one another, or squatters and claimants argued over who had superior legal rights. In 1816, the new Surveyor General's office in St. Louis inherited a role of arbitration and began issuing new survey contracts. "Rector's budget soon equaled that of all other survey work in the nation, as he had the largest district in the United States." Young lawyers like George Tompkins, Hamilton Gamble, Abiel Leonard, John Ryland, and middle-aged judges like David Todd, settled in Franklin's judicial district because they knew patrons waited for them, especially those who would be litigants in land issues. Nationally, the disputes were often decided upon evidence at the regional GLO, like the Franklin office. The Register and Receiver of Public Monies actually created the first "permanent land records" for trans-Mississippi Americans.²⁸

The legal struggle for a colonial land claim upon which Franklin lay began in 1817. William Rector sent a young Kentucky surveyor, Horatio Chriesman, whom he hired in St. Louis as U.S. deputy surveyor, to Franklin to view the disputed property. The argument pitted affluent speculators against small merchants and agriculturalists; it is a classic example of frontier land conflict that took place in Kentucky and Missouri. In Franklin, William V. Rector, Maj. James H. Benson, John W. Scudder, and Joseph Wiggins claimed the real estate, Survey 1725 (the claim number given to the colonial grant), was theirs, via an 800 arpent colonial survey (680 acres) they purchased from Joseph Deputy. The defendants, Shadrach and Amos Barnes, William Taylor, William Ridgeway, John and James Welch provided evidence that they were entitled to parcels in and around Franklin through their pre-

emption claims. The majority of defendants were relatives of Shadrach Barnes.²⁹

Ira P. Nash claimed he went upriver in February 1804 with his brother William and others from St. Charles District to do surveying for Surveyor General Antoine Soulard in St. Louis; Soulard reported to Lt. Gov. Charles DeLassus, as the official transfer of Louisiana to the U.S. had not yet taken place. Months later, in July 1804, after the Louisiana Purchase was public knowledge, Ira Nash, his brother William, James Whiteside, and others left Hancock's Bottom in St. Charles to go up river again, this time for the "purpose of seeing the county."

'American survey work in the Missouri Territory began in 1815 and alleged claims "shingled" over one another, or squatters and claimants argued over who had superior legal rights. In 1816, the new Surveyor General's office in St. Louis inherited a role of arbitration and began issuing new survey contracts.'

They beached their canoes above the mouth of the Lamine River in August 1804 to disembark for Robert Barclay's Salt Lick up the Lamine River to help him work on improvements by deadening trees and planting corn. Barclay is the first known of numerous Madison

County, Kentucky, immigrants to Howard County. Barclay employed minor capitalization and had low maintenance, so his salt works was located riverside. According to subsequent reports on the Lamine saline water, it ran the saltiest during summer into fall, the time Nash and his associates were there. Barclay, if he was in fact manufacturing salt, was there only seasonally. He chose the Lamine saline waters site as he could export all of his salt by water (unless someone else picked it up), as opposed to working a saline, like the future Boone's Lick or Burckhardt's Lick on the north side of the Missouri River, that required an overland haul to begin floating salt downriver. Barclay could float small bags to "Prewitt's trading house" located in the river bottom on the north side of the river. One presumes that Prewitt, and Barclay, too, had an agreement with regional Indian leadership to escape physical harassment to trade salt with the Indians, or anyone else.³⁰

Ira Nash's St. Charles exploratory delegation, according to depositions, recorded that they toured the north side of the Missouri River and saw what came to be called Boon's Lick, stayed overnight at Prewitt's trading house, and hunted around Sulphur Creek Lick. Certainly the well-trod buffalo paths to the salt licks would have been noticeable to these visitors. Prewitt's Indian trading house and Barclay's cross-river, seasonal salt works and residence meant that St. Charles people knew about adventurous backwoodsmen who wandered around the future Cooper's Bottom prior to Nathan Boone and Matthias Van Bibber's escape from the Osages through there in late fall 1804, when Nathan "discovered Boon's Lick." Nash sold a 600 arpents tract (510 acres) on the north side of the Missouri River, opposite the mouth of the Lamine River, to Robert Barclay who paid \$300.00 for it. Colonial Gov. Charles Delassus had granted it to Nash in 1800.³¹

Nash claimed that while he was there he did deputy survey work for Antoine Soulard with two men he brought who were chain carriers, Stephen Hancock and Stephen Jackson, and worked "three to four miles above Franklin." Nash's largest survey was a 1,600 arpents (1,360 acres) block that lay across Cooper's

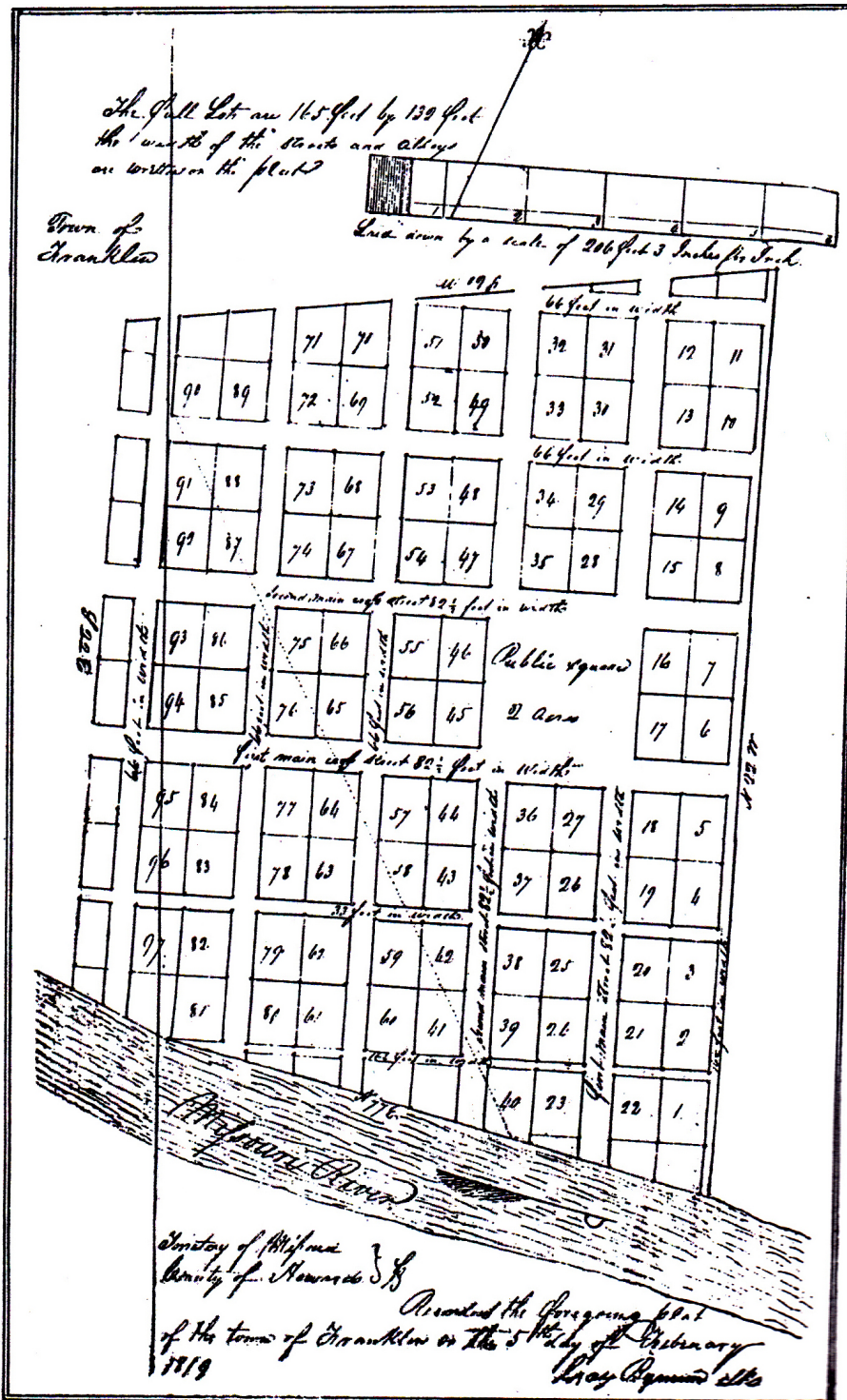
1,600 arpents. Nash auctioned up to 200 acres of "Nash's claim, in Boonslick Bottom, about seven miles from Franklin" in October 1818. In the continuing land disputes, it was not until 1826 that John Hardeman grudgingly paid Nash \$1,000 for 260 acres of it.³²

Testimony from George Avery said that he, Ira Nash, and William Taylor had visited David Bryan at La Charrette where Nash talked about his land claim upriver. Nash said he did additional surveys for "Barclay, Hyacinthe, Barraboo, Allen, and himself." He testified that in 1804 he marked a tree that later fell into the Missouri River, but more importantly, he said he surveyed Survey 1725 (800 arpents) by himself where Franklin lay in 1817 with a "2-pole chain made of Louisiana hemp". Nash proclaimed he re-did an earlier survey line for a corner with William Nash and had left his compass in a tree to retrieve later, which he did on this second trip "to prove that he had been there before." Then, Ira P. Nash testified that he sold Survey 1725, where settlers built Franklin, to his brother William Nash.³³

A truth about surveyors at this time is that they were barely trained, but many did decent work. Certainly, most surveyors who came to the Booneslick after the War of 1812 to perform contracts for the Surveyor General's Office in St. Louis were better trained. Nash and his contemporaries created surveys with piles of stones or blazes on trees that were temporary at best and there was no base line in a rectangular survey from which to draw legal descriptions. Surveyors, like Ira Nash, were not paid a salary, only a fee for a job, and they were responsible for the salaries of their axe men and chain carriers. Antoine Soulard appointed several of these deputy surveyors who produced, or made up many surveys, that were not confirmed by the American government. Ira P. Nash was a surveyor who eventually had some of his surveys confirmed and others denied by the Land Commissioners in St. Louis. A court deposition reported that on May 18, 1815,

Charles Canole was on "a boat in the Holston River, Tennessee, and was moving to the Boon's Lick." He met passenger William Nash and struck up a conversation. Perhaps in an attempt to gain Canole's interest as a potential real estate customer,

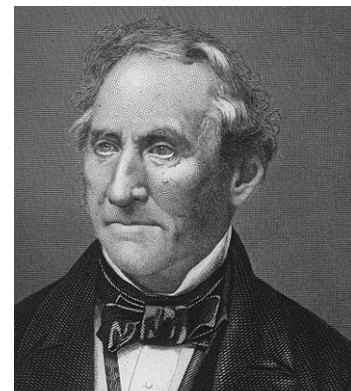
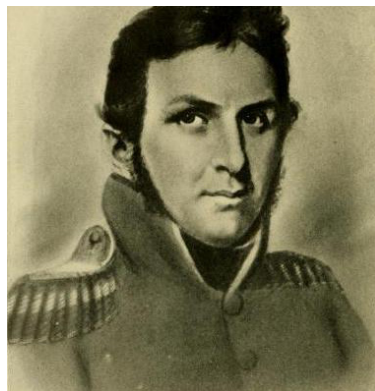
Nash told Canole about his large land claim on the Missouri River in Missouri Territory. He further gave a letter addressed to Shadrach Barnes and asked Canole to deliver it to him when he arrived in Cooper's Bottom, and he did. The context appears to be that William Nash warned Barnes that he would be back to recover and manage his bottom land claim.³⁴



PLAT OF TOWN OF FRANKLIN, February 5, 1819, the first recorded plat placed in the courthouse. It was only 15 percent in size to the final Franklin surveys that, with additional sales, were 600 percent larger in acreage and included 676 lots that trended to the east. Illustration courtesy of historian James M. Denny.

Bottom, one corner was immediately across from the mouth of Lamine River, and the northwest corner was opposite Arrow Rock. Nash labeled standing bodies of water as "ponds" on the eastern side of the survey, and it became Survey 1720. Franklinites later called these Cooper's Lakes and Nash's Lakes. Thomas Hardeman in 1817 settled within much of this survey as did his son John. Eventually, the Land Commissioners upheld Nash's claim to the

Capt. Daniel Munro, local militia veteran of the War of 1812, as did salt-boiler Robert Barclay, lived at Fort Hempstead, and said that “Shadrach Barnes moved to where Franklin is now in “January or February, 1811, cleared a field, fenced it with rails, raised 15 acres of corn” and lived there “except when we forted during the war.” The other men occupied



L-R: Gen. T. A. Smith, who, along with acting register, Henry Carroll opened government land office in Franklin in November 1818; and David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton, who were involved in land claims disputes and legal action arising from pre-emption claims related to Survey 1725. BHS photo files

Fort Kincaid a mile and half upriver from Franklin. Then Munro told how in 1812, William Taylor, William Ridgeway, and Amos Barnes all built houses and improvements near Shadrach Barnes. Further testimony said that Amos Barnes cultivated 3-4 acres of corn and lived “on the ground where Franklin is now,” while the other men were all adjacent to the current town boundaries.

At Franklin, in May or June 1817, Gen. William Rector’s agent, surveyor Horatio Chriesman, was joined by William V. Rector, James H. Benson, Shadrach Barnes, Daniel Munro Jr. and other principals as they walked over and talked about Franklin’s initial 1816 survey of fifty acres and the Nash Survey 1725. There must have been onlookers and plenty of gossip on the streets of Franklin.

Chriesman could not locate any markers that Ira P. Nash said he left and neither could Nash locate any of his corners. Nash said he had survey claims to a local 400 arpents survey and an 800 arpents one (Survey 1725), this latter included the Franklin town site, or what locals later called the “Old Boundaries” of Franklin. The Old Boundaries, about 680 acres, was a larger space than Franklin proper ever occupied, but Franklin and its surveyed suburbs did expand to 426 acres (a plat map that has not yet been drawn and published). Amos Barnes showed to George Jackson, the Howard County surveyor, the center of all four improvements as they were in 1812—his, Shadrach Barnes’s, William Taylor’s, and William Ridgeway’s. Local residents, Harrison Jamieson and William Munro (Daniel’s brother) and Daniel Munro Jr. all showed the same improvement locations to surveyors Chriesman and county surveyor Jackson. In subsequent testimony, Talton Turner, a deputy surveyor in Franklin, testified and confirmed the activities of the Chriesman inspection as given to the courts.³⁵

When acting register, Henry Carroll, and receiver of public monies, Gen. T. A. Smith, opened the government land office in Franklin in November 1818, Shadrach Barnes came in and registered for his pre-emption claim and applied for his land certificate. After all, the September 1817 survey inspection by Chriesman had not resulted in any legal challenge. But, in March 1819, as Franklin property values skyrocketed, William V. Rector hired Thomas H. Benton in St. Louis to file an ejectment suit against Barnes and the other claimants in Survey 1725, as all original pre-emption claimants still occupied their parcels and improvements within Survey 1725.

Franklin attorney, George Tompkins, replaced Benton’s role. Land speculator, Taylor Berry, testified he was an assignee of Joseph Deputy’s colonial grant, and opposed the evidence given by Shadrach Barnes, and the other claimants, and wrote Sen. David Barton [In 1820 David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton were the first Missouri politicians elected by the Missouri General Assembly to serve in the U.S. Senate. Barton served from 1821-1831, Benton from 1821-51.] that irregularities were taking place at the GLO office in Franklin. The suit lagged on for judicial inaction, perhaps because the GLO was greatly understaffed for work on land certificates in Washington D.C., but more importantly, the federal offices already had records that the Board of Land Commissioners in 1814 had rejected Joseph Deputy’s claim.

In July 1822, land speculator plaintiffs activated the Shadrach Barnes suit again. Lawyers began submitting sketches of Survey 1725 and defendants submitted evidence for their pre-emption locations within it. Survey 1725, a long rectangular claim, was north of the Missouri River border and the land between the survey boundary and the Missouri River was labeled “drowned land.” Like other colonial claims, it “tilted” west from center and was not drawn with north-south, east-west, cardinal points like American surveys.

The Franklin federal bureaucrats, register John G. Miller and receiver Thomas A. Smith, were questioned about their compliance in approving evidence for Shadrach Barnes and the defendants in their pre-emption claims. Miller and Smith responded that they were “satisfied and accepted the evidence presented” by them. Decisively, the colonial claim of Joseph Deputy to Survey 1725 was never confirmed that made Taylor Berry’s assertions as an assignee irrelevant. The government’s conclusion was that the plaintiffs’ goal was to invalidate the claim of William Nash to obtain the improvements on the ground, but the “Nash original survey is not now to be found.” The Shadrach Barnes’ group attorney, Hamilton Gamble, brought in additional witnesses that included David and Matthew Kincaid, Harrison Jamieson, and others who lived around Franklin.

Attorney Gamble concluded that the “contradictory testimony about Nash’s version of his survey” from Nash himself (who then lived on a farm in St. Louis County), and Stephen Jackson

amounted to “Ira P. Nash’s villainy and William and Ira Nash’s combined efforts to defraud the U.S. out of 800 arpents of land.” Gov. Frederick Bates sent the packet of documents to the new GLO land commissioner, George Graham, in Washington D.C. On April 17, 1824, Graham approved the pre-emptions and patent certificates for Shadrach Barnes and his colleagues.³⁶

Publicly, there was one last gasp. In November 1824, Sen. Thomas H. Benton, claimed that the Franklin register and receiver testimony was “illegal and vexatious” and he lobbied the federal land office in D.C. to “admit the [William V.] Rector claim.” St. Louis land receiver, George F. Strother, joined Benton in his public outrage. Instead, Shadrach Barnes, who had ferried many settlers beginning in 1816 across the Missouri River, and had operated a small grist mill in Franklin, paid Thomas A. Smith, receiver of public monies, \$243.58 on January 13, 1825, for his pre-emption claim of 160 acres. By then, competent surveyors were in Franklin. Shadrach was pleased that a new, updated survey found that his claim actually enclosed 194 acres, a good payoff from Nash’s wildly inaccurate estimate of surveying alone with a “2-pole chain of Louisiana hemp” for 160 acres. Shadrach Barnes’ property was on the east/northeast side of the town of Franklin.³⁷

Franklin becomes the New West

Town growth greatly modified the small town plat of 1816. Shadrach Barnes ferried more folks from south of the Missouri River to public sales of lots, as speculators added additions. Hopeful merchants opened stores and sheriff Nicholas Burckhardt’s list of licensed business people became a regular *Missouri Gazette* feature, some merchants moving from St. Louis to Franklin. Increasing immigration West led to new ferries established on the Mississippi River, too. The Fountain Ferry, at the mouth of Paissa Creek, in Madison County, Illinois, near Alton in 1818, advertised their transport westward “direct by Edwardsville to Boonslick settlement.” The regional name continued, but once Franklin merchants established themselves on the public square and published advertisements, they commonly referred to their location as being in “the western country” throughout the 1820s, an appropriate term for eastern wholesale houses and prospective emigrants. Observers in St. Charles in 1818 commented on the exceptional number of “maid servants and men servants and curly-headed Africans” that accompanied the movement westward.³⁸

In February 1819 James Morrison and others applied to purchase in fee simple land upon which they held preemption claims or to purchase land newly offered on the public market.³⁹ Local

government met in a temporary courthouse constructed for \$365 and the court rented private houses to conduct some business. By 1820, the legislature formed eight other counties from Mother Howard and Howard County assumed its current boundaries. The new two-story Franklin jail worked well, but required occasional repairs; in a common design, prisoners were held on the second floor.

Debtors could find themselves in jail after being sued. As early as December 1817, one advertised in the *Missouri Gazette* in St. Louis that he was confined, often termed in the press as “prison bound,” and publicly asked his creditors to appear before the justices to plead for his release at the upcoming term of court. In September 1818, Braxton Cooper Sr. too, placed an ad “to receive a discharge from confinement.” Debtors’ problems of course did not stifle Franklin social activities. The Jockey Club advertised its three-day set of races in 1818, and beyond, held west of Franklin on David Kincaid’s old property. The horsemen based their rules on those of the Lexington Jockey Club and exacted entrance fees in barrels of corn. That year, south Howard County across the Missouri River became the new Cooper County.⁴⁰



HOWARD COUNTY, named after Benjamin Howard, first governor of the Missouri Territory, was organized on Jan. 23, 1816, five years before the state of Missouri was admitted into the Union. Originally possessing nearly one-third of the land that constitutes present-day Missouri, Howard County was split into more than 40 different counties, including several in Iowa, earning it the name the “Mother of Counties.” Franklin served as county seat from 1816 to 1823, when it was moved to Fayette. *BHS photo files*

Franklin’s first signal event in 1819 was the May arrival of Capt. John Nelson’s *Independence* steamboat, its pilot and owner, a businessman from Louisville, Kentucky who primarily worked on the Ohio River. The boat brought passengers and freight. Economic optimism waved across Franklin. “The practicality of Steam Boat navigation being now clearly demonstrated by experiment, we shall be brought nearer to the Atlantic, West India, and European markets.” A joyous public dinner was held in honor of Nelson’s achievement. Capt. Asa Morgan chaired it and Dr. Nathaniel Hutchison, an early trustee of Franklin, was vice-president when diners hoisted many toasts. Maj. Richard Gentry, taking advantage of the current political winds for the Yankee Congressional effrontery to restrict slavery for Missouri’s admission to statehood, toasted to “Talmadge and Taylor – a dark room and strait jackets” that surely drew cheers and laughs in Howard County.⁴¹

Afterwards, Nelson boated to Chariton where another celebration involved Maj. Jonathan S. Findlay as president and Col. Duff Green as vice-president. One toast was to “Boon’s Lick – two years since, a wilderness; now rich in corn and cattle!” Booneslick cattlemen drove stock east to sell in the Ohio River Valley, and occasionally a Kentucky drover brought cattle to Howard County to sell. The commercial and market particulars of this stock trade, however, is unknown.⁴²

The *Missouri Gazette* reported the return of the *Independence*,

“absent from St. Louis for 21 days,” but the trip down from Franklin took only three days with “only 19 running hours.” The editor commented that the roiling river “has opposed every obstacle she could to the tide of emigration, which was rolling up her banks and dispossessing her dear red children; but her white children, although children by adoption, have become so numerous, and are increasing so rapidly, that she is at last obliged to yield them her favor. The trip forms a proud event in the history of Missouri.”⁴³

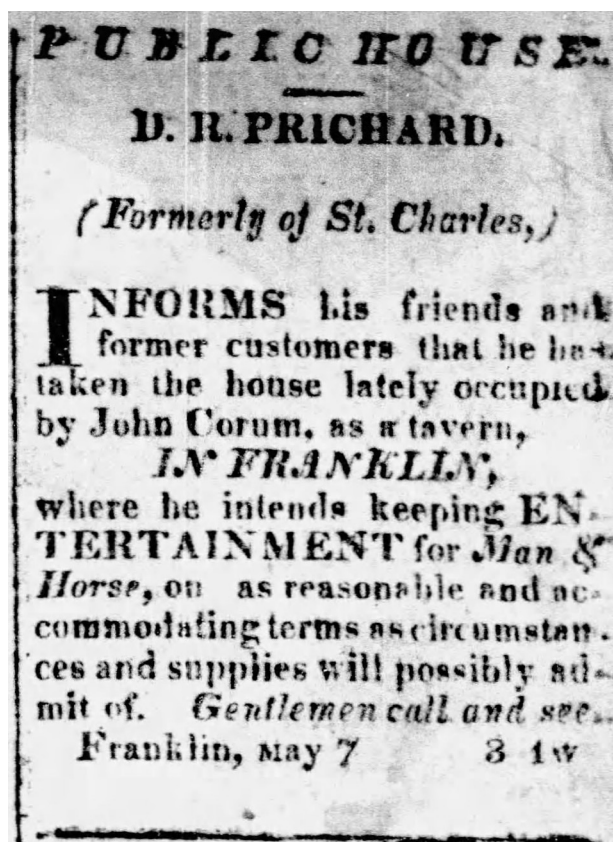
Howard County was the former western extension of St. Charles and St. Louis Counties. Hence, the *Missouri Gazette* newspaper continued as Howard County’s only press until 1819. The *Gazette* carried information about central Missouri happenings and residents in the Booneslick sent notices and advertisements to the *Gazette*. Those traveling from St. Louis or St. Charles to the Booneslick often took *Gazette* copies with them to pass around the settlements, even after the *Missouri Intelligencer* began publishing in April 1819 in Franklin. Concomitantly, D. R. Prichard of St. Charles came to town that spring and opened his tavern “Entertainment for Man & Horse” intending to accommodate all gentlemen.⁴⁴

Nathaniel Patten, a 26-year-old New Englander, joined the movement to Franklin in 1819 by way of a five-year residence in Kentucky. He had apprenticed to an uncle in Boston during his late teens and moved to Winchester, Kentucky, in 1814. In Franklin he joined 33-year-old Kentuckian, Maj. Benjamin Holliday, an early immigrant and veteran of the War of 1812 and a Cooper’s Fort resident, to publish the *Missouri Intelligencer*. After the war, Holliday went to Louisville, and with his brother Stephen, a printer, brought a press back to Franklin, purchased a lot, and built a frame building north of the square to house a newspaper business. By an unknown negotiation, Patten joined them.⁴⁵

The group began the first newspaper on the Missouri River. The partners enrolled “only 50 subscribers the first year.” He and Holliday organized another business anticipating the steamer *Independence*’s arrival by establishing a “Storage, Commission, and Land Agency Business” in Franklin. Workers “unloaded 150 barrels of flour, several of whiskey and salt” and they advertised to sell wholesale or retail and attend to “Military [bounty] Lands.” No sooner had the *Independence* left than “the large and elegant keel boat *Governor Clark* and another St. Louis keel boat docked with merchandise, and “two large keel boats from Madison County, Kentucky, with freight and families” landed. No one imagined that it would be another decade before regular passenger packet

steamers would come to Franklin.⁴⁶

The journalists, in their first number, introduced *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon’s Lick Advertiser* with a column, “To the Public. Truth being the first principle of virtue ... and virtue being the only sure basis upon which any government can rest, it will be the first object of this paper to make truth, on all occasions, its polar star....Respect for public sentiment will always be held in estimation....As the tendency of our government is towards aristocracy, the encroachment of our rulers on the constitutional rights of the people, will never be viewed in silence....a very small pittance per annum will procure the information desired through the medium of the *Intelligencer*.” It was clear where Patten stood on the petition for Missouri statehood begun in February 1818 in Congress by Missouri’s U.S. Representative John Scott, he stood with his constituents. By 1823, Patten proudly printed that his press is “nearly two hundred miles west of any other in the world.”⁴⁷



Entertainment for Man & Horse: *Missouri Intelligencer*, 7 May 1819. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

By April 1820, Patten and other agents, became involved in what was the first town promotion in planning and zoning along the Boone’s Lick Trail. It was called Persia. Located “on the main road leading from Franklin to St. Charles, about 28 miles” northeast, at a July 4th sale and barbeque celebration, they offered “50 lots to Merchants, Mechanics, and persons wishing to improve the town on stipulated terms”. Requirements included that on each corner lot a building – frame, brick, or stone – not less than two stories high and eighteen by twenty-five feet had to be enclosed by September 1821. If it was brick or stone, then “the body to be up by July 4, 1821; if frame, the builder had to be erect it by that time. In each middle lot between corners “a comfortable dwelling house, not less than 18 feet square, or any kind of materials, to be

finished by July 4, 1821.”⁴⁸

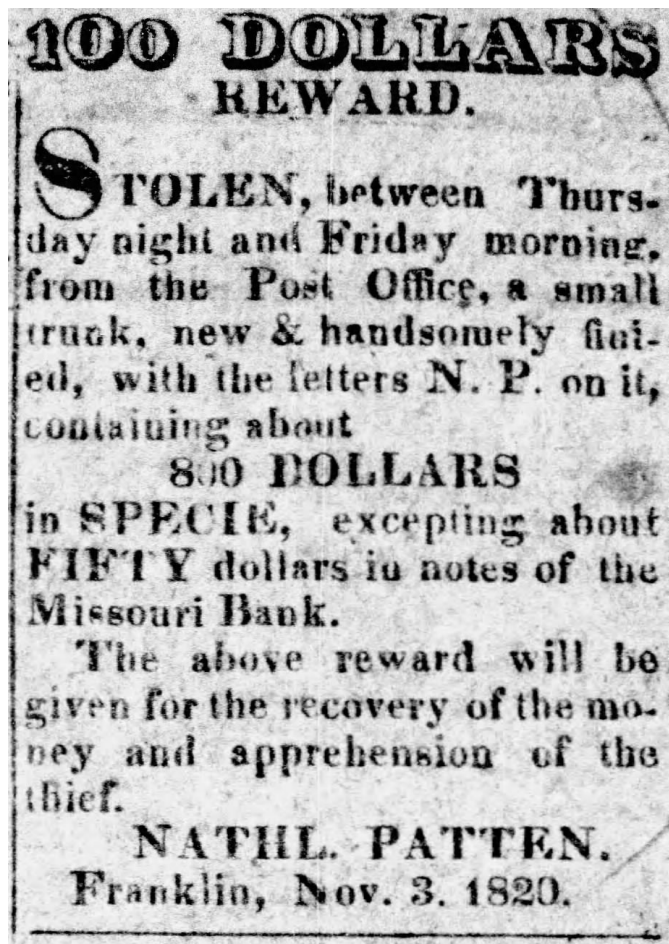
After the July 4, 1820, sale, a second one was scheduled in Franklin on July 10. The town plat was drawn and could be inspected at the Persia townsite, on the Franklin town square at the store of Stanley and Ludlow, or at the Printing Office where Nathaniel Patten Jr. had a copy. By June 1820, Patten wrote that “fourteen buildings have already been erected, four of which are large two story frame—and eight or ten more are now erecting.”

Persia's expansion was brief and Columbia soon became Boone County's main town on the Boone's Lick Trail. Three years later, Patten wrote that the Persia place name continued "on the road from Franklin to St. Charles" at the crossing of the local creek. He recalled the "amazing number of frames and cabins put up," but since then not much doing. Instead, Patten had significant worry from his short career as Franklin's former postmaster, a position he had held since January 1820. He was in deep trouble over an \$800 Franklin postal robbery in October 1820 for which he was liable. The theft impacted Patten for years with the postal headquarters in Washington, D.C., until Patten was relieved of the financial responsibility.⁴⁹

In June 1820 Patten sold his one-third newspaper interest to Benjamin Holliday, who had been serving as Burckhardt's deputy sheriff, for \$450 and dissolved their commission efforts. Patten's brief sojourn in Franklin was marred by the death of his young sister, Mary Patten, who was an aspiring artist at Mrs. Flournoy's School for Young Ladies. Mary succumbed to the dreaded annual fever and was laid to rest in the new cemetery on Lot 10. Meanwhile, Benjamin and Stephen Holliday published the *Intelligencer* from June 1820 to May 1821, and then Holliday hired "John Payne, a young lawyer became the editor." Holliday implemented the use of agents in other towns to sell subscriptions and exchange papers with the *Intelligencer*. Payne died in September 1821.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Patten worked as Franklin's postmaster, a job that Augustus Storrs, a justice of the peace, had performed as an assistant post master in previous years. Storrs had early established himself as a man of trust. For example, in 1819, money came by mail to Thomas Hardeman who was asked by Waddy T. Currin "to Lodge the money with Augustus Storrs Esq." until he could return to Franklin. The *Intelligencer* does not say who the first postmaster at Howard Court House (1817-21) was, but virtually all of them were storekeepers of some description. Following a political dispute in Washington D.C., in April 1821, the Postmaster General removed Patten from his position, as Augustus Storrs became Franklin post master. In late April, Patten placed his ad in the *Intelligencer*, "Upwards of TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS are due the subscriber, for LETTER and Newspaper POSTAGE. It being generally known that it is not customary, at any office, to

credit postage, and when granted is considered a favor, it is hoped those indebted will relieve him" Patten's luck worsened. In July he appealed, "Stolen ... a red Morocco Pocket Book" that contained bank notes and a "gold American half eagle and a large number of papers and letters." He offered a liberal reward. A year later, Patten approached Holliday to resume work as a newspaper publisher in June 1822.⁵¹



100 Dollars Reward: *Missouri Intelligencer*, 3 Nov. 1820. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

Patten, continually short on funds, purchased the *Intelligencer* in July 1822 from Holliday by signing a promissory note to him that John T. Cleveland secured. Patten considered his audience to be the "people of the nine western counties," who wished to have the "advantage of a free press." Patten and Cleveland were in a partnership that lasted until April 1824, all this time having "little more than 100 subscribers." Historian Jonas Viles estimated that Franklin reached about 1,000 residents by 1820, a figure that remained relatively constant. In 1826, with Kentucky Sen Richard M. Johnson's political help in the U.S. Senate, Congress finally relieved Patten of his \$603 federal debt balance, plus interest, dating back to the post office theft. Then, at his new office in Fayette, Patten enjoyed having 400 subscribers. Once there he did not forget Franklin and addressed his patrons "at a distance" in his first issue from Fayette in June 1826 and continued reporting on

both towns. Patten purchased one of the last Fayette out-lots, a three-acre parcel "in immediate vicinity of the

Public Square."⁵²

Franklin resident, Mrs. Mary Peebles, provided a cultivated touch when dignitaries visited town. In July 1819, Col. Henry Atkinson's entourage of officers and soldiers were taking a variety of boats to the upper Missouri River, known as the Yellow Stone expedition, the first U.S. Army engineers' exploration to establish the Army's first fort west of the Missouri River. Their destination was Council Bluffs that included mapping the country for the War Department. The sight of the army's steamer, the *Western Engineer*, excited the town. The military had nine keelboats propelled by sails and wheels.⁵³

This episode is more popularly known as the Maj. Stephen H. Long expedition. Long's first orders were to join Gen. T. A. Smith at Fort Belle Fontaine for the mission, but after the announcement of Smith's retirement, Maj. Long became an expedition leader,

eventually naming Ft. Smith, Arkansas, for his former general. Col. Atkinson and several officers remained a week in mid-July in Franklin as his group split into several parties. Atkinson learned of Smith's personal interest in botany and agriculture. When positioned at Council Bluffs in spring 1820, the Colonel wrote Smith to "procure turnip seeds for them and to recommend how much to sow on an acre of ground." Moreover, with "the unusual spring high water of the Missouri and Platte, I fear Franklin has suffered greatly," wrote Atkinson. The Franklin-based officers



KEEL BOAT: Built in 1996, this replica of an early 19th-century keel boat was used during the bicentennial ceremonies in 2004 celebration the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery expedition to the Pacific Northwest when a keel boat was used to take the Corps up the Missouri River from St. Charles. Image courtesy of Missouri State Archives.

included Maj. Benjamin O'Fallon. He was one of William Clark's nephews and appointees, who was on his way to become an Indian sub-agent for Clark's office under Atkinson. The army's presence encouraged local leaders to organize a public dinner "to be given at Mrs. Peebles' where she kept a tavern and stables."⁵⁴

The Long expedition of the military and scientists combined river travel and overland treks to see the countryside. One group left St. Charles on the Boone's Lick Trail and headed to the Loutre River Valley, where they met companions who had come up the valley from Loutre Island on the Missouri River. The first contingent described the "open oak woods" near the Dardenne Creek, crossed Perugue Creek, and marched to Col. Thomas Kennedy's stockade and blockhouse near modern Wright City. They complimented Kennedy's gracious welcome. Kennedy provided ham, corn bread, and milk during their stay. At Loutre River they saw Isaac Van Bibber's failed attempt at drilling a 65-foot [deep] saline water well. That was likely Van Bibber's last attempt to get into the salt business. Like Kennedy's neighborhood, when the soldiers arrived south at Loutre Island, they saw several log houses with a projecting upper story for a defensive blockhouse, reminders of the recent war and observed several dog-trot houses built by recent settlers. On the way to Franklin, they spent time at Cote Sans Dessein village.⁵⁵

Once at Franklin, after greetings and welcomes, the party wanted to see nearby landmarks. The text is not clear which salt works

they visited. It was either Nicholas Burckhart's, the closer one to Franklin, or Boone's Lick, as both were in production. The scientists noted that the "banks of the ravine in which the spring rises, still retain the traces of those numerous herds of bison, elk, and other herbivorous animals, which formerly resorted here for their favorite condiment." This latter comment about visitation from the large animals in the ravine suggests that they visited Boone's Lick. They recorded that the manufacturing of "one bushel of salt to each four hundred and fifty gallons" of saline water produced eighty bushels daily and required three cords of wood to evaporate the water." In June 1819, Burckhart advertised to coopers for "3 or 400 good SALT BARRELS at my salt works." William Becknell wanted "five hundred cords of wood at the Boon's Lick" and offered "board to the hands that cut it." The environmental impact by Burckhart's salt works on the woods had opened up the Boone Femme watershed and the Boon's Lick works did the same for Cooper's Bottom plus its nearby uplands. South Howard County's two townships were cleared of more timber than any other townships in the county.⁵⁶

At Franklin, "the gentlemen of the exploring party received many gratifying attentions, particularly from Gen. T. A. Smith, at whose house they were often hospitably received and where they dined by invitation on the 17th of July." By then, Smith lived in his commodious two-story Federal brick house on the east edge of town. Before the entourage left town, Dr. William Baldwin, a distinguished physician and botanist, took sick. Dr. John J. Lowry took him in, but Baldwin lingered and died at the end of August. Part of the expedition, after leaving town, crossed the Missouri River on the Arrow Rock ferry to ride to Fort Osage to meet up with the *Western Engineer*. Majors Long, O'Fallon, and others remained on the steamboat, but anchored three miles above Franklin for engineers to spend a day to repair the engine.

Once the men on horses got on the Osage Trace at Arrow Rock they detoured eight miles to the Salt Fork, Lamine River, to visit another salt works operation. They observed eight men employed who produced 100 bushels of salt per week with 80 gallons of water to evaporate one bushel. This amount of salt was one-fourth of the Boone's Lick weekly production. Then, they rode over to Capt. Byrd Lockhart's salt works for a look; his partner, Maj. Elias Barcroft, in Franklin, likely told them about both industrial sites. Lockhart's business was not in production, but the scientists estimated that it had the potential to manufacture 500 bushels per week that, if produced, would outperform Boone's Lick. In Lockhart's area, they examined a large extent of "diggings, excavations, or pits" over a two to three mile extent that they concluded was the result of adventurers looking for the mythological precious metals of the trans-Mississippi. Lockhart himself had sunk a 22-foot [deep] shaft, but discontinued it. They noted Lockhart's hospitality and rode off toward Fort Osage.⁵⁷

In September, Maj. Long wrote from Council Bluffs to his superiors that "steamboats as a river craft in low water was definitely not the vehicle for the expedition's movement of cargo and troops." Engineer Long left instructions for winter work and traveled back East to plan the following year's budget and organize a second trip west that included another visit to Franklin.⁵⁸

In May 1820, elements of Major Long's second expedition docked at Franklin. As before, there were several parts to Long's expedition. The *Intelligencer* noted the steamboat *Missouri Packet* arrived at Franklin with flour and provisions for troops at Council Bluffs. After motoring a few hours above Franklin, it hit a snag and sunk, fortunately "near the shore, in low water, it is expected a considerable portion of the cargo will be saved, and the boat raised and repaired to proceed on." Patten then wrote, "a few days since," Major Long's overland entourage arrived. They passed through St. Louis and "travelled overland," on the Boone's Lick Trail. Capt. Bell had taught at West Point and was assigned as journalist for the expedition. Then on May 27, 1820, the steamboat *Expedition* came to town "with provisions for the troops."⁵⁹

Major Long left Franklin with his party and began their march to Chariton, to the mouth of Grand River and continued across northwest Missouri overland to the Engineer Cantonment at Council Bluffs. Editor Patten later received word that the maritime *Expedition* arrived at Fort Osage on June 10 "and had progressed well." Long's federally-sponsored march from Franklin across northwest Missouri was the first such organized excursion in that part of Missouri.⁶⁰

Another first for Franklin was the arrival of Henry Miller Shreve in April 1821. Capt. Shreve was co-owner of the first double decker steamboat, "the large and elegant *Washington*," built in Indiana on the Ohio River and contracted to the military to deliver supplies to Council Bluffs. Editor Holliday devoted a special column to its arrival although it remained at Franklin Landing only 15 minutes. So many steamboat contractors supplied Ft. Atkinson during the 1820s, the *Intelligencer* often took notice of them, but did not mention the name of the steamer.⁶¹

For a generation, whether by accident or design, there was an inordinate emigration from Madison County, Kentucky, to Howard County from the late Territorial Era into the 1840s. As mentioned above, in May 1819, "two large keel boats from Madison County, Kentucky, came and unloaded at Franklin." Another "Keel Boat from Frankfort, Kentucky" followed with immigrant families "and a quantity of whiskey." Richmond was the county seat of Madison, Kentucky, and Fayette, Missouri, lay in Richmond Township. Richmond, in Howard County, was a local hamlet, where sales of lots and a bar-b-que took place in July 1819 at Spanish Needle prairie and was awarded a post office (1820-24) several miles north of Franklin and south of modern Fayette. Folks lived in Boonesboro, a town in Madison County, Kentucky, and a village in Howard County. Madison County, Kentucky, residents had long raised tobacco as their primary export crop and were large producers of corn and livestock. They were familiar with the waterfront world of marketing on the Kentucky River to New Orleans and the same export strategy on the Missouri River to New Orleans held no surprises for them. Jesse Cox, one of the earliest settlers from Madison County, gave his name to Cox Bottom, above Arrow Rock. In neighboring Boone County, one author claimed that "almost thirty percent" of Columbia's early immigrants were from Madison County, Kentucky.⁶²

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. Unfortunately, there are many missing issues of the *Intelligencer*. As early as Nov. 26, 1822, Patten advertised for for "Missing Numbers of the Missouri *Intelligencer*" for his own files, a consequence of borrowers not returning issues to him. During the 1820s, his delicate health occasionally caused him to miss printing an issue or issuing only one of the two sheets of the paper.
2. A larger context for the period is Lynn Morrow, "Boone's Lick in Western Expansion: James Mackay, the Boones, and the Morrisons," *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Fall-Winter 2014), but there are additions in this short introduction.
3. David L. Browman, "Cantonment Belle Fontaine 1805-1826, The First U.S. Fort West of the Mississippi River," St. Louis: Washington University, 2018, online, is the best historical analysis of the fort; and contractor Morrison, Kate Gregg, "Building of the First American Fort West of the Mississippi," *Missouri Historical Review* (July 1936), 345-64; Gregg was a professor at Lindenwood College, St. Charles.
4. Gregg, "Building the First American Fort West of the Mississippi," 362.
5. Wilkinson to Jefferson, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XIII, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814*, compiled and edited, Clarence Edwin Carter (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), 266.
6. Trading licenses, *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, edited by Thomas Maitland Marshall, Vol. I (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 333.
7. The Mexicans imprisoned McKnight's group for nearly a decade and Ezekiel Williams barely made it back to Boone's Lick with his life. More about Williams later.
8. Negro cooks, Joseph Cooper interview by M. Quidam, Jan. 23, 1874, *St. Louis Times*. Nash's Prairie, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, and Oct. 7, 1820. All *Intelligencer* references are to the online Missouri *Intelligencer* and Boons Lick Advertiser, State Historical Society of Missouri. By the latter date, Franklin merchant Joseph Simpson's farm was in Nash's Prairie. You could enter it some six miles upriver from Franklin. Ira P. Nash was the namesake for the later riverside town Nashville in Boone County; he lived in the St. Louis area for years as a surveyor, landholder, and slaveholder, *Missouri Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1809. See prairie names in Alphonso Wetmore, compiler, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1975), 80.

9. Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), 211. The Howard County court later named the Roanoke area Prairie Township.

10. See Walter Schroeder's landmark study on prairies, *Presettlement Prairie of Missouri*, Natural History Series, No. 2, Missouri Department of Conservation, 1981, revised 1982, for extensive analysis and nuances in environmental description. Percent of prairie in Chariton was 50%; Cooper at 24%, and Boone 16%.

11. Milton Rafferty, *Missouri, A Geography* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983), 57.

12. Quartermaster Morrison, Kate Gregg, "Building the First American Fort West of the Mississippi," 364.

13. Russell, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XIV, The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814 comp. and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949), 752.

14. William E. Foley, *The Genesis of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 231-32.

15. Burckhardt services, *Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1818.

16. William E. Foley, *Wilderness Journey, The Life of William Clark* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 168.

17. David March, *History of Missouri* (New York and West Palm Beach: Lewis Historical Company, 1967), 314.

18. Van Bibber rental in a June 1823 deposition taken at Loutre Lick, *American State Papers* (abbreviated ASP), Volume V (Washington D.C.: Printed by Duff Green), 1834, 726, online. Lynn Morrow, "Daniel Boone and Slave Derry Coburn," *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Fall 2013) for the bat guano expedition on the Gasconade River. Just prior to statehood Daniel Morgan Boone, his slaves, and Jesse and Mathias Van Bibber began sawmilling at the mouth of Little Piney River at the entry to the Gasconade River.

19. The oldest filing for a slave freedom suit dates to 1806 in St. Louis, but it was not settled until 1838 when the plaintiff was dead, see William E. Foley, "Slave Freedom Suits Before Dred Scott: The Case of Marie Jean Scypion's Descendants," *Missouri Historical Review* (hereinafter MHR) (October 1984), 1-23. Second territorial session, Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri*, Volume III (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1908), 6-7. Matilda, a Black Woman v. Isaac Van Bibber, 1817, Missouri Supreme Court Case Files, Missouri State Archives (hereinafter MSA). In 1815, Maj. Van Bibber purchased 460 acres from Nathan Boone, land where he built a travelers camp and tavern at Loutre Lick and managed his slaves he brought up from Femme Osage Township. David Konig in "The Long Road to Dred Scott: Personhood and the Rule of Law in the Trial Court Records of St. Louis Slave Freedom Suits," *University of Missouri, Kansas City, Law Review* 75 (Fall 2006), 54-79, explains the free state residency for slaves.

20. The wild horse, Lilburn Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick Heritage," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (April 1966), 336.

21. Van Bibber tavern 1816, *Gazette*, Dec. 7, 1816. Van Bibber hired traveling craftsmen to begin building a tavern that was completed in 1822, Olive Baker, "Life and Influence of Danville and Danville Township," MHR (July 1913), 203-05, and "Van Bibber Tavern," MHR

(January 1913), 106-07.

22. Tompkins, *Missouri Gazette*, July 27, 1816, and William Francis English, *The Pioneer Lawyer and Jurist in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Studies, 1947), 103. Property lost, *Missouri Gazette*, Aug. 10, 1816. Tompkins had been one of six men who represented Howard County at the fourth and last territorial General Assembly in 1818, library and "certain papers," *Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1818. The evolving politics over pre-empted land probably made McNair, Tompkins', and Christy's efforts of little practical relevance, see ad in *Gazette*, June 7, 1817. Burckhardt's double tax, *Missouri Gazette*, June 21, 1817. List of claims to Carroll, *Gazette*, Nov. 13, 1818.

23. Heath ad, *Missouri Gazette*, December 23, 1815. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883), 112.

24. Slave Phill in *Missouri Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1818; Morgan Boone, in 1818, failed to attract buyers for lots to found his own town speculation "in the heart of the Femme Osage settlement," the Town of Missouri, the year before he went to Loutre Lick, *Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1818. D. M. Boon, *Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 15, 1819.

25. Jere Kingsbury, Lilburn A. Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick Heritage," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (Jan. 1966), 158. *Missouri Gazette*, May 24 & June 7, 1817. Franklin town commissioners were Benjamin Estill, David Jones, David Kincaid, William Head, and Stephen Cooper. It is unclear when Franklin's post office began and who was the first postmaster. Benjamin Estill was a son of famed Capt. James Estill of Estill's Defeat in the Kentucky Indian wars in 1782. Benjamin's son, James W. Estill, married Matilda in 1816, daughter of Isaac Van Bibber, as Estill relatives lived on the upper Loutre River watershed northwest of Graham Cave. Benjamin died in 1828 in Boone County and was an uncle (via his half-brother Wallace Estill) to James R. Estill in Kentucky, who came to Howard County in 1843 and later built Greenwood, north of New Franklin. Jonathan Dorris and Maud Dorris, *Glimpses of Historic Madison County, Kentucky* (Nashville, TN: Williams Printing Company, 1955), 40, and James M. Denny, Greenwood, September 30, 1982, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City, Mo, both online. Thus, the allied families of Estill and Van Bibber were contemporaries living along the Boone's Lick Road near Van Bibber's Tavern, Columbia, and Franklin at statehood. Van Bibber died in 1840 and willed female slaves to his daughters. Dave Harper, a mulatto born in 1846 "bout a half mile from Capt. [James] Callaway's grave" told a WPA interviewer that "I've seen slaves go through Danville in droves like cattle. Dey was chained together and dey walked 'em to St. Louis to de nigger yard Dere was several brothers in together in the nigger business. Dey bought my mother..." Dave Harper was purchased by Col. Charles B. Harper who lived near Montgomery City, *Slave Narratives ... Vol. X, Missouri Narratives*, Dave Harper, online.

26. First petition, Road Petitions, box 2, f. 1, Howard County Clerk's Office, MSA. Burckhardt's merchants, *Missouri Gazette*, Nov. 2, 1816. Nicholas Perkins Hardeman, *Wilderness Calling: The Hardeman Family in the American Westward Movement, 175-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977), 78-81. The Hardeman store, like most, did not exist for very long, nor his father Thomas' tavern. Instead, the Hardemans chose to market their agricultural products with larger merchants, like Ward and Parker and Smith and Knox. Rector to Meigs, Sept. 15, 1817, Letters from Surveyor General to Commissioner of Lands, 1815-1826, U.S. Surveyor General Correspondence Outgoing, MSA. Rector's tenure was 1816-24. The General Land Office was in the U.S. Treasury Department until moved to the Department of Interior in

1849, as it ceased to be a major source of revenue for the U.S. Treasury. Servants and Africans in Niles Register, XIV (May 16, 1818), 208. Benton's law books, Glen Hardeman Papers, #3655, f. 5, Nov. 22, 1829, SHS-Columbia. Upon Hardeman's death in 1829, Benton offered his father Thomas any legal service concerning John without charge. The salt works must have broken Lockhart, as he asked for benefit of the insolvent debtor's act the next year, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1820. Lockhart continued in land speculation.

27. Harrison's letter to Gov. DeLassus was the first communication received by DeLassus that confirmed the sale of Louisiana, Alonzo J. Tullock, Louisiana History Collection, 1794-2009, Nov. 12, 1803, Missouri History Society, St. Louis. See Lynn Morrow, "A Surveyor's Challenges: P. K. Robbins in Missouri," *Big Muddy, A Journal of the Mississippi River Valley* (Cape Girardeau: Southeast Missouri University, Fall 2007) for a discussion of the surveys and claims history after the Louisiana Purchase.

28. Like many, David Todd brought his wife and family with significant family resources. Robert R. Barr in Fayette County, Kentucky, in May 1819, deeded "a negro Amos, aged 21 years, a negro boy Joe, about 9, and a negro girl Nelly about 8, and three negro girls – Honey, Evaline, and Gatty – for the use of Eliza B. Todd, his daughter." David recorded the slaves on a Howard County deed to protect the Todd ownership of them in Missouri, or if they ran away, or were stolen for sale. Marsha Rising Hoffman, *Genealogical Gems from Early Missouri Deeds, 1815-1850* (January 1, 2004), Howard County Deed Book D:70.

29. This dispute surely had widespread discussion in Franklin. Shadrach's family had several members involved, his son Amos; and his sons-in-law, William Taylor and William Ridgeway. Other Shadrach Barnes daughters married Harrison Jamieson and Thomas Jefferson Boggs married Sophia Barnes in October 1824. Shadrach's son, Benjamin, ultimately made seven trips on the Santa Fe Trail, William S. Bryan and Robert Rose, *A History of Pioneer Families of Missouri* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1876), 313-14.

30. Deed recorded in 1808, Nash to Barclay, Marsha Rising Hoffman, *Opening the Ozarks: First Families in Southwest Missouri* (Derry, New Hampshire: American Society of Genealogists, 2005), Vol. I, 102-03. Robert Barclay (1771-1846) may be the salt-boiler, as he did not have children by the time of Nash's story, and he remained in the Booneslick for decades. However, Nash's testimony about him needs further investigation.

31. The Franklin claim dispute is summarized from the American State Papers. Documents of the Congress of the United States in relation to the Public Lands ... December 1, 1823 and ending March 3, 1827, Vol. IV (Washington D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1859), 815-71, online. It includes depositions taken by Augustus Storrs, J.P. in Franklin, the Callaway County circuit court, and correspondence among government land office officials in Franklin and Washington D.C. Henry C. Levens, Cooper County Clerk and attorney, and his helper, Nathaniel M. Drake (whose father was a Boonville lawyer), copied from these depositions in the American State Papers without attribution for the Levens and Drake, *A History of Cooper County, Missouri* (St. Louis: Perrin & Smith, 1876), a Centennial history. Nathaniel was a bookkeeper at Advance Publishing House, St. Louis,

32. Nash's auction, *Gazette*, Oct. 9, 1818. Indenture for \$1,000, Glen Hardeman Papers, #3655, f. 10, Feb. 6, 1826, SHS-Columbia. Nash was living in Boone County at the time.

33. A copy of Nash's Survey 1720 with ponds drawn in, Glenn O.

Hardeman Collection, #3665, f. 12, SHS-Columbia.

34. William Nash came back to Missouri and lived for a time at Cote Sans Dessein with his eleven slaves, 1817 census of St. Charles County. Canole later served Howard County in the Congressional House of Representatives, 1826-38.

35. Chriesman found a wife in Franklin, Mary Kincheloe, daughter of promoter Col. William M. Kincheloe, whom he married in 1818 and moved to St. Louis. By 1822, the *Intelligencer* published a notice for a William Kincheloe debt, a "note fraudently obtained by Kincheloe and John R. Brown, by the sale of a lot and absconded without settling." Kincheloe, as a defendant with Thomas and Wharton Rector and others, was "not to be found in Howard County," in answer to a notice to appear in court on a civil case, *Intelligencer*, April 16, 1822. Kincheloe, visited Stephen Austin in Natchitoches, Louisiana, about his plans in Texas, and returned to St. Louis. Kincheloe, a Prewitt family, and others left St. Louis and boated to New Orleans, across the Gulf of Mexico, and up the Colorado River, brought a millstone for Austin's first mill, and became one of Austin's famed Old Three Hundred in his colony. Horatio and Mary Chriesman soon followed William downriver, however, she died at New Madrid. Chriesman and others continued the same water route to the Colorado River and up toward Austin. Chriesman became a member of the Old Three Hundred, too, Stephen Austin's surveyor for the colony, 1823-36, a Capt. in the colonial militia, and Indian fighter, and served in many official capacities. Chriesman, Texas, is named for him. See entries for Kincheloe and Chriesman in *Handbook of Texas*, Texas State Historical Association, online. Capt. Daniel Munro served in the Missouri General Assembly as Howard County's territorial representative in 1818, but was killed on the Santa Fe Trail by Pawnee Indians in 1828, and William Munro, a Southern Methodist, donated the ground where Clark's Chapel was built.

36. See the William Nash and Joseph Deputy claim documents and four 1823 deeds in the First Board of Land Commissioners, Papers of Original Claimants, 1777-1851, Box 10, folder 41, MSA.

37. Nash died with a sullied reputation. In January 1810, in St. Louis, Henry Bradford foreclosed and publicly sold his plantation, "300 acres, about 8 miles from St. Louis, and his Negro woman," *Missouri Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1809; he briefly had a store in Franklin in fall 1819, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 17, 1819. Nash may or may not have paid his back taxes in 1821 for 612 acres in Howard County; he then advertised "To all men living, and that may hereafter live" the right to purchase land that Thomas Hardeman occupied, a claim upheld by the courts for Nash. He was embroiled with the heirs of Henry Carroll, surveyor Angus L. Langham, and others over 600 arpents of land around Nashville, Boone County, in 1824; in June 1825, that case broadened to include Thomas A. Smith, William V. Rector, William Kincheloe, and Peter Bass, all while he received mail in Franklin, but the specific outcomes of these land disputes are unknown, *Intelligencer*, ad passim. In Boone County, in 1829, his first wife committed suicide; his second wife sued him for divorce in 1832, he cross-filed against her, but she won. Meanwhile, in 1831, he challenged Capt. Gilpin Tuttle, Nashville merchant and slaveholder, to a duel at Wolf Island in the Mississippi River, "nigh to where the eye of [Abiel] Leonard flashed on Major Berry," and was arrested and fined \$100.00 in Boone County circuit court (his eccentric challenge is transcribed and with the "Crack of the Pistol: Dueling in 19th Century Missouri," webpage on the Missouri State Archives website, and *State of Missouri v. Ira P. Nash*, Boone County circuit court, Feb. term, 1831). Nash owned 240 acres in Morgan County that in his will was donated to that county for a seminary, but it was later sold for taxes; his will requested that he be "buried in an Indian mound in the highest bluff on his farm along the Missouri River to look down on the grand

rascals of that neighborhood.” Columbians advertised in the *Missourian* newspaper, March 4, 1919, an “Ira P. Nash Grand Rascal Evening,” social. Ira Nash clearly needs a careful researcher and biographical article.

38. Servants and Africans in *Niles Register* XIV (May 16, 1818), 208. In the *Intelligencer*’s first issue, April 23, 1819, it lists Augustus Storrs, assistant post master and the *Missouri Gazette* lists Storrs as a J.P. in Howard County, Nov. 27, 1818. Fountain Ferry, *Gazette*, Jan. 9 and Feb. 6, 1818. Operator William Ward further stated he would pay “the highest price given in cash for INDIAN CORN & corn fed PORK, delivered at the ferry.

39. See the complicated issues in Lynn Morrow, “Boone’s Lick in Western Expansion: James Mackay, the Boones, and the Morrisons,” *Boone’s Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Fall-Winter 2014), 25-31.

40. “My Creditors,” by G. B. League, *Missouri Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1817; Cooper, *Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1818; and horse races, Sept. 11, 1818. The county judges rotated the rental space for court, e.g., in 1818, at homes of John Bloy, Bradford Lawless, and John Corum, *Missouri Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1818. Jockey Club, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 23, 1823.

41. Independence steamer, *Intelligencer*, June 4 and 11, 1819. Gentry toast, *Intelligencer*, July 16, 1819. James Tallmadge, Jr., and John Taylor were New York congressmen who worked to restrict slavery in the trans-Mississippi West except in Louisiana. Not mentioned in the *Intelligencer* is that the same strategy the New Yorkers were using on Missouri had first begun as proposed restrictions for admitting Territorial Arkansas and continued in parallel during late 1818-early 1819 with similar arguments against slavery in Missouri. On March 2, 1819, Arkansas Territory came into being, so afterwards Tallmadge and Taylor focused on Missouri, William R. Johnson, “Prelude to the Missouri Compromise,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1965), 47-66.

42. *Intelligencer*, *Ibid*. One Kentucky drover, after he sold his herd, became sick and died at Col. Thomas Hickman’s house, *Intelligencer*, July 29, 1820. He was from Bourbon County, Kentucky, so he may have had a connection with Hickman and William T. Lamme, who were both from there, and in business together in Missouri.

43. *Independence* steamer, June 9, 1819, *Missouri Gazette*.

44. Letter, Nathaniel Patten to the Secretary of State, March 24, 1819, *Territorial Papers Louisiana-Missouri*, Vol. XV, 1951. Prichard, May 7, 1819, *Intelligencer*.

45. Patten’s uncle was a Mr. Adams. Holliday & press, E. W. Stephens, *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boone’s Lick Advertiser* (Columbia: University of Missouri Bulletin, May 1819), 9.

46. Patten & Holliday commission business, *Intelligencer*, May 28, June 11 & July 14, 1819; keel boats, May 28, 1819. Jonas Viles, “Old Franklin: A Frontier Town of the Twenties,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (March 1923), 270-71.

47. *Intelligencer*, April 23, 1819, and Jan. 7, 1823. See Patten and John Scott entries in *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, Lawrence O. Christensen, et al, ed. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999).

48. Persia, *Intelligencer*, April 1 and June 17, 1820.

49. *Intelligencer*, *Ibid.*, and Jan. 14, 1823. Postmaster Patten, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1820.

50. Mary Patten, Lilburn A. Kingsbury, “Boon’s Lick Heritage,” *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (Jan. 1966), 157.

Patten and Holliday in E. W. Stephens, “The Missouri Intelligencer and Boone’s Lick Advertiser,” *University of Missouri Bulletin* (May 1919).

51. Currin to Hardeman to hold \$70.00, August 21, 1819, Glen Hardeman Papers, #3655, f. 5, SHS-Columbia. Deputy sheriff, *Intelligencer*, April 1, 1820. Patten’s removal and ad for postage payments, *Intelligencer*, April 23, 1821, stolen pocketbook, *Intelligencer*, July 2, 1821.

52. Patten’s note, Cleveland to Leonard, Nov. 25, 1825, Abiel Leonard Papers, f. 34, SHS-Columbia. John Neal Hoover, “Nathaniel Patten, Jr.” *Missouri Encyclopedia*, State Historical Society of Missouri, online. Patten in Walter Ridgeway, “Howard County Has Two Centennial Celebrations,” *MHR* (Oct. 1916), 54-55. Patten advertised a \$100 reward for the return of the negotiable securities, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 9, 1820. Patten’s relief of \$603, *Niles Weekly Register*, Vol. XXX, 179, a favor from Sen. Johnson for one of his Kentucky friends in Howard County. Holliday’s weekly ads and agents, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 7, 1820 & June 11, 1822. Nine western counties, *Intelligencer*, July 23, 1822. Patten moved his paper to Fayette, where he married in 1827. Patten’s land parcel, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 6, 1829. Widower Patten moved on to Columbia in 1830, married again in 1831, and sold the paper in 1835; he moved to St. Charles to found his last paper, the *Clarion*, dying in 1837. Patten, *Intelligencer*, June 29, 1826, claimed “not more than two or three families had removed to Fayette before the spring of 1824.” For transcribed deed records between Holliday and Patten, Anna Lee BrosiusKorn, “Major Benjamin Holliday,” *MHR* (Oct. 1919), 21-25.

53. The account of the Stephen H. Long Expedition is taken from *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Vol. XIV, Part I of James’s Account of S. H. Long’s Expedition, 1819-1820*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Company), 1905. Long was a topographical engineer, and the *Western Engineer* was built in Pittsburg for the journey.

54. Turnip seeds and high water, T. A. Smith Papers, June 28, 1820, SHS. It was not uncommon for upriver high water to significantly lower its destructiveness by the time it reached Franklin. Maj. Benjamin O’Fallon made trips between Council Bluffs and St. Louis and made stops at Franklin. He resigned at the end of 1826 to return to St. Louis where he died in 1842. O’Fallon at Franklin, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 25, 1824.

55. Col. Thomas Kennedy was an American Revolutionary War veteran, who came to St. Charles County by 1817. He is buried in the Kennedy Burying Ground on private property along the Boone’s Lick Road, see Findagrave entries. This maintained cemetery, dating to 1823, is one of the oldest historic sites on the famous road. Kennedy purchased 300 acres of federal land, but the certificates did not arrive until after he died, BLM, GLO records, online. He also had co-purchased another parcel with Nathan Boone south of his homestead in the upper Charrette Creek watershed.

56. Salt barrels, *Intelligencer*, June 4, 1819, and Becknell, *Intelligencer*, July 2, 1819.

57. Barcroft and Lockhart’s salt works were situated “about seven miles from the navigable waters of the Lamine,” south of modern Interstate Highway 70, with specific locations in *Laws of A Public and General Nature of the District of Louisiana of the Territory of Louisiana of the Territory of Missouri and of the State of Missouri up to the Year 1824, Vol. I* (Jefferson City: W. Lusk & Son, 1842), 905, in the 1822, Chapter 371 section.

58. The bureaucratic history of Long's expedition may be followed in Herman R. Friis, "Stephen H. Long's Unpublished Manuscript Map of the United States Compiled in 1820-1822," *California Geographer* (Vol. 8, 1967), 75-87, online.

59. *Intelligencer* notices in May 13 and 27, and June 24, 1820.

60. There was a federal desire for a post road from Chariton to Council Bluffs, and riders used that path until packages were re-routed through Liberty in 1823. In November 1820, Maj. Long and Capt. Bell took their manuscripts and went back to Washington D.C. *Intelligencer*, Feb. 25, 1823.

61. *Intelligencer*, April 30, 1821.

62. Madison Co., KY, immigrants by keel boat, *Intelligencer*, May 28, 1819. Frankfort boat, June 4, 1819. Madison County, KY, folks in Columbia, Beth Pendergast, "Smithton, Missouri," *MHR* (January 1976), 135. Richmond lots and bar-b-que, *Intelligencer*, June 11, 1819. While Benjamin Estill helped co-found Franklin in 1816, his half-brother, Wallace Estill, one of the Madison County, KY, immigrants, was part of the Smithton Company and Wallace became the first constable for Columbia. Wallace Estill speculated with various partners in at least a dozen properties in 1824-25 in Boone County, and one in Howard County. Wallace did not stay in Missouri, but returned to Kentucky. See Estill lands, BLM database online. Wallace as constable, *History of Boone County, Missouri* (Cape Girardeau, MO: Ramfre Reprint from 1882), 144 and 738. Noticeable migrations from the same emigrant county in the east to Missouri have not attracted professional research

in Missouri. Another was the Presbyterians of Columbia, S. C., who migrated to Maury County, TN, where they became Cumberland Presbyterians, and the next generation moved to Greene County, MO.

Part Two, coming in the summer issue (June)

Franklin in the New West:

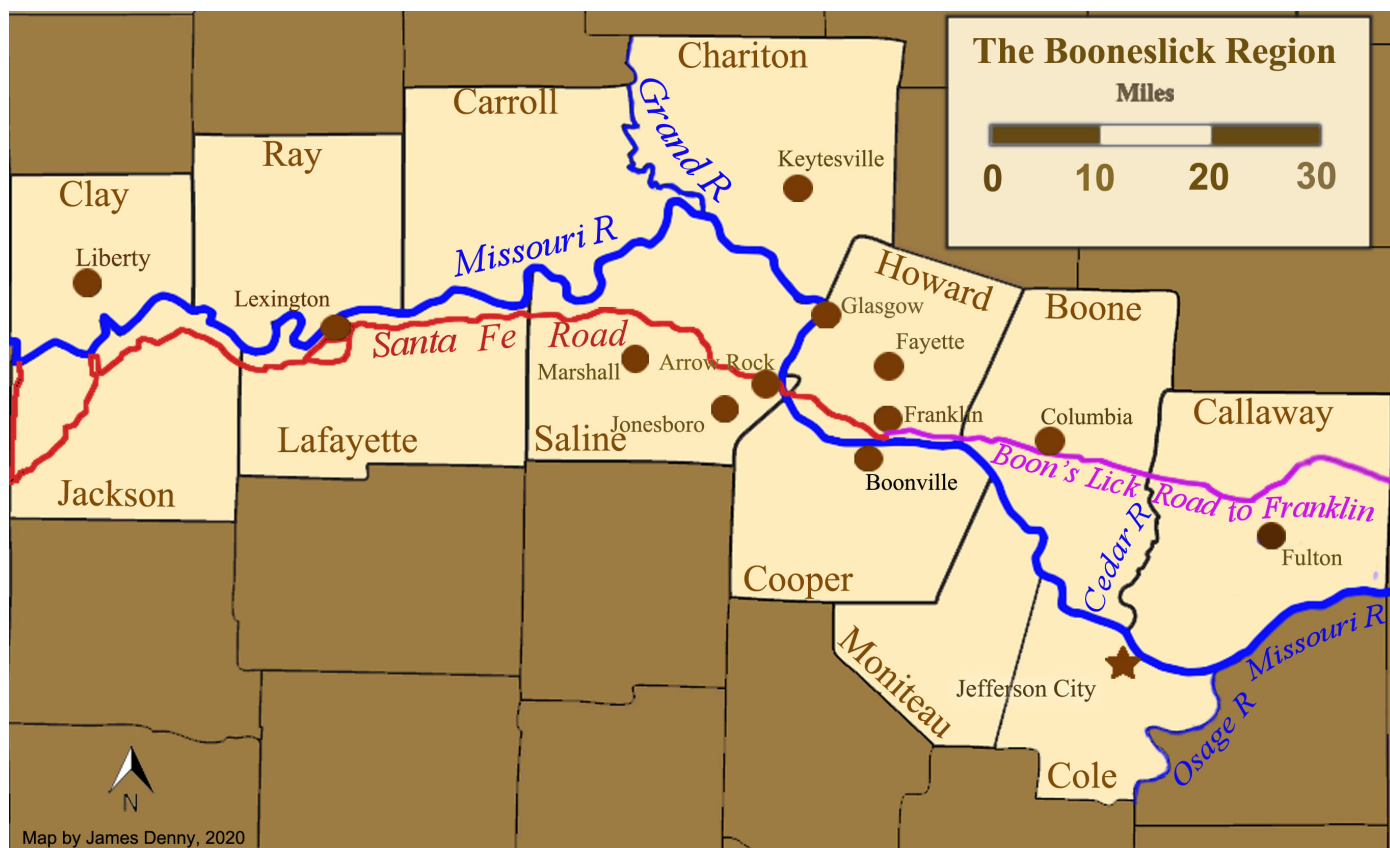
"It rose with fictitious splendor"

by Lynn Morrow

Chapter on "Constitutionalized Slavery" opening paragraph:

"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."

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



BOONSLICK REGION: Historian David March explains: "At first the name Boone's Lick was applied to the place in southwest Howard County where salt was manufactured. The Boone's Lick settlements later became part of the 'Boone's Lick Country,' as the area settlement west of Cedar Creek [that divides modern Boone and Callaway Counties] was called. As time passed, the name was sometimes used loosely to refer to an undefined area that embraced interior settlements in the vicinity of the Missouri River." Map courtesy of James Denny.

Boonslick Artist 'Winky' Friedrichs Topic of Boonslick Historical Society Spring Meeting

March 26 at The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art on CMU Campus

The life and works of noted Boonslick artist Florence "Winky" Chesnutt Friedrichs will be the focus of a presentation by historians at the March 26 spring meeting of the Boonslick Historical Society at The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art on the CMU campus in Fayette.

Making the presentation will be Dr. Mary Ellen McVicker of Boonville and Vicki Jobe McCarrell of Pilot Grove, vice president of the Cooper County Historical Society. Both were close friends of Friedrichs, who died in September at the age of 96. Friedrichs, who owned an antebellum plantation home (ca. 1820) near Pilot Grove known as "Pleasant Green," was an artist who worked in multiple media.

The BHS meeting will begin at 2 p.m. in The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art, which is located in Classic Hall on the southwest corner of the CMU campus. The special presentation on Friedrichs will begin at 2:30 p.m. in the gallery's classroom.

McVicker, who moved to the Boonslick in 1977, completed her doctoral dissertation in 1989 (University of Missouri-Columbia) on cemeteries of Howard, Cooper and Boone Counties. "I immediately became fascinated by the historic buildings and the amazing people who populated the area," she says. She previously served as executive director of the Friends of Historic Boonville and as executive director for the Stephens Museum at Central Methodist College (now CMU).

McVicker has also served as a member of the Missouri Alliance for Historic Preservation and as a member of the American Association Museums. Now semi-retired, she formerly taught at the Columbia Campus of Moberly Area Community College.

McCarrell is vice president of the Cooper County Historical Society and serves on the board of directors of the Boonslick Area Tourism Council. She returned to Cooper County in 1996 after living in Los Angeles for 19 years.

She purchased Burwood, a former plantation home in Pleasant Green next door to Friedrichs's Pleasant Green Plantation home, and the two became friends. McCarrell says she "learned a great deal from Friedrichs about the Walkers (her ancestors), who owned both plantations, and about the history of Cooper County."

Artists Bingham and Friedrichs Retrospective Featured in The Ashby-Hodge Gallery

The first show of the year for The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art is also be the first show to grace the walls of the newly titled Geist Gallery and Yancey Gallery, named for the institution's co-founders, Dr. Joseph Geist and Thomas Yancey.

The rooms each feature a new exhibit. The Geist Gallery is hosting the Bingham Trail Exhibit, featuring mostly works by Missouri

artist George Caleb Bingham. The exhibit also features works from the Gallery's permanent collection and other sources.

The main feature of the show, however, is the "Memorial Retrospective" for Florence "Winky" Chesnutt Friedrichs in the Yancey Gallery. Friedrichs, who passed away in September at the age of 96, was a prolific artist who worked in multiple media, most notably painting and creating copper renditions of saints and archangels.

Though the Gallery exhibit focuses mostly on her artwork, Friedrichs may well be most remembered for her contributions to her communities throughout the stages of her life. After earning

a degree at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and studying in London, Frankfurt, and New York City, she eventually settled in Iowa. There, she maintained a studio and was a productive artist, holding art exhibits as her family grew.

When the family moved to Louisiana, Friedrichs was instrumental in creating multiple art-related programs. She helped found the St. Tammany Art Association in Covington, which still thrives to this day, and she played a key role in the art teaching program for schoolchildren at the Mandeville City Hall.

In both Louisiana and Missouri, where she eventually moved to care for her father and the family's historic home, Pleasant Green, Friedrichs was actively involved in historic programs and events. While living in Pleasant Green, she co-founded the Cooper County Historical Society and helped create its research center. Those projects, along with her support of the Katy Trail State Park and sponsorship of the nationally recognized "Slave Dwelling Project," earned her multiple recognitions over the years.

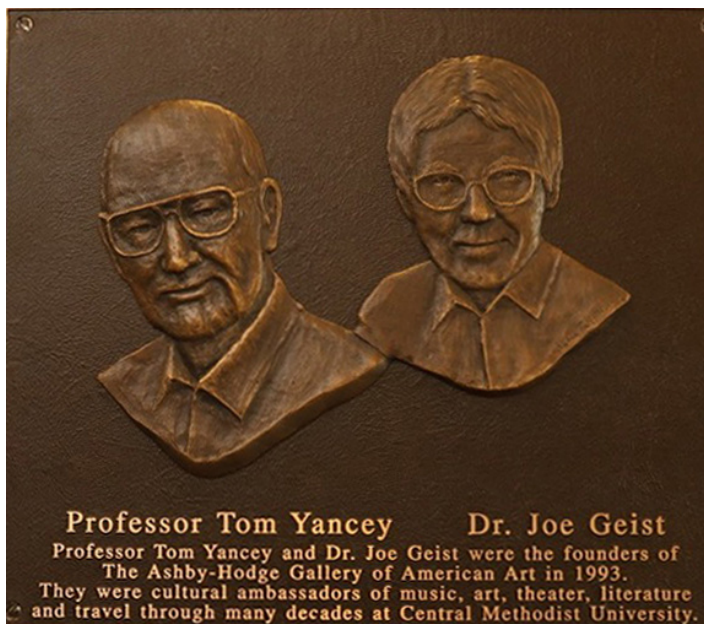
Friedrichs was a recipient of the Boonville Tourism Hall of Fame Award, the National Daughters of the American Revolution Historical Preservation Medal, and the McReynolds Award from the Missouri Preservation Honor Awards. She was also a longtime BHS member.

Friedrichs's paintings, along with the Bingham Trail Exhibit will be on display in the gallery from 1:30 to 4:30 p.m. on Sundays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. Appointments to visit the gallery can also be made by calling 660-248-6304. The gallery is located on the first floor of Classic Hall on the Central Methodist University campus in Fayette. Parking is available in an adjacent parking lot and along Church Street.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Thanks to Emily Kesel, CMU Marketing Communications media contact, for the above information on The Ashby-Hodge Gallery exhibition, which opened January 29 and will run through April 13, excluding a spring break closing from March 12-18.



"Grandma" by Florence Chesnutt Friedrichs, oil on canvas. Courtesy Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art



A Lasting Tribute to CMU Art Gallery Founders Tom Yancey and Joe Geist

A new relief sculpture of the founders of The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art, Joseph (Joe) Geist and the late Thomas (Tom) Yancey, is displayed in the entrance of the gallery, located in Classic Hall on the campus of CMU.

The plaque, which weighs more than 30 pounds, was cast by Columbia artist and sculptor Sabra Tull Meyer, and now hangs in the foyer of the gallery between two of Tom's own art works.

The inscription tells the story:

"Professor Tom Yancey and Dr. Joe Geist were the founders of The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art in 1993. They were cultural ambassadors of music, art, theater, literature and travel through many decades at Central Methodist University." Two wings of the gallery are now officially named for Geist and Yancey.

Geist is professor emeritus of English and former chair of the CMU Humanities Division. Yancey was CMU professor emeritus of music and art. Both are – and were, respectively – longtime members of the Boonslick Historical Society. Tom served on the BHS Board for many years. He died in February 2019 at the age of 86.

The plaque was commissioned by Earl and Linda "Sunny" Bates, along with support from CMU President Roger Drake.

BHS Members In Memoriam

Several longtime members of the Boonslick Historical passed away recently. We note them "in memoriam" below.—The Editor

Florence 'Winky' Chesnutt Friedrichs

Florence Winky Chesnutt Friedrichs, 96, of Pleasant Green, passed away at home on Saturday, September 3, 2022.

She was born on November 17th, 1925, in El Dorado, Arkansas, daughter of Col. Stanley Andrews of Moniteau County, MO, and Florence Vinita Cox of Pettis County, MO. She was married in England to John Christy Chesnutt, MD (deceased) of Little Rock, Arkansas, and much later in Covington, Louisiana to Carl Chalerson Friedrichs (deceased) of New Orleans, LA.

She is survived by her sons John Jack Pam) Chesnutt II of Evergreen, CO, Stan Chesnutt of Los Altos, CA, Alan Chesnutt of

Boulder, CO, and Sarah Chesnutt (Alan Reisman) of Boulder, CO and Pleasant Green, MO; and by several grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Editor's Note: For more information on Friedrichs, see adjacent article (pg 22 on the BHS spring meeting) and an Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art retrospective of her art.

William (Bill) Bryan Kountz Jr.

William Kountz passed away October 17, 2022, at his home in Columbia.

He was born on August 18, 1934, in St. Louis, to William B. Kountz and Willie Mae Weissinger Kountz.

Bill and his twin brother Robert (Bob) grew up near Tower Grove Park in St. Louis, and it was there that Bill developed his lifelong love for trees and gardens. He attended Whittier College, the University of Michigan, and graduated Washington University with a degree in architecture.

He was a parishioner of Saint Mary's Episcopal Church, served on the Fayette Main Street Committee, helped develop PAWS (animal rescue), and was a board member of The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art, Boonslick Historical Society, Fayette Area Historical Association, and the Howard County Progressives.

He is survived by his nephew, Edward Kountz (Linda) of Hiassee, Georgia, a cousin Don Rush of Saint Joseph, Missouri, and companions Bandit and Hercules. He was preceded in death by his parents and his brother Bob.

Robert (Bobby) Wilhoit Jr

Robert Wilhoit Jr., age 89, passed away December 4, 2022, at The Lodge in Fayette.

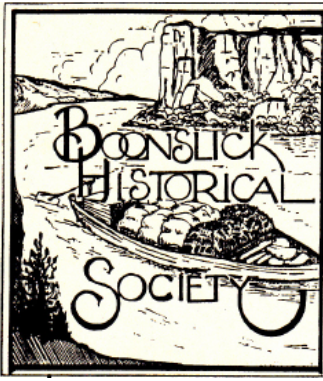
He was born July 7, 1933 at Lee Hospital, the son of the late Robert S. and Ona Bell (Potter) Wilhoit. He married Edris Wilkerson, on October 19, 1958 at the Fayette First Christian Church. Bobby was a 1951 graduate of Fayette High School and then enrolled at the University of Missouri-Columbia until he was drafted in the Army. After a medical discharge in 1953, he joined his father's business assuming responsibility of farm fuel deliveries. He later started his own business, Bob Wilhoit & Son LP Gas, delivering propane to many homes in Howard County.

In 1973, Bobby and Edris purchased the business from his father where they worked side by side until retiring in 1998. The Wilhoits have been longtime members of the Boonslick Historical Society. He was the oldest male lifelong member of Fayette First Christian Church where he had served as a deacon, property chairman for many years and drove youth groups on outings.

Survivors include his wife Edris of the home; his children James (Jamie) Wilhoit of Fayette and Janet (Robbie) Morris of O'Fallon; and several grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

BHS membership Fees for 2023 Now Due

BHS annual membership fees for calendar year 2023 are now due. The dues year is January through December. Membership dues are \$15-Individual, \$25-Family, \$50-Sponsor, \$250-Patron, and \$500-Life. If you are not already a BHS member and wish to join, send a check made out to the Boonslick Historical Society, P.O. Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233. You will receive our publication, *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly*, and be able to attend annual Society events highlighting the region's history. Members who do not renew by April 1 will be dropped from the magazine rolls.



P.O. Box 426
Boonville, MO 65233



Photo of the historic Hotel Frederick in Boonville, cir. early 1900s. The hotel often has been the site of the annual fall meeting of the Boonslick Historical Society, which was founded in the fall of 1937 during a meeting at the hotel of area historians and other interested citizens. *Photo courtesy of Jim Steele.*