

# BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY



Alphonso Wetmore Portrait by Chester Harding. *Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society*

## • FRANKLIN IN THE NEW WEST: PART 3

- BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS

VOL. 23 No. 1 — SPRING 2024  
BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY PERIODICAL

## Telling The Untold Story of Franklin—Part 3: Destination Franklin

### *Larger than Life Personalities . . .*

A ONE-ARMED SOLDIER AND A GENERAL, BOTH VETERANS OF THE War of 1812, are just two of the many remarkable individuals who make up the cast of characters in historian Lynn Morrow's long-form essay being published in five installments (Part 3, current issue,) in *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly*.

The amputee was Lieutenant, later Major, Alphonso Wetmore (1793-1849, cover image), a probable polymath who was also a lawyer, poet, storyteller, playwright, and editor of the *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, circa 1837. The publication detailed frontier life in Missouri and encouraged Easterners to move west and settle in the new state.

The General was Thomas A. Smith (1781-1844, image on this page), a decorated military officer appointed receiver of public monies for the US General Land Office at Franklin after he resigned from the army in 1818.

Wetmore lost his right arm after being wounded in the War of 1812. He learned to shoot with his left hand and stayed in the army, where he served as paymaster for his regiment and had a limited participation in the Yellowstone Expedition to explore the lands west of St. Louis and establish forts in the new territory.

After becoming acquainted with General Thomas A. Smith in 1818, Wetmore became an armed escort who transported dozens of monthly Franklin GLO deposits from General Smith to US banks in New Orleans, Louisville, and St. Louis.

After leaving the army, Wetmore worked as a lawyer and newspaper publisher, wrote plays and stories, and traveled on the Santa Fe Trail to trade in Mexico.

Smith entered the US Army as an ensign in 1800. One of the more interesting facts about him is that, as a young Lieutenant, he was chosen to carry the warning of Aaron Burr's conspiracy to President Jefferson in 1806. The federal attorney for Kentucky, Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, wrote Jefferson warning him that Burr planned to provoke a rebellion in Spanish-held parts of the West, in order to join them to areas in the Southwest and form an independent nation under his rule.

Smith was Colonel of the elite rifle regiment in the "Patriots" war in Florida and Georgia 1812-1813 and was brevetted as a Brigadier General in 1814. In the war of 1812 he saw action in New York, Vermont, Ohio and Canada.

In 1815 he was appointed military commander of all US territory west of the Mississippi with headquarters at Fort Bellefontaine near St. Louis. He resigned in January 1830 as receiver of the US Land Office at Franklin to move to "Experiment," his home in Saline County, where he lived until his death.

The Thomas Adams Smith Papers have been digitized and can be accessed at: <https://collections.shsmo.org/manuscripts/columbia/c1029>. The Spring 2023 issue of *Missouri Times*, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, contains an article on the Smith collection by Laura Jolley, assistant director of manuscripts.

"The Smith Papers are an account of the brigadier general's time in the army and his work with the Franklin land office," notes Jolley. "The military correspondence and letter books provide insight into military affairs in east Florida during the War of 1812. The records include troop movements, orders, court-martial, clashes with Indigenous populations, and reports on troop

morale. Letters in the collection also came from friends commenting on state and national elections and Missouri statehood."

The portrait of Thomas A. Smith, c. 1810, featured here was provided by Thomas B. Hall III, MD. General Smith is his great-great grandfather. It was originally published in *History of the Memorial Presbyterian Church and the Experiment Farm of Napton, Missouri* by Thomas B. Hall Jr., MD, his father.

The striking portrait of Alphonso Wetmore, on the cover, by Chester Harding, c. 1821, held by the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, was used in Mary Barile's children's book, *Alphonso Wetmore: Soldier, Adventurer, and Writer* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2015)

—Don B. Cullimore



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

We encourage our members and others interested in history to contribute articles or other information of historical interest, including family histories, pertaining to the region. Please address all contributions and correspondence related to the periodical to the editor, Don B. Cullimore, 1 Lawrence Dr., Fayette, MO 65248, or email to: [don.cullimore40@gmail.com](mailto:don.cullimore40@gmail.com), phone: 660-888-3429. Editorial guidelines may be obtained from the editor. Publication deadlines are February 1 for the March (Spring) issue; May 1 for the June (Summer) issue; August 1 for the September (Fall) issue; and November 1 for the (Winter) December issue.

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

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

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# BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY

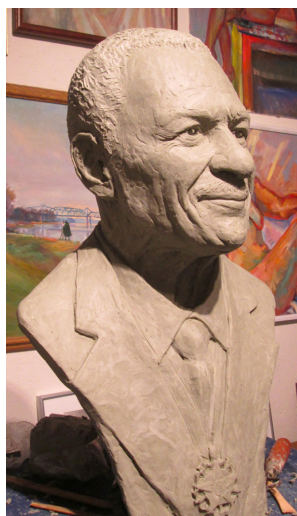
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- A Well-connected Virginian

**BHS News Briefs** 26-27

- Steele Completes Six-year Term as President
- BHS Board Officers for 2024
- In Memoriam: Newell 'Chip' Ferry
- Sculpture of Boonslick Civil Rights Leader C. T. Vivian



Dedication of the C. T. Vivian sculpture will be held at the Morgan Street Sculpture Park in Boonville, August 3, at 9 a.m. The bust of Vivian will take its place among sculptures of other prominent Missourians native to the Boonslick region. Vivian spent part of his early life in Boonville. The bust, to be cast in bronze, was created by Missouri artist Jane Mudd. Image courtesy of Brett Rogers

#### BHS membership Fees for 2024 Due

Boonslick Historical Society annual membership fees for calendar year 2024 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.

COVER: Alphonso Wetmore Portrait by Chester Harding.  
Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society-St. Louis.

Lieutenant, later Major, Alphonso Wetmore with an armed escort transported dozens of monthly Franklin GLO deposits from Gen. T. A. Smith to U.S. banks in New Orleans, Louisville, and St. Louis. Wetmore's wife and slaves lived on an acreage west of Franklin.

# Franklin in the New West: 'It rose with fictitious splendor'

## Part 3

By Lynn Morrow

### Destination Franklin

PRESIDENT MONROE SCHEDULED THE FRANKLIN LAND OFFICE to open for sales in September 1818, but it was not to be. Disappointing to Franklin settlers was that the first register appointee declined, and then Marylander and slaveholder Charles Carroll received the envious Franklin land office patronage appointment at a late date in July 1818. His son, Henry, had written to James Madison in March 1818 recalling the friendship of the Madison and Carroll families, saying that he wanted “to fix myself at Boon’s Lick in Missouri Territory,” and that Henry Clay had recommended him for land office register or receiver although “no patronage of Government has ever reached any member of our family.” Madison returned a letter saying that he had written President Monroe “to express my favorable sentiments towards you and my respect for the worth & wishes of your father.” The federal government awarded the position to father Charles Carroll. Meanwhile, Charles had to attend to “indispositions of his family.”

A week later, after receiving official approval from the Treasury Department, Henry began a journey of six weeks from Washington, D.C., to Franklin to begin work as an acting register. He arrived in Franklin to begin business in July 1818. The land receiver, Gen. Thomas A. Smith, was already there and had begun building an office. Public business opened for pre-emption filings in November 1818, while sales to surveyed land had to wait until February 1819. As it turned out, land patents often did not arrive back to settlers for two years or longer, frustrating settlers who wanted their land certificates in hand.<sup>1</sup>

Acting register and bachelor Henry Carroll was reared in wealthy privilege and handsome surroundings at his father’s estate Belle Vue, Maryland. He immediately saw that many of the pre-emption claims that were being discussed dated back to years when Howard County was “Indian lands,” so he wondered how could they be legitimate? Dutifully, he began a series of inquiries with the Treasury Department for interpretations of the law. An area that simply gobsmacked Henry was settlement definitions. What does “actually inhabited and cultivated” mean under the federal law? In September 1818, he laid out his observations:

“Are seeding and gathering, either or both, necessary to make cultivation; is sowing among the trees as they stand sufficient without clearing, closing, seeding and gathering; is barking trees, or deadening, enough without felling or removing them. Are

garden seeds put into an open patch, the vegetables gathered in a few weeks, the spot abandoned, enough without grain—or do the woods “actually inhabit and cultivate” presuppose a given time, a season, or year? The kind of dwelling may also deserve attention—do round logs, unhewn, rolled over one another without cement, pinning, closing or covering in; or the still inferior order of backwoods architecture; or does lying out under the open sky, without the parade of a hut, fulfill the intent of the Act—Is the hunters State, under any of these cases, to be considered; or that

of a rover who has not moved his family which he imagined before or after gathering his handful of corn nubbins, melons, or sweet potatoes—also can A prove for B, and B for A?” The details of pioneer preparation for pre-emption land claims was new to Henry Carroll. He was a long way from the cultivated landscape of his father’s other estate located at Groveland in western New York, but he was beginning to learn about the New West while living in Franklin.<sup>2</sup>

Representative of small merchants who set up shop in Franklin temporarily was Henry Bousfield. Born in northern England, Henry, at age 35, immigrated to America in 1819 and

headed for St. Louis where mail awaited him. Henry purchased a horse, crossed the Missouri River, and “made the trip from St. Charles to Old Franklin through the wilderness on horseback” joining the westward migration on Boone’s Lick Trail. He was pleased to learn on arrival in the Booneslick, “they are not French.” Bousfield became a merchant for a few years, paying taxes in Franklin. During the early 1820s, he moved to Cooper County, became one of Boonville’s earliest merchants, and purchased land six miles south of town. He joined the slaveholding society by advertising in the *Intelligencer* in January 1826 to purchase “a likely Negro girl, 12-14 years old for cash.” Bousfield lived into his nineties becoming a well-known commercial man of his times and “retired on a princely fortune.”<sup>3</sup>

More famously, Vermonter Abiel Leonard, in 1819, came west walking on the Boone’s Lick Trail to Franklin. During his trip, he encountered Kentucky attorney Peyton R. Hayden, who had arrived in Franklin the year before, but had gone to St. Louis on business and was returning by horse along the route to Howard County. Hayden was a year older than Leonard and the two struck up mutual conversations as Hayden invited Leonard to ride with



**CHARLES CARROLL OF BELLE VUE, left, received federal appointment in July 1818 to be Franklin’s Land Office Register. Unable to travel from Maryland to Missouri Territory at the time, he commissioned his son, Henry Carroll, right, to take his place, and Henry became the Acting Land Office Register when the Franklin land office opened in November 1818 to handle pre-emption filings in the Boon’s Lick. Henry served until February 1820 when he was mortally wounded by Maj. Richard Gentry during a heated confrontation near Fort Hempstead. Charles Carroll then became Land Register and served until December 1821. Public Domain Images courtesy of Wikimedia**

him to Franklin. Hayden's courtesies to Leonard helped Abiel to quickly enter the small legal fraternity there.<sup>4</sup>

Other travelers headed West not knowing where they would land, but they inspected the country and their friends reported the same back to them. A Virginian met the English traveler and journalist, William Faux, in 1819, as he headed for compatriots in Illinois on the National Road that eventually led to a crossing into St. Charles County. The rapidly developing West attracted attention in England as residents noticed their own tide of emigration from the British Isles. The Virginian thought "highly of Illinois and the western states generally, but considers Missouri to be the best, and to be preferred, as being the richest soil, and a land of negroes." He told Faux that enterprising westerners had the rivers open to them to export whatever they wanted to New Orleans, and on to the Atlantic seaboard should they choose. It's too bad Faux didn't make it to Franklin to talk to Booneslick traders.<sup>5</sup>

Americans continued investigations of the New West for themselves. Far more passed through and moved outward from the Booneslick westward and south than stayed in central Missouri. Unknown numbers returned to Kentucky or other eastern states. During Franklin's early years, the returnees east left because the newcomers couldn't take the "seasoning," the annual malaria and fever attacks that people endured, and that killed many who tried to adjust to the natural environment. *Intelligencer* Editor Nathaniel Patten called it "The Town Making Fever" in 1819. He wrote in a literary tone, "Notwithstanding the boasted salubrity of the Boon's Lick country, we find contagion and disease wafted through the ethereal space, and grasping in their vortex the citizens of this our admirable clime."<sup>6</sup>

One family who came to Howard County from the northwest mountains of Virginia stayed for nearly three years, 1819-22, before they called it quits and went back home. During their tenure in the Booneslick, malaria was so virulent in Chariton that its population went from 400 in 1820 to 177 in 1822, as residents "removed to higher parts of the country." The eldest son, James Campbell, commented in his diary about meeting Kentuckians on the way West who told them the sickness or "seasoning" was more than they were willing to take. Unfortunately, the Virginia Campbells, who settled in Howard County, would suffer the same curse.<sup>7</sup>

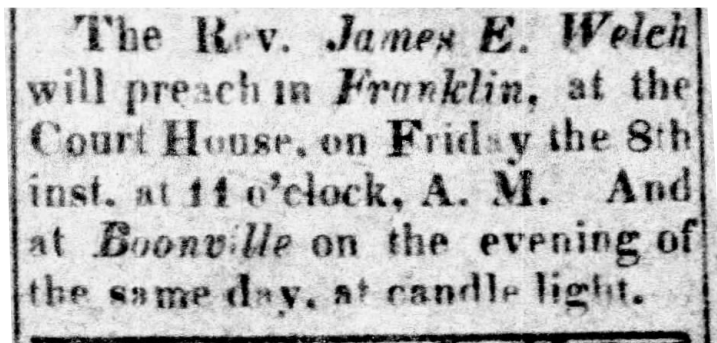
Alexander Campbell, his wife, eight sons between 21 and one-year-old, Aunt Frankie, their black mammy and chief domestic servant for children with duties to nurse the young white Campbells, and other un-named people in their entourage, left Virginia on course for the Booneslick. Perhaps they were influenced by the press, emigrant guides, or kith and kin, as James mentioned kin and acquaintances they saw on the trip. Their adventure was told by James, a trained surveyor, a skill that he knew was marketable in a newly settled land.<sup>8</sup>

James' comments are a rare witness to folk history at statehood in Franklin and Chariton. Local histories rarely record the frequency of neighbors trading work and enjoying social events on "thin" frontiers without established institutions. His commentary of everyday life elevates the historical imagination of the past in ways that the *Intelligencer* cannot. In Howard County, James Campbell left significant records including an evangelical interest to hear preaching in homes influenced by the Second Great

Awakening.

Folks living in Howard County, however, were no strangers to evangelical preaching. Baptist elders, David McLain and William Thorp had ministered to residents in the forts during the war. Afterwards, St. Louis missionaries Rev. James E. Welch and Rev. John Mason Peck "made extended preaching tours in the territory" traveling the Boone's Lick Trail and the Missouri River road. In February 1818, Reverend Welch married Sheriff Nicholas Burckhardt and Sallie Rose. By 1820, the Baptists had a wooden church in Franklin. The popular Methodist Justinian Williams preached in Boonville by 1818, was a regular speaker at the Franklin Masonic Lodge, and married many in the Booneslick. Bishop William McKendree and Rev. James Gwin from Cape Girardeau County planned a camp meeting circuit to include the "Boon's Lick, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> days of June [1818]" holding one in Bellvue Valley before Boon's Lick and then in Frazer's Bottom, St. Charles County a week after Boon's Lick. All these preachers were influential in Missouri.<sup>9</sup>

The Campbells left in September, saw the Kanawha River and its massive salt works. James drove one of nine wagons that



**SAVING SOULS:** *Missouri Intelligencer*. 2 September 1820. Courtesy of State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

carried tents for camping, others drove a large wooden-wheel cart and a carryall, a four-wheel carriage. They forded creeks, crossed on ferries, sometimes had to purchase a boat to cross water. Caring for the horses was a full time job.

At Charleston on the Ohio River, they descended the valley on the Kentucky side. The group visited Paris, Georgetown, Frankfort, Shelbyville, and Louisville, where they took the ferry across the Ohio River to North Albany, Indiana. James Campbell always commented on how many or how little the number of taverns existed in the towns, the primary sheltered facilities for travelers. At Vincennes they met three families from Missouri moving back to Kentucky. Occasionally they traveled along with strangers who were also going West. The Campbells were impressed by the expansive prairies and by November came to Edwardsville, Illinois.

Their wagon train went north to Pitcher's Ferry at Alton on the Mississippi River and across to St. Charles. When at St. Charles, Campbell, like others, termed the way West, "the Franklin Road," instead of the Boone's Lick Road. Discussing their entry into Missouri, they decided to leave "the prairie road," the Boone's Lick Road west of St. Charles, and "changed our notion of pushing right to Boone's Lick," and instead headed downhill to the Missouri River Valley where they thought they might spend the winter, or

perhaps keep traveling to Boone's Lick. James hunted & killed a deer and turkey, their first game kill on the road.

He wrote, however, the road is "very bad" and they decided to leave the river bottoms and go back northwest to the Boone's Lick Road and came out 20 miles west of St. Charles near Pond Fort. Once there, they became part of a *St. Louis Enquirer* report of 120 wagons per week that had passed through St. Charles headed principally for Boone's Lick from September to November 1819. St. Charles lawyers and land speculators, Rufus Easton and Rufus Pettibone, advertised expensive real estate near Pond Fort, 520 acres "on the road to Boon's Lick with good springs, timber, and first rate prairie ... good likely negro men and boy slaves will be received in payment." In 1820, when local officials in Montgomery County advertised lost horses found along the primary wagon path, the *Intelligencer* printed "Taken up by John Ward living on the Boon's Lick road, near the west end of the nine mile prairie."<sup>10</sup>

The Campbells camped at Loutre River, where deer was plentiful. Perhaps they camped around the cabins at Loutre Lick that Van Bibber provided for travelers, at least, their animals would have drank from the saline. It was mid-November and Van Bibber did not yet have a tavern. They debated again about staying the winter there, as seven other Virginia families were temporarily lodged along the river. Instead, they kept moving across the Grand Prairie and to Hinkson Creek in Boone County. The group turned south and camped at Augustus Thrall's, and crossed Sulphur Creek in Howard County, "which has high, steep banks, hard for a wagon" and camped two miles outside Franklin.

The Campbells went to Cooper's Fort to make plans for temporary settlement, camping and hoping to build cabins and rent land in the prairie ... but are "dissatisfied with the place" because of all the water, "two lakes where we would have to build." Most of Cooper's Fort population were "seasoned" to the annual ague or fevers by then, but newcomers were afraid of the watery lowlands. Surveyor Samuel Gregg in March 1816 wrote that there were "72 cabins arranged in an oblong square and a 400-acre barn field attached to the fort." The surveyor note transcription was an error and should be 22 cabins, as Joseph Cooper's description allowed for about 28 cabins. Men and their slaves could easily

have cleared 400 acres near the fort by then. Gregg's later commentary said that Fort Hempstead was comparable in size. The fort populations compared to dozens of hamlets or small towns in frontier Missouri. Henry V. Bingham, who arrived earlier the same year in Franklin, recorded in his travel diary about the "unhealthy fog" of the bottoms and the fear of "miasmas," the bad air that brought too much grief to innocent occupants of undrained land. The miasmas, "fever and ague," chills and fevers, were primarily malaria. Settlers knew they had to get "seasoned" if they remained.<sup>11</sup>

James went scouting to Chariton in search of a cabin and met Charles Tooley who put him up for the night. Charles was just younger than James Campbell, had come with his father John Tooley a couple of years earlier, and was destined to become a wealthy tobacco grower and slaveholder. Campbell looked around, but went back to Cooper's Fort without a rental property. His father Alexander decided to scout Chariton, too, while James went to Becknell's Salt Works to visit and camp out among the workers.

Alexander came back with a very modest proposal for a small improvement they could occupy. It was a 12' x 12' cabin, "a miserable hut, but like a home after so much wandering about." But, Joseph Andrews, the owner, balked thinking he might rent to another, but finally yielded to the Campbells. James went to work for Andrews who was building a distillery. In July 1817, Andrews was one of Franklin's first merchants with a store "at Boons Lick" with "Whiskey by the barrel, or retail" whiskey by the drink. Meanwhile, the Campbells started cutting logs for their own house. James was surprised how easy it was to kill deer. To meet neighbors, he attended Revivalist evangelical meetings at Chariton. The Booneslick immigration for Protestants was a Revivalist one, influenced by the Great Awakenings, not old line churches in the east.<sup>12</sup>

James Campbell's diary does not mention any specific motivation for their New West venture, but it is replete with references to his interest in preaching. Perhaps other family members had the same evangelical interest, but James does not mention it. The *Intelligencer* newspaper printed few references to religion, obituaries, and only mentioned marriages and deaths. Meetings for religious purposes were held in settlers'



**ON BOONE'S LICK ROAD, POND FORT-1800:** The granite marker was dedicated in 1913 by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the State of Missouri. In the background, you can see "suburbia" encroaching on the Fort Pond site, today located in North Lake St. Louis, St. Charles County. Because of this, the Fort Pond marker may have to be moved to another location. This fort was one in a series of private forts that formed a line of defense against the Indians, in the Indian Wars of 1812. Pond Fort was started by the Robert Baldrige family, originally from Ireland, who moved to Kentucky and then Missouri. The fort was built in the form of a hollow square on land from a Spanish land grant and was named for the pond, two hundred yards away. Image courtesy of Dorris Keeven-Franke, Boone's Lick Road Association.

houses that James frequented, often of a Cumberland Presbyterian persuasion. Prior to the Campbell's arrival, a co-founder of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1810 in Kentucky, Rev. Finis Ewing, a slaveholder, followed his congregants to Cooper County in May 1820 and established the Cumberland persuasion in the Booneslick. Campbell never mentions going to Cooper County to hear preaching, but he attended Cumberland Presbyterian camp meetings and their associated preaching in the Howard County countryside.<sup>13</sup>

The Campbells began construction work on their domicile in November 1819 and by December 10<sup>th</sup>, completed their temporary "cabin with a mud back wall." This was impermanent architecture intended for a short life, as the Campbells had not yet decided to homestead long term. The log and sod shelter was located "on the head of Richland Creek, 6 miles from the town of Chariton."

Bachelor James spent much time wandering the countryside and meeting new people. He went to Buffalo Lick on the Bonne Femme, where experienced salt-boilers and slaveholders, Col. Phillip Trammel and George Craig, were the managers, and put up all night at Richmond, "a little town laid out last summer but has only one house yet." James and Charles Tooley went to Franklin and stayed at Pritchard's Inn "and if I may judge of Franklin from what I see here, it is a very dissipated place given much to gambling." They saw horse races the following day and went to Cooper's Fort and on to Chariton, where James attended preaching again. In a moment of excitement on a deer hunt, James mistook Teague, his dog that he brought from Virginia, for a deer and killed him with his rifle. Days later, James visited Craig's Salt Works again (the saline was just southeast of modern Fayette).

It was winter. James bought a hog in January 1820, then returned to Craig's Salt Works to visit an acquaintance who was friendly and to stay the night. While there, James purchased 60 pounds of salt for the family. Once home, he stayed all night with landlord and distiller Joseph Andrews. But, getting the winter supplies bought and arranged was a demanding duty for the eldest son. He bought 12 bushels of corn, went to mill to grind six bushels, and bought Turner's 28 head of hogs at \$2 each.

James frequently wandered the neighborhood. He spent more time at George Craig's Salt Works that became a regular social stop for him. Again, he went to Franklin for the night, regardless how dissipated he thought it was. He visited Cooper's Fort and people he had met there, ferried the Missouri River, and lodged the night in Saline County. The next day he went back to Richland

Creek and spent the night with neighbor Mr. Ligget. In the morning he crossed Hurricane Creek to hear a J.P. court case. Sociable with new friends who also attended, James brought three friends home to stay the night with him. Neighborhood young folks had a Valentine drawing on February 14 that he attended, but he turned right around to appear at the Franklin race track to witness a horse race of "two Whips," young colts sired by Maj. Richard Gentry's, *Whip*, a pedigreed stud.

James walked to Richmond with friends, and obtained his first survey job for a settler's field. Then another preaching called to him to be in attendance. Neighbor Reuben Wasson had a log rolling that James worked followed by an evening ball at Wasson's. He met Reuben's daughter, Susan, and began calling on her regularly. Remarkably, Susan's parents married in Madison County, Kentucky, before coming to Howard County. He worked another day with a wagon hauling a load of corn, twenty-two bushels.

James met more friends at a preaching and one came home to spend the night. The following day, he went to Brawley's Mill to grind 8 1/2 bushels of corn and then worked on the roads. He obviously found Franklin entertaining and went there to attend court and listen to the lawyers, while lodging at John Means' tavern. On the way home he found a bee tree and cut it down. He went with others "to a Sugar Camp, but not much pleasure." Instead, it was harder work ahead. James and brother Thomas, two years his junior, split over a 1,000 rails in a few days. Days later, they split more rails. The young men helped Reuben Wasson roll more logs in preparation to build a new house. James hired out to farmer Morris for two weeks, worked 13 days and received a thankful \$10. Then, it was time to haul a load of corn, 16 bushels this time. He dropped by Reuben Wasson's and "have the pleasure of Miss Susan's company."

In April 1820, the law required that James attend his first muster for the state militia. "The appearance of the officers and company is not calculated to inspire very high ideas of respect and esteem. The officers are very meanly-dressed and display no abilities." Compared to Virginia, Missouri's new backcountry militia appeared very amateurish. Brigade Inspector, Benjamin Reeves, had called three regiments together at Chariton to begin reorganization as a Battalion Muster in anticipation of the new state government soon to come.<sup>14</sup>

The Campbell sons never found it difficult to obtain manual labor. The three oldest Campbell brothers, James, Thomas, and John, made 1,000 rails for farmer Crigler. Then, Reuben Wasson

"...and if I may judge of Franklin from what I see here, it is a very dissipated place given much to gambling" — James Campbell. They saw horse races the following day and went to Cooper's Fort and on to Chariton, where James attended preaching again."



PLACE YOUR BETS: *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*-St. Louis, 4 September 1818. Courtesy of State historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

rented to Alexander Campbell “5 ¼ acres of ground option at 2 ½ barrels per acre,” a transaction in barter, not cash (the barrels were probably corn). The Campbells rolled logs for neighbor John Waldon, and then all the Campbell men rolled logs on their rented ground. At night, James made a pair of moccasins to wear. At daylight, the Campbells began their own agricultural work as new settlers.

Joseph Andrews Distillery was up and running for the public, but James never recorded taking a drink anywhere, except for cider. James sowed flaxseed, then helped Andrews roll more logs. James traveled to mill to grind 4 ½ bushels of corn, heard another preaching, made more rails, and spent quiet time reading the works of Anglo-Irish novelist Oliver Goldsmith, including his famous *Vicar of Wakefield*. James had read several of Goldsmith’s popular books. He planted sweet potatoes and importantly “planted field about the house in corn.” In another chance to use his primary skill, Reuben Wasson hired him to survey his improved ground. With most of life spent outside, James took a Sunday walk. Then, it was back to the wagon to haul 20 bushels of corn.

Chariton held an election in May 1820 for men to attend the state territorial convention to plan an official state of Missouri. Franklin had the same event. The public political show interested him, as it did many, so off “to Franklin, great many people there for last day of the election for convention” Afterwards, he “goes with Rev. Mr. [William] Thorpe, a Baptist from Chariton, to Cooper’s Bottom, 8 miles up from Franklin” for an all night stay. Once back home, he finished planting Campbell family corn, then he helped a friend peel bark [for a tanning vat].

James decided to wander further from the family rental property. He visited Augustus Thrall’s hamlet and went to Smithton where he “falls into the new cut road” that became part of the Boone’s Lick Road. He met a settler who knew his uncle in Madison County, Kentucky, visited around Cedar Creek, stayed the night with a settler, and paid a bill of 75 cents in the morning. He managed to acquire another small survey job for settler Holt near Cedar Creek. He had to swim his horse across Cedar Creek, and stayed the night with Jacob Zumwalt.

The young explorer went east to Cote Sans Dessein, and stopped at Gen. Jonathan Ramsay’s in Callaway County. He “crossed the Auxvasse Creek and viewed a few French huts scattered along the margin of the river.” Once at the Cote, James stayed with John Dunnica, “an intelligent young man and gave me much information.” Dunnica’s merchant family, headed by William H.

Dunnica, who ran a tavern at the Cote, was from St. Charles, and who went on to become one of the “first families” at the City of Jefferson in 1826. John Dunnica became one the town’s many carpenters in the state capitol’s modest building boom.

James went back to Jacob Zumwalt’s and surveyed for him. He inquired the way to Nashville on the Missouri River to survey for John Woods, and although the job did not mature, word was getting around that James Campbell could survey responsibly. He went from Nashville to Little Bonne Femme and stayed with folks along the road. He “passed William Lientz’s and Augustus Thrall’s on the Boone’s Lick Road and wandered across the country till night and stayed with Capt. [Glen] Owen, one of those good kind men so rarely to be found.” Then, he visited with people at NicholasBurckhardt’s salt lick, went west through Richmond, and finally home.<sup>15</sup>

There was survey work to do in June 1820 upriver at Bluffton, “about sixty miles above Chariton.” James, with brother Thomas and William Andrews, scouted the Military Bounty lands. They had been surveyed and veterans drew lots for them in January 1819. They took a look at Grand River in Chariton County, and Wakenda Creek, Sugar Tree Bottom, and Crooked and Fishing River. The men attended the first Bluffton land sales that Brig. Gen. Duff Green promoted. James was amazed at the large tracts of black walnut timber and wrote that the natural area offered great inducements to the settler, “is scarce any undergrowth, requires no grubbing, ease of making a farm,” and does not hesitate in

pronouncing it the best part of Missouri he has seen. Others thought the same.<sup>16</sup>

Bluffton served Ray County as a temporary county seat, 1821-1828, much in the fashion that Franklin did for Howard County. James saw “prairies fenced of sod which is tough and has been cut in straight pieces and laid up with almost the same regularity of brick.” Their travel on horses was demanding. The prairie was so level that the rain drained slowly and horses strained to wade the prairies on the way back.

Once at Chariton, James attended another preaching in town. He learned of a singing school to be held several days at Mr. Morris’s house, who was a regular sponsor of neighborhood preaching, and made plans to attend. By context of the diary, Morris was a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher or a man seriously called to the Cumberland revivalist’s view of the world.

Returning to work, James went to the mill to grind seven bushels of corn, pulled the growing flax, and worked the corn to lay it by. He helped his young Andrews friend reap a spring crop, then he



**THRALL’S PRAIRIE:** Augustus Thrall arrived in what would become Boone County in 1816, settling on land that would become a “Model Farm” half a century later. He established a store and lodging place on the prairie named for him on the Boonslick Trail. This is where James Campbell visited in 1820. Boone County’s first settlement, Lexington, grew around him and prospered until the trail shifted south to go through Columbia and Rocheport. Lexington subsequently disappeared, as did Thrall’s store after two decades. Thrall’s store was just a stone’s throw from the current home on today’s Model Farm, now owned by Judy and Bill Hefernan. The Model Farm and the DAR Thrall’s Prairie-1812 Marker are just southwest of Woodlandville Methodist Church on today’s State Road J. Photo by Don Cullimore



broke some of his flax.

James visited Susan Wasson again and went to a camp meeting near Mr. Burch's. He had to go to Franklin as a witness in a Howard County circuit court case involving William Andrews, probably a land line dispute. He remained all day to listen to another trial. Back home, he gathered blackberries with Susan and helped a neighbor hoe corn. It was still too early for the Campbells to have any grown corn of their own, so James bought three bushels and went to mill to grind it. In the steamy summertime, he went to the Missouri River to swim in it for the first time.

The Cumberland Presbyterians held an August camp meeting that James witnessed. Afterwards, he went to Chariton to watch a shooting match, attended a local singing, and then went to another religious meeting at boatman John Rooker's house. His horse wandered away, so it was off to Craig's Salt Lick again to hunt for it, and while doing so, he attended another preaching. He practiced shooting his rifle, an activity he rarely reported. Settlers always needed salt, so he obtained ½ barrel of it from Andrews at the distillery. Then Reuben Wasson held a shooting match for the community. Another election day at Chariton brought country folk to town, where James saw a keelboat on the Missouri River land. He went home to get one of the wagons to visit Susan Wasson. Taken for granted then, clearing land of trees for farm, animals, or buildings never ended – Andrews asked him to haul logs for him again.

Logs lay in heaps all around Howard County. James helped another neighbor raise a house. Then, he hauled more logs for Andrews in preparation to build a new house. James and young folks sang at Morris' singing school and he followed Susan Wasson home. Back at the Campbell's rental improvement, James spread flax, took fodder from the corn stocks to save for winter cattle feed, and hauled another 1 ½ bushels of corn to mill. Men were in all the fields gathering fodder for their stock, so James helped a couple of friends top the corn and gather bunches of green leaves. Next, he heard more preaching.

James' horse decided to take its own scout again. This time he hunted two days for his horse before finding it. Others were not so lucky. The *Intelligencer* published dozens of notices of stray horses found and picked up by men who took them to a J.P. to keep, who sent an ad to the newspaper, and waited for the owner to arrive and pay his overhead bill. Much to James' liking, another

small survey line project for a neighbor came his way. Afterwards he went to Franklin, and stayed all night "in the white house on the bank of the river" with Dr. Jabez Hubbard. He returned home by Boone's Salt Lick, continuing regular stops at salines and mills in Howard County's road system. At home, it was his duty to take three more bushels of corn to mill.<sup>17</sup>

The nice October weather made hauling for Andrews two more days tolerable. He helped landlord Reuben Wasson raise a log crib. He and his young friends mustered at Bradley's, but James was still not a fan of the local militia. Painfully, he took his turn sitting up with a sick friend all night, but several days later, he died.

James patronized Patrick Woods Mill to grind six bushels of wheat and four bushels of corn, as the Campbell seasonal crop matured. If tolls were standardized at the mills, Franklin's grist mill in 1820 charged the customer one-fourth part of the wheat, and

for corn, one-eighth part, plus 16 ½ cents extra per bushel. James made a little money when asked by Joseph Andrews to survey another line, as the distiller continued making improvements at his farm. James hauled a horse trough that someone made, then he hunted on Sulphur Creek, the waterway north of Franklin that still attracted open range game. His friend, Mr. Morris, sponsored another preaching. But, the main fall task was to pull corn, haul corn, husk corn...he husked corn cobs on the stocks, then cut and hauled fodder to put up in a shelter.<sup>18</sup>

James met November's brisk weather with repetitive chores. He hauled six loads of corn, six loads another day, two more loads another time, and seven loads at the end of the month. He pulled corn, husked corn, split rails, made boards for a neighbor and hauled them to him, hunted and killed a deer, killed another one the following day, helped neighbors pull corn, and went to mill to grind six bushels of corn. With so much use of wagons,

James must have had to spend time maintaining them from the beatings they took on rough roads, but he never mentioned it.

Finally, he helped set Joseph Andrews' new log house and participated in the house raising before measuring the amount of rent corn for Andrews. He was relieved when neighbor settlers Brooks and Stotts both hired him to survey their fields. He hunted for the Campbell family's hogs, but couldn't find them until two days later when he located the sows. Socially, he heard more preaching at Mr. Morris's and visited Susan Wasson again.

James' December 1820 was much the same. He hunted wild

**VALUABLE PROPERTY:** The *Intelligencer* published notices of stray horses found and picked up by men who took them to a J.P. to keep, who sent an ad to the newspaper, and waited for the owner to arrive and pay his overhead bill. *Missouri Intelligencer*, 26 November 1823. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri

hogs, hunted their domestic hogs for several days, and wild deer. An election at Chariton initiated a social day and while in town he purchased a kettle for his mother. There was still corn to shell, and two separate days for trips to Patrick Woods Mill to grind ten bushels of corn each day. He helped neighbor Burch for a couple of days to assemble a log stable. Reuben Wasson advertised a preaching at his house, but none showed up. James gave no reason why. Wasson instead sponsored a frontier frolic for young people.

The Richland Creek neighbors had a New Year's ball, but James didn't describe it. At home, in the cold weather, he mended his shoes and attended preachings. He did a small survey for neighbor Weer and visited Chariton. He wanted reading material so he went south to Franklin for an overnight and returned home "to read through dozens of newspapers." He visited Capt. Glen Owen again and stayed nights with friends near Richmond. The men went to George Craig's saline to watch a horse race. The track may have been James Cooley's that opened in October 1819 "To Sportsmen, a mile track, on his plantation near the Spanish Needles prairie, free for the public, Good stables and accommodations." He visited teacher John R. Swearingen's school to obtain a letter of recommendation to give to Judge Copeland, where he stayed the night, and served on a J.P. jury the next day. James took another loop south to [Daniel] Munro's north of Franklin, traveled to Becknell's Salt Works, and returned home to visit Chariton again. Once at home, he made sugar troughs in anticipation of tapping the trees.<sup>19</sup>

In March 1821, maple sugar camps were in business. James said the maple sap ran well over the inserted spikes for several days. He harvested 69 pounds over the first three days and gathered more the next three days. Perhaps his brothers captured the syrup and boiled the sap. He joined his peers to work on the roads a couple of days and went back to making sugar at several camps. He recorded that he had "a fight with Reuben Wasson," presumably about Susan, but whatever it was he didn't mention her again.

James rode to Franklin and stayed at Bingham's Square and Compass Inn to hear a day of Maj. Richard Gentry's murder trial for killing the young interim land register Henry Carroll. The circuit attorney was Hamilton Gamble. He went home for the night, but came back for two more days of listening to Gentry's St. Louis defense lawyer George Strother's arguments. At night the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty.<sup>20</sup>

James returned to a school house near boatman John Rooker's house to hear preaching. He spent time with his friend George Munro, too, who worked on survey crews with James. In the next section of the diary James described his first government survey job. In November 1820, Ray County was created out of extreme western Howard County. Promoters wanted a new town to be called Gallatin; after county boundaries were later adjusted, it became the first county seat of Clay County.<sup>21</sup>

The lead surveyor, who took James Campbell with him to lay out Gallatin, was William Shields (who surveyed Rocheport in 1825). James went with William Shields to Bluffton, presented his recommendation papers to John Shields, and the survey crew went

to view the Gallatin town site. They laid out lots, James drew a plat map of Gallatin over two days, and after finishing they surveyed for a local farmer, then another on Rush Creek. Three more settlers paid for their services as they tramped back eastward. They crossed Grand River, was glad to arrive at Chariton, and James went with Munro back to his house.

Surveyors William and John Shields agreed that young James could become part of a larger project. In May 1821, James and a survey crew headed by William Shields, with John Shields to join them later, and another crew from St. Louis, left for large project in Arkansas set within the North Fork, Strawberry, and White River watersheds. During the five months that James was gone, he saw the Osage, Gasconade, Meramec, and other watersheds on the way to Potosi, and St. Michael's (Fredericktown). He crossed

. . . To his [James Campbell] great surprise, his father and brother Thomas had gone back to Virginia and had not returned. Alexander Campbell had decided in James' absence that the Campbells, too, had had enough sickness in the Booneslick and he returned to prepare their old property that he still owned.

the St. Francis, Black, and Current Rivers. The crew moved south to Davidsonville, county seat of Lawrence County, Arkansas, and surveyors negotiated the Eleven Point and Spring Rivers. Much of their work was in the White River Bottoms, standing and wading in water, in areas that explorers

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and Levi Pettibone had just left in 1819 for St. Louis.

On the trip back to Howard County in October 1821, Campbell met Kentuckians in Gasconade County who left the Booneslick to return to Kentucky, "they give a bad account about sickness," he wrote. Campbell reached Boonville, crossed on a ferry, and stayed the night at John Means' tavern. The next morning he picked up his mail from Nathaniel Patten at Franklin's post office and headed home to find "the family are chiefly all sick. A fond mother meets me at the fence." To his great surprise, his father and brother Thomas had gone back to Virginia and had not returned. Alexander Campbell had decided in James' absence that the Campbells, too, had had enough sickness in the Booneslick and he returned to prepare their old property that he still owned.<sup>22</sup>

The next day, James returned to Franklin for medicine, passed it around at home, took some himself, and he became sick into the night. Three neighbors came to stay with the Campbells. The following day, James "began to shake, had a very high fever to delirium, and severe headaches for several days. But, his shakes and fever continued. Unknown to the family then, Mrs. Margaret Campbell, his mother, on the way back to Virginia would die of fever in southern Indiana. At the request of Mrs. Campbell, Aunt Frankie, their black mammy, sang hymns by her deathbed.

The family wintered in Howard County and must have communicated with Alexander by mail. In February, [Missouri Intelligencer] editor Benjamin Holliday announced a public meeting "at the Court House on Saturday" to consider the best "means of promoting the health of Franklin during the ensuing summer and fall, to adapt measures for the removal of the weeds that during the last season held their heads in such lofty defiance." Their efforts were too late for the Campbells.<sup>23</sup>

In May 1822, James and others loaded up to return to Highland County, Virginia. They left Richland Creek, crossed local watersheds, and headed to Thrall's tavern and traveled

eastward on the Boone's Lick Road to Hinkson Creek in Boone County. They passed Benjamin Estill's tavern to Cedar Creek and camped near Isaac Gearhart's. The next day they stopped at Major Harrison's for feed and rest, then to Whetstone Branch at the edge of Nine Mile Prairie. Later they stayed the night at Enoch Fruit's tavern, where they met Alexander and Thomas Campbell who had traveled back to meet them. Continuing on the Boone's Lick Road, they crossed Loutre River and reached Camp Branch for the night. They got into St. Charles, passed the Baldrige mansion at Pond Fort, one of the few post offices on the wagon road at that time (1821-23). They arrived in St. Charles. The Campbells crossed the Mississippi River, north of Alton, at Smeltzer's Ferry and wagoned into the Wood River Valley, Illinois, on May 30. They used Peruvian bark while on the road to treat their fevers, and never came back to Franklin.<sup>24</sup>

### Built to Last

Men with economic circumstances far different than the Campbells moved to Franklin. They never intended to live in impermanent architecture in the new town or in the country. The elites built brick, timber frame, and log houses and commercial structures that were familiar and affordable to them and these buildings contained manufactured finished parts of metal and glass imported from St. Louis and farther east that were not present in most log houses. For a time, William L. Scott sold "cut nails and brads of every description" near Ludlow and Simpson's saw mill in Franklin.<sup>25</sup>

There were several brick buildings in Franklin. Brick commercial buildings lined the west side of the town square, but the following examples are domestic in east Franklin. The most prominent domestic one belonged to Gen. Thomas A. Smith, who arrived in summer 1818 to become the new Receiver of Public Monies. His family likely lived in a log house for temporary shelter for his wife and son, but he quickly made plans for a large Federal style brick house, common in St. Louis or the Ohio River Valley. When in Franklin, Cynthia Smith would bear three more children for Thomas that filled the brick home with a growing family.

The Smiths located on the east side of Franklin, in one of the acreage out-lots, purchased from Willlliam V. Rector and William Kincheloe's sale, as they needed room for a couple of slave houses in the rear property. Smith's out-lot, as others, is not shown on the original town map, often labeled, "Old Franklin map of 1819," that is actually a portion of the original town plat of Franklin and does

not include the contiguous out-lots (or later town additions). That map, without explanation, deceives the viewer as it represents up to fifteen per cent, or so, of what the layout of Franklin, "risen in splendor," actually looked like.<sup>26</sup>

In September 1818, Gen. Smith hired a contractor named Thomas Smith. The builder proposed the floor plan for a one-story, central-hall house to the land receiver and proposed to hire a local bricklayer in town. During construction, the two parties agreed to add a second story to the main block with brick priced at \$11.50 per thousand. The main floor had two rooms, one 20' x 18', another 18' x 18', that flanked a hallway, 10' x 18'. Each room had windows front and back, the hallway had front and back doors, and the rear ell on the end was entered from the smaller front room

and boasted three 16' x 10' rooms. In the rear of the house, and along the one-story ell, were posts for a veranda and two single-pen buildings in back for slave housing, or accommodations for perhaps 10 slaves. The ground floor was 18" above ground. The ceilings were 9-feet high with the perimeter brick walls ten and one-half feet in height to the ceiling, to provide a skirting between foundation pillars to close the understory so animals could not get under the floor.

Then, the builder and the General agreed

to add a second story and a stairway. When completed, the "workmanlike manner" of construction on the second story did not please the General, so he hired Hamilton Gamble in August 1819 to sue Thomas Smith for \$1,000 in damages.

The defendant hired John Ryland and Armstead Grundy. The defense kept the trial docket continued into May 1822, when a jury found satisfaction for the General in the amount of \$216. But, the General, not satisfied, appealed and brought a parade of witnesses to testify, including his future business partner, merchant George Knox Jr., from Boonville, and Franklin commercial men John Bird, Presley Samuel, John Shaw, and others. Unfortunately, the case file does not contain the verdict of the second jury.

What is important, regardless of Smith's aesthetic dislike of his second story brickwork, is that Gen. T. A. Smith, the longest serving federal appointee in Franklin, a Missouri River trader, local financier, and the town's most politically-connected person, had the finest and probably the largest housing quarters to receive the numerous dignitaries that came to Franklin over the next decade. James McGunnegele, former subordinate to Smith at Fort Belle Fontaine who became a merchant, supplied Smith with keys



(L-R) Gen. T. A. Smith became Receiver of Public Monies at Franklin in June 1818. Upon arrival, Smith, with personal funds, built the Franklin GLO office, rented another office to hear pre-emption claims, and built a two-story brick Federal house and slave houses. Maj. Richard Gentry also arrived in 1818 in Franklin. He had already met and schemed with a number of Missouri River Valley land speculators who intended on promoting various properties. In February 1820, Gentry mortally wounded Henry Carroll, interim Land Office Register, during a heated confrontation near Fort Hempstead. Murder charges against Gentry were later dropped when a jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. Images courtesy of Missouri State Archives and Wikipedia

of yellow ochre, black and other coloring, and turpentine for painting his house interior and milk pans and other household goods for use via Samuel and Moderwell's boat. Smith expanded his local real estate in the mid-1820s by acquiring several hundred acres nearby to produce surpluses for his slave maintenance and commercial trade that increased dramatically with the slave inheritance of his wife.<sup>27</sup>

Maj. Richard Gentry also arrived in 1818 in Franklin. He had already met and schemed with a number of Missouri River Valley land speculators who intended on promoting various properties. He had a high public profile in these speculations, sought public attention, and seemed pretentious to some about his militia status. He sponsored his stud horse, *Whip*, who stood with mares of the affluent settlers for a fee. Horse racing occurred at Franklin, but other tracts were in the countryside, too. In summer 1819, Major Gentry was one of the dignitaries at the *Independence* steamboat arrival and gave a short speech.

Franklin promoters, William V. Rector and William Kincheloe brought Richard Gentry into their friendship for promotion and supported with legal security Gentry's desire to build an upscale two-story Federal brick house. Gentry, in 1819, hired George Bellas as a general contractor for it. Strapped for cash, Gentry received help from Rector and Kincheloe who made a few payments to Bellas on a \$738 bill, but finally, in April 1820, Bellas' attorney, George Tompkins, sued Gentry for the balance of \$548 for supplies that were installed in the house. Sheriff Nicholas Burckhardt arrested Gentry, but Augustus Evans and William V. Rector provided a bond to bail Gentry from jail.<sup>28</sup>

The case has a long list of specific supplies and cost of each one in what today we call a mechanic's lien suit. It is instructive to mention a selection to show that, like Thomas A. Smith's house, the Gentry house looked very much like its counterparts in St. Louis.

Log single-pen houses with clay chimneys topped with brick flues could be built for some \$50 and a well-appointed dog-trot house for \$100-\$125, or so, plus the price of a Franklin town lot. Gentry, like Smith, wanted his house to be a permanent landmark.

Bellas supplied the brick, archwork design, built an architrave, and molding around the front door of the house. He sawed barge boards for strength on the roof gable, provided boxing and cornices and placed brick lintels on top of the doors and windows. He executed exterior chimney finish and roof guttering at the chim-

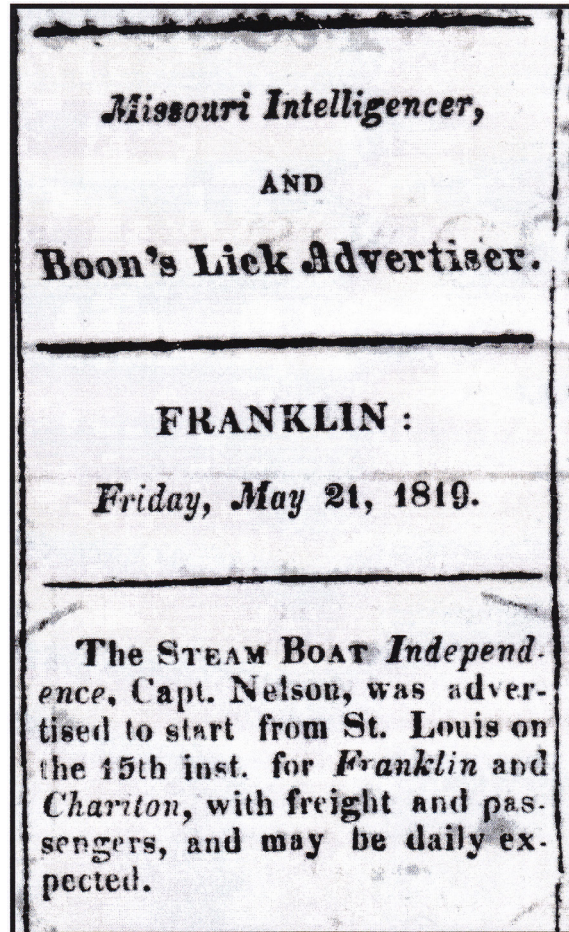
ney, and installed sand boxes at the hearth. Bellas built a stairway to the garret rooms upstairs, installed rafters with collars, placed sheeting and shingling on the roof, laid floor joists on the main floor, and built stud partitions to separate the rooms. He fashioned window frames, door frames, sash for glass lighting, laid tongue and groove pine plank floors, put 15-light glass in 11 windows, and fashioned window shutters to close over them on the outside. Bellas built a folding door with six panels, three six-panel doors, and a nine-panel door, all with their hinges and locks and a closet door.

The builder Bellas did not work alone on the house. The mechanics constructed a flight of stairs with 20 risers and panel work under the stairway. There's a list of metal items, like nails, cellar grates, and more that placed finishing touches on this upscale house. The house was exceptional for its cost in pine plank floors at \$102, the stairway at \$95, and the windows and glass at \$88, or \$285 for those three items, a cost that could have built a very nice two-story timber frame house, sided with clapboards, anywhere in Franklin. The jury decision is not in the case file, but Gentry did not build this house on speculation – he intended to stay. But, he soon left for Smithton and Columbia under the cloud of a murder prosecution and he battled its negative political fallout in the press or years. Only an affluent Franklinites could have purchased Gentry's house.<sup>29</sup>

As the Gentry case got underway in court, George Bellas hired George Tompkins to sue Maj. Elias Barcroft in February 1820 in a similar mechanic's lien case. Bellas had advanced the expenses for "materials, work, labor, care, & diligence" for articles he "sold and delivered" to Barcroft's house site. Barcroft was a Franklin businessman, a co-investor at the Salt Fork, Lamine River salt works with Byrd Lockhart. In town, he was the Howard County surveyor and deputy surveyor for the Surveyor General's office in St. Louis who sub-contracted to others, managed

a warehouse in Franklin, and, later that year, represented Howard and Cooper Counties as their first state senator. Although Barcroft was another man with resources, he, too, had difficulty in the largely barter economy in having enough ready cash as the national depression spread westward.<sup>30</sup>

Bellas advanced \$500 in materials, and Barcroft had paid \$285 of it. But, Barcroft was beyond the date of compliance, so the suit was for \$600 in damages to cover the trouble to Bellas, who hired George Tompkins to represent him; Barcroft chose attor-



**FIRST STEAMBOAT:** Steamboats were introduced to the Missouri River in 1819 as part of the early westward expansion. The *Independence* was the first steamboat to navigate up the Missouri River. It landed in Franklin [reportedly on May 28] of that year. The trip from St. Louis to Franklin took 13-days. "She was greeted with great elation" including "dinners, and thirty-one eloquent toasts...." By the 1830s steamboats had navigated the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. *Missouri Intelligencer*, 21 May 1819. *Courtesy of State Historical Society of Missouri Digital*

ney J. C. Mitchell. The supplies listed appear to be for a double-pen house well appointed, and the cost in materials confirm its upscale construction.

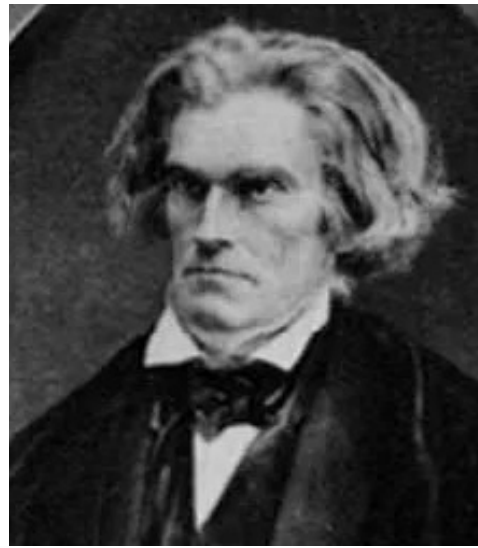
Contacto Bellas provided architrave, molding around a front door, window jambs with 12-light sash, glazing for 29 lights and sash, two batten doors, a closet door, door jambs, a wooden latch and front door and frame. He added porch framing and posts, hand rail and banisters, and

around the upper outer wall, an eave trough for directing rain water, corner board, barge boards, and boxing with sheeting and shingling on the roof. Bellas fashioned three 4-panel windows, and seven shutters, three six-panel doors, a side door, a middle door, all with lock handles and a latch. He put a trap door in the porch floor that led to a storage cellar. The inside house floor was manufactured tongue and groove boards. The builder put a border round at the head of the stairs, and charged for “winding stair steps and sealing” them. This was probably wooden steps placed in a corner of one room that went to a second floor. As with most planned houses, the planks were seasoned first and hauled to the job site when the builder was ready for them. Lathing was applied to the exterior, and the house was completely weather boarded.

Bellas supplied “two chimney pieces,” built a square table for inside use, and paid help for “moving and raising a frame,” for Barcroft’s house near the town square. Minor costs included metal work, e.g., nuts, screws, blacksmith help, etc. This less pretentious house than Smith or Gentry’s had its major costs spread more evenly throughout the house. The plank was \$25, weatherboarding, \$27, tongue and groove floor, \$29, sheeting and shingling, \$31, porch framing, \$23, hand rail & banisters, \$12, and the panel doors, \$26. This amounted to \$173 of Barcroft’s \$285 balance due to Bellas. In a town of primarily single-pen, log houses, with a chimney, Barcroft’s house was another expensive proposition and visitors noticed its finely crafted presence. The case file does not include a jury decision, but like Gentry, Barcroft soon left Franklin. Barcroft headed to St. Charles for state government positions and would have sold the house to an affluent Franklin buyer, probably one of the merchants.<sup>31</sup>

### A Well-connected Virginian

Thomas A. Smith’s reward of Receiver of Public Monies came through military and political contacts. Kentuckian John O’Fallon,



(L-R) John O’Fallon, William Clark’s nephew, served under Gen. T. A. Smith and afterwards became Smith’s confidant and frequent partner in business and long distance trading to New Orleans and Louisville. O’Fallon became the new sutler and paymaster at Fort Atkinson and Smith steered contracts from Franklin to him. Image, *Missouri Encyclopedia-online*. Courtesy of State Historical Society of Missouri. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, had hoped Gen. T. A. Smith would continue his military career to establish forts up the Missouri River. Matthew Brady daguerreotype. Courtesy of Encyclopedia Britannica

another of William Clark’s nephews, had served as Gen. William H. Harrison’s secretary, aide-de-camp, and Capt. during the War of 1812. The war began with Thomas A. Smith as a colonel of the Riflemen. During February 1814, Captain O’Fallon, wrote Smith to commend him on his recent promotion to Brigadier General of the expanded Rifle Regiment, “being myself present when the Secretary of War promised General

Harrison that you should have a Brigade of Riflemen.” Harrison thought Gen. T. A. Smith one of his finest officers in the field. Smith had served on the Florida frontier in 1808 and the Canadian theater in 1812. After peace began, the army posted O’Fallon at Ft. Belle Fontaine in 1817 where he served under Gen. Thomas A. Smith. Years later, Smith’s son, Dr. Crawford E. Smith, told a St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* reporter that “Father was an excellent shot. I have seen him cut a half-inch tape in two at fifteen paces often.” O’Fallon was a decade younger than General Smith, but the two men formed a mutual bond of friendship. By early 1818, O’Fallon, reared by Missouri territorial governor, Gen. William Clark, took letters of introduction from influential Kentuckians around Louisville to Washington D.C. to promote himself and Gen. Smith for patronage positions. Captain O’Fallon “consulted 22 Congressmen.” In the end, President Monroe appointed Smith as Receiver of Public Monies, and O’Fallon went home empty-handed. The *Missouri Gazette* announced Smith’s appointment in their June 5, 1818, issue.<sup>32</sup>

This general understanding of O’Fallon’s work to obtain an appointment for General Smith is well-known, but there is more to the story. Gen. T. A. Smith had already begun communications for a federal appointment the year before. Col. John Williams, from North Carolina, who relocated to Knoxville, Tennessee, married Melinda White, daughter of Knoxville’s founder, Gen. James White, in 1805. Williams became an influential lawyer, soldier, and statesman, brother-in-law to Gen. T. A. Smith, and served as a U.S. Senator in 1817. John Williams’ brother, Lewis Williams, served in the House of Representatives at the same time. In December 1817, Rep. Lewis Williams wrote Smith from Washington D.C., “you may expect confidentially to obtain the appointment of receiver of monies at the office proposed to be established on the Missouri [River] – [Treasury Secretary William] Crawford and many men are decidedly your friends; and they will carry the

point.” Of course, Smith never revealed any of this to his subordinate officer and friend, John O’Fallon.<sup>33</sup>

Smith had also started his own land speculation efforts, an activity he would continue in Howard County. In February 1818, he authorized his agent to “sell 500 acres of his lands situated in the new town laid out at the mouth of Cache River” on the Ohio River in southern Illinois. But, officially still a career officer, who was now the ranking military general in the trans-Mississippi West, he continued to have War Department projects presented to him.

In March 1818, John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, sent a long letter to him at Fort Belle Fontaine. In great detail, Calhoun outlined orders to Smith to begin establishing logistics to build a “permanent military post at the mouth of Yellow Stone River (western North Dakota) on the upper Missouri River. Calhoun was sending recruits from Pennsylvania and Ohio to St. Louis where he established a \$3,000 fund with Gen. William Clark to purchase presents for the Indians. Admittedly remote and dangerous to contemplate, Calhoun wrote, “the glory of planting the American flag at a point so distant, on so noble of river, will not be unfelt . . . the mighty growth of our republic, [we] are now ready to push its civilization and the laws to the western confines of the continent.” It would be years before any military logistics could be established on the Yellow Stone.<sup>34</sup>

General T. A. Smith did not lack for admirers in high places who held confidence in his abilities. In July 1818, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Henry Clay, wrote to Smith about the Yellow Stone project, too. Clay wrote, we “must impress the Indians in that quarter favorably in regard to power and the force of the United States. Col. James Johnson has built a steamboat for the purpose. I assume you have in your power to assist by giving him the transportation of men, baggage, and means. I understand that the President [Madison] has referred him to you.” Smith’s role was not to be. But the military did pursue the Yellow Stone expedition of over a thousand men and its Col. Henry Atkisson’s officers and steamboat *Western Engineer* stopped in Franklin where Receiver of Public Monies, Gen. T. A. Smith, hosted them for relaxation and conversation.<sup>35</sup>

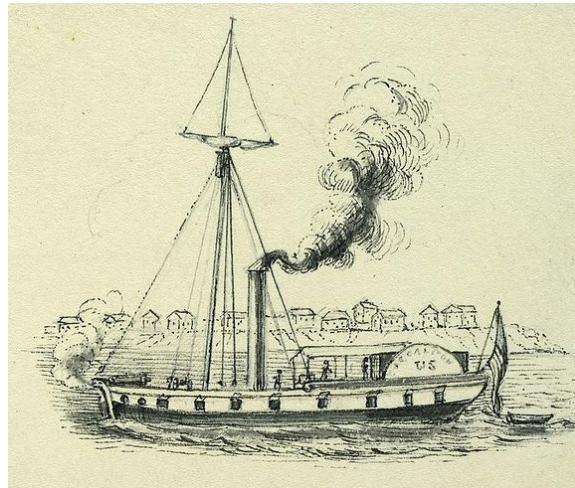
Smith’s appointment finally became public in summer; he had resigned in late March 1818, but it took a couple of months for the official military documents to cycle through army channels for approval. St. Louis elites invited him to a dinner to honor John Scott, Missouri’s delegate in Congress. Bernard Pratte, Risdon Price, and Thomas Hempstead sent the invitation to the new federal appointee. John Scott wanted Smith to have more political background of discussions that had taken place in Washington, D.C. William H. Crawford, Madison’s Treasury Secretary and ultimate superior to

Smith in his new executive department job, “has great confidence in you,” but less so among Missourians. Crawford thought “the people of the country, and those of the Boons Lick in particular, were little more than a Band of Banditti and that they will combine to prevent all persons other than themselves bidding for lands, that they are mere intruders and squatters. He thinks that we want to defraud the gov’t. out of the lands. He thinks that I am the mere tool of a party set up for particular purposes.” What answer or assurances Gen. Smith may have given Rep. Scott is unknown. Smith was likely diplomatic as his extensive correspondence is politically measured and temperate, except when he became a target for alleged corruption.<sup>36</sup>

John O’Fallon and T. A. Smith resigned from the U.S. Army. Smith took the oath for receiver, chose a clerk for his office, and headed for Franklin. O’Fallon became a legendary St. Louis businessman, banker, and philanthropist. The new sutler and paymaster at Ft. Atkinson on the upper Missouri River became John O’Fallon while Gen. Smith and others steered military contracts to him. Gen. Clark also found a job for John’s brother, Maj. Benjamin O’Fallon, in the Indian Department. Thomas A. Smith’s business with the army never really ended while he was receiver, as funds from the Franklin office financed and accounted for by Smith supplied much of the military pay and expenditures in the nation’s expansion westward.<sup>37</sup>

Moving on water up the Missouri River was no mean feat for any journey. After Smith had settled in Franklin, he still had possessions that others worked on to send upriver. James McGunnele, a Smith subordinate at Fort Bell Fontaine, wrote in November 1818 that a military contractor was scheduled “to deliver your grey horse” but had not left yet as their boat wrecked four miles above the fort and all available men were up there salvaging goods. McGunnele had the additional “mortification to add that four boxes belonging to you together with a quantity of ordinance stores either went to the bottom or drifted downriver. Please describe them and every inquiry shall be made for their recovery.” McGunnele ended by saying “as soon as circumstances permit I shall quit the service.” He did and became a merchant in St. Louis and traded upriver in Franklin.<sup>38</sup>

Virginia-born and William and Mary College graduate, Gen. Thomas A. Smith, and Charles Carroll became federal bureaucrats with \$500 annual cash salaries, a very handsome sum that allowed its beneficiary to live well on a cash-starved frontier. The salary was significantly subvented by commissions on sales, but over time a federal formula lessened the salary payout. Charles Carroll had family business to attend to, so he managed to get his son, Henry Carroll, approved to become Acting Register. These fed-



**The Yellowstone Expedition to the American frontier in 1819 and 1820 was authorized by U.S. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, with the goal of establishing a military outpost at the mouth of the Yellowstone River in present-day North Dakota. Also known as the Atkinson-Long Expedition after its two principal leaders, Col. Henry Atkinson and Maj. Stephen Harriman Long, it led to the creation of Fort Atkinson in present-day Nebraska, the first United States Army post established west of the Missouri River, but was otherwise a costly failure, stalling near Council Bluffs, Iowa. Construction of an experimental paddlewheel-type steamboat, the *Western Engineer*, in 1818-19 was overseen by Major Long. It was uniquely designed to navigate the expected narrow, shallow, snag-littered channels of the Missouri River. Image courtesy of Wikipedia Commons**

eral appointees “were among the most powerful instruments of the government on the frontier.” The men were late in arriving, so the office didn’t open as early as it should have.

Actually, there was no office. So, Smith built one, “as there was no place of safety for business,” and put his expenses down to be reimbursed at a future date. He wrote his superior that “I was situate as it was on the very Confines of Civilization and had to pass at great risk through almost an entire wilderness for 180 miles to St. Louis.” Smith also had to rent extra space for his administrative hearings regarding settlers’ pre-emption claims and he did not receive any rental credits for his building or rental space until after he turned in his final expenses in 1831.<sup>39</sup>

Henry Carroll, confirmed by William Crawford, U.S. Treasury, as Acting Register was a greenhorn in the New West. Franklinites disliked Henry’s way of doing business, suspected that he was corrupt, and in September 1819, 320 petitioners complained to President Monroe about him. The federal appointees’ authority in Franklin came from the opportunity to make innumerable variations in the interpretation of legislation, decisions that were not universally liked in the Booneslick. Uniformity in records was sadly lacking and the advantage always accrued to the wealthy man of influence. Franklinites complained that very month that young Henry and a partner had acquired land in Sugar Tree Bottom (northwest of modern Waverly) to schedule a sale of 60 to 80 lots for a Missouri town plat.<sup>40</sup>

In July 1819, Thomas A. Smith began his complaints to Josiah Meigs about the difficulty in obtaining competent clerks, books, and stationery for both register and receiver offices that led to late returns of accounting required by law. Certainly, T. A. Smith never anticipated that during his first fiscal month at work, February 1819, that receipts would exceed \$117,000, or annually from October 1, 1818, to September 30, 1819, he would receive over \$500,000 for land. No small staff in Franklin could keep up with that level of accounting.<sup>41</sup>

Once Charles Carroll arrived in Franklin, the register complained about the settlers’ abuse of government-owned salt springs, as there was not yet a formal government lease program. “Each summer families come from miles around to the springs to make their annual supply of salt” and cut “government timber.” Trader Robert W. Morris advertised the sale of his household and kitchen furniture and dry goods in October 1821 “payable in SALT, delivered in Franklin, at the market price.” Carroll wrote to his superior in August 1821 about being overworked. “We have issued 4000 certificates & they are held by nearly two thousand individuals. We have barely enough time to receive them [the applicants] & can attend to nothing else.” National land speculation had peaked in 1818, resulting in an excessive inflation of land prices, and

employees at Franklin were simply overwhelmed for years at the small federal office. The Booneslick migration was unpredictably intense.<sup>42</sup>

Before Smith arrived in Franklin, the Treasury Department and Department of War officials in Washington D.C. made an agreement about the use of revenue that would accrue to the Receiver of Public Monies in Franklin. They decided that the most western Government Land Office should receive, disperse funds to federal agencies, such as, the western military, Office of Indian Affairs and the Surveyor General’s Office in St. Louis. The latter two may have come as an afterthought after a few years of effective disbursements to the army. After Smith’s first year of such enormous receipts, in December 1819, quartermaster James McGunnege received \$21,000 in St. Louis on Quartermaster General Thomas Jesup’s request. A week later, the army added another \$4,000. Anyone could see the efficiencies gained.<sup>43</sup>

The Franklin office, even in the national recession, generated more revenue than the St. Louis office. The U.S. Treasury office reported that Franklin took in nearly \$30,000 more than St. Louis for the 1820 year. Revenue flow in Franklin, by 1821, forced Smith’s accounting to become more involved with the U.S. Army. So much so, that the Treasury Department and Smith coordinated transfer of funds on appointed dates to Capt. Alphonso Wetmore, army paymaster and courier, who spent years traveling the rivers and overland to keep quartermasters and western troops supplied. To “meet military expenditure on the Missouri” Smith made plans in August 1821 to transfer to Wetmore \$11,000 on both November 1, 1821, and January 1, 1822. The funds were for “pay, subsistence, forage, bounties, and clothing” of the troops.<sup>44</sup>

Although Missourians suffered financially in the depths of a recession, the Franklin office functioned as a cash cow for the military. Gen. William Rector’s Surveyor General’s office had the largest federal budget that contracted for surveyed public land that in turn Missouri GLO offices sold to the tide of immigration in an efficient manner. But, Congress never hired enough clerks to keep up with the bureaucratic work that kept settlers disgruntled at the slow pace of receiving their land certificates.

The work of T. A. Smith amplifies how much the federal government relied upon its appointees to do right thing, and contrary to today, appointee Smith laid out significant personal monies to make the office run properly, while the federal government did not take responsibility for losses or accidents that impacted employees. Finally, after two years, Smith queried Josiah Meigs, the GLO commissioner in Washington D.C., “I have not received any law which has passed effecting the duties of my office ... I request the early attention to this subject.” Before he received any answer, William Clark, under authority of the Secretary of War,



**Gen. T. A. Smith collected more than \$10,000 per month at the GLO office that required a monthly deposit in a U.S. bank, often transported by hired men who took keelboats or flatboats downriver or transported by Lt. Alphonso Wetmore if he was in Franklin. Interpretive image is of traders meeting keelboat coming upstream as they were going downstream to St. Louis with a cargo of furs. Salt from Boone’s Lick and other natural products also were transported downriver by boats to St. Louis markets. This history panel is located at the Missouri Department of Conservation de Bourgmont boat access on the Lamine River, Highway 41, just west of Boonville. Image courtesy of Lynn Morrow**

drew \$6,726 from the GLO account at the Bank of St. Louis. Clark needed subsistence funds to purchase corn for migrant Indians. Neither Receiver Smith nor the Register of Lands ever received a paycheck from Washington D.C., they deducted their own pay and posted it in the account books.<sup>45</sup>

Settlers kept Washington, D.C., bureaucrats irritated in their nonchalance use of public property. Commissioner Josiah Meigs bought an ad in October 1821, “To intruding settlers and others, who commit waste on the public lands.” The lawless persons “committed waste on public timber and were ordered to cease and desist.” They never did. Most people in the Booneslick did not own any land, only used its natural resources, leaving tax-funded local governments to struggle to render public services. To further complicate federal matters in Franklin, register Charles Carroll, his son Henry dead in February 1820, later resigned, and the father left Missouri for his New York estate, Groveland. Smith wrote to land commissioner, Josiah Meigs, on December 1, 1821, that “his resignation puts it out of my power to make the returns required by law or progress with the entries in the books of my office.” T. A. Smith oversaw both offices with unpaid clerks with “hopes they will be justly compensated.”<sup>46</sup>



**Col. John G. Miller. Upon Charles Carroll's resignation, Col. Miller, a former junior officer under Gen. T. A. Smith, served as Franklin Register of Lands. Miller became Missouri governor in 1828 and lived in Fayette north of the square. Image courtesy Missouri State Parks**

Register replacement, Col. John G. Miller, who had served at Fort Belle Fontaine under Gen. T. A. Smith, became the new federal appointee, but he had to learn on the job. Miller arrived and wrote Meigs on January 24, 1822, to report that work for sales prior to “July 1, 1820 is yet to perform, or nearly so. Gentlemen acquainted with the office claim it will require three or four good clerks twelve or sixteen months to bring up the books and perform the other duties.” Miller hired three staff and went to work. Meanwhile, Smith also gave attention to his own agricultural surplus by marketing pork to Col. John O’Fallon in St. Louis, his friend who was enjoying his December 1820 appointment as adjutant general of the Missouri state militia. On June 4, 1822, the newspaper announced Miller’s commission as Maj. Gen. of the First Division Missouri Militia. The various military titles served as a socio-fraternal bond among many of the frontier elites.<sup>47</sup>

Smith’s wife, Cynthia, lost her mother in 1819 and her father, Gen. James F. White, former founder of Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1821. The wealthy Whites bequeathed a large lot of slaves to Cynthia’s family. She may have received them incrementally, as the Smiths always had slaves to hire and work in Franklin. Then, in fall, 1822, Smith received a merchant’s license to trade in Franklin.

Afterwards, Smith concentrated his land investments in seventeen Cooper and Howard County parcels during the mid-1820s except for three scattered tracts in Saline, including ones that ultimately became his private homestead. Part of Smith’s Howard County agricultural fields bordered merchant John Bird’s, a J.P. and trustee of New Franklin (after its creation) on the road south back toward Franklin, or on the St. Charles Road, and more Smith fields were west of Franklin. Smith would have had an overseer directing the work of his slave field hands who produced for their maintenance and export trade of Smith and Knox Company in Franklin. Slaves were common on the streets of Franklin and they were a familiar presence in white residents’ homes.<sup>48</sup>

In 1820 Col. George Knox Jr. arrived in Franklin. Knox purchased 335 riverside acres from Richard Gentry that bordered Smith’s land to the north where Smith’s family lived in their house. Knox surely purchased Richard Gentry’s brick house with the land. Gen. Smith began a “Thomas A. Smith” mercantile in spring 1823 “at the northwest corner of the Public Square in the house formerly occupied by militia Col. Thomas Hickman and Lamme,” while George Knox managed one across the river in Boonville. A motivation for Smith’s new



**Lieutenant, later Major, Alphonso Wetmore with an armed escort transported dozens of monthly Franklin GLO deposits from Gen. T. A. Smith to U.S. banks in New Orleans, Louisville, and St. Louis. Wetmore’s wife and slaves lived on acreage west of Franklin. Image courtesy of Missouri Historical Society-St. Louis**

business was that his compensation and commissions had dramatically declined since the heady days of Franklin’s land rush before and at statehood, and he had families of slaves to maintain, often hiring them out. Smith’s federal pay had fallen from \$1,690 in the unique year of 1819 to \$207 in 1823; all other federal receivers in the country suffered similar losses in income as the depression caused the average price per GLO acre sold to plummet. That same year, Nancy (George Knox’s daughter) married the wealthy widower John Hardeman that linked Franklin elite families for long-distance trading. Knox and Smith, with their experience in valuing real estate, made extra money in probate court by “laying off the dower” of a widow or appraising property to sell.<sup>49</sup>

The land office accounting work plagued receiver Smith and register Miller’s office. Work dating back to 1818 that Charles and Henry Carroll were responsible for was not up to date. Smith spent August 1822 rectifying monthly and quarterly financial balances amounting to over \$325,000. In September he was able to submit accounts from the first quarter of 1819 through the second quarter of 1821. The army and paymaster Captain Wetmore required his attention, too. Military “pay, subsistence, forage, bounties, clothing of the troops,” in thousands of dollars for 1822 hard-pressed him and his clerks’ time although Wetmore and his armed escort that personally picked up funds in April, July, and September must



have relieved some of Smith's stress when he didn't have to hire a courier to transfer funds to a St. Louis bank.

By spring 1826, Wetmore, was reconfirmed by the U.S. Senate as army paymaster and was joined by representatives from other regiments in picking up funds in Franklin for their troops. Col. O'Fallon in St. Louis sent "coffee and sugar" to Smith in merchants' Scott and Rule's boat. Smith sometimes traveled downriver himself to transfer federal funds to O'Fallon so he could then take them to Louisville's U.S. Bank; O'Fallon regularly visited Louisville to see relatives and do business there. Smith's overnights at O'Fallon's house provided a chance for the two military veterans to gossip about politics which they commonly did through correspondence.<sup>50</sup>

Smith, as local financier to applicants who did not have access to a bank, like all risk-takers, did not have clear sailing in Franklin. In March 1820, he hired "five Negro men" – Benjamin, Aaron, Peter, Thomas, and Caine – to former Franklin merchant, Dr. George C. Hartt and lawyer George Tennille, who had moved to Boonville. Hartt, from Breckinridge County, Kentucky, likely came to Franklin to collect on \$2,000 that Levi Todd owed him in 1817, and then began a small business. The Hartt and Tennille terms were \$1,000 to Smith paid in \$250 installments each three months. The temporary masters in Cooper County were bound to provide each man "suitable warm apparel for the different seasons, one wool hat to each, and furnish the Negro men with good wholesome provisions and pay all Doctors bills" for the year. During the year at hand, Dr. Hartt ran unsuccessfully for the new Howard County senate seat in the state legislature (Maj. Elias Barcroft won). After time expired without financial compliance from Hartt and Tennille, in October 1822, Smith hired John Ryland and Armstead Grundy to file suit and Abiel Leonard served the defense.<sup>51</sup>

In this case, as many on the frontier, it dragged out for years. We have to remember that record keeping during the 1820s was not what it is today. The Cooper County sheriff could not find Tennille, but attorneys located his 640 acres in Cole County that they sold at a sheriff's sale in 1823. By 1824, Hartt himself was in a property dispute with the heirs of former acting land office register, Henry Carroll. Hartt owned the entire pre-emption of Hannah Cole, except for the 19 acres donated to Cooper County for Boonville. Thus, he sought partition rights that then became negotiable. And, Hartt owed resources to others than Smith. Peyton Nowlin condemned Hartt's Cooper County land near Boonville and on a Howard County tract, and sold them to the highest bidder in June 1825.

Later, the Cooper County sheriff sold at public sale in February 1829 Hartt's tracts of 152 and 250 acres in Cooper County for \$360.31. The sheriff also executed a lien on Hartt's "apothecary's establishment in Boonville" and sold it for \$3.63. Tennille could still not be found. By June 1832, the Cooper County court credited Smith's case with \$51 that the Cole County acreage brought at sale in 1823. The Howard County sheriff sold in 1833 at public sale 160 acres that Hartt and Tennihill owned in common. The court left on the books that Smith was still due \$583 in damages. Smith had retrieved his five slaves early on, but what kind of shape they were in was not recorded in the lawsuit. Three of them, "Aaron, Thomas, and Caine," experienced salt boilers, were hired to William Becknell in August 1821 (see Becknell and Sally story later).

In 1821, slaveholder Thomas A. Smith purchased a 640-acre

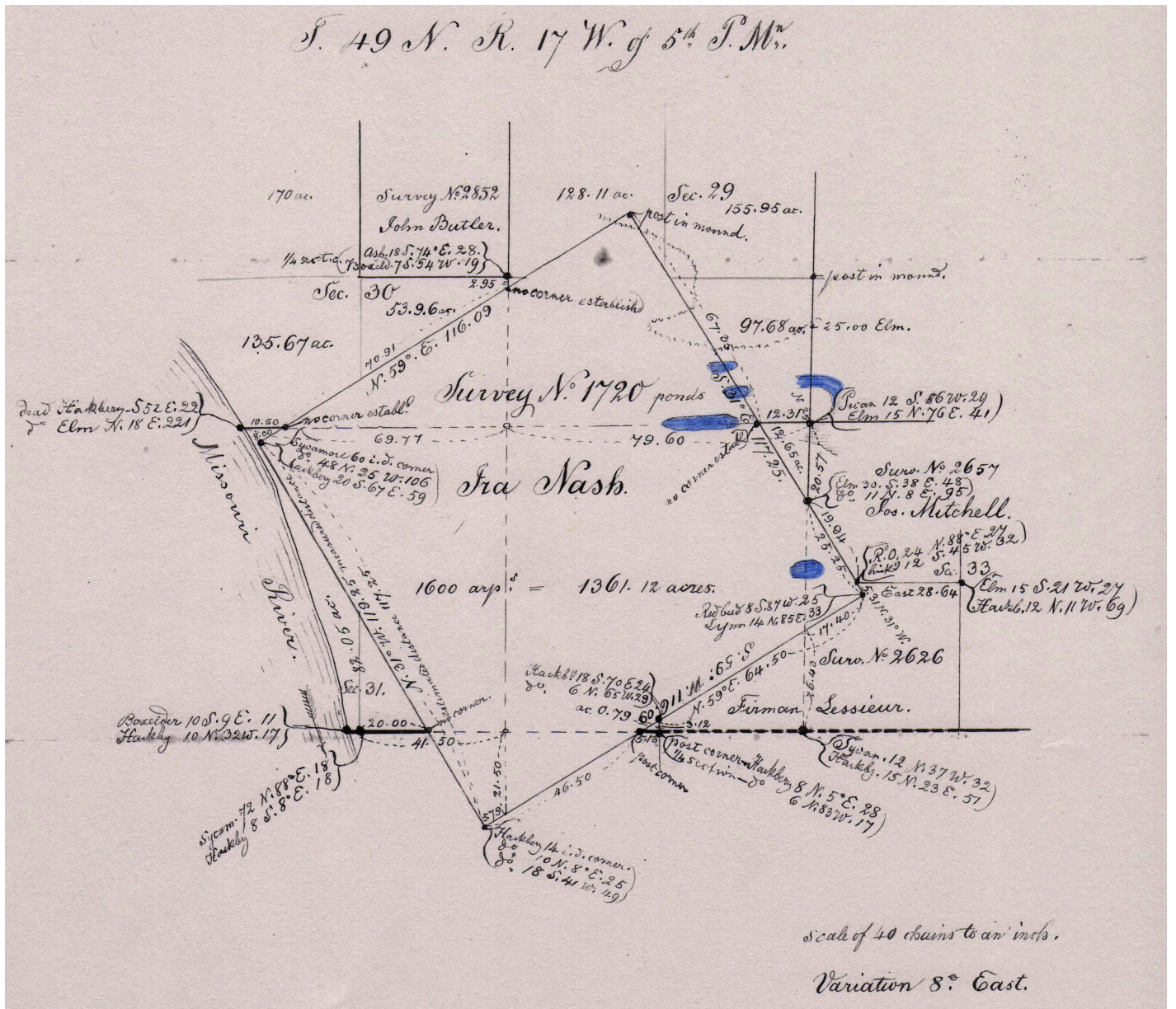
section New Madrid claim adjacent to the Missouri River and Edmondson Bottom in north Saline County from land speculator Maj. Taylor Berry. Smith speculated in land with Berry, and he purchased parcels from receiver Smith while amassing nearly two-dozen government land parcels in the Booneslick, including a New Madrid claim where Thrall's Prairie developed on the Boone's Lick Road. Locals procured a Lexington post office on the prairie the same year, sold town lots, and a few were improved and occupied. Berry bought more lands north of St. Louis and private properties.<sup>52</sup>

Berry had been on the welcoming Franklin committee for Col. Henry Atkinson's officers who relaxed in Franklin on their way upriver on the Yellow Stone expedition. With Capt. Richard Gentry, another army veteran, and many others, he promoted Smithton in Boone County. Berry's speculations and land deals commonly landed him in court, either as plaintiff or defendant. For example, Thomas Hardeman in Franklin posted a notice in 1820 that Berry had "fraudulently obtained a patent from the United States for a part of my Spanish claim of 1,200 arpents" (1,020 acres) and that whoever purchased any of it from Berry "may expect a lawsuit for the land." This dispute reflected part of the ongoing litigation over the alleged Ira P. Nash colonial claims<sup>53</sup> (See Survey, page 18).

A year after Thomas A. Smith hired five slaves to Dr. Hartt, the wealthy land receiver Smith and Major Berry, sold six slaves in March 1821 to Benjamin Bowles. The bonded people were "George, twenty four years old, one other boy aged about twenty named Bob, one yellow boy about fourteen years called Sam, one Negro woman about twenty three years of age called Charlotte, one girl five years of age called Lucy, and one boy one year of age called Isaac." The price for these people was two graduated payments of \$2,000, with interest, and one \$1,200 with interest on each February 1<sup>st</sup> in 1822 and 1823, and lastly, \$1,200 with interest, Feb. 1, 1824.<sup>54</sup>

While the mortgaged sale was still within the calendar of payment, rumors reached Smith and Berry that Bowles was going to transport the slaves out of the local jurisdiction "to places unknown." Smith and Berry's position was that it was Howard County sheriff, Nicholas S. Burckhartt's duty to retain them locally and seize Bowles property near Chariton, as the slaves did not have a license from Smith and Berry to leave. So, the enslavers, via attorney Hamilton Gamble, sued Bowles for \$5,000 in damages, although Bowles had made previous payments. Lawyers, George Tompkins and Charles French represented Bowles.<sup>55</sup>

Bowles hired the mortgaged Negroes to others, but the bonded people became "apprehensive that said Bowles would remove them out of the state." Smith and Berry were also nervous because the slaves were not immediately held under the possession of Bowles, as the blacks were sub-contracted elsewhere. The lower court upheld Smith and Berry, but the case moved to the [Missouri] Supreme Court, presided over by Matthias McGirk and Rufus Pettibone. During these years, the mobile Supreme Court met in county seats and did not convene all their cases in Jefferson City until well after the Civil War. The judges McGirk and Pettibone ruled that Burckhartt was not bound to retain the slaves and that Smith and Berry's claim was not recoverable from Bowles, as he did not yet owe them any money because the contract had not expired and Bowles' debt to them was at a future date. The *Intelligencer* does not indicate further litigation against Bowles,



**IRA NASH LAND CLAIM:** East-west overland traffic between Franklin and Arrow Rock traversed Ira Nash's confirmed 1720 claim of 1600 arpents in Cooper's Bottom that contained Cooper's Lakes and Nash's Lakes, marked in blue ink. Annual high water caused the county court to continually move the Nash Road north as the south edge of the Cooper Bottom gave way to the Missouri River. Glen Hardeman Papers, #3655, f. 5. (Editor's Note: Ira P. Nash and his survey work is referred to in both Part 1 and Part 2 of this extended essay on Franklin.) Survey image courtesy of American State Papers, Ira P. Nash, February 1804.

he even turns in a stray horse in August 1826. However, by the following year, Bowles is on the *Intelligencer's* "A List of Persons who have absconded or become insolvent subsequent to the tax assessment in 1826." His ultimate financial fate with Smith and Berry is unknown.<sup>56</sup>

In January 1823, Duff Green in Chariton wrote to Smith, "I hear you are entering into the mercantile business and I know you must want the amount of my note to you." Green asked for tolerance and laid out a payment plan that Smith must have accepted. In February, Smith sent \$1,500 to John O'Fallon and a list of goods that he wanted in New Orleans by spring and O'Fallon replied that he will pick them up in Louisville and send them to Franklin. By then, the *Dolphin*, a regular steamboat packet between Louisville and St. Louis, had become a transport for Franklin's federal

deposits in the U.S. Louisville bank. In May, O'Fallon sent that year's second boat owned by Scott and Rule to Smith at Franklin; this time it carried 4,200 pounds of iron and 200 pounds of steel. For good measure, O'Fallon threw in a new label of Madeira wine at "cost and service" and wrapping paper that Smith wanted. Col. O'Fallon wrote that anything Smith wanted to return to use "one of the [military] contractor's boats, maybe Capt. Lewis Bissell's." Meanwhile the St. Louisan told Smith how much he enjoyed his farming and making commercial whiskey.<sup>57</sup>

In June, Surveyor General William Rector in St. Louis drew \$8,000 of the land receipts; some surely went to pay deputy surveyors in the Booneslick. In July 1823, Meredith Miles Marmaduke came to Smith with a letter of introduction from fellow Virginians. Contacts that included U.S. Representative John Scott in

Ste. Genevieve had informed Marmaduke that Smith was the most connected man with the largest network of contacts and influence living in Franklin. Marmaduke spent the winter as a clerk in Augustus Storrs' mercantile and both took the challenges of trading on the Santa Fe Trail in 1824. Smith was a creditor for Marmaduke in his early long distance trading and Marmaduke and Smith became political allies and neighbors in Saline County.<sup>58</sup>

In 1824 George Knox Jr. became Smith's mercantile partner styled Smith and Knox, perhaps responding to the new competition presented by James Hickman and William Lamme's new alliance. In May 1826, Knox and Smith moved to the northwest corner of the Franklin town square.<sup>59</sup>

In August, trustees T. A. Smith, George Knox, James Hickman, Alphonso Wetmore, and David Todd announced that the Franklin Academy would open in November under the superintendence of Rev. Augustus Pomeroy. "All the branches usually taught in the Eastern Academies will be taught." Class was in the "large and commodious house belonging to Mr. [John] Bloy." As was traditional, after the first session, Pomeroy's students provided a public recitation of their recent accomplishments that was warmly received. Patten printed a complimentary essay for Pomeroy by Capt. Alphonso Wetmore and Dr. Nathaniel Hutchison. It included the fact that a new Franklin Academy brick building was under construction that would provide more space and allow another assistant to be added for foreign language instruction. This building became the two-story brick building eventually used as a residence, and last of the "Old Franklin" buildings, during the early 20th century.<sup>60</sup>

Smith and Wetmore became friendly politically, too, attending meetings in Jefferson City while doing business. Raised in New York, Wetmore lost his right arm early in the War of 1812 during the Americans abortive invasion of Canada, became a paymaster during the war, and located in Franklin when Col. Atkinson boated upriver during the ill-fated Yellow Stone expedition. He continued a Franklin and New Franklin domicile during 1819-35 although he was gone traveling thousands of miles transporting large amounts of money, under escort by soldiers, for army payrolls during his enlistment.<sup>61</sup>

Slaveholder Wetmore and his wife had "thirty-five acres of cultivated land" west of Franklin, raised their children in Franklin, and tasked nine slaves with duties by 1830. Wetmore opened a store in Franklin during the late 1820s and stocked it with goods from Philadelphia. He went on a year's absence scouting in Mexico in 1829 and when he returned his merchant balance sheet was over \$520 in the red. Two Philadelphia firms hired Abiel Leonard to collect from him. In June 1831, Alphonso appraised his slaves, house, and farm for a \$3,000 note from Bernard Pratte in St. Louis and Wetmore squared his accounts. Thomas A. Smith financed Wetmore's wheat fields near Old Franklin and a steam flouring mill east of New Franklin, but Wetmore was unable to keep prosperous. Before he left for St. Louis, his occasional stories in the *Intelligencer*, authored under a series of pen names, were among the first "local color" writings in Missouri that entertained Franklin residents. He issued reports on "the Santa Fe trade to become the first historian of the Santa Fe trail" and his writings were republished in the East.<sup>62</sup>

Smith supervised his river trade with a summer trip downriver to O'Fallon's in 1824 and returned to Franklin. O'Fallon mailed

a note for \$2,750 to Smith "to pay you at Louisville" in October for 55,000 pounds of lead. The lead came from Thomas' brother, John Smith T, and his mines in Washington County. Hampton L. Boon, Howard County's first county clerk in 1821 and an experienced Franklin mercantile clerk, began to work for Smith. By December 1825, Smith authorized Boon to handle thousands of dollars "to make and forward the accounts," and issue correspondence "H. L. Boon for the Receiver." In 1826 Smith took a trip to



**A rare sketch of Gen. William Clark farmhouse outside St. Louis. General Clark's farmhouse was a large, rambling building that expanded in sections where he hosted numerous guests. Image courtesy of National Park Service**

Virginia and visited the federal office in Washington, D.C., while Boon managed the receivership in Franklin. At other times when he was not available, his business partner signed official business, "George Knox, Jr. for T. A. Smith, Receiver." That year, William Clark's office of Indian Affairs in St. Louis asked for and received an increase in its budget supported by Franklin's federal revenues. General Smith returned from D.C. to St. Louis with Gen. Edmund P. Gaines and Gen. Daniel Bissell. It is likely that the generals consulted with the Department of War about the upcoming construction of Jefferson Barracks.<sup>63</sup>

When the new state capitol building opened in November 1826, Smith, Alphonso Wetmore, and Rev. Finis Ewing went there to electioneer for Col. Thomas H. Benton. St. Louis physician/politician, first mayor of St. Louis and state representative Dr. William Carr Lane, wrote his wife in December that Gen. Thomas "Smith wants to make me a present of a Horse - I say nay Genl. I am too poor, to accept presents - but wish he would hush about it." Smith had known Lane as Missouri's quartermaster general of the state militia, 1821-23, and as a cousin of Franklin's Dr. Hardage Lane. Before session ended, Gen. Smith "pressed me warmly to go home with him, but although I wished it much, it was out of the question—Lucy his daughter is learning latin!!" at one of the Franklin academies.<sup>64</sup>

Lane made his first trip to Jefferson City by horse on the south side of the Missouri River, but he crossed the river and returned on the Boone's Lick Road, as reliable "stages with good & careful driver, ran through twice a week" with transportation money to be made taking politicians and others to the capitol and back to St. Louis. Lane continued to use the more traveled northern route

west in subsequent trips to the state capitol. But, delays took place when going west near Van Bibber's at Loutre Lick. He was "benighted—carriage broke down—upset after dark—nobody hurt—a hearty laugh afterwards."<sup>65</sup>

The original land register, Charles, living in western New York, died in October 1823. His sons, William and Daniel Carroll, in 1827, made financial claims upon the Franklin register's office based upon an unknown agreement that reputedly, successor and then Gov. John G. Miller, made with Gen. Smith and Charles Carroll. Whatever it was, it infuriated Smith. The receiver argued that the Carroll claims were unjust. I "protest one cent to the representatives of Charles Carroll, late register" for alleged fees due him. In fact, "I will get Col. Benton to call for a copy of the power of attorney to William T. Carroll from the executor of Charles Carroll. . . . the Franklin office continued to sell more acreage and receive more funds than did its sister office in St. Louis. Thus, Franklin, under T. A. Smith's administration, was still a major revenue source to pay federal expenses with cooperative arrangements in funding the U.S. Army and William Clark's Superintendent of Indian Affairs office, in St. Louis. Carroll received the entire compensation allowed by law." Part of Smith's annoyance may be that federal compensation for his office to function had been much lower than the register's, thus, T. A. Smith was more efficient. The receiver's office compensation from 1818 through 1824 was \$4,914 to the register's payroll at \$6,349. There is nothing else about the Carroll estate dispute in Smith's papers. His Franklin office resumed business as usual sending specie and notes via steamboats to U.S. banks in St. Louis, Louisville, and New Orleans.<sup>66</sup>

As Andrew Jackson concentrated on becoming president in 1828, one of his admirers, a brash young attorney from Kentucky, James H. Birch, moved to St. Louis in 1826 and edited for the *St. Louis Enquirer*, Col. Benton's old newspaper. He moved to Fayette by fall 1827. In fact, the *St. Louis Republican* newspaper announced his imminent arrival that caused a Patten's piqued rebuttal in May 1827 to the prospect of Birch founding competition, the Jacksonian *Western Monitor* in Fayette. The St. Louisans claimed Birch was moving to be "in the midst of Hero's friends," an outlandish idea thought Patten. "We know of no place in the Union where the citizens are more unanimously opposed to Gen. Jackson's pretensions to the next presidency." To do so among so many Kentuckians who were devoted to Henry Clay was laughable, he thought, as Birch imagined "conquering the Boon's Lick country, where the established popularity of Sir Clay and of Mr. Adams" is secure.<sup>67</sup>

In March 1828, Missouri's Adams-Clay faction (anti-Jacksonians), including *Intelligencer* publisher Nathaniel Patten, met in Jefferson City to formalize their support for Adams. Birch, a political opportunist, initiated a scandal played out in Missouri newspapers that accused Smith of fiscal corruption—a charge built upon Smith's reputation as a known moneylender. Birch alleged, as was common on the frontier, that he was running out of paper and ink to publish his *Western Monitor*. He asked Smith for a loan of \$200 for the aid of his press so he could purchase ink to print. Birch claimed he received the money and Smith responded that Birch could come back for more for the same purpose. In Fayette, Birch published that an Adams-Clay man was financing his Jacksonian paper with public money; Smith claimed he loaned his private funds.<sup>68</sup>

The Howard County political scandal mongering in April 1828 headed for the U.S. Senate. Sen. [David] Barton and Sen. [Thomas Hart] Benton political camps had long since parted company and Smith got caught up in national politics. Barton is the one who called for evidence and pushed accusations of corruption against Smith. Thomas A. Smith responded to GLO commissioner George Graham in D.C., "However unpleasant it may be, to be compelled to expose one of the representatives of the state, in which I live, he has made it my duty and my charge shall be riveted on him." Moreover, Smith responded to Barton's charges published in the *Missouri Republican* in St. Louis, writing that he would defend in the Senate "the slanderous publication that Barton has written, an unworthy and degraded" man and "I shall address communications to the Vice-President [John C. Calhoun] to be laid before the U.S. Senate."<sup>69</sup>

Sen. Hugh Lawson White (Smith's brother-in-law from Knoxville, Tennessee) defended Smith while Sen. David Barton introduced resolutions to examine Gen. Thomas A. Smith's accounts. They instructed the Secretary of the Treasury to lay before the senate the appropriate quarterly returns from 1824-27. Representing Smith in Franklin, lawyer Thomas J. Boggs, one of three Boggs brothers who spent time in Franklin and who had moved his office to the same building as Smith's government receiver office after his appointment in February 1826, organized written responses to the federal land office in Washington D.C. under his and Smith's names. The *Intelligencer* had moved to Fayette in June 1826; [it] published related correspondence and texts from official hearings in the U.S. Senate. In fact, Smith, confidant in his resolute honor, paid \$90 to Patten to print the Barton and White exchange in the Senate. Patten employed a young attorney, John Wilson, to assume the newspaper's editorial desk. In April, 1828, publisher Patten wrote, "We understand that Gen. Smith is entirely sanguine that the Government will be found to be indebted to him several thousand dollars."<sup>70</sup>

A U.S. senate committee examined a collection of laws, administrative circulars, monthly and quarterly financial deposits, salary and expense accounts for the Franklin office, and Smith's correspondence. Too voluminous to recount here, a short summary provides an example of an exacting federal bureaucracy in the government land office of the U.S. Treasury in D.C.

Smith was obligated to deposit any monthly receipts that exceeded \$10,000 – every month under Senate review came under that rule. He could choose the manner of transportation of specie and state bank notes to the Banks of the United States at Louisville or New Orleans, but had to assume the risk; Smith made some trips himself and he hired others to do so. On one occasion, \$570 was lost which Smith "restored to the Government." At another time, surveyor Maj. Angus L. Langham was courier. Langham's slave stole the notes and money and "ran off with it and has never been recovered, neither money nor slave." Smith, of course, had to be his own insurance policy for the federal government.<sup>71</sup>

In 1827, Smith had \$50,000 on a steamboat headed to New Orleans that completely sunk, but men saved the federal money only to have \$1,000 stolen from the boat company's office; Smith

had litigation underway in an attempt to recover the funds. Under the time of consideration, the Franklin office continued to sell more acreage and receive more funds than did its sister office in St. Louis. Thus, Franklin, under T. A. Smith's administration, was still a major revenue source to pay federal expenses with cooperative arrangements in funding the U.S. Army and William Clark's Superintendent of Indian Affairs office, in St. Louis.

Federal revenue collections in Franklin belied the state revenue collections that had the state of Missouri in red ink. Gov. John G. Miller's first biennial message to the General Assembly in his November 1827 address pointed out the hemorrhage in state funding due to over 300,000 acres "not assessed for taxes this year" with the realization that this pattern had continued throughout the 1820s. One example was 1824-25 when the state collected \$72,000, but had \$107,000 in expenses. He blamed much of the difficulty on non-residents, those who had speculated in lands sold in Franklin and St. Louis. Miller called for a review of Missouri's defective bureaucracy and recommended that the state auditor, Elias Barcroft, and county assessors keep an updated list of taxes due stating the obvious that the unbalanced budget cannot continue. Miller continued to preside over a state with a floating debt. After the Missouri Relief Act that created loan offices to alleviate debt during the early 1820s depression, and its closing and declaration of being unconstitutional, the "state sustained a great loss by the failure of [loan office] payments in many to whom this paper was issued." The state economy, energized by renewed numbers of immigrants after 1825, gradually restored itself.<sup>72</sup>

As laws changed, regulations for financial deposits were amended, e.g., beginning in February 1826, Smith's receipts in notes could only include those of the Bank of Missouri, and banks in Baltimore, Boston, New York City, and Philadelphia. Documentation for the purchase of military bills or transfer of specie to their representatives varied widely. They included William Clark, acting general surveyor (after William Rector's removal in 1824) \$16,000, and again Clark in his capacity as Supt. of Indian Affairs, \$2,748 and \$8,000; the new general surveyor in St. Louis, William McRee, \$8,000; Capt. Alphonso Wetmore, army paymaster in Franklin, \$16,900; various army commissary of subsistence officers, superintendent of U.S. lead mines, army quartermasters, including a final one to Maj. Thomas Biddle, who was serving as director of the St. Louis branch of the Bank of the United States and army paymaster, for \$22,800.<sup>73</sup>

On April 29, 1828, the senate committee reported that a balance of funds was due Gen. Smith for advances made by him in service of the land office and that "the documents submitted show



**The ca. 1832 Hampton Boon/George Carson House at 404 North Church Street in Fayette is typical of early I-House construction, considered "the architectural symbol of success in small-town and rural regions" in America." Boon, a prosperous merchant in Fayette, was the home's first owner. He was a great-nephew of pioneer Daniel Boone. Gen. T. A. Smith hired Boon as his assistant in the Franklin GLO office where Boon administered the business while Smith was away on trips to Louisville and St. Louis. In 1830, Boon became Register of Lands serving into the 1840s. Photo by Don Cullimore**

to supersede our press, by lavishing money upon the editor of the *Monitor*," an insult to an old friend who had lived in Franklin for eight years. Patten simmered that Smith had "deprived us of our view of the Court House and Public Square to lessen the value of our property and to keep before us a permanent nuisance purchased a strip of land directly fronting our premises for a brick stable the whole length of our improvements. If there be an evil to be deprecated in our country, it is when a purse proud, lordly aristocrat exercises his wealth and power to oppress the poor and less exalted citizen." Whether Nathaniel Patten ever got over Smith's financing of the stable in Fayette is unknown, but Smith continued leasing the property.<sup>75</sup>

The federal government absolved Smith of any wrongdoing, but the scandal had cost Smith time and irritation although he had his federal salary, commercial businesses, and was independently wealthy, he was approaching 50 years of age. In spring 1829, it was Hampton L. Boon (sic) who transferred seven boxes of silver with various notes, nearly \$25,000, to Capt. Wetmore to take to the St. Louis bank. In August, Smith wrote, "I wish a successor to be appointed to receive the books and papers of the office at the end of the year." The Jackson administration still offered the position to Smith, but in January 1830, Smith resigned his Receiver of Public Monies position at Franklin. He left the office in charge of Hampton Boon, but told him he would "return to finalize 1829 fourth quarter accounts." President Andrew Jackson, in January 1830, appointed slaveholder, Maj. Uriel Sebree, former Kentucky legislator, a recent Howard County court judge, and local citizen since 1820 to the receiver position and H. L. Boon replaced Thomas Boggs as register.<sup>76</sup>

Correspondence with the federal office continued after Smith's resignation. Although political leaders were satisfied with Smith's performance, the comprehensive and proper accounting from 1818-1830 that included insufficient federal support in ex-

that he has been faithful, vigilant, and correct in the discharge of his duties." On December 18, 1828, Smith notified George Graham, the government land office commissioner in D.C. that he did not want to accept another appointment in the new Jacksonian administration.<sup>74</sup>

James Birch was elected clerk of the House of Representatives in 1828 and clerk of the Senate in 1830 in Jefferson City. He kept his accusations alive in the *Western Monitor* through 1829 and claimed by fall that his argument had netted 49 new subscribers to the *Monitor* and that Thomas A. Smith had financed the construction and opening of a "new Brick Stable in Fayette opposite our door!" Publisher Nathaniel Patten, competitor to Birch's paper, was outraged at the "General's abortive attempt

penses and the Carroll irregularities, pointed toward an incomplete balance sheet. On January 27, 1830, Smith wrote, "I have constantly acted with a sacred regard to the interests of the government," but Smith was ill. He wrote his former boss, "Owing to severe indisposition, I have been unable to go to St. Louis to make the deposit of \$5,000 ... for the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 1829. I have employed a young gentleman to make the deposit for me."

Smith reminded Graham that the government had still not paid his \$475 back rent to him for his office building in Franklin, nor reimbursed him for renting additional space to hear pre-emption claims. He also thought he had employed fair rates for the \$1,100 he spent for transportation fees to transport federal revenues to banks. As far as the \$1,000 stolen in New Orleans at the steamboat office, Smith had hired a New Orleans attorney to file suit, but the case was still on the docket; if Smith did not win the case, he stood to lose the \$1,000 plus court costs and attorney fees. Nevertheless, Graham's office reported in April 1831 that Smith still owed \$802.09 to the U.S. Treasury. In August, Smith sent the funds and intended to submit his claims to Congress for reimbursement. This study does not know if he received it or not. Boon and Sebree later moved the GLO office to Fayette in July 1832.<sup>77</sup>

By March 1830, Smith had purchased several hundred acres in Saline County that included where he built his house at the center of his developing farm. He acquired finished lumber from a saw mill in Howard County, rafted it across the Missouri River, and oxen hauled it to the building site for installation. He and his large family, including 38 slaves, made his move from Franklin to Saline County in fall 1830. They likely cannibalized lumber and timber, glass and manufactured items from the Federal brick house and sold the bricks for reuse in New Franklin. That September, surveyor Angus L. Langham in St. Louis was getting ready to ship



**EXPERIMENT:** The house built by Gen. Thomas A. Smith near Napton in 1826. According to a historic DAR document, the house, built as a hunting lodge, was considered "By far the most interesting home in Saline County ... General Smith called his estate 'Experiment' because he viewed as such his venture into the unknown wilderness." The only part of the house still standing is the west pen of the double log cabin. The photo was taken by Thomas B. Hall Jr., M.D. about 1935. Image courtesy of Thomas B. Hall III, MD.

iron and a load of goods on either the *Globe* or *Liberty* steamboat to Franklin for Smith's men to wagon to his new home site. In 1831, Smith accelerated his government land office purchases for his newly adopted home county, choosing eight parcels that year. In the prior years, several others had settled on prairies and opened farms near the timber belts, such as slaveholder William J. Wolfskill whose family, and others, prospered on them for 50 years and the prairies in Chariton County were the preferred agricultural fields of first families.<sup>78</sup>

Like many speculators, Smith kept an eye out for tax sales in addition to his GLO purchases. By February 1831, the land office sold to him 11 parcels in Boone County, and two in Saline. But, he eventually purchased over 7,500 acres of prairie and timber belt lands in Saline where he plowed and planted on his "Experiment" farm near Jonesboro (changed to Napton in 1880) that brought recognition and appreciation of planted trees, flowers, shrubs, and crops on prairie lands to a wide audience. He had witnessed the 1820s flooded destruction of John Hardeman's Experiment Farm and gardens upriver from Franklin. But, in Smith's upland prairies, a sod fence enclosed his gardens. The native Virginia college graduate knew that worn out tobacco lands in the state of his birth were being converted to a "new agriculture," i.e., general farming. Many Virginians named their new agricultural farms, "Expement, a name that Smith adopted for his farm in Missouri."<sup>79</sup>

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*. 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.

## ENDNOTES

1 To James Madison from Henry Carroll, 5 March 1818, and Madison to Carroll, 11 March 1818, Founders Archives Online, James Madison Administration. Patterson in, "The Boon's Lick Country," *Boone's Lick Heritage* (March 2001), 9.

2 *Territorial Papers of Louisiana-Missouri, 1815-1821, Vol. 15*, Sept. 3, 1818, online, or see Carroll transcription in David March, *The History of Missouri, Vol. I* (New York, Lewis Publishing Company, 1967, 245.

3 *Missouri Gazette*, April 1819, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 20, 1821 and Jan. 23, 1826, and *St. Louis Republican*, Sept. 17, 1875.

4 Hayden and Leonard in Daniel M. Grissom, "Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians," *MHR* (April 1924), 400-01.

5 *Faux's Memorable Days in America, 1819-1820*, ed. Reuben Gold Twaites (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), 141-42, online.

6 Contagion, April 23, 1819, *Intelligencer*.

7 The following story of the Campbells is summarized from James Brown Campbell, *Across the Wide Missouri, The Diary of a Journey from Virginia to Missouri in 1819 and Back Again in 1822*, eds. Mary and Michael Burgess (The Borgo Press, An Imprint of Wildside Press, 2007). Chariton fever, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 24, 1822.

8 The latest on Mammy roles is Kimberly Wallace-Sanders, *Mammy: A Century of Race, Gender, and Southern Memory* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

9 See the many references to Baptists in the Booneslick in

Robert Samuel Duncan, *A History of the Baptists in Missouri* (St. Louis: Scammell & Company, 1882); Burckhart and Rose, *Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1818; McKendree, *Gazette*, May 8, 1818. Subsequent records do not confirm that McKendree made the camp meeting route. Welch organized a church at Flanders Callaway's house near Marthasville, but it disbanded after Callaway died. Justinian Williams, *Intelligencer*, ad passim.

10 Pond Fort, the Baldrige wartime compound, was in their large territorial estate. Baldrige sons had considerable experience as mechanics who worked at Boone's Lick salt works, accompanied the expedition to build Fort Osage, served as officers and infantry under Boone-related leaderships during the war, and developed a commercial grist and saw mill services in the Pond Fort neighborhood and elsewhere. The western location of Pond Fort since the war made the St. Charles section of the Boone's Lick Road the most well defined for travelers and regional settlers. Early road petitions for government surveys always included Pond Fort as a landmark. Lynn Morrow, "The Baldrige Brothers: Rafters and Saw Millers," *The Bulletin of the St. Charles County Historical Society* (April 2009), 112-16. 120 wagons weekly, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, 1819. Easton and Pettibone, *Missouri Gazette*, April 7, 1819. John Ward, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 19, 1820.

11 Samuel Gregg comments, "A Recently Discovered Description of Cooper's Fort and the Booneslick Settlement," ed. Robert Dyer, *Boone's Lick Heritage* (Dec. 1999), 4-7, and "The Diary of Henry Vest Bingham," Marie George Windell, ed. *MHR* (Jan. 1946), 187. The 72 number is a mistake, as there is no known community stockade for half that number of cabins on the Missouri frontier; neither does it remotely match up with lists of fortified families in Howard County histories.

12 Andrews whiskey, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 2, 1817.

13 For Ewing, see Samuel Stella, "The Second Great Awakening and the Built Landscape of Missouri," *Constellations (Vol. 3, Issue 2) Material and Visual Cultures of Religion in the American South, 2019*," a cultural resource narrative of Missouri Revivalist churches, online.

14 In April 1820, Benjamin H. Reeves, Brigade Inspector, organized a Battalion Muster in Chariton to prepare the 10<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> Regiments of Missouri Militia for the new state government, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 25, 1820. Previously, William V. Rector took an active role in summoning men to his house in Franklin to elect officers to the Franklin Dragoons, *Intelligencer*, May 21, 1819. Subsequently, the militia met at John Shaw's tavern, where William Becknell met his first small group of five men in August 1821 before heading into the plains. Capt. Augustus A. Le Grand assembled his April 3, 1824, company at Shaw's that included Col. Samuel McClure and Miles Marmaduke.

15 Capt. Glen Owen married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hardeman. Owen, in 1824, made his will "being about to travel to Santa Fe, Mexico and considering the dangers and uncertainties" had it witnessed by John Ryland and left everything to his wife and "appoint my friend John Hardeman [Elizabeth's brother] to be my executor." His caravan traded textiles for horses and mules in Chihuahua, but on the way back, the Comanches attacked and killed Owen; fellow trader, William Wolfskill, took Owen's share to his widow on their return. Owen will in Ancestry.com and Nicholas Perkins Hardeman, *Wilderness Calling*, 1977, 108-115. John Hardeman, of Hardeman Garden fame, who managed the ferry across the Missouri River to the Lamine River, had long exported surplus goods to New Orleans, returned from a Mexican trading trip that had involved investors George Knox, Jr., and Thomas A. Smith, through New Orleans in 1829, died of yellow fever.

Hardeman left a large estate that took years to probate and his son, John Locke Hardeman, moved to Saline County. William Lientz, with associate Peter Bass, and others invested in Smithton, and they founded Marion, the Cole County seat in 1820, James E. Ford, *A History of Jefferson City, Missouri's State Capital and of Cole County* (Jefferson City: The New Day Press, 1938), 8. The same year, Lientz was agent for land speculator, James Trimble, Nashville, TN, who wanted to "rent or lease quarter sections & fractional quarter sections ... at his place of residence," near Little Prairie, "18 miles E. of Franklin on the road from Franklin to Cote Sans Dessein," on land today adjacent to North Jefferson City. Lientz, Bass, and others made one of the proposals for a Permanent Seat of Government to the General Assembly on land in Boone County, north of modern Hartsburg. The energetic Lientz became a Boone County county court judge (1822-26), a minor vendor to local government, was Booneton postmaster (1828-32) at his house and established a profitable farm, including Lientz's stop on the Boone's Lick Road, connecting Franklin seventeen miles to the west, *Intelligencer*, March 11, 1820, Dec. 10, 1822, June 25, 1821, Jan. 11, 1825, and David Sapp, "Mapping the Boone's Lick Road," 54.

16 Bluffton ad, *Intelligencer*, April 22, 1820. "Military Bounty Land," *Missouri Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1819.

17 Dr. Jabez Hubbard practiced for several years in St. Charles and moved to Franklin, but died in 1824, Houck, *History of Missouri, Volume III*, 82. His public ad said "His shop is kept in the house formerly occupied by A. Storrs, as a Post Office," *Intelligencer*, July 1, 1820, and white house, May 1, 1824.

18 "Rules for Grinding," *Intelligencer*, April 8, 1820. Although Campbell's diary tends to make the trips for grinding a boring affair, he likely enjoyed them, as mill grinding days attracted neighbors and offered time to visit about public or private business in the rural community.

19 The Munro families lived in Franklin Township near Franklin and Clark's Chapel. James Campbell's friend must be George Munro, six years his junior, and son of Daniel Munro, Jr., who was in the war, represented Howard County in the territorial assembly, and was related to the Copelands. Swearingen was born in Kentucky and was the same age as James, recently married in 1818, but had no children in Howard County. He was in Independence by 1830 where he raised his family, served as postmaster, and held terms as county clerk of the Jackson County Court. Cooley's track, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 4, 1819.

20 See below for discussion of the Gentry trial.

21 The diary editors mistook Gallatin for a setting in Daviess County that was not created until the mid-1830s.

22 John Means lost his life in an 1828 Santa Fe trading trip, Nicholas Hardeman, *Wilderness Calling*, 1977, 114.

23 Weeds, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 12, 1822.

24 Uncounted settlers in the Booneslick tarried awhile and left for other lands. On October 3, 1822, Indian sub-agent Richard Graham, responsible for migrating tribes into southwest Missouri, complained to Gen. William Clark that there are too many "squatters on those lands designed for the Indians, number of families have settled themselves on those lands within this year and many are moving from the Boon's Lick country to settle on them," Richard Graham Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Isaac Gearhart had a short tenure on the Boone's Lick Road. He moved back to Franklin where he had emigrated after the war,

married in the tavern in Fort Kincaid in 1818, and subsequently became a wealthy land and slave owner in Franklin Township, Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick Heritage," 156.

25 Nails, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 17, 1819.

26 The house summary is based on Thomas A. Smith v. Thomas Smith, trespass/debt, May 1822, Howard County circuit court case files, MSA. A drawing of the house plan is in the case file. More on the size of Franklin is presented later in the essay.

27 McGunnege's paint, Thomas A. Smith Papers, July, 1, 1821, SHS-Columbia.

28 Details are summarized from George Bellas v. Richard Gentry, filed April 24, 1820, Howard County circuit court, MSA.

29 The best guess for who purchased Gentry's brick house would be George Knox, Jr., when he purchased 335 acres next to Thomas A. Smith.

30 The case is summarized from George Ballas v. Elias Barcroft, filed Feb. 22, 1820, Howard County circuit court, MSA.

31 Perhaps research in the Recorder of Deeds Office in Fayette would give an answer.

32 Smith appointment, Mary Ellen Rowe, "A Respectable Independence": The Early Career of John O'Fallon," *MHR* (July 1996), 399-401. Smith to Brig. Gen'l., James T. Brenner, "The Green Against The British Red: U.S. Riflemen Regiments in the Northwestern Army," for a summary of Smith during the war, online. Excellent shot, "Historical Notes and Comments," *MHR* (Oct. 1921), 162.

33 Williams to Smith, Thomas A. Smith Papers, f. 13, Dec. 16, 1817, SHS-Columbia.

34 Calhoun to Smith, Thomas A. Smith Papers, f. 14, March 16, 1818, SHS-Columbia.

35 Clay to Smith, Thomas A. Smith Papers, f. 15, July 7, 1818, SHS-Columbia.

36 Scott to Smith, Thomas A. Smith Papers, both in folder 15, July 26, 1818, SHS-Columbia.

37 *Ibid.*, Rowe, "John O'Fallon."

38 McGunnege to Smith, Thomas A. Smith Papers, f. 15, Nov. 7, 1818, SHS-Columbia.

39 Smith's comments to D.C. office after his resignation, *Thomas Adams Smith Papers*, Vol. 7, March 24, 1830, SHS-Columbia. Smith's education produced a man with hand writing that could often pass for modern calligraphy and his letter book correspondence is exacting in focus and grammar that makes it nearly impossible for any original recipient to misinterpret anything he wrote.

40 Carroll and Robert Wallace in Missouri sales, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 3, 1819. Commissioner Wallace and his two colleagues were scheduled to sell their lots in Booneville and plan for the new courthouse and jail the following month in October, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 27, 1819. The best summary on the Carrolls is Robert F. McNamara, "Charles Carroll of Belle Vue, Co-Founder of Rochester," *Rochester History*

(October 1980).

41 See the definitive work, Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Land Office Business, The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1837* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 147, and 296-98. Acting Register, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 27, 1818. \$500,000 funds, Viles, "Old Franklin," 276, and Breckinridge Jones, "One Hundred Years of Banking in Missouri," *MHR* (Jan. 1921), 377, indicates Franklin sales exceeded St. Louis's office by \$181,000 in receipts and by 189,000 acres sold, Oct. 1, 1818, to Sept. 30, 1819.

42 Abuse of salt, Charles Carroll to Josiah Meigs, Feb. 24, 1820, Territorial Papers ... XV, Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., 592, and noteworthy is that James Morrison's salt works was never reserved from his use for public sale. Late returns, *Thomas Adams Smith Papers*, Vol. 7, *Letter Book, July 1818-April 1831*, SHS-Columbia, July 2, 1819, online. Morris sale, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 23, 1821, and he must have moved into his Franklin tavern.

43 Thomas A. Smith Correspondence, Dec. 1 and 7, 1819, Smith Papers, SHS.

44 \$30,000, *Niles Register*, Treasury Report, Dec. 21, 1821. By June 30, 1823, Franklin had sold 42,762 acres more than St. Louis, ASP, Documents ... in Relation to the Public Lands, Vol. 4 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1859), 29; Wetmore payments, *Thomas Adams Smith Papers*, f. 22-24, August 1821-November 1824, SHS, August 16, 1821, and *Smith Papers*, Vol. 7, December 1, 1821, SHS-Columbia. Subsistence, clothing, etc., T. A. Smith Papers, Sept. 30, 1822.

45 Thomas A. Smith Correspondence, Aug. 2 and Sept. 13, 1821, SHS-Columbia, and Indian corn, Aug. 14, 1826, Smith Papers, SHS-Columbia.

46 Meigs' order, *Intelligencer*, October 30, 1821.

47 Smith and Miller correspondence, ASP, Documents ... in Relation to the ... Public Lands, Vol. IV (Washington D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1859), 11-12, online. Maj. Gen., *Intelligencer*, June 4, 1822.

48 How Cynthia White Smith's inheritances of slaves were transported to Missouri is unknown, but there are speculative clues to consider. Prior to her parents' death, unknown arrangements were made with her siblings. Her father James' executors, Hugh Lawson White and Sen. John Williams, had three slaves sold and one given to his son-in-law, Sen. John Williams who was married to Cynthia's younger sister Melinda. This means the family had a lot of slaves in Knoxville assigned to various tasks. For a few years, White descendants must have directed the work of the slaves, as they were used in the construction of John and Melinda Williams' two-story Federal house in 1825-26; perhaps the slaves were utilized in other construction projects for siblings prior to that. By 1826, there may have been an agreement that a large number of White's slaves be given to Cynthia. Thomas A. Smith and John O'Fallon were taking a regular steamboat packet to Louisville and back to St. Louis on business and pleasure trips. It is conceivable that an overseer for hire assembled Cynthia's slaves into a coffle, as was the common practice in moving slaves on roads overland, and marched them to Louisville to meet Smith and O'Fallon. The slaves became cargo on the ship back to St. Louis. Once there, hired help took the coffle of slaves and walked them for a week on the Boone's Lick Road; the handler stopped at taverns for the night while the coffle slept in the rear of the tavern yard as was common for overland transport. The slaves arrived in 1826 in Franklin, precisely when T. A. Smith was expanding his landholdings around Franklin to increase his agricultural surplus and



probably to offer more slaves for hire as he had been doing since he settled in Franklin. Smith's 38 slaves show up on the Howard County census of 1830 just before Smith started a several month long move to Saline County. Whether T. A. Smith continued to sell slaves in Franklin, as his father-in-law in Knoxville did, is unknown. Smith's merchant's license, *Howard County Minutes, Book B*, 1822 and Smith's merchant tax in *Intelligencer*, June 24, 1823.

49 Mrs. J. M. Wood, Jr., *Knox Memorial, Volume I*, typescript, 1972, online. Col. George Knox, Jr., died in 1833. George's sister Rebecca married merchant Lemon Parker and founder of Rocheport, and George Knox's daughter, Sarah, married merchant Lindsay P. Marshall in 1829. Smith's compensation, *ASP, Documents ... in Relation to the Public Lands ... 1859*, 778. Example of dower and appraisal in *Howard County Court Minutes, Book B*, 1823. Receiver's losses, Rohrbough, Land Office Business, 173.

50 Wetmore confirmation, *Intelligencer*, June 16, 1826. Smith and O'Fallon *ad passim* in *Thomas Adams Smith Papers, Vol. 7*, and *Thomas Adams Smith Papers*, SHS-Columbia. Army paymaster Wetmore's visits, April 18, July 1, and Sept. 1, 1822 in Smith's Correspondence, SHS-Columbia. Capt. J. B. Brandt and Maj. Thomas Biddle received large amounts from Franklin, Smith's Correspondence, Dec. 31, 1826 and Jan. 16 and 23, 1828, SHS-Columbia.

51 The slave hire case is based on *Thomas A. Smith v. George C. Hartt and George Tennille*, Oct. 1822, Missouri Supreme Court case files, MSA. Dr. Hartt, Marsha Rising Hoffman, *Genealogical Gems*, Howard County Deeds, Book C: 106.

52 The Lexington post office was open 1821-29, lots occupied, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 14, 1823.

53 Hardeman's notice, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 7, 1820, and see the BLM online database for Berry's land.

54 Berry and Smith slave mortgage, *Taylor Berry and Thomas Smith v. Nicholas Burckhartt*, 1824, Supreme Court case file, MSA. Lawyer Charles French joined Tompkins in March, 1821, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 26, 1821. *Intelligencer*, Sept. 9, 1823.

55 *Intelligencer*, Aug. 10, 1826; and Nov. 30, 1827.

56 Bowles appeared to travel for business between Chariton and Boonville.

57 Smith and O'Fallon, *ad passim*, *Smith Papers, f. 22-24, August 1821-November 1824*, and *Smith Papers, Vol. 7*, SHS-Columbia.

58 Storrs in Lee M. Cullimore, *To Make a Fortune in Missouri, Meredith Miles Marmaduke, 1791-1864* (Friends of Arrow Rock: Arrow Rock, Mo.), 39 and 166. Robert S. Garnett wrote the introduction letter for Marmaduke and sent it to John Scott in Missouri; Garnett and Scott both went to Princeton, were lawyers from Virginia, and served at the same time in the U.S. House of Representatives. Academy, *Intelligencer*, August 31, 1826. By 1827, the post office in southeast Saline County was Marmaduke, 1827-29, and in 1829, as county surveyor, he organized a plat for a new town, Philadelphia, that became Arrow Rock. His brother-in-law, C. F. Jackson, became the first Arrow Rock postmaster in Sept. 1832.

59 Smith and Knox tax, May 29, 1824, and their move to larger store, *Intelligencer*, May 12, 1826.

60 Bloy, in 1818, rented his "commodious house" to the

circuit court, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 27, 1818. The teacher was probably John Bloy. *Intelligencer*, Dec. 24, 1822, indicates that Rev. Justinian Williams married Hampton L. Boon and Louisa Bloy, but *Findagrave* gives her name as Maria Louise Roberts. Rector's money, Smith's Correspondence, June 2, 1823, Smith Papers, SHS-Columbia. Pomeroy & Franklin Academy, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 12, 1826, and Jan. 18, 1827; Academy photo, Stephens, The Missouri *Intelligencer*, May 1919, 13.

61 See a striking portrait of Wetmore by Chester Harding, c. 1821 held by the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, in Mary Barile's children's book, *Alphonso Wetmore: Soldier, Adventurer, and Writer* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2015), and he was primarily attached to the Sixth Regiment of Infantry.

62 Kate L. Gregg's account, "Major Alphonso Wetmore, *MHR* (April 1941), is the best summary Wetmore's life. He named a son, Thomas A. Smith Wetmore, born in 1830, for his pal in Franklin. Wetmore's accounts, Abiel Leonard Papers, f. 616, SHS. Letter signed Alphonso Wetmore to B. Pratte, June 7, 1831, Missouri Historical Society commons online. See Smith and Wetmore litigation entries in Missouri Judicial Records Historical Database, MSA. Wetmore was a defendant in United States Supreme Court, *Wetmore v. United States*, 35 U.S. 647, during the 1830s in a dispute over the amount of his military pay as a major during his career. Wetmore's *Gazetter*, 1837, printed in twenty-three editions, has an appendix of seven short stories of his literary work. During the 1840s, Wetmore was a JP in St. Louis.

63 *Ibid., ad passim*, both Smith Papers collections. Benton and Smith in William Nisbet Chambers, *Old Bullion Benton: Senator from the New West: Thomas Hart Benton, 1782-1858* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956), 144. George Knox, Jr., Smith's Correspondence, May 17, 1826, Smith Papers, SHS-Columbia. Gaines and Bissell, *Intelligencer*, June 29, 1826. Col. Daniel Bissell constructed Fort Belle Fontaine, while Gen. Smith was his superior officer, and Gen. Gaines located Jefferson Barracks.

64 Gen'l Smith and horse and Lucy, "Letters of William Carr Lane," *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society, Vol. 7 (1940), 94-96, 99, and 104.

65 By 1830, Dr. Hardage Lane had left Franklin to practice in St. Louis.

66 *Smith Papers, Vol. 7*, especially letters October 4 and 8, 1827, SHS-Columbia, and federal compensation, *ASP, Documents ... in Relation to the Public Lands, Vol. IV ... 1859*, 778.

67 Jackson and Clay, *Intelligencer*, May 17, 1827.

68 One can follow this classic frontier story of scandal in the *Missouri Intelligencer* from May 1827 to October 1829.

69 Sen. Barton, Smith's Correspondence, Feb. 22, and Oct. 23, 1828, SHS-Columbia.

70 *Intelligencer*, April 11, 1828; for John Wilson, Minnie Organ, "History of the County Press," *MHR* (Oct. 1909), 113. Patten was sickly and thought moving further away from the Missouri River would help his health besides "being considerably deaf." Patten was liberal with credit and occasionally had to advertise for payment, "many being indebted [to him] for several years subscription," *Intelligencer*, May 12, 1826. Thomas Boggs, who had been Abiel Leonard's second when Abiel Leonard killed Taylor Berry in a duel in 1824, later succeeded John G. Miller, with support from Sen. David Barton and U.S. Rep. John Scott; Boggs' law office began on Main Street, two doors north of the

federal Register's office, *Intelligencer*, June 26, 1824. He continued as a practicing attorney after he moved into the federal Register's office in Franklin. In 1830 Hampton L. Boon received the four-year register appointment, subject to Senate renewal, also serving into the 1840s. Boggs also had a four-year appointment and legal practice, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 1 and May 5, 1826. *Intelligencer*, January 22, 1930. Patten's Senate printing, Smith's Correspondence, July 16, 1829, Smith's Papers, SHS-Columbia.

71 Stolen and lost money, T. A. Smith Papers, f. 37, SHS-Columbia, in the handwritten Senate report.

72 *Journal of the House of Representatives of the 4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the State of Missouri ...* (City of Jefferson: C. Gunn, Printer, 1827), 20. Gov. John G. Miller also blamed the federal Government Land Office for keeping so much untaxable land out of private ownership and agreed with Sen. Thomas H. Benton that a cheap, graduated price per acre should be implemented to get millions of acres on the tax rolls. That didn't happen until after the 1854 Graduation Act. State debt, *Niles Register*, Vol. 35-36 (1828-29), supplement to Vol. 35, 377.

73 For a much more detailed analysis, see *American State Papers, Documents, Legislative and Executive ... in Relation to Public Lands, Vol. V* (Washington D.C.: Printed by Duff Green, 1834), 138-49, online. John A. Paxton's Directory of St. Louis, 1821, also indicates that Wetmore had living quarters in St. Louis, too, online.

74 Ibid. for resignation.

75 Patten diatribe, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 30, 1829.

76 *Smith Papers, Vol. 7*, correspondence, 1830-31, SHS-Columbia.

77 The land office officially moved to Fayette on July 5, 1832. Seebree, a former Kentucky legislator, began his county court work in 1828, owned seventeen slaves in 1830, and served in his federal four-year appointments into the 1840s.

78 *History of Saline County, Missouri* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1881), 156 and 197 for Wolfskill and others; Saline County Deed Book A for Smith's March 1830 purchases; for finished lumber, Thomas B. Hall, "History of the Memorial Presbyterian Church and the Experiment Farm of Napton, Missouri," pamphlet, 1944, 4. Chariton prairie, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 24, 1822. As early as 1815, land speculator Justus Post in St. Louis wrote to his brother anxious to show him "across the rich & fertile prairies—the country for lazy folks, where they can plough & sow their grain without the trouble of clearing the land," William E. Foley, "Justus Post: Portrait of a Frontier Land Speculator," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (October 1979), 21.

79 See Bureau of Land Management online database for much of Smith's properties. Tax sale lists, Thomas A. Smith Correspondence, f. 34, Sept. 1830-Feb. 1831, SHS-Columbia.

## Boonslick Historical Society News Briefs

### Jim Steele Completes BHS Presidential Term

James H. (Jim) Steele's six-year term as BHS president ended in December. He had temporarily passed the president's duties on to vice president Brett Rogers earlier last year while he dealt with health issues. Steele's term as president saw the organization through one of its most difficult periods—the COVID 19 pandemic that swept through the world, beginning in China in late 2019, the first American cases documented in January 2020.

A veteran journalist and historian, and resident of Fayette, Steele assumed the BHS presidency in January 2019. He replaced Cindy Bowen of Armstrong, who stepped down after serving as president for seven years.

Steele is a former publisher and editor of the Fayette Advertiser and Democrat-Leader (200-2011). He served as editor of the bicentennial history, *Howard County, MO: From Prairie Land to Promised Land, a Remembrance Across Two Centuries*, a 176-page book published in 2016 by the Howard County Genealogical Society.

Holding degrees in American history and political science (Central Methodist College, now CMU) and journalism (University of Missouri School of Journalism), he served as an adjunct professor of journalism at CMU from 2011-2014 and for many years as a print and broadcast journalist in both the commercial industry and for the United Methodist Church.

He was instrumental in the community effort to save the old Howard County Jail, an important historic structure. Steele also spearheaded the successful campaign to repair Memorial Bandstand on the Howard County Courthouse lawn and was one of two community leaders who conceived and implemented the Fayette Festival of the Arts, which has a significant historic focus.

### BHS Board Officers for 2024

The two-year terms of four incumbent Boonslick Historical Society board members have been renewed for 2024-25. They are: Sam Jewett of Boonville, treasurer, Carolyn Collings of Columbia, Don Cullimore of Fayette, and Mike Dickey of Slater.

Board members whose terms end in December 2024 are: Brett Rogers of Boonville, acting president, Larry Harrington of Fayette, Cathy Thogmorton of Fayette, and Sue Thompson of New Franklin.

Joe Barnes of Moberly has been appointed to the board, and one open board position remains to be filled. A profile of Barnes will be presented in the Summer issue of the *Quarterly*.

### In Memoriam: Newell Ferry III

Long-time BHS member Newell Simmons "Chip" Ferry III of New Franklin died December 5, 2023. He was the husband of well-known BHS member and former board officer Martha "Marty" Ferry.

He was born in Webster Groves (St. Louis suburb) to Newell S. Ferry Jr. and Elsa Engelsmann Ferry in June 1934. He graduated from Webster Groves High School then attended Northwestern University in Chicago as a member of ROTC. After graduation he was commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant in the US Air Force. He served as a navigator assigned to the 60th Fighter Squadron, Otis Air Force Base in Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

Chip's business endeavors included ownership of the Hobby Horse and the Sweet Shop in Cape Girardeau, work for K Mart Corp., and he established Central Coin, a coin, stamp and clock business in Columbia, which he ran until his retirement.

He was also a member of Linn Memorial Methodist Church, South Howard County Historical Society..

# Bronze Sculpture of Civil Rights Leader C.T. Vivian to be Placed in Boonville

*Bust Created by Noted Missouri Artist Jane Mudd; Project Contributions Sought*

Born in the Boonslick region of Missouri on July 30, 1924, the Rev. C. T. (Cordy Tindell) Vivian spent part of his childhood in Boonville where his family lived on Water Street in a house owned by his grandmother. Boonville was his home town during a significant part of his formative years.

The family had owned a farm in Howard County but lost it during the Great Depression. When C.T. Vivian was old enough to attend school his mother and grandmother moved from Cooper County, Missouri, to Macomb, Illinois, where schools were not segregated, hoping to give him a better education. Eventually, he became one of the foremost Civil Rights leaders working alongside Dr. Martin Luther King to promote racial justice and equity for all people.

Reverend Vivian is credited with being the person responsible for the logistics of the historic civil rights marches and events that resulted in the federal Civil Rights and Voting Rights legislation of the mid-1960s. As the behind-the-scenes planner of the marches, he was not always present on the “front lines,” but on other occasions, he was directly caught up in the protest action and suffered injuries after being physically assaulted by local authorities.

In 2013, Vivian received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Barack Obama. The White House Citation stated:

*The Revered C. T. Vivian was a stalwart activist on the march toward racial equality. Whether at a lunch counter, on a Freedom Ride, or behind the bars of a prison cell, he was unafraid to take bold action in the face of fierce resistance.*

Vivian died in Atlanta on July 17, 2020, at the age of 95. “We are planning to dedicate the bronze sculpture of his bust the first weekend in August 2024,” said Boonville resident Dr. Mary Ellen McVicker. She noted that one or more members of Vivian’s family may attend the ceremony.

Dedication of the C. T. Vivian sculpture will be held at the Morgan Street Sculpture Park in Boonville, August 3, at 9 a.m. The bust of Vivian will take its place among sculptures of other prominent Missourians: Hannah Cole (1762-1843), David Barton (1783-1837), George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879), Frederick T. Kemper (1816-1881), James Milton Turner (1839-1913), and Walter Williams (1864-1939). The Morgan Street Park is dedicated to early pioneers as well as more recent prominent

individuals who have connections to Boonville and Cooper County.

Well-known Central Missouri artist Jane Mudd was commissioned to create the C.T. Vivian bust by a Boonville-area committee comprised of historians McVicker and Brett Rogers, Myrna Bruce, Gary Nauman, Paul Linhart, Barbara Dodson, Dorothy Whitten, Albert Turner and Henry Hurt.



**C. T. VIVIAN bust model to be cast in bronze. Created by Missouri artist Jane Mudd, the work will be placed in the Morgan Street Sculpture Park in Boonville. Image courtesy of Brett Rogers**

“The Boonslick Historical Society has graciously agreed to co-sponsor this project,” said McVicker. “Since they are a 501(c)(3) organization, all contributions to the bust are tax deductible.” Checks should be made out to “Boonslick Historical Society” with a notation “For CT Vivian Project.” Contributions may be mailed to the Boonslick Historical Society, Post Office Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233.

## Missouri Artist Jane Mudd

Missouri artist Jane Bick Mudd lives on a farm outside of Fulton with her husband, Tom. She holds a BFA degree from Fontbonne College-St. Louis (1976) and a MFA degree from University of Missouri-Columbia (1994). She retired in 2019 as an assistant professor of art at William Woods University in Fulton.

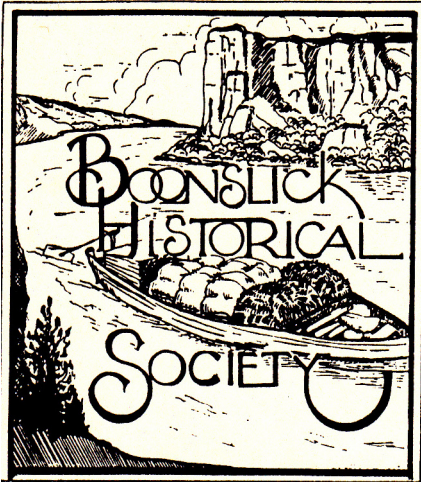
Mudd works in several art mediums—oil, pastel, watercolor and sculpture—and has a body of work that reflects many different themes.

“The subject of my next painting or project is usually dictated by my daily experiences and exposures,” Mudd states on her website: <http://www.janemudd.com>. “I look for opportunities and challenges and I’m curious. I feel strongly about the environment, women’s issues, peace, and the importance of art in the world. I most often work directly from life but occasionally use other imagery for inspiration. Recently I have pursued several opportunities for public art.”

Mudd said she modeled the bust of C.T. Vivian with oil base clay, working from several photos of Vivian. “I’ll be bringing the finished piece to the Ad Astra Foundry in Lawrence, Kansas, to be bronzed hopefully in the next couple of weeks. I’m grateful to have this opportunity.”

Mudd maintains an art studio at Orr Street Studios, 106 Orr Street, Columbia. Hours: Thursday through Sunday 12:30-4 p.m.

**[WWW.BOONSLICKHISTORICALSOCIETY.ORG](http://WWW.BOONSLICKHISTORICALSOCIETY.ORG)**



P.O. Box 426  
Boonville, MO 65233



**THE DR. SAMUEL T. CREWS HOUSE** in the historic South Main Street District of Fayette was built circa 1830. The two-story brick I-house was originally Federal in style however the house was remodeled using Italianate ornamentation in the late-19th century. The second-story addition was added to the house in the 1970's. Dr Crews was one of the original trustees for the town when it was founded in 1823. A portion of the first floor of the house served as his medical office. *Photo by Don Cullimore*