

BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY



Aerial view of Missouri River bottoms and location of Franklin in Howard County, 1816 . Courtesy Google Images:
Southwest Discovered online magazine

• FRANKLIN IN THE NEW WEST: PART 5

- BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS

VOL. 24 No. 1 — SPRING-SUMMER 2025
BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY PERIODICAL

Telling The Untold Story of Franklin—Part 5: Franklin's Water

Dispelling the Myth . . .

... “Franklin’s grandiose future was washed away figuratively—and literally—by Missouri River floods that occurred between 1826 and 1828—its physical debris sent to the Gulf of Mexico and its political and economic clout dispersed to nearby Fayette, to Columbia and Jefferson City.” — *Boone’s Lick Heritage Quarterly*, Summer 2022, Editor’s Page commentary introducing a forthcoming long-form essay on Franklin written by Missouri historian Lynn Morrow

But Franklin’s total demise by those early 19th-century floods was a myth . . .

It was a fiction commonly accepted (including by this editor) and generally expressed over the next two centuries in numerous publications, historical and otherwise. But historian Lynn Morrow, after lengthy and scholarly research, has set the record straight in a nearly 80,000-word essay presented serially in five issues of the *Quarterly*, concluded in this issue.

Morrow’s contention about the limited effects of those floods in Franklin is illustrated by a May 8, 1826, letter from Franklin resident, Thomas J. Boggs, to his former Franklin colleague, lawyer Hamilton Gamble, who had moved to St. Louis. Boggs wrote that “Have had a pretty general overflow and water is three feet deep in [attorney George] Thompkins’ old stable and in [merchant] John Bird’s old house.”

But, as Morrow writes, these buildings were part of Franklin’s dismantlement and later reconstruction at New Franklin and other nearby locations (*Letter in Hamilton Gamble Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, online*).

This viewpoint is further reflected in Mary Wiemhot’s “Memorabilia of Cooper County, Missouri,” 2020, pp. 43-44 in the pdf version: ... “a series of floods beginning in 1826 led to the gradual abandonment of Franklin.” Morrow’s essay provides details for Franklin’s dismemberment over the following decade.

Established in 1816 in the Missouri River bottom lands of newly created Howard County, Franklin grew within 10 years to become the largest town west of St. Louis. In knowing circles of influence of the day it was poised to become the “Queen City of the Missouri River.” It served until 1826 as seat of Howard County, briefly as a major river port for

steamboat traffic coming from St. Charles and St. Louis, and was promoted as a promising central location for the state capital, temporarily located in St. Charles. It was home to the first newspaper—*The Missouri Intelligencer and Boone’s Lick Advertiser*—west of St. Louis. It was the end point of the Boone’s Lick Trail/Road and became the starting point for the Santa Fe Trail

when William Becknell embarked on his first journey to Santa Fe in September 1821.

Prior to Morrow’s studious essay on Franklin, the multihued history of the town was aptly summed up by a quotation from “The University of Missouri Bulletin,” Volume 20 Number 9, May 1919, Journalism Series, No. 18, in an article by E. W. Stephens titled “The Missouri Intelligencer and Boone’s Lick Advertiser: A Brief History of the First American Newspaper West Of St. Louis.”

“The story of Franklin reads like fiction. Within four years it had a population of from 1,200 to 1,500. It had a public square of two acres and streets eighty-seven feet wide. It contained between two hundred and three hundred buildings, among which five stores, a tobacco factory, were two academies, a carding machine, a market house, several churches, four warehouses, a jail and a public library.

“Its most notable feature was its population. In culture and ability and public spirit it was distinguished above any other community of its size that has existed in this state. Lawyers, scholars, physicians, educators, business men, artists, artisans of the highest class, many of whom have afterward become eminent in public life in this and other states,

were among its citizenship in large numbers, while those who engaged in farming pursuits in the immediate vicinity were no less notable.”

A remarkable legacy for a once bustling small town on the banks of the unpredictable “Big Muddy”... now well documented by historian Lynn Morrow.



—Don B. Cullimore

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

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

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

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

Officers and Board Members 2025

Sam Jewett, Boonville, President & Treasurer
Sue Thompson New Franklin, Vice President
Don Cullimore, Fayette, Secretary
Joe Barnes, Moberly
Carolyn Collings, Columbia
Mike Dickey, Slater
Larry Harrington, Fayette
Lesley Oswald, Boonville
Brett Rogers, Boonville
Don Street, Boonville
Cathy Thogmorton, Fayette

Editorial Staff

Don B. Cullimore, Editor

BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY

Boonslick Historical Society Vol. 24, No. 1 • Spring-Summer 2025

Franklin in the New West: 'It rose with fictitious splendor' - Part 5

by Lynn Morrow

4

- Franklin's Water
- Floods
- New Franklin Plans
- Moving Franklin to New Franklin
- Old Franklin
- Franklin in Wartime
- John Ryland's Walk
- Old Franklin Real Estate

BHS News Briefs

21-23

- BHS Member Events This Year
- BHS Board Actions Report
- New BHS Board Officers for 2025
- In Memoriam: Dorothy Jean Ayres
- BHS 2025 Dues Reminder



DAR Santa Fe Trail
Granite Marker lo-
cated on Highway 87
at Franklin 1816 Town
Site location. Photo by
Don Cullimore

[EDITOR'S NOTE: In 1990, Historian 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.]

COVER: Aerial View of Howard County bottom lands and location of Franklin in 1816 and historic markers. Courtesy of Goggle Images: *Southwest Discovered*, online magazine featuring the culture, foods, arts, and history of the Santa Fe Trail from Franklin, Missouri, to the Santa Fe Plaza, New Mexico. For more information, go the southwestdiscovered.com.

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

Part 5

By Lynn Morrow

FRANKLIN'S WATER

THE MYTHOLOGY THAT MISSOURI FLOOD WATERS SWEEPED FRANKLIN into the river, including that collapsing banks took the real estate upon which it stood during the 1826 and 1828 floods, is unfortunate for Howard County history. Any modest survey of the after years proves that is categorically wrong. There was no mass exodus or widespread destruction that took the town downriver to New Orleans or anywhere else in 1826 or 1828, although agricultural and town property losses were spread across Franklin Township. Franklin's original real estate of alluvial earth remained in place for decades. Evidence suggests lateral movement of the river covered part of it for a short time in the 1870s, but no one has a clue when and how long the site's earth remained washed out and was later returned by the river as so often asserted. The reader should be generally familiar with the previous heritage series of articles on the history of Franklin in the *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly* to reflect on the context of this last installment, an epilogue of sorts. The complexities and questions of history are more complicated and entertaining than the simplicities of mythology.

Franklin's evolution from a vibrant town, to years of dismantling its buildings for a less expensive New Franklin, to an Old Franklin steamboat landing for shipping and receiving goods and agricultural products, a regular ferry crossing, a site for small shops, a landmark crossing in the network of local roads, to an agricultural work camp for tenants is a long history, and as yet, only superficially understood and needs further investigation. What is sure is that gossip about Franklin, in 1826 and 1828, was similar to Mark Twain's adage about the reports of his death – they were quite premature and exaggerated. Antebellum floods rose slowly and receded across the large bottoms gradually and their destructive force to surface buildings was less than the channelized trough of swift waters of the 20th-century.

Mark Twain succinctly described the wandering the Missouri River. "Vast streams like the Mississippi and the Missouri whose alluvial banks cave and change constantly ... whose sand-bars are never at rest, whose channels are forever dodging and shirking." But, there is the geomorphological question: again, when exactly did the Missouri River banks change to the extent that Franklin's real estate became part of the river and when was it restored? And, did it happen more than once in the 19th-century?¹

Just as today, the place Franklin was understood by its contemporaries during the 1820s as a much larger area than just the streets of the 97 town lots commonly shown on published maps that represents the small 50-acre center of the 1816 plat. Franklin included in-lots and out-lots of 426 acres comprising 678 lots, and numerous small acreages adjacent to the municipality in nearby

farms and fields. These were part of the town's original boundaries including the disputed Ira P. Nash colonial claim that pre-emption settlers received in fee simple after beating unscrupulous land speculators in court and federal administrative hearings. Lot sizes changed as buyers and sellers split them in half or combined lots to accommodate someone's desired use. It's very likely many of the 678 lots, like numerous "paper towns" that never developed on the Missouri River, were oversold on credit and never had buildings, but most were probably owned by someone. Nevertheless, where is the map including the property of George Knox Jr. and his 335 acres purchased from Richard Gentry that was near the Thomas A. Smith estate in East Franklin? Likewise, where is Smith's prominent estate in East Franklin and his hundreds of acres that he owned on both sides of town? The lack of cartographic evidence of

these two properties convey the unknown geography of Franklin during the 1820s.

There are several references in the *Intelligencer* newspaper regarding the establishment of the Franklin

municipality and its expansion during its first three years. In November 1817 buyers chose from 150 lots. After that the town moved eastward into a timbered area that had not been cleared. In March 1818, promoters William V. Rector, James H. Benson, and John W. Scudder added another 150 lots. In fall 1818, William V. Rector and William Kincheloe added another East Franklin "suburb" on the east side of town and sold all of the lots. In summer 1819, Rector and Kincheloe surveyed another group to the river's edge which sold. About the same time, in July 1819, Richard Gentry and John Welch purchased Amos Barnes pre-emption claim and promoted another East Franklin section in front of the Rector and Kincheloe lots. In September 1819, Richard Venables offered 22 acres of Franklin out-lots, nearly one-half the size of the 1816 plat. At the same time, Rector offered out-lots of 2-, 9-, 12-, and 13-acre parcels. Where are those out-lots on any map? These surveyed plots, and maybe others that didn't mention the out-lots, Jonas Viles totaled up to 426 acres recorded in Howard County Deed Book C in Fayette.

It took years, up to a decade, for local folks to dismantle Franklin's buildings and reassemble them in New Franklin and on nearby farms. The floods took fence rails, small cabins, corn cribs, pier foundation, airy frame buildings, and more, but local folks reconstituted much of the old material culture of boards, beams, bricks, rafters, sheeting, logs, joists, studs, and more on farms and in New Franklin. This survey will spend time on the term Old Franklin, as few deserted towns in Missouri have kept its 1816 name current through so many vagaries of change during the past two centuries. Much of this writing is exploratory, but its questions could be largely answered in detailed work with property and tax

"What is sure is that gossip about Franklin, in 1826 and 1828, was similar to Mark Twain's adage about the reports of his death – they were quite premature and exaggerated."

records and professional cartography of Franklin's actual plat overlaid on a sectional map.

By statehood one might exaggerate that "all Booneslick roads led to Franklin." Franklin had one, sometimes two ferries that crossed to Boonville; a Hardeman ferry that crossed to the Lamine River; and a ferry or two to Arrow Rock. An early road went along the Missouri River west to Thomas and John Hardeman's farms; later the county moved that road twice further inland due to the instability of the river bottom a few miles upriver from Franklin. A road left Franklin for Fort Hempstead and Col. Thomas Hickman's property; another went north to Nicholas Burckhardt's in the Bonne Femme Valley (due north of today's New Franklin a couple of miles); and one went east to the mouth of Moniteau Creek that later became the road to Rocheport. By 1830, New Franklin's Missouri Avenue extended south toward the Missouri River, as well as a road that turned southwest to Old Franklin. The condition of all these roads generally allowed horses and wagons to travel them, but all required road overseers to implement a modest amount of maintenance to move waterlogged trees and river debris from them.

FLOODS

Even before the fabled 1826 and 1828 floods, Franklinites knew what to expect for cleaning up the town. Alphonso Wetmore described the high water of June 1823 in his column, "Missouri River." Wetmore had seen the erratic waters from the upper Missouri to St. Louis. He wrote of the river's majesty and its torrent of dangers. Readers were reminded of the "loss of domestic animals and washing of gullies" and subsequent suffering of fevers. The river channel filled "burying, beneath its capacious surface, bars, sawyers, islands" and "during its rise an immense quantity of drift-wood floated on its turbid bosom" appearing "as floating islands. Large timbers, elevating their roots and branching tops indicated great ravages on its shores. It enlarges its pathway by sweeping off the land, with its humble growth of and lofty trees. The cause of banks washing away is that large sand bars are formed by the alternate rise and fall of the river. These changes are continual. We have no doubt that in the long lapse of time, the river gradually changes from bluff to bluff, sometimes building up a bottom along the one, and then tearing it away and forming it along the other. This supposition is fully justified by the circumstance of logs being dug up throughout the space here spoken of. Sometimes the river heaps piles of logs of prodigious size."² Agricultural improvements near Franklin included digging long buried logs out of the fields.

Steamboat captain Philip E. Chappell spent decades researching the 19th-century history of the Lower Missouri River

Valley before publishing his *Floods in the Missouri River*. During the 1820s, there were a few dozen "old timers" who remembered the devastating 1811 flood that caused the temporary abandonment of Boone's Lick settlement and its removal downriver to Loutre Island until their return in spring 1812. Townspeople walked through water-laden Franklin streets in 1823 and again in 1826. Like the aftermath of most floods, settlers had to recondition their sand-laden fields, but the 1811 and 1826 floods were not "bluff-to-bluff" events. The 1828 flood was of lesser consequence in comparison so that Chappell did not even discuss it in his study.³

Had the 1826 and 1828 floods been as destructive as the folklore contends, Boonville local traditions should have mentioned any number of Franklin's landmark buildings in the river. Settlers there, or elsewhere, would have observed them floating away – there is no such tradition. Tradition in a flood disaster would have remarked on the brick buildings of the commercial row on the west side of the square – e.g., "I saw Lamme's two-story emporium, or Lamme's two-story warehouse or the brick Franklin Market House, or Robert Hood's one story brick demolished" including the fireplaces. George Thompkins owned and sold a two-story house on the west side that was surely converted into a store and stood among the supposed collapsing brick buildings. Or, others on the square, "I saw Ward and Parker's "painted grocery with two floors



The most recent flood to cover the original location of Franklin and river bottoms in Howard and Cooper counties occurred in 2019, when the Missouri River crested at 33.73 feet on May 5th, nearly 13 feet above flood stage at Boonville. As the photo shows, the river bottoms between New Franklin and Boonville were underwater, cutting off access between them on Highway 5. Other recent floods that inundated the same area were in 1993, 1995 and 1951. Public domain photo posted on social media

and fireplaces in each" float away; or, on the south side of town, "I saw the brick shop, opposite Aaron Painter's saddler's shop, near the river where axes, hoes, ploughs," and tools drifted downriver, or several would remark about one of the taverns with their brick chimneys dismantled. If several of the Fort Kincaid or Fort Hempstead cabins were moved to Franklin lots, these single pen round log cabins probably lost their moorings and floated off their rock pier foundation corners with their brick flues, but may not have gone far and were recycled again by the agriculturalists. Nondescript, unmoored single pen cabins floating downriver would not have been remembered.

Many would have remarked on east side damages to Gen. Thomas A. Smith's Federal mansion and Richard Gentry's Federal house (that George Knox Jr. purchased), and well-built domiciles like Maj. Elias Barcroft's House, even though the latter had a different owner in the mid-1820s. Some would have recognized Stanley and Ludlow's store on the north side of the square bobbing in the water, as they would have Ludlow and Simpson's saw and grist mill or other small industrial sites. Floating government buildings would especially be remembered – "there goes the courthouse, the two-story jail, or the Government Land Office building," but flood anecdotes from anyone standing on the Boonville bluff remain silent. Boonville merchants, such as Nathaniel Hutchison and Isaac Bernard, had intimate knowledge of Franklin and would have recognized specific buildings floating away in 1828, but their comments, to

the *Intelligencer*, if any, are mute.

Particularly noticeable would have been the various warehouses of barreled tobacco, hemp, pork, beeswax, honey, lard, tallow, venison hams, and especially the floating stills and distilled liquor sailing uncontrolled out of sight -- what a shame it was to lose such commodities! Young men would have hunted the shorelines and islands and brought back a number of stills. Francis Sampson recorded travelers accounts near statehood, such as Stephen H. Long, that indicated in Franklin there were "120 log houses, one story; several frame buildings of 2-story; 13 shops, 4 taverns, and other businesses," yet no one ever reported seeing a group of these buildings bouncing downriver or recovered on a shoreline.⁴

More to the point, had the warehouses and stores with their contents floated downriver in 1826 and 1828, the *Intelligencer* would have brought special attention to the tens of thousands of dollars of merchandise lost that was in storage for the Santa Fe or St. Louis trade. Like all disasters editor Patten would have listed who had insurance, if any. The paper would have reported the replacement of lost goods with special trips east or to St. Louis for merchants to meet contracts. No such major losses took place for Smith, Knox, Lamme, John Hardeman, Lindsey Marshall, Giles Samuel, or others.

Instead, we find in many accounts such hyperbolic statements as Paul Moser's 1980 place name directory: "In 1828, on account of the overflow and washing away of the town site, Franklin was almost entirely abandoned ... in 1826-1828 during unusual floods, the Missouri claimed the right-of-way. The abundant floods caused the sandy banks to cave in. House after house fell into the river and in a short time, but little was left of the town or the [Hardeman] "gardens." Except for the Hardeman gardens, this is absolute nonsense, copied from dozens of previous such pronouncements that have become its own mythology. The "Franklin washed downriver" mythology was promoted by St. Louis newspapers, as its merchants had to make different shipping arrangements upriver, although urban journalists never came to Franklin to witness its decade-long dismantling.

NEW FRANKLIN PLANS

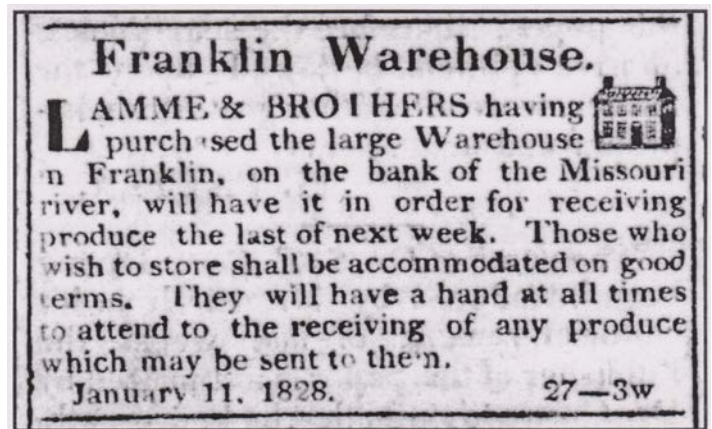
A pair of St. Louisans saw new opportunity in Franklin, but instead became typical of one result of flooding. Kyle & McCausland in spring 1826 sent *Belvidere*, a keel boat loaded with goods for the Indian and regional trade to Franklin. David Kyle, while his senior partner resided in Philadelphia, opened the store of dry goods and groceries in one of the brick houses on the west side of the square. Three years later in December 1829, after being flooded with debris, they held an auction in New Franklin to sell their inventory and advertised the "Brick House and Lot" as a store room available. They had apparently purchased one of William T. Lamme's former properties, as he was preparing to move back to LaCharette, as the St. Louis merchants folded their tent. They likely sold the bricks for salvage to a New Franklin builder. This kind of circumstance is representative of merchants leaving Franklin, purposely and planned.

It was hard for Franklinites to leave what was familiar to them. After the spring 1826 flood, Joseph Simpson expanded his Franklin mercantile operation by adding another in Fayette, dry

goods and hardware, retail wines, brought by steamer *Muskingum* ... he positioned himself for a transition by expansion, but hoped to manage two stores. In Fayette, Joseph Simpson took a partner, John Nanson for a Simpson and Nanson store, but Simpson unexpectedly died in 1826 still operating both stores, and did not experience the 1828 flood. His widow and slaveholder Mary Simpson managed the business while settling the estate and likely sold out in Franklin. Others joined Simpson in New Franklin. By 1829, Simpson and Nanson, C. F. Jackson and Company, Lindsey P. Marshal, and other area merchants set up shop there, too.⁵

R. S. Leveridge thought floods of the 1826 variety were survivable, too. In spring 1827, he moved into the former shop occupied by Charles E. Jeanneret and opened a "Watch and Clock Business in Franklin." He added that he would maintain an inventory of SILVER WARE. Several small merchants had left, but he had a company with the larger scale merchants.⁶

The 1826 flood did not run off the larger merchants. In 1828, William Lamme built a new, larger two-story tobacco warehouse on the riverbank at Franklin; his competitors, Thomas A. Smith and George Knox Jr. were still in business, while the



STILL OPERATING IN FRANKLIN: *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, March 14, 1828. Courtesy of State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

license and tax list indicates river traders Lamme, Bird and Gaw, and Giles Samuel are still in Franklin marketing goods from their warehouses.⁷ In fall that year, the Howard County Collector required that Franklin Township taxes be paid "at Bird & Gaw's store." In June 1828 Franklin received stage coaches, not fazed by the 1826 flood, with mail from St. Louis. The mail contractor did not always stop in Fayette, postmaster Giles Samuel still advertised long lists of mail for Howard County recipients to pick up in the Franklin post office. This greatly irritated editor Nathaniel Patten and others until they made an official inquiry and the Postmaster General sent a reply that Fayette must be included each time and adjusted the contract with an added modest payment. Franklin's postal volume and receipts continued to grow into 1830 until finally slightly exceeded by Fayette in 1830.⁸

By 1829, New Franklin residents and Boonville citizens became vocal in wanting Franklin public services transferred to their towns. The first to receive attention was the Government Land Office. Hampton L. Boon worked for Thomas A. Smith who had made it known he was going to retire from the business. New

Franklin folks predicted “the old town as likely to tumble into the river this winter” [it didn’t]. T. A. Smith closed his accounts with the Treasury Department and gradually moved to Saline County. By early February 1830, Hampton L. Boon had his official appointment as Register and Uriel Sebree as Receiver. In mid-February they announced that the GLO in Franklin would reopen for business on February 24, 1830. But, the GLO office -- not washed into the river -- kept doing business in the building that T. A. Smith built selling land in Franklin until the federal government officially moved the office to Fayette in July 1832.⁹

In March 1829, Col. Thomas Hickman, regardless of the changes in local demography, petitioned the county court that “Old Franklin is the only place of deposit for all imports and exports. The former road is no inconvenience to proprietors who would be keeping up one line of fence” to the river. Hickman, an agricultural surplus exporter at Franklin Landing where boats still docked for produce, had a personal interest in keeping the road open. It stayed open for several years. In July 1829 Dr. G. K. Walker opened an office in New Franklin, but publicized that all clients “who reside in the old town of Franklin, will be punctually attended to on the same terms as though he were living there.” In August, Michael Switzler announced a new boarding house and stable with grain and forage one block south of the “old town of Franklin” square that led to the Boonville ferry.¹⁰

A decade later, the court vacated the road from Old Franklin to Col. Thomas Hickman’s in August 1838. By then the road geography was changing in Franklin and Boonslick Townships. In August 1837, the county court finally vacated the road from Old Franklin to Hardeman’s ferry as “useless and inconvenient.” A decade after the major floods, citizens had finally quit trying to use the historically unstable route upriver to the once noteworthy Hardeman’s farms.¹¹

By August 1829, town and country folks had been coming to Franklin for over a decade to watch and gamble on horse races. Whatever debris had gathered at Franklin by then had obviously

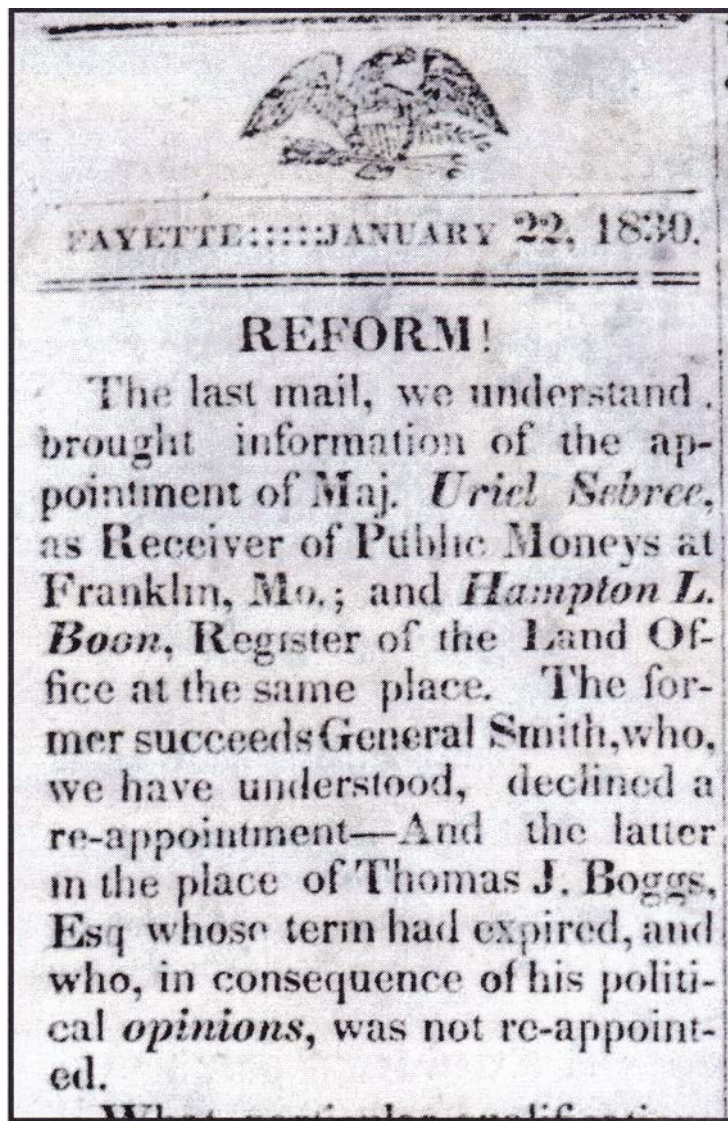
been burned or dragged away as the *Intelligencer* advertised the Fall Races “over the Franklin course in November.” As usual, the Lexington Jockey Club rules would govern the competition. Promoters invited rivals to see Lindsey P. Marshall at his store to enter their steed and pay the fees. Abraham Barnes, slaveholder and member of a Franklin founding family who had built the first tobacco warehouse, intended to enter “his celebrated running horse Tecumseh.” Results of the races are unknown.¹²

Thomas M. Campbell and Company joined Hickman in not giving up on Franklin. In October 1829, he announced the opening of his new store “in Old Franklin, first house west of Messrs. G. M. & F. S. Samuel,” by one of Samuels’ warehouses. Campbell’s goods arrived on the steamboat *Wm. M. Duncan*, “a large and complete assortment of Fresh and New Fall Goods” that included groceries, hardware, queen’s ware, etc. The “company” was John D. Stothart, who soon pulled out of the enterprise in January 1830. Stothart instead became a major land speculator upriver. However, Thomas Campbell “continued in business in the old Store in Old Franklin” advertising for beeswax, tallow, tow linen, etc. taken in trade.” The *Intelligencer* is not available to indicate how long he remained after 1830. In December 1829 the Masons held their ever popular masonic ball at Edward C. McCarty’s Inn “in the Town of Old Franklin”. Members from Fayette traveled to the social event.¹³

James H. Benson & Company of Franklin, a man who had tried several businesses around town, and in 1830 included James Coleman Boggs, “dissolved its partnership by mutual consent.”

They asked their patrons to settle accounts as they decided to abandon Franklin for other ventures.¹⁴

Long distance trader, Lindsey P. Marshall, and co-founder of New Franklin and an active merchant in the new town, was optimistic for new opportunities in Franklin after the 1826 and 1828 floods, as well as in New Franklin. Marshall opened a new venture in the late Joseph Simpson’s old store room on the “North East corner of the Public Square in the Town of Franklin.” Marshall reorganized several buildings in strategic places for his thriving Missouri River trade. He soon had a brick store building



REOPENING IN FRANKLIN: *Missouri intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, January 2, 1830. Courtesy of State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

in New Franklin. Strengthening his commercial ties, he married Sarah Knox in Franklin, daughter of George Knox Jr. Franklin merchant, who later set up a large mercantile at Rocheport.¹⁵

One of the more telling examples of the Franklin mythology is Marshall's purchase of William T. Lamme's two story warehouse. He purchased the Lamme Brothers "large and commodious warehouse situated on the bank of the Missouri River (emphasis added) in the Old Town of Franklin" and moved it ¾ mile downriver "to the [new] road leading from New Franklin to the River and near a landing which affords sufficient water for Steam, Keel or Flat Boats, where it will be refitted for the purpose of receiving and storing all article of Merchandise and Country Produce. The size of the house, together with an apartment expressly fitted for the reception of Dry Goods and other articles ... one or more hands available day or night." As Marshall's project on the river bank for a commission house would take awhile, and hemp producers were ready to start shipping, he "rented some houses in the Old Town of Franklin, near the river, in which they will be perfectly secure until the warehouse is finished." Marshall rented houses because there were so many available in Franklin during this transition and the owners had not decided what they were going to do with them.¹⁶

While Marshall planned for his new future, Nathaniel Patten reflected on his move from Franklin to Fayette. "In what is now termed the old Town of Franklin that a partial evacuation of it has taken place; and many others, we understand, will shortly follow their example (as soon as convenient buildings can be erected for their accommodation in the New Town). The old town of Franklin, although it rose with fictitious splendor, was evidently an unfortunate location. Not a dawning prospect remained to its inhabitants of its resuscitation. No improvements or accession of population could be expected. We ourselves resided in the place for eight years, but was (almost annually) brought to the gates of death. About three years ago, after disposing of real estate there (which had cost us a fortune) for a mere song, removed here [Fayette] and have never regretted it. Those who may continue to remain in the former, we wish all possible happiness & prosperity." Patten thought some property owners would choose to remain in Franklin.¹⁷

By September 1829 in New Town of Franklin (not commonly termed New Franklin yet) the town's main intersection at Missouri Avenue and Broadway was occupied by familiar Franklin names. C. F. Jackson and Company was on the southwest corner; he was opposite of Giles Samuel & Company, who still had another warehouse in Franklin. L. P. Marshall's brick store was on the northeast corner and David Kyle & Company opened in the same brick building adjacent to Marshall. Did the New Franklin merchants buy their bricks from T. A. Smith, George Knox Jr. and owners of brick buildings in commercial row on Franklin's west side of the square? If not, who had a brick kiln in New Franklin? Franklin mason, Elliot Alsop, became known as a New Franklin mason and plasterer doing well enough to become a slaveholder and mer-

chant. Gen. Thomas A. Smith rented his brick tavern house in New Franklin in December 1831 to Daniel Stevens; did Smith finance a construction of used brick? The generic use of the Franklin name by merchants, journalists, and letter writers for New Franklin continued for years until finally New Franklin became the dominant place name.¹⁸

As New Franklin took shape, entrepreneurs set up shop. Henry Colman, an optimist in winter 1830, advertised a Wholesale & Retail Tin & Copper Ware Manufactory in the Town of Franklin. "All orders in his line will be thankfully received and strictly attended to." Colman likely purchased the Copper and Tin Ware Manufactory on the south side of the Franklin square that T. & W. Andrews established in 1824 and moved it to New Franklin, a business that handled "stills and wash, stew, and tea kettles of all sizes."¹⁹

MOVING FRANKLIN TO NEW FRANKLIN

In April 1830, diarist William Campbell visited Boonville. He wrote, "From the town the citizens have a fine view of the Missouri River and can look down with pity on the town of Old Franklin, which is situated on the low bottom on the other side of the river and is represented as being a sickly place and in great danger of being washed away by the falling of the banks into the river [once again, not washed away]. Perhaps the falling banks were not very large in the first place and were of small consequence to Franklin's 426 acres. A great many of the houses have been

Building materials for New Franklin were a bargain with Franklin residents moving elsewhere. A great many of the houses were dismantled and moved to New Franklin ... Settlers loaded wagons full of round and hewn logs, planks, rafters, joists, clapboards, shakes, poles, bricks, etc. from town houses, and rural dependencies that had sheds, corn cribs, shops, storage buildings, etc. and created a new town

removed from the old to the new town, which last is flourishing on the ruins of the former." Building materials for New Franklin were a bargain with Franklin residents moving elsewhere. A great many of the houses were dismantled and moved to New Franklin, but we do not have any approximate count. Settlers loaded wagons full of round and hewn logs, planks, rafters, joists, clapboards, shakes, poles, bricks, etc. from town houses, and rural dependencies that had sheds, corn cribs, shops, storage buildings, etc. and created a new town with all the inconsistencies in refabricating Franklin's former dimension lumber buildings.²⁰

Two years later, commentators still remarked "what remained of Franklin must be moved or be washed into the stream" as though the locals knew "when Franklin's washing downstream" by the Missouri River might actually occur. The observer, noticing the distinctive appearance of New Franklin, continued that "many of the houses of the old town moved to it [New Franklin]." One presumes George Knox Jr. Thomas A. Smith, the Market House, Lamme's "Brick House" store, and owners of other brick buildings had already sold salvage rights to them. In December 1831, the Franklin Union Masonic Lodge forfeited its charter, a sure sign the great majority of Franklin's leading merchants had established themselves elsewhere.²¹

The theme of Old Franklin being reconstituted at New Franklin was repeated. A prominent author of frontier fiction dur-

ing the 1830s witnessed the process. Luke Shortfield (John Beauchamp Jones) in 1835 took a stage coach on the Boone's Lick Road to Franklin to meet his older brother Joseph who was coming from Philadelphia on the steamboat *Ioway*. The two brothers were going to Arrow Rock to open a new store. Jones surveyed the dismantling and construction activity around Franklin and New Franklin that had been going on for several years. "The inhabitants were then bestirring themselves to save what wrecks they could of their property. They were removing the buildings [from Franklin] themselves, mostly frame, back to the hills; the new village in the woods presented the grotesque appearance of a new town built in a measure of old materials. More than two-thirds of it [Franklin] had already disappeared." The "used aesthetic" of Jones' "grotesque appearance" of New Franklin may have slightly resembled lumber rafted to the St. Louis levee. All rafted lumber had to be washed of its mud, muck, sand, and debris before being stacked in the lumber yards for sale. The time in the water discolored the dimension lumber. According to Shortfield, folks in Franklin Township still had one third of Franklin to dismantle in 1835. For years, New Franklin residents would have informally gossiped with each other about which Franklin building contributed to theirs in New Franklin.²²

Lilburn Kingsbury cited Boonville's 1885 newspaper and his kinsman, John Lee, in the 20th century that in 1835 "more of the old town was swept away" including the town graveyard where Nathaniel Patten buried his sister, and "by 1837 every vestige of the village went into the voracious river, while the few remaining inhabitants scrambled frantically to tear down and move their houses." It appears that Kingsbury refers to the last of Frank-

lin's municipal, but dilapidated small residences and not the real estate of Franklin. Farmers and locals lived in housing related to local economies after the water receded in 1828 until 1837, housing that "did not wash down to New Orleans." But, still, another Franklin warehouse awaited a buyer. On July 23, 1838, Elliott and John Lee purchased a warehouse on Lot 7, Franklin – one block east of the town square -- for nearly \$230.00. Presumably, they moved it to John Lee's farm. Franklin's original real estate plat continued to be observed during the 1844 flood and beyond (see 1844 flood below).²³

We find confirmation of the move in the *History of Howard and Chariton Counties* in 1883, "Many buildings of the old town were moved to the new." In rural and small town America this is no surprise. Country dwellers have always salvaged lumber to save on the expense of fabricating other buildings. Historian Lilburn Kingsbury related that "the few who had chosen to remain in Franklin to the bitter end eventually were forced either to abandon their homes or raze them and move to a new site." The persistent residents' homes were damaged and patched back together, but they still stood in Franklin for years after the 1820s floods.²⁴

A century later, Jonas Viles in his 1923 essay wrote, "Franklin's one remaining asset, the erratic Missouri swept the town out of existence. The encroachments began apparently in the unusually high waters of 1826, when the paper was removed to Fayette. By 1828 the situation was so serious that the community decided to move bodily two miles or so to the present town of New Franklin. In 1828-1829 as buildings were completed there the transfer was made and the old town fell into the river [it didn't]. But later the Missouri shifted back to the southward and rebuilt the original site of the town [when was this?]. Barring the timber and the railroad, the bottom lands opposite Boonville are today substantially as they were in 1816. The cycle is complete; the original graveyard is the only trace of Old Franklin."

The location of the original graveyard has escaped dedicated genealogists. The county history claimed it was the "present Hickman graveyard, about one mile south of the present residence of Christopher Burckhardt." Paul Moser referred to it "which lay beyond its [Franklin's] limits," and an encyclopedia claimed that James Hickman was originally buried there.²⁵ Who else beyond Hickman was there? What was its ultimate fate? Franklin's "original" town cemetery, however,

was on Lot 10 where locals buried Mary Patten, not the one referenced by Viles.

OLD FRANKLIN

Geographically, in a pre-railroad agricultural society, Old Franklin never lost its appeal as a landing for shipping downriver. In 1841, Howard County tobacco farmers, storing a surplus, wanted a special shipment to New Orleans. Fayette merchants, Harvey and Birch, agreed to charter a steamboat, cargo insured, and set March 15, 1842, as the date to receive and store at owners risk hogsheds



LILBURN A. KINGSBURY (1884-1983): Kingsbury was an insurance agent, farmer, orchardist writer, genealogist, musician, and antique collector. He lived his entire life on the family farm, Fairview (ca. 1834), near New Franklin. He was a third-generation descendant of Jere Kingsbury, who immigrated to the Boonslick area of the Missouri Territory in 1816. Kingsbury's relatives lived in Franklin Township for generations acquiring hundreds of acres. They were slaveholders, frequent users of Franklin Landing for stock shipments, and they were leading mule traders of Howard County. Kingsbury's writings are a major contribution to Howard County local history. Kingsbury attended Central College (now Central Methodist University) in Fayette in 1904 and 1905. He was a founding member and first president (1937) of what became the Boonslick Historical Society. *Photo courtesy of Missouri historian James M. Denny, taken in 1979 of Kingsbury, then 95, in his antebellum home*

of tobacco at Thorntonsburg (near Glasgow), Glasgow, Arrow Rock, Old Franklin, and Rocheport; Franklin still had warehouses. The merchants agreed to purchase and ship groceries at no extra charge. But, participants were first required to sign a contract at the Harvey and Birch store by January 1st with a collective total shipment of over 200 hogsheads, up to a total of 300, before they finalized a contract with a steamboat. How often this occurred, or whether this proposal was finalized, is unknown.²⁶

By 1842, “William J. Smith and his relatives owned all the land from Clark’s Chapel Hill along the left side of Highway 87 to the river front across from Boonville, while Isaac Gearheart owned most on the other side.” Presumably, he meant Smith’s was on the north side. This ownership put Smith and Gearheart as participants in many late antebellum activities around Old Franklin’s real estate and river crossing businesses to Boonville or on Franklin’s former real estate, including the town square.²⁷

A variety of circumstances suggests that the bottom land farmers were still disappointed with the lack of road maintenance in the great bottoms. In February 1844 agriculturalists petitioned the county court to improve the road in the upper bottom from New Franklin south across Sulphur Creek bridge by the old William and Daniel Munro properties to Old Franklin Road and to Arrow Rock. Road work was never kept up to settlers satisfactions.²⁸

That same year, an unusual appointment for road overseer occurred. Former Franklin businessman, the prosperous Isaac N. Bernard, who moved his ropewalk to Boonville and operated it with several male slaves, had a number of Howard County hemp grower clients. In 1844, Bernard volunteered, and the county court duly appointed him, to be the road overseer between Old Franklin and New Franklin, a rare local government service for a resident of one county to serve in a minor political position of an adjacent county. What time Bernard spent maintaining the road was surely the supervised labor of his male slaves for the work. Bernard’s efforts indicate the potential high profits in hemp manufactured into rope.²⁹

When the great flood waters of June 1844 came down the valley, Boonville citizens came to the bluff to watch nature’s fury. Looking down from Boonville, the town’s *Missouri Register* newspaper, reported “it is 3 p.m.—the water is over the public square at Old Franklin and spreading over the whole bottom.” The famed Franklin town square was still quite visible and noted so by former editor of this serial, Bob Dyer.³⁰

Considered the most catastrophic flood of the 19th century, the 1844 flood spread throughout the Missouri River Valley. “Farms are entirely inundated and a great many houses have been carried away together with stock and property of every descrip-

tion. The water is deep enough in the streets of Rocheport, Old Franklin, Brunswick and Chariton to make them navigable for the largest class of Steamboats.” Riverside warehouses were hit particularly hard. “The towns of Old Franklin and Nashville, it is feared, will be entirely destroyed.” As the Boonville paper noted, the Franklin streets were still visible and riverside warehouses or agricultural buildings were being used at Old Franklin. The former Franklin Academy that survived all floods into the 20th century, by now, was a domestic residence tied to bottom land agriculture as it was for the great majority of its existence.³¹

The riverside towns did endure the memorable flooding, but in Old Franklin’s case, the Howard County population still wanted access to the landing and a passable road to it. By September 1844, Boonville hosted a Whig Convention and a Howard County Whig committee went to work on plans to get supporters there. They met in Fayette and their first resolution was “That a

steamboat had been procured to cross the delegation over the river from Old Franklin to Boonville.” Secondly, they arranged to rent a pasture where Whigs could leave their horses in safety, camp in New Franklin the night before, and proceed to Franklin Landing on the morning of the convention. Old Franklin’s location was such that county residents never quit using the site in the 19th century.³²

By the 1850s, one business that never left Franklin was the ferry. A well-used steam ferry was good income for the county licensee. Joseph Cooper, one

of his slaves, and his various partners during the 1830s-1850s managed the one at Old Franklin. The annual ferry tax was \$10. The wealthy Isaac Gearheart joined Cooper in the 1840s to operate “good and substantial boats at the Public Square, Old Franklin, and the mouth of the avenue running to New Franklin, to extend downriver to adjoin John Lee’s lands.” Locals rented boats at Franklin’s town square for fishing tours on the Missouri River. Capt. William Jewett, sailing out of Glasgow by 1840, made weekly freight and passenger stops at Old Franklin. In December 1843, Glasgow businessman John Harrison paid his hired hand for breakfast and horse feed at Old Franklin during his haul of mill stones to his upriver Glasgow mill. An employee of the ferrymen licensees lived at Old Franklin to take care of the river-crossing trade.³³

The 1848 state census, conducted by Col. Newton G. Elliott, local businessman, co-founder of Boonsboro, and a slaveholder, reported in the *Glasgow Weekly Times* that 120 folks lived in Old Franklin, perhaps two dozen families and bachelors, who lived in the north end of the “old boundaries” of Franklin’s extended town and worked for the several slaveholders who managed large farms in the Franklin Township bottom. In contrast, New



FRANKLIN ACADEMY I-HOUSE: Noted in E. W. Stephens’ *Intelligencer* history, 1919 (“A Brief History of the First American Newspaper West of St. Louis”): ... “the last of the good buildings left standing in Franklin was the brick Franklin Academy, used as an agricultural rental into the twentieth century.” Image source, *Historic American Buildings Survey* (Library of Congress)

Franklin tallied 229 residents. There was self-interest by the ferry managers to keep the Franklin Public Square open for business and certainly agriculturalists wanted ready access to Franklin Landing to export or pick up goods they purchased downriver.³⁴

The river did demand maintenance on land. Part of river bank fell in and landowners had to replace part of the road to Franklin ferry landing near Gearhart's blacksmith shop. Gearhart, a wealthy slaveholder, had a cooper and blacksmith shop that travelers passed on the road near Franklin's public square. The Old Franklin riverside still had a couple of warehouses and Gearhart's male slaves worked at the shops or he may have rented them, too. The coopers made barrels for the local whiskey trade. The brick seminary building, the Franklin Academy, that Virginia enslavers, Joel and Ellen Smith, occupied as a home on the north edge of "Old Franklin" was in prominent view. Gearhart bred and raced horses and had a large farm that led northwest toward Clark's Chapel Hill and his twenty-eight slaves by 1850 rotated in labor assignments in his various enterprises. Horace Kingsbury tasked his bonded labor to cut unending piles of cord wood that they transported across the river to Boonville where he managed a Missouri River wood yard. He sold so much that he purchased cord wood from others.³⁵

In 1855, another businessman, David H. Gibson, wanted a better public road from New Franklin's Missouri Avenue to Old Franklin. Gibson had a warehouse for goods and groceries at Franklin Landing. John Lee, a large landowner, owned the land from Sulphur Creek to the Missouri River and may have cooperated in allowing an easement for access to the road.³⁶

Residents wanted another easement. Franklin Township citizens wanted the road at Boonville ferry landing at Old Franklin, that lead through lands of Isaac Gearhart and others, to form a junction with the new State Road, Glasgow-to-Arrow Rock, opened up to 40 feet wide. Whether the county court tasked the road overseer to implement the expansion is unknown, but it's clear that in the late antebellum years the majority of local east-west traffic traveled on the upper bottom roads.³⁷

The Franklin Landing site always demanded regular maintenance. Shifting sediment and sand bars inhibited confidant captains of boats. Rail fences bordered the roads and defined the fields of the landowners. Sometimes local government was slow to pay workers who invested their time on roads and bridges. James

Watts finally had to petition the county court for back wages in working on the road at Old Franklin in moving the fence frequently because the road fell into the river at the landing site. Over time, that's what primarily moved near Old Franklin, the unstable landing, and not the real estate of streets and blocks and town square of the former town.³⁸

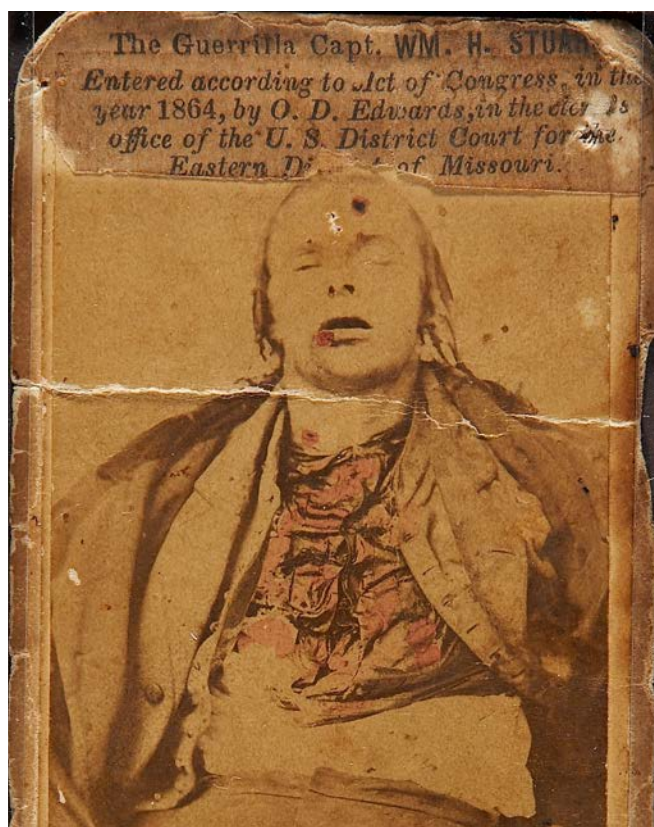
As commonly the case, wealthy slaveholders sometimes invested their own resources – usually their bonded slave labor – in a public work where they had a vested interest. For a few years, Horace Kingsbury and Isaac Gearhart maintained and kept open the New Franklin road to the Old Franklin landing where locals boarded the ferry for Boonville. The two related slaveholders had commercial interests in seeing that large deadwood timber did not block the path to the landing and both had plenty of male slave labor to maintain the access.³⁹In 1859, the Missouri legislature established a state road from Old Franklin to Rocheport, likely using

much of the old Boone's Lick Road route, while formalizing one of the older Howard County pathways into state government.⁴⁰

OLD FRANKLIN IN WARTIME

Old Franklin was "open for business" during the war. Not surprisingly, the Civil War found its way to a house near John Lee's. "Death has overtaken another notorious desperado in the person of the rebel Captain [William H.] Stewart [also spelled Stuart], who had been a companion of Bill Anderson ... Stewart was killed at the house of McDonald in Old Franklin by a cattle drover. Stewart and two companions rode up and the drover fastened the doors of the house and Stewart attempted to break them down. The drovers shot and killed Stewart," one bullet in the neck, another entered the mouth, and a third into the forehead. The other two guerrillas escaped. One wonders how many housing units were occupied at Franklin Landing, often a crossing for Union militia units, by locals trying to avoid the perils of the war during the dangerous fall of 1864.⁴¹

The drovers at Old Franklin brings up a question as to why were they there? Were they driving cattle to a destination, and if so, that required a Union permit. The Old Franklin to Boonville crossing never closed during the war. Male slaves of Lilburn Kingsbury's relatives, Horace Kingsbury, Isaac Gearhart, John Lee, and William J. Smith all crossed there; in November 1863, the slaves reported to the Boonville provost marshal and recruiting office to sign up with the Union Army. Henry and John Kingsbury both



POSTMORTEM PORTRAIT: Confederate Guerilla Capt. William H. Stuart (also spelled "Stewart"), who rode with the notorious "Bloody Bill" Anderson and was killed in Old Franklin in 1864. Partially visible in the image are the three shots that killed him—in the forehead, neck and mouth. Death photos of bushwhackers and outlaws were common in those days, both as gruesome mementos and as a way for authorities to identify suspects. Bloody Bill also had his death photo taken, as did Jesse James and the Dalton brothers. *Courtesy Google Images: Heritage Auctions, HA.com.*

signed up for the USCT (United States Colored Troops) in Boonville, only two of an astonishing 600 male slaves who left Howard County for the Union. The Old Franklin crossing was significant in the wartime commerce of Franklin Township, Boonville, Kingsbury's relatives, the local slaves, for Union military crossings, and occasional Southern sympathizing riders.⁴²

Farmers and tradesmen required the same permits. Men had to acquire military permits to ship agricultural production downriver for their own sustenance or for military support – most days during the Civil War were like all others, time spent in making a living. Permits allowed regional shipments of sheep, corn, cattle, hogs, casks of bacon to St. Louis, and permission to those who needed to keep a skiff (boat) to cross the river. Some were allowed to sell liquor and ammunition to the local population. Most of the large slaveholding farmers in the Franklin Township bottom escaped the disruption of agriculture and widespread wartime property destruction. Why? Did they regularly work with the provost marshal office in Fayette and/or Boonville to stay in production to see to the civilian and/or military market?⁴³

Lilburn Kingsbury's Civil War generation of relatives that he wrote about – Isaac Gearhart, Dr. Horace Kingsbury, John Lee, and William J. Smith -- are noteworthy in that they owned 6,200 acres between New Franklin, Clark's Hill, and Old Franklin and the roads to the ferry passed their properties. Lilburn commented how Gearhart was combative throughout his life, an "uncouth man who was a fighter." His rebelliousness resulted in an early Union arrest, and transfer to Jefferson City by 1862 where he was paroled, but he had to stay close to report to the provost marshal daily.

Back near Old Franklin, where Gearhart's property was located his 1860 \$24,000 farm evaluation plummeted to only \$8,000 by 1870. In his pattern of slave ownership, he held 28 in 1850, but only seven in 1860. Given the escalating prices paid for 1850s slaves, it is reasonable he sold twenty-one during the 1850s, perhaps to nearby slave trader John R. White. White shipped slaves on steamboats to New Orleans and Gearhart's slaves may have left Franklin Landing on one of White's shipments. Regardless, Gearhart's property was not protected during the war and it may have been assessed by one of the provost marshal's for Union support early in the war.⁴⁴

Lilburn Kingsbury paternalistically wrote, "No good slave was ever sold out of the Clark's Chapel community," a legacy of Lost Cause mythology after the war that "inflated Confederate prowess and downplayed the role of slavery in the Civil War." Gearhart was not the only local slaveholder who reduced the number of his bondsmen for ready cash. Enslavers allowed their chattel that lived on one farm to marry another who lived on a nearby farm

for an "abroad marriage," one that allowed visiting privileges between the couples once or twice a week. Slave Uncle Allen, a local cobbler and preacher, performed local slave marriages; one was Cindy, a house girl, of William J. Smith. Passed down to Lilburn was Allen's concluding pronouncement in the ceremony that the couple was "man and wife 'til distance does you part," recognition by the enslaved that anyone could be "sold south" at any time, their marriage "dissolved through distance." Many were bought and sold by John R. White, resident slave trader just north of New Franklin who marketed slaves in St. Louis and New Orleans. At Franklin Landing such African Americans saw Howard County and their relatives for the last time.

Beyond Gearhart, Lilburn's other relatives did well during the war likely supported by Union contracts. Their results are contrary to those of wealthy agriculturalists who often lost 40% to 60% of their resources. Agricultural 1860 evaluations of Horace Kingsbury went from \$20,000 to a staggering \$60,000 in 1870; John Lee from \$16,000 to \$25,000; and William J. Smith from \$16,000 to \$30,000. Lilburn Kingsbury wrote that Smith, after losing his chattel during the war, "considered himself bankrupt and acted very much like one." Although he doubled his landed wealth by 1870, he obviously begrudged tenant and share cropping ar-



NICHOLAS AMICK-HORACE KINGSBURY HOUSE: Located at edge of Missouri River bottoms about three miles west of Franklin. It was fronted by the Santa Fe Trail which connected to Boone's Salt Lick and Arrow Rock a few miles further on. The original one-story Federal style section was built about 1825, the two-story Greek Revival main house added by Kingsbury in 1856, using slave labor. Both sections are constructed of brick. The original section has a hall and parlor plan and the main house a traditional central passage I-house. The house is still in use today as a residence. *Courtesy Wikipedia Commons*

rangements with freedmen when he used to get the work for free.

Military units on both sides of the war were especially attracted to packs of mules. Franklin Township was the leading mule breeding and trading jurisdiction in Howard County. In 1860, Horace Kingsbury was the leading mule trader in Howard County, save for Samuel Crews near Rocheport. Kingsbury owned 110 animals, an inventory that turned over every three years in the market. Kingsbury could not have hidden that many animals from sight. He still had 104 animals in 1870 – the Union quartermasters in Fayette and Boonville were probably his market and protection. Moreover, in 1870, the second largest number of mules compared

to the doctor's 104 that anyone in Howard County had was 40. Other Franklin Township mule traders saw their packs decimated.⁴⁵

Jere Kingsbury died in 1863 and had \$125,000 personal property and \$10,000 in real estate. His probate added to the valuations of his two sons, Horace and Lemuel, and his investments accrued to his daughters. J. R. Estill, north of New Franklin, whose mule pack went from 73 to 12, also bucked the overall financial trend with Lilburn's relatives with an 1860 \$30,000 evaluation to \$45,000 in 1870. Nearby, on the eastern side of the Bonne Femme River was an example more in line with other elites. Slave trader John R. White and his son Oscar's and son-in-law, J. C. Moore's stock ranches were not left alone by the countryside thieves, as their value went from nearly \$76,000 in 1860 to \$54,000 in 1870. Gains and losses by Franklin Township agricultural elites during the 1860s constitute a wide open field for inquiry.⁴⁶



CAPTAIN JOSEPH KINNEY: A well known Boonslick steamboat man of his time, he owned several steamboats and named many after his daughters. In 1869 he built "Rivercene" mansion across the river from Boonville in the bottoms east of Franklin. It still stands today. *Courtesy of Find a Grave*

A part of this economic anomaly at Old Franklin Landing may also be connected to Boonville shippers. Wealthy banker, William H. Trigg, told the Union Army in January 1863 that "his company doesn't sell anything contraband," i.e., he did not violate Union rules. In 1860, Boonville local merchant, Joseph Kinney was evaluated at \$7,500, but he must have begun his famed river marketing with the Union Army to achieve a remarkable 1870 evaluation of \$175,000. Was Kinney, who lived next to John Lee, crucial in the wartime success of Lilburn Kings-

Lilburn [Kingsbury] wrote that "the Civil War brought financial difficulties for most of the people in the area," but he never mentioned any for his Civil War generation relatives.

bury's relatives?

Whatever the answers are, Franklin Landing, like many big bottom landings, was important for the Union wartime effort in Howard County. James McPherson, a leading Civil War historian, concluded that the Confederate states' wealth dropped 60% from 1860 to 1870, but near Franklin Landing the local story for Union Missouri was quite different for Lilburn's ancestors, none of whom were physically abused in his 20th-century telling. Lilburn wrote that "the Civil War brought financial difficulties for most of the people in the area," but he never mentioned any for his Civil War generation relatives. The Kingsbury clan properties were not trashed, neither were barns, fences, and outbuildings burned, instead those resource-rich farms were left intact, except for Gear-

hart's. The pickings would have been flush for a reputedly guerilla-infested countryside, but it was others who lived a distance and out of sight of Franklin Landing that endured the suffering. Franklin Landing serves as a metaphor with widely varying implications for slaveholders, freedmen, Union Home Guards or Union militia. It seems that groups of Confederate sympathizers rarely crossed there.⁴⁷

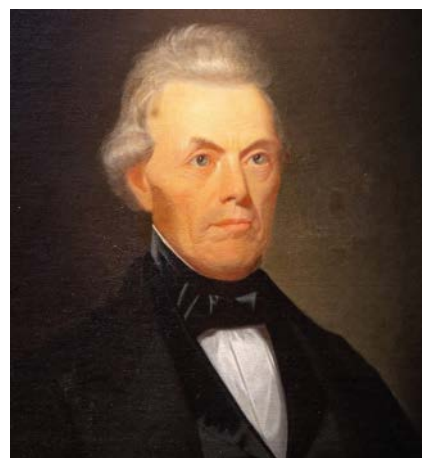
After the war, the steamboat trade enjoyed its most profitable and large volume business before the railroads began to be the favored freight companies. A new steamboat packet company organized, the St. Louis and Miami Tri-Weekly Packet Line. It advertised stops from Augusta between Miami and scheduled Old Franklin, Arrow Rock, and Boonville. Their ads were still running into late 1867.⁴⁸ More steamers came to Old Franklin. A "River and Steamboat News" column ran reports of steamboats stops and travels upriver. "The *W. B. Dance*, e.g., left Kansas City and met the *Jennie Lewis* at Waverly and lay all night. The *Dance* met *St. Luke* at Glasgow and the *Golden Era* at Arrow Rock, and lay all night at Old Franklin." You could still board as a passenger or ship freight to Franklin Landing.⁴⁹

JOHN RYLAND'S WALK

John Ryland was the only renowned attorney who lived in Franklin and Fayette from 1818 to 1831. He obtained a classical education and in 1818 married Martha Barnett in Madison County, Kentucky. The young couple immigrated to Franklin the following year. Ryland advertised himself as "Late from Richmond, Kentucky" and rented space "in the room occupied as the Post Office" where Nathaniel Patten worked. Ryland established his legal competence in Franklin and Fayette for the next decade. At July 4th celebrations and a dinner and toasts that recognized the achievement of the 1825 survey of the Santa Fe Trail, John Ryland was an officer at the public affair. He served a term as Grand Master of the Franklin Union Lodge.⁵⁰

Ryland moved to Fayette in 1827 and opened his office in Dr. Samuel Crews' brick house on an acreage south of the square, while he lived "one quarter of a mile North East of Wright's tavern." Crews was another affluent slaveholder from Madison County, Kentucky. Ryland's work attracted Gov. John G. Miller's attention to nominate him in January 1831 to a circuit judgeship in Lexington. Ryland ascended to the Supreme Court in 1849 serving until 1857.⁵¹

A slaveholder, Ryland supported the Union from his home and office in Lexington and served a term in the House of Representatives with the Republicans immediately after the war. He returned to private practice for several years. In his retirement,



JUDGE JOHN RYLAND: Portrait by George Caleb Bingham. *Courtesy Wikipedia*



DR. SAMUEL CREWS 1830s brick house, south of the Fayette square. Prior to house additions, John Ryland opened his office in Dr. Crews house in 1827. Ryland came to Franklin in 1820. In 1831, his appointment as circuit judge led him to locate in Lexington, where in 1849, he ascended to the Missouri Supreme Court. He was a slaveholder, but a Union man during the war and was a Missouri Radical state representative, 1866-68. Photo by Don Cullimore

Ryland went to St. Louis with a friend about 1870 and the steamer “docked at what was once the landing of the flourishing town of Franklin.” Ryland coaxed his friend off the boat to walk around “where the town once stood, and during the walk pointed out various localities, streets, residences, etc. and after a silence of many minutes, I observed that he was weeping. Sir, he said, upon this desolate common, when I was a young man fifty years ago, I have seen a busy, thriving town, with a population of 2,000 people; and of all the lawyers who were then here, buoyant with youth and hope for the future, I alone am left.”⁵²

OLD FRANKLIN REAL ESTATE

While Ryland was there the two story brick Franklin Academy stood, an occupied residence, leased by William J. Smith. Ryland probably did not walk around in its yard, but walked over the Old Franklin town square south of it. Thus, the Missouri River waters, shown in the *Howard County Atlas of 1876*, would have to have risen in the early 1870s to cover the public square as it did in 1844. The *Atlas*, of course, is a misrepresentation of what Ryland remembered, as it only shows part of the first 1816 plat, a small 50-acre portion of the 360-acre west half of section 5 referenced in its caption. And, as Missouri River geomorphologists have commonly written, the river probably receded and restored what Old Franklin real estate was missing in a short time, as the river had done countless times in many places in the long riverine valley.

This erratic shifting in sedimentary channeling that occurred impacted dozens of acres that may be reflected in the acreage assessed and equalized for annual taxation by local government, as large landowners were always the ones most commonly at the courthouse requesting adjustments to their taxation at the

annual Board of Equalization. To date, no one has examined those records for any annual pattern of tax equalization requested by Franklin Township land owners to produce chronological points in lateral migration in the river channel. In the 19th century many county seat newspapers published the results of these meetings. This survey suggests that significant movement and replacement of Old Franklin real estate only occurred post-Civil War, as the bottom land in the 20th century has not attracted similar comments that Old Franklin “was missing” its original location. The following 1870s anecdotes suggest a very short occupation of Old Franklin by the Missouri River in 1876.⁵³

In an unusual weather event in December 1871, the Old Franklin site, its location known by all regional settlers, played another role. The Missouri River was “closed by ice at Arrow Rock and Rocheport. The channel at Boonville is open. All the freight for Fayette, Lisbon, Boonsboro, Saline City, and Arrow Rock coming from St. Louis by way of the Pacific Railroad is ferried to Old Franklin, and then hauled to the above places by wagons; also all the Rocheport freight is brought the same way and the ferryboat from that

point has been making weekly trips with flour and other stuff to be shipped on the Pacific Railroad and then returning loaded from Old Franklin with merchandise.” Capt. Joseph Kinney, a large agricultural exporter on steamboats and whose estate was just east of Old Franklin, “had arranged to pack pork in Franklin during the packing season, but was unable to succeed in obtaining steady hands for the purpose and was forced to give up his intended plan.” Boats had picked up pork at Franklin Landing for 50 years. Other commercial men with different products had better luck.⁵⁴

The Missouri River Packet Line – Star Line -- began regular runs from Augusta to Cambridge and back to St. Louis. As other boats did, its steamer *Fannie Lewis*, stopped at Rocheport, Old Franklin, Arrow Rock, Glasgow, and additional landings on its route during June 1873, the normal calendar for flood season. Moreover, the construction of the MKT railroad occurred in 1873 with the Missouri River bridge crossing the next year. It makes sense that a railroad work camp developed at Old Franklin.⁵⁵

Two years later, a banner agricultural season of grains came from the Booneslick region. The St. Louis docks reported that 40,000 bushels of wheat were shipped from Old Franklin during the month of August alone to various commission houses.⁵⁶

During the early 1870s, “Within the last few years, a small village still called “Old Franklin” has sprung up just back [north] of the site of the old town.” How much of Old Franklin was north of the old Franklin Academy building? Who owned the land? If in small plots, was it surveyed, did it have named streets, and were occupants all tenants or did any of them own their small domicile? Like large agriculturalists elsewhere, its emergence was

probably encouraged and abetted by wealthy farmers needing labor on their land.⁵⁷

William J. Smith and other landowners allowed families to live on their real estate as tenants to work for them. Old Franklin was a farm labor hamlet, a concentration of small, minimal housing that formed a neighborhood and not a town. After the Civil War, former slaves exercised their new freedom in getting married and having it recorded in local government records. For example, in February 1866, five of Dr. Horace Kingsbury's former slaves went through the official ceremony with a justice of the peace. Freed-people Henry, Isaac, Owen, Rachel, and Harriett Kingsbury all married in the same week and, according to the census, the men were farm hands who either lived at Old Franklin or nearby with their wives and children. Henry Kingsbury had been a wedding gift to Horace Kingsbury when he first married in 1832. They were still there in the 1870s, but by 1880 many of these local African Americans joined the national migration to the cities. The census indicates some of the laborers were an integrated population, but by far it was African American. This labor population were all tenants as the census indicates none of them owned any property.⁵⁸

During the Centennial year of 1876 and the celebratory printing of the *Howard County Atlas*, the old Franklin Academy building was tied to its Franklin origins. "The only house left is now owned by Mr. William J. Smith, built in the suburbs of that once populous city." This was the brick, two-story Franklin Academy owned by William Jefferson Smith, one of the county's most wealthy men, even though he lost nearly two dozen slaves after the Civil War, but retained his large landholdings in Franklin Township. His property evaluation in 1860 was \$56,670 and amazingly in 1870 had grown to \$71,000, unusual in Howard County. If anyone needed a labor village, it was Smith to keep his agricultural productions in a volume to support his estate. The Academy building may have been a farm manager's house for much of the time. Smith's three-story, brick country mansion house, "Sunnyside," was northwest near Clark's Chapel Hill.⁵⁹

In 1900, politics reached Old Franklin. The St. Louis press announced that "Railroad Men Prefer Dockery" for governor. In the political race for Missouri's chief executive office, a correspondent from New Franklin wrote that anyone who came here would "find a cluster of three little railroad towns, New Franklin, Old Franklin, and Franklin Junction—comprising probably 2,500 residents, in which the Republican candidate will poll no more than six railroad votes. At Franklin Junction three branches of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad meet. It is the terminus of a division of that road and New Franklin and Old Franklin supply sites

for the railroad men who work on the division." This "Old Franklin" concentration appears to be north of the 1820s Franklin, but its boundaries, legal or by local tradition, remain undrawn on a modern map. By now, was the geography of Old Franklin fluid with its residents occupying different rental acreages, as these men, still in a labor camp, worked for the railroad and not in the agricultural fields?⁶⁰

In fall 1900, John T. Lee of Old Franklin married Miss Maude Brant of Boonville. His father, John Lee Jr. came with his parents to Howard County in 1819. As an adult, he was for years a leading farmer and stockman in Franklin Township. He became a Boonville financier and co-organizer of the Ahle, Lee & Dunnica bank until 1882, when he formed the John Lee & Son, Bankers. In 1885, he sold his interest in that bank, and co-organized the Commercial Bank, remaining a director and manager of his agricultural estate until he died in 1893. The prominence of the Lee family at Old Franklin's former town site, perhaps in the East Franklin acreage on one of the old out-lots, helped maintain common usage of the Old Franklin term. Lee may have occupied part of the former T. A. Smith or George Knox Jr. property. The father died at his Old Franklin house. His son, John Talbot Lee died in Kansas City in 1965, but at that late date his obituary said he was born in 1878 in Old Franklin.⁶¹

The population of New Franklin has barely approached the 1820s demographics of Franklin. So far, it is only estimates at various times that suggest Franklin "may have" boasted some 1,500 denizens at its zenith, while New Franklin in 1980 recorded 1,228 at its height of population [1017, 2020 census]. Of course, we are without specific definitions for all the material culture of Old Franklin – just how many houses and businesses were there at its zenith – and that number could swing any conclusions wildly. We have never seen accurate municipal boundaries of 1820s Franklin nor boundaries of Old Franklin over time as farmers purchased pieces of it. No one has marked where the Franklin Academy stood that was owned for decades by William J. Smith, a long-time residence and photographed by E. W. Stephens in 1919 for a history of the *Intelligencer* newspaper and that Jonas Viles saw in 1923.

Franklin residents spent more than a decade cleaning up their buildings from high water that left muck and mud in them. Press accounts bemoan the water in 1820, 1823, 1824, 1826, and 1828. The county court continually had to adjust the east west road further inland so folks could get to the Arrow Rock ferry. But, one thing is for sure – the Missouri River did not wash near all of Franklin's real estate downriver in 1826 or 1828 floods. Franklin's diaspora requires a very different commentary and one that includes the construction of New Franklin with lumber and bricks from 1820s Franklin.

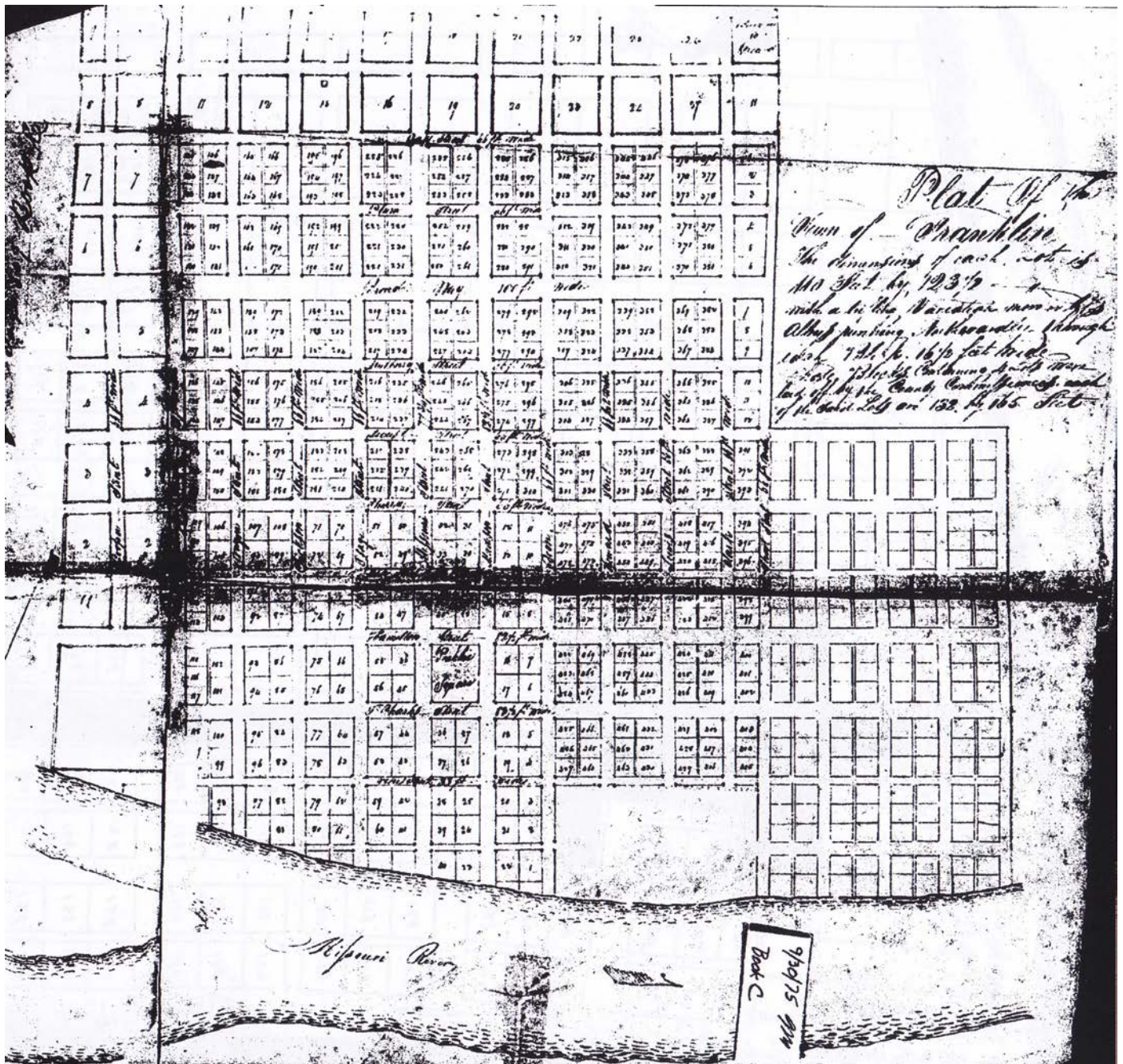


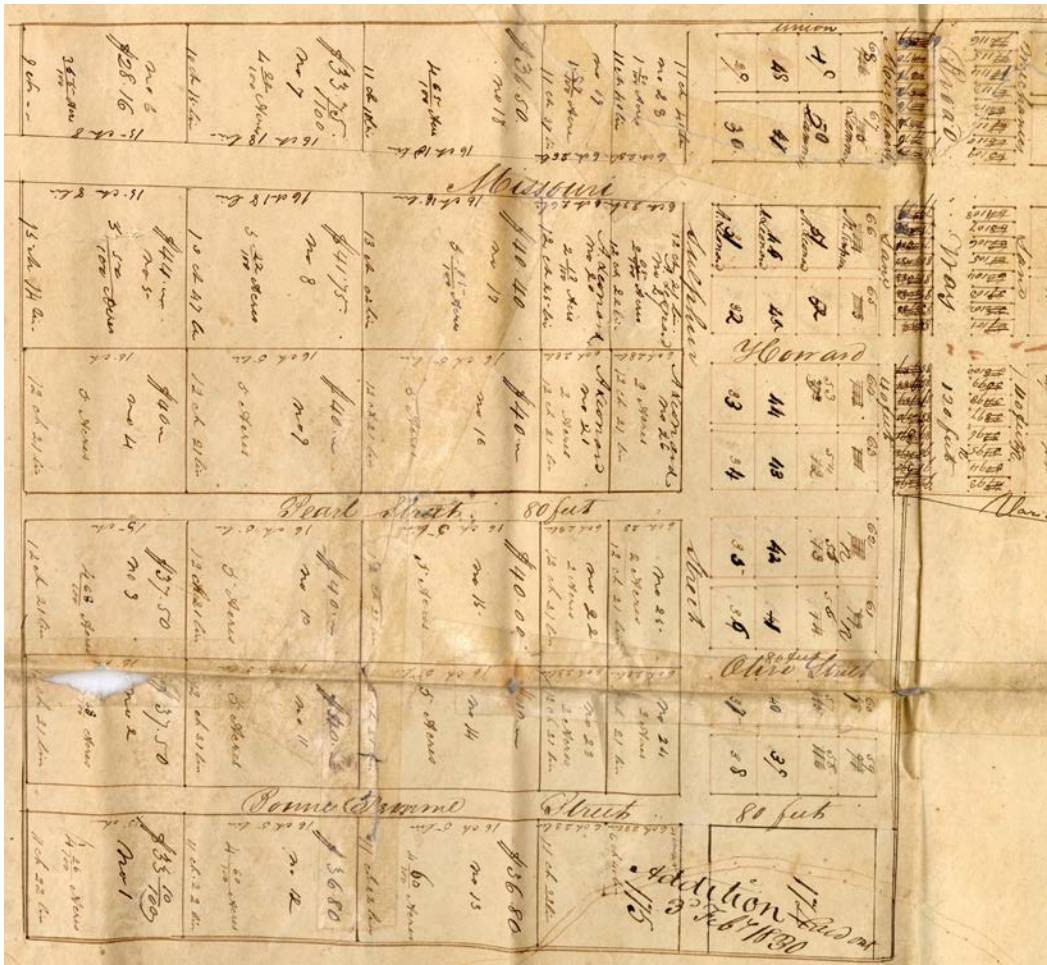
SANTA FE TRAIL MONUMENT erected by the DAR in New Franklin's business square commemorates founding of the Trail in Franklin in 1821 by William Becknell. Gen. Thomas A. Smith co-financed the first trading efforts toward Santa Fe, both Becknell and Meredith Miles Marmaduke's adventures. The Coopers financed their own. *Photo by Don Cullimore*

Franklin, Part 5 Appendix

Listed are selected Franklin events in Real Estate Sales in the *Intelligencer and Gazette* (see page 18). Even though the map images are of poor resolution, and you cannot read the lot numbers, one can compare the plat sizes to each other and the chronicles of Franklin's expansion is a quick historical reference of optimistic town development.

There was no expansion of Franklin's real estate after statehood, but there were many commercial and domestic buildings constructed. The poor resolution Franklin map, c. 1819 (below), shows the perimeter of the 678 lots platted by 1819; additions, in general, were to the east of the original 1816 plat on 50 acres until the Franklin municipality included 426 acres expanding toward the modern highway bridge across the Missouri River. After settlers' experiences with Franklin waters and a national depression, subsequent new Booneslick town plats in New Franklin, Fayette, and elsewhere were much smaller for years only gradually expanding.





MAPS:

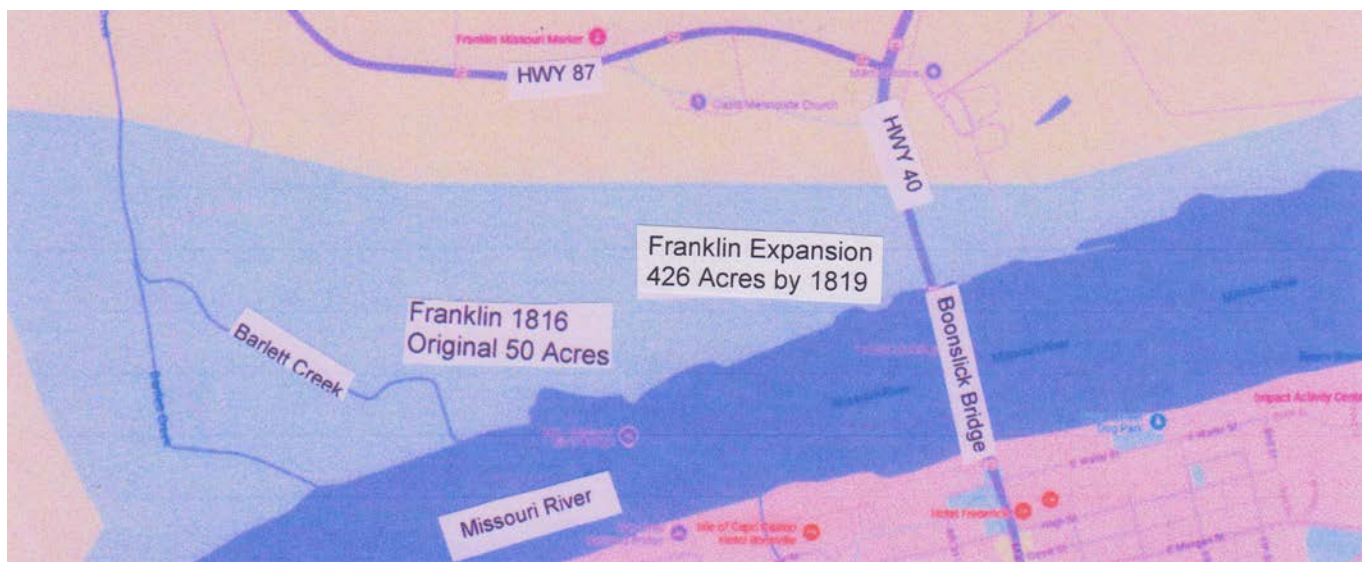
Franklin, ca. 1819 plat, page 16.
Courtesy of Howard County Circuit Clerk & Recorder's Office

New Franklin, ca. 1830 plat, page 17. Courtesy of State Historical Society of Missouri-Rolla Research Center

Fayette, ca. 1823 plat, page 17. Courtesy of Howard County Circuit Clerk & Recorder's Office

Location of Franklin settlement in South Howard County bottoms across Missouri River from Boonville, page 18. Modern Google aerial map





Franklin land references:

1816, Spring: Franklin lots laid off within 50 acres, includes a 2-acre town square.

1816, November: St. Louis Gazette announced lots were sold, each will contain ½ acre so that all lots will face a street. One plat version recorded in local government indicated 97 lot numbers in 1819. Apparently, subdividing lots soon began as some lots became only 20 or 40 feet wide, but many were combined to be larger. The 97 numbered lots expanded to 678 lots in three years, 1816-19. The Intelligencer estimates never exceeded 3-400 houses or functional buildings scattered about Franklin, so it's likely one-third of the total lots were never built upon or were used for agricultural purposes.

1817: The territorial government passed a legislative act that retroactively allowed the 1816 sales that took place without the permission of the government.

1817, May-June: Gen. William Rector, Surveyor-General, St. Louis employed surveyor Chriesman to inspect Ira Nash's 1725 claim in Franklin, as Nash did not recognize the pre-emption claims of Franklin co-founder Shadrach Barnes and his associates.

1817, November: Intelligencer says Franklin now has 150 lots, many with buildings that face a street, an addition of 50 lots from the original survey.

1818, March: William V. Rector, James H. Benson, & John W. Scudder host a 150-lot sale on their real estate purchase; Intelligencer estimates there are 100 houses and 3-400 population in Franklin.

1818, May: Richard Venables, a St. Louis land speculator, hosted land sales in Franklin, selling lots and acreages of various sizes.

1818, Fall: William V. Rector & William Kincheloe platted land east of the original plat and sold out all their lots.

1819, February: Lilburn Boggs had purchased a variety of "Boon's Lick Lands and Town Lots for sale." They included 8 one-three acre plots; 1 10-acre parcel; 1 5-acre lot; and acreages elsewhere in the Boonslick. Boggs had 2 parcels on the Franklin town square: 1 he assembled was 52 x 132 with a 2-story Brick House; 1 was 82 x 132 with a frame house.

1819, May: Richard Venables, a St. Louis land speculator, hosted more land sales in Franklin.

1819, summer: William V. Rector & William Kincheloe offered another group of lots to the Missouri River's edge that sold and John Scudder sold out his lots that varied from 2-10 acres and "joined the original town plat" on the east.

1819, July: Richard Gentry & John Welch purchased Amos Barnes timbered pre-emption claim and promoted a second "East Franklin addition" in front of the Rector & Kincheloe lots.

1819, September: Richard Venables promoted the sale of 22 acres of Franklin out-lots (this addition is nearly one-half the size of the original 1816 50-acre town plat).

1819: William V. Rector and William Kincheloe promote sales of out-lots that are 2, 9, 12, & 13-acre parcels that would be east of the original plat.

1819, December: William V. Rector and Lilburn Boggs sold their Brick House to William Lamme in December 1819, the anchor building to the emerging brick commercial west side of Franklin's town square.

1823: Nathaniel Patten estimated the Franklin population at 1,000 (he estimated 3-400 in 1818) and upwards of "200 houses and other buildings."

ENDNOTES

- 1 Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (New York: Harper, 1929), 81.
- 2 *Intelligencer*, June 10, 1823.
- 3 Phil E. Chappell, "Floods in the Missouri River," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1907-1908, Vol. X*. Topeka, Ks. It is notable that Cote sans Dessein, a town of 3-400 settlers during the 1820s, was not washed away by floods either.
- 4 Francis A. Sampson, "Glimpses of Old Missouri by Explorers and Travelers," *Missouri Historical Review* (Oct. 1973, 92 and 1823 James Account of S. H. Long's Expedition (Volume 1), Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 148.
- 5 *Intelligencer*, Aug. 3, 1826. Isaac Pearson, a family friend from England, joined Mrs. Simpson to work in the mercantile business until 1830. The Fayette store styled as Simpson & Nanson with Philadelphia goods announced "now opening at their old stand, North East of the Public Square" in Fayette in 1828. Mary Simpson remarried in 1833 and moved to Cooper County with her seven slaves and her son, A. W. Simpson, Ancestry.com; *Intelligencer*, Mar. 7, 1828; and *Biographical Dictionary, Missouri Volume* (New York, 1878), 689-90.
- 6 *Intelligencer*, Mar. 22, 1827.
- 7 *Intelligencer*, Mar. 7, 1828, and Dec. 18, 1829. Very few of the *Intelligencer* issues from Fayette, 1828-30, have survived for preservation and use.
- 8 *Intelligencer*, June 6, 1828. *American State Papers, Post Office, Vol. VII*, 291, Franklin received just over \$330.00 and Fayette, \$336.00. The regional settlements kept Franklin's volume brisk.
- 9 *Intelligencer*, Feb. 6, 1829; Dr. Walker, July 3, 1829; and Feb. 19, 1830.
- 10 *Intelligencer*, Mar. 24, 1829 and Aug. 14, 1829.
- 11 Road petitions, Howard County Clerk's office, August 1838, Box 4, f. 34, and August 1837, Box 3, f. 108, MSA.
- 12 Races, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 14, 1829. See Wetmore's free verse poem, "The Races", on "Welch's classic field ... where the noble-blooded "Whip" who proudly feels above the common rivalry for fame," *Intelligencer*, Oct. 21, 1823. John and James Welch were co-founders of Franklin and Whip was Maj. Richard Gentry's horse.
- 13 *Intelligencer*, Oct. 30, and Dec. 4, 1829, and Jan. 22, 1830.
- 14 *Intelligencer*, Mar. 19, 1830.
- 15 *Intelligencer*, June 26, 1829.
- 16 Lamme's warehouse, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 12, 1830. By 1834, Marshall signed notes to James Morrison for \$11,000 plus 6% interest for the salt works and 590 acres that Marshall paid off in May 1839. This hefty purchase (\$290,000 in today's money) does not suggest that Marshall suffered any major setbacks with Lamme's old warehouse. By 1840, Marshall moved his commission house business to Arrow Rock where he owned 14 slaves. He continued purchasing Booneslick GLO parcels until 1843, and in the 1840s, located a store in Rocheport, while being a co-agent for the *Algoma* passenger steamboat. *Intelligencer*, Oct. 24, 1846. L. P. Marshall's family kept the salt works property until his estate settlement in 1850. Marshall was the probate executor for George Knox, Jr., his father-in-law (died May 1849). Marshall himself soon died in 1850 and his heirs sold the "apparatus for making salt," the land, and his eight slaves, *Glasgow Weekly Times*, December 19, 1850.
- 17 *Intelligencer*, Sept. 25, 1829. Unfortunately for Patten, who married Matilda Gaither in July 1827 in Fayette, he lost his wife in 1829. In April 1830, he closed his shop and moved to Columbia. In Columbia, in February 1831, Patten married a widow, Mrs. Eliza Holman, with whom they had a son, E. W. Stephens, *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser* (Columbia: University of Missouri Bulletin, May 1919).
- 18 *Intelligencer*, Sept. 25, 1829. Moss Prewitt joined C. F. Jackson in late 1829, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 4, 1829. The postal history contributed to this interchange of place name. "Franklin" was New Franklin's post office until residents received an Old Franklin post office in 1851 that was discontinued in 1854; another Old Franklin post office emerged in 1888 and lasted until 1903 with other minor changes over time reflecting demographic changes in the Franklin Township river bottoms. Postal records in Ancestry.com. Brick tavern, Thomas A. Smith, Missouri Judicial Records Historical Database, 1833 and 1834, MSA, and see New Franklin Historic District, National Register of Historic Places nomination, Debbie Sheals, Sept. 25, 2012, for Alsop as an early builder.
- 19 *Intelligencer*, May 1 and 22, 1824; Jan. 22 and March 19, 1830.
- 20 "Diary of William M. Campbell, *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society, Vol. 3 (July-Sept. 1936), 143.
- 21 Switzler's *Illustrated History of Missouri, From 1541 to 1877* (St. Louis: C. R. Barns, Editor and Publisher, 1879), 193.
- 22 Luke Shortfield, *The Western Merchant* (Philadelphia: Grigg, Elliott and Company, 1849), 39-40.
- 23 Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick Heritage," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (Jan. 1966), 160-61. Elliott and John Lee, Missouri Judicial Records Historical Database, 1838, MSA.
- 24 Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick Heritage," 160, and *History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883), 172.
- 25 Jonas Viles, "Old Franklin: A Frontier Town of the Twenties," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (March 1923), 282; Paul Moser, 282, and *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri*, Howard L. Conard, ed. (New York: Southern History Company, 1901), vol. 5, p. 10; *Howard and Chariton*, 161;
- 26 *Boon's Lick Times*, Nov. 20, 1841.
- 27 Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick," 162.
- 28 Road petitions, Howard County Clerk's office, Feb. 1844, Box 4, f. 99, MSA.
- 29 Road Overseers, Howard County Clerk's office, 1844, Box 3, f. 115, MSA.
- 30 Bob Dyer, "A Brief History of Missouri River Floods, *Boonslick Heritage*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Oct. 1993), 3.
- 31 *Boon's Lick Times*, June 22, 1844, and *The Bowling Green Radical*, June 29, 1844.

- 32 *Boon's Lick Times*, Sept. 28, 1844.
- 33 Howard County ferry licenses file, County Clerk's office, MSA.
- 34 Lynn Morrow, "Salt-boiling to Star-gazing: Marriage, Merchants, and Money, *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Summer 2016), 11.
- 35 Road petitions, Howard County Clerk's office, Box 5, f. 109, MSA, and Lilburn Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick," 164-66. Joel & Ellen Smith moved to Cooper County during the 1850s.
- 36 Road petition, Howard County Clerk's office, August 1855, Box 7, f. 42, MSA.
- 37 Road petition, Howard County Clerk's office, Box 8, f. 9, MSA.
- 38 Road petition, Howard County Clerk's office, Box 9, f. 49, MSA.
- 39 Road overseers, Howard County Clerk's office, Box 8, f. 4, MSA.
- 40 *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, Feb. 19, 1859.
- 41 *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1864. There is a photograph of Capt. W. H. Stuart in Robert L. Dyer, Boonville, *An Illustrated History* (Boonville: Pekitanoui Publications, 1987), 125; Dyer says the killing at McDonald's was near John Lee's house.
- 42 Comments about Kingsbury's relatives and their associated slaves are in Lilburn Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick Heritage," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, (Jan. and Apr. 1966). 600 recruits, Megan B. Boccardi, *Remembering in Black and White: Missouri Women's Memorial Work, 1860-1910*, PhD, University of Missouri, Dec. 2011, 53, and "In November 1863, General Order 135 officially approved the recruitment of colored troops into the Union Army."
- 43 For examples of widespread Union permits, see Lynn Morrow, Bates & Lenox: Life & Times through the Civil War, typed manuscript, R1000, Lynn Morrow Papers, SHS-Rolla.
- 44 *White summary* by R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 235-36.
- 45 Mule pack decimations included W. H. Bowman's 87; J. L. Hughes' 78; J. R. Estill's 73; H. Hughes 45; John R. White 29, see agricultural census, 1860 and 1870. Mules were stolen all over Howard County resulting in few stockmen having any in double figures in 1870.
- 46 Compilations from the Agricultural Census, Howard County, 1860 and 1870; Crews had 125 mules in 1860.
- 47 It's noteworthy that the Kingsbury properties do not appear in Bill Lay's "Civil War Incidents in Howard County, Part I: 1861-1863," *Boone's Lick Heritage* (December 1997) or "Part II: 1864" (March 1998).
- 48 *Ibid.*, July 16, 1866.
- 49 *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, Mar. 26, 1869.
- 50 Santa Fe Trail dinner, *Intelligencer*, 7.9.1825.
- 51 Ryland near Wright's tavern, *Intelligencer*, July 26, 1827. Franklin merchant, Waddy T. Currin, moved into a "new brick store" on the west side of the Fayette square in Jan. 1827, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 23, 1827.
- 52 "In Memoriam, Hon. John F. Ryland," *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, Sept. 13, 1873, transcribed at Ryland's Findagrave entry. In Patten's office, *Intelligencer*, July 1, 1820. Ryland's Franklin population is exaggerated.
- 53 Judge Henry V. Bingham and his colleagues began annual meetings for adjudicating disputes of tax assessors in July 1822, *Intelligencer*, July 9, 1822.
- 54 *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, Dec. 8, 1871.
- 55 *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, June 23, 1873.
- 56 *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1875.
- 57 Henry C. Levens and Nathaniel M. Drake, *A History of Cooper County*, Missouri (St. Louis: Perrin and Smith, 1876), 41.
- 58 The marriages can be found in Ancestry.com starting with Henry Kingsbury and Catherine Callaway, and reading in the nearby pages. Joseph Wright, J.P. performed the services. By 1880, farm hand Henry Kingsbury was in Yoruba, CA. Henry in Kingsbury, "Boon's Lick Heritage," Part Two, (April 1966), 336.
- 59 Levens and Drake, 129.
- 60 *St. Louis Republic*, Oct. 29, 1900.
- 61 Marriage, *Keytesville Chariton Courier*, Nov. 23, 1900, and Findagrave entries.



Missouri River and Franklin 1816 Town Site location as seen from Harley Park in Boonville on south bank. Photo by Don Cullimore

BHS News Briefs

www.boonslickhistoricalsociety.org

The Boonslick Historical Society will host three special events this year. They are:

Tour of historic Rivercene Mansion, Old Franklin, August 16, beginning at 2 p.m. Located across from the historic Missouri River town of Boonville is the elegant mansion Rivercene. The historic home is a large Second Empire stylized house, a rare, early example of the Victorian mansard, baroque revival style of architecture. It was built in 1869 for steamboat captain Joseph Beeler Kinney. The architect for the house was G.W. Osborn.



Rivercene Mansion, built in 1869. *Public domain image*

Both a captain and a builder of steamboats, Kinney was known for his charm and graciousness. Andrew Clark, his brother-in-law, who worked for him as a clerk supervising freight cargo on several boats, described Kinney as "...the most daring, the most resourceful and the most successful of all the Missouri River Captains...." One of Kinney's major contributions to river boating was his advocacy of the stern-wheel steamer rather than the side-wheel steamer, the former being more maneuverable in narrow channels. Small-group tours of the house will be hosted by the owners.

A tour fee of \$5 a person is being requested. Bottled water will be available, but you may want to bring your own and a lawn chair.

A presentation by Dr. Tim Baumann, "From Enslavement to Jim Crow: An Archaeological Perspective of African American Life in Missouri's Little Dixie." **September 7,** beginning at 2 p.m.

The event is being held jointly with the South Howard County Historical Society at its Museum, New Franklin business Square.

Tim Baumann is a native son of St. Charles, where the Boone's Lick Trail began. He received his undergraduate degree in anthropology at the University of Missouri, his Masters in anthropology from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and his PhD in anthropology at the University of Tennessee. He is currently an Assistant Vice President/Archaeologist with WSP USA, Inc. in St. Louis. Early in his career, he spent many summers in and around Arrow Rock conducting archaeological excavations to uncover the lives of African Americans from enslavement to the Jim Crow era. His presentation will summarize these investigations and reflect on what he has learned and what still needs to be discovered.

Boonslick Historical Society Fall Meeting, being held jointly with the Boone's Lick Road Association, **November 2,** beginning at 4:30 P.m., at Nelson Memorial United Methodist Church, Boonville.

The program, Crossings: Women on the Santa Fe Trail special presentation: Historian and author Dr. Frances Levine in a discussion of her book and the Santa Fe Trail, moderated by Dr. Tim Carson, a member of the Boone's Lick Road Association Board of Directors. A book sale and signing will follow the presentation. The occasion will be a fall banquet held jointly by the Boonslick Historical Association and the Boone's Lick Road Association, founded to promote national recognition of the historic Boone's Lick Road as a historic trail.

Reservations and pre-payment for the dinner will be required. More information on this will be provided to members of both organizations between now and early fall.

"The Santa Fe Trail has a special allure in southwestern history—it was a road of lucrative commerce, military expansion, and great adventure. Because these themes are connected with the Santa Fe Trail in the American imagination, however, the trail is not often associated with stories of women. Crossings tells the personal stories of several women who made the journey, showing how they were involved with and affected by Santa Fe Trail trade. The Santa Fe Trail was a nexus of nations and cultures, connecting the northern frontier of newly formed Mexico with Missouri and the quickly expanding western United States, as well as with the many Indigenous nations whose traditional lands it crossed." —Friends of Missouri State Archives.

Frances Levine is the former president and CEO of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. She also served as the director of the New Mexico History Museum and the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe.

Tim Carson lives in Rocheport. His ancestors began settling in or migrating through the Missouri River Valley at the beginning of the 19th century. Tim is a retired pastor and presently teaches in the Honors College of the University of Missouri-Columbia.

Crossings: Women on the Santa Fe Trail

by Frances Levine
(University of Kansas, 2024)

Book Review by Tim Carson

However you choose explain it - coincidental, fateful, or source of fascination - Frances Levine has personally lived at the eastern and western poles of the Santa Fe Trail, St. Louis and Santa Fe, two cities which form ageographic parenthesis around the story found in her one-of-a-kind book, *Crossings: Women on the Santa Fe Trail*. Those two cities are connected by the events which transpired between them, narratives of a turbulent and often mythologized time in North American life, an interval between the years of 1760 and 1870. Readers are invited to take a leap of imagination and reassemble the pieces of a grand puzzle of confluence: commerce, cultures, nations, politics, wars, conflicts, the push and pull of migration, all of which created a unique mix of complexity. In the face of all this, Levine proves herself undaunted.

The lens through which Levine examines this era is a particular one, the lens of the many women who traveled the trail for their own reasons, sometimes involuntarily, from west to east and east to west, once or multiple times. More than a few suffered or died as a result. The historical task is not an easy one as the voices of women are conspicuously absent from the record. Native or African voices are even more sparse. In many cases women are mentioned incidentally, or as a part of someone else's narrative, usually those of men. The evidence is sometimes found hidden in public documents. But every so often, like miners panning for gold, we discover the precious metal of women's first-person accounts, women who had either the privilege or wherewithal to record their stories in journals or letters.

It is a truism that history is shaped by those with the power to do the telling. By liberating the voices of women, voices that are not homogenous, but unique according to their own class, cultures and contexts, we provide a more complete, richer and fuller narrative, one that deserves daylight, a story that rises above stereotypes. It is long overdue.

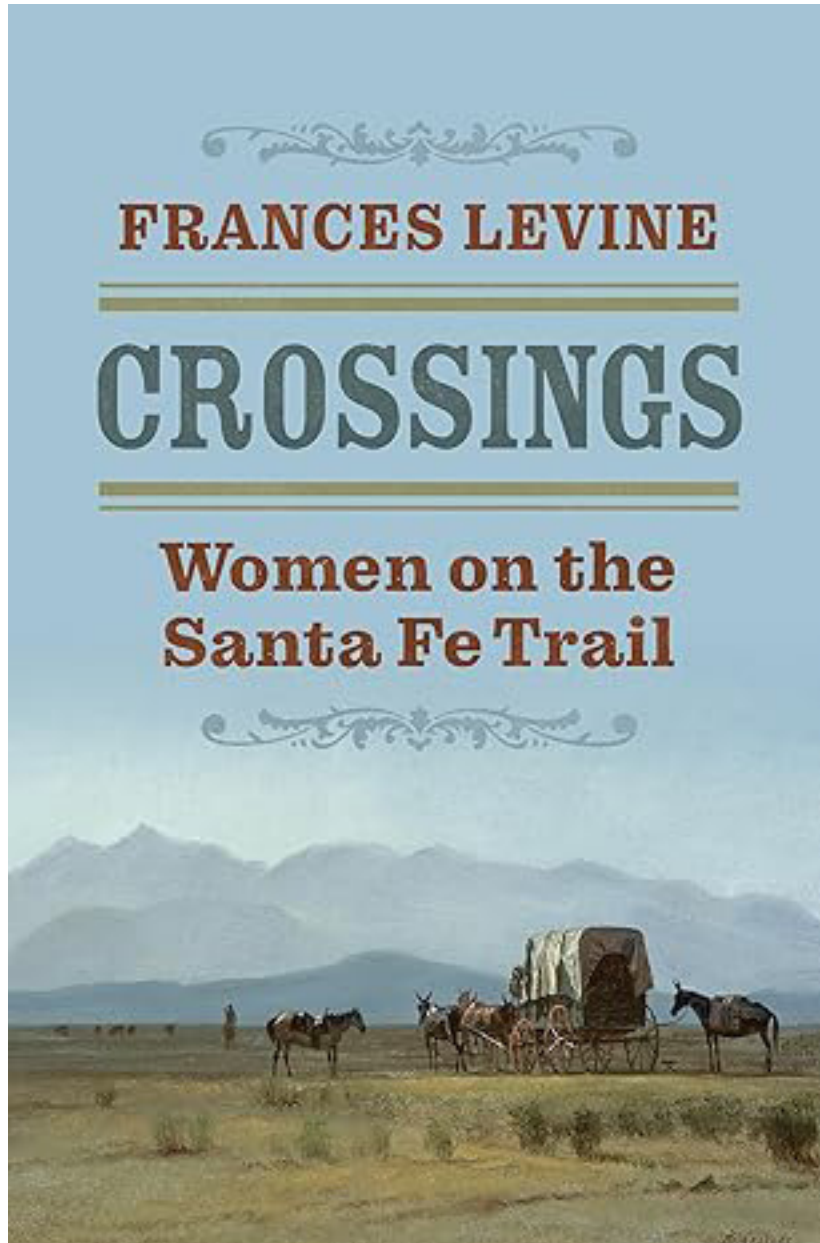
This book is shaped by serious and nuanced scholarship. But more than that, its presentation is propelled forward by a kind of intimacy. The feeling one has during the reading of these pages is one of familiarity, the sense that the author knows her characters and reflects deeply on their challenges and triumphs. She does this in such a way that we are invited to jump with her over the chasm into a time that is not our own.

It has been said that to achieve mastery in any pursuit, whether violin or water polo, one must practice it 10,000 hours.¹ When we read *Crossings*, it is easy to draw the conclusion that we are in the presence of one who has done just that. This is an essential read for anyone who is curious about those who, to a great extent, created the future we now inhabit.

Copies of *Crossings*

will be available for purchase at the Fall banquet when the author will make a presentation based on the book. A book signing will be held after the presentation.

1 Malcolm Gladwell in *Outliers*.



BHS Board Actions Report

Historian Brett Rogers of Boonville stepped back from duties as BHS president the first of the year in order to focus his energies on personal health issues. He remains on the board as a director. BHS Treasurer Sam Jewett of Boonville offered to step up and also serve as president on an interim basis. Likewise, Sue Thompson of New Franklin offered to serve as vice president, and Don Cullimore of Fayette to serve as secretary.

In February the majority of the board voted to accept this arrangement. Jewett, Thompson and Cullimore will serve in these capacities through the current year and, as normally done, hold board elections for new officers during a forthcoming board meeting in January (2026).

This special action was necessitated by the fact that there are issues that require action by board directors and board officers. These include ongoing management of BHS finances and annual non-profit information to the Missouri Secretary of State's Office (currently handled by Sam Jewett), making arrangements for summer and fall BHS events, Quarterly magazine production, and BHS dues and events postcards mailed to members ... among other responsibilities.

In other matters, the board approved three special events for members this year (for additional information, see page 21): a tour of Rivercene Mansion in Old Franklin, built for steamboat Capt. Joseph Kinney in 1869, August 16; a presentation on Boonslick region African American history by anthropologist Timothy Baumann, being held as a joint meeting with South Howard County Historical Society at its museum in New Franklin, September 7; and the BHS fall banquet, being held as a joint meeting with the Boone's Lick Road Association, a special program on Women on the Santa Fe Trail, November 2 at Nelson Memorial United Methodist Church in Boonville.

New Members Join BHS Board

Two new members have been appointed to the BHS Board of Directors. They are Lesley Oswald and Don Street, both of Boonville. These introductions are taken from their own words.

Lesley Oswald married into Boonville in 1995. When she made that commitment to David Oswald, she also committed to the renovation of Turner Hall in Boonville. Turner Hall, built in 1847 as a Baptist Church, has enjoyed a long history of various uses including that of the local community space for the local German culture to gather.



The hall now has new owners who continue to operate it as an event center and community hall. She volunteers for the Friends of Historic Boonville as a member of the Big Muddy Folk Festival Committee. She "is pleased to add board member for Boonslick Historical Society" to her "retirement activities."

Don Street is a native of Lincoln County, Missouri, and met his wife, Lisa Sombart, while attending the University of Missouri. Don's interest in history grew while living in the Northern Virginia/Washington, D.C., area. Don and Lisa purchased and renovated a 1790 farm house in Burke, Virginia, that was marked by the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

When living in the suburban Philadelphia area, Don discovered his own Revolutionary War ancestor, Andrew Knox. Knox was commissioned by George Washington to disrupt the British supply lines into Philadelphia while the Continental Army wintered at Valley Forge.

Don worked nearly 40 years in the international trade of dairy products—butter, cheese, milk powders and whey powders—and managed to visit over 50 countries. Don and Lisa have now retired in Boonville, where they have completed the renovation of a 1919 "Four Square house" built by Lisa's grandfather.



In Memoriam

Boonslick Historical Society member Dorothy Jean Ayres, 89, passed away at her home in Fayette on January 26, following a long battle with cancer.

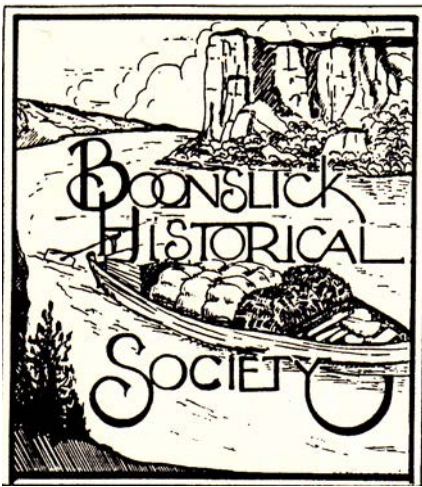
A native of Tyler, Texas, she earned a bachelor's degree in child psychology from the University of Texas – Austin in 1958. Dorothy married William Valentine Ayres, and they enjoyed over 64 years of marriage and raised two children, Amy and David. Bill, also a BHS member, passed away in March of 2023.

Dorothy worked as an office manager for the Missouri Department of Mental Health for 17 years. Active in community affairs, she was the first woman elected to the Fayette School Board of Trustees and also served as president of that board for nine years. She was later appointed to the Library Board, in which she also served as president.

BHS membership Fees for 2025 Due

Boonslick Historical Society annual membership fees for calendar year 2025 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.



P.O. Box 426
Boonville, MO 65233



SHEPARD-DAVIS HOUSE (1828): One of the oldest brick structures in Fayette, it is now home for the newly established Howard County Historical Museum. Formerly known as the Grey Willows building, the structure is a one-story brick "Hall and Parlor style" with a gable roof. It's located in the South Main Street Historic District, across from the Howard County Public Library. Museum curator is David Holman, who is working museum developer Cathy Thogmorton. Cathy is a member of the Boonslick Historical Society. More information on the new museum will be presented in a future issue of the magazine. *Photo by Don Cullimore*