

BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY



Berenice Morrison-Fuller

Part I of Major Essay on Morrison Family

*BHS Summer Meeting Held in Glasgow
at Historic Harrison House*

VOL. 15 No. 2 — SUMMER 2016

BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY PERIODICAL

Editor's Page

Preview of Things to Come

The Morrison Chronicles: In the Beginning ...

In the classical sense when we think of the word Chronicles, with a capital “C,” we likely are referencing either of two books of the Bible that tell the story of the Israelites from the creation of Adam to the middle of the sixth century BC. In the literal, little “c,” sense, we are referring to a chronological account of past events of a period or in the life or development of a people, an institution, or a place. Historian Lynn Morrow’s finely crafted essay on the Morrison family et al of Missouri and Howard County inspires the reverence of the first definition and academic accolades in terms of the second.

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

The first installment in these chronicles, covering from the 1790s to 1830s, was titled “Boone’s Lick in Western Expansion: James Mackay, the Boones, and the Morrisons.” Published in the Fall-Winter 2014 issue of the *Quarterly*, it set the stage for this second look at the Morrisons, which begins here and will be serialized over two additional issues of the *Quarterly* between now and the first of the new year. As with the earlier essay, this one is a scholarly work that provides the author’s fresh insights into his subject, in this case, Berenice Morrison and her extended family.

Harrison House Site of BHS July Meeting

Nearly two dozen BHS members gathered for a summer meeting at the George B. and Luan Birch Harrison House, the lovingly refurbished Victorian-era home of Mark and Susan Freese at 1109 Randolph Street in Glasgow. Small group tours of the featured house were given by the Freeses. The Harrisons built the seven-

room house in 1871. It was acquired by the Freeses in 2009.

Information about the house and a sidebar featuring a reprint of the 1911 obit and tribute written for George B. Harrison and published in the *Glasgow Missourian* accompany the article on pages 26 – 27. The obit was given to the *Quarterly* by BHS member and historian Jim Denny, an inveterate collector of profiles about historically significant Missourians, especially from the Glasgow area where he has long had family ties.



Historic Hrrison House in Glasgow, circa 1872. Photo by Don Cullimore

evidence familiarity with appropriate secondary sources, and contain endnotes that comply with *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 16th edition. The finished product will be considered for publication in the *Missouri Historical Review*, although completion of the project is no guarantee of publication. In addition, successful applicants will be asked to make a public presentation based on their project.

Topics for 2017 Fellowships: 1) History of Native Americans in Missouri, and 2) History of Latinos/as in Missouri. Deadline for Completion of Application: September 1, 2016

Application Process: Applicants are encouraged to complete the online form available at <http://shsmo.org/thecenter/fellowships/apply>. A successful submission should include a title, proposal, list of main primary sources, proposed timeline, and evidence of applicant’s ability to complete such a project. In addition, applicants must submit a curriculum vitae no more than two pages in length.

Award Announcement: December 1, 2016. For more information, please contact John Brenner, Managing Editor, brennerj@shsmo.org, phone: 573.882.7083. State Historical Society of Missouri, 1020 Lowry Street, Columbia, MO 65201.

—Don B. Cullimore

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

We encourage our members and others interested in history to contribute articles or other information of historical interest, including family histories, pertaining to the region. Please address all contributions and correspondence related to the periodical to the editor, Don B. Cullimore, 1 Lawrence Dr., Fayette, MO 65248, or email to: Don.cullimore40@gmail.com, phone: 660-248-1732. Editorial guidelines may be obtained from the editor. Publication deadlines are February 1 for the March (Spring) issue; May 1 for the June (Summer) issue; August 1 for the September (Fall) issue; and November 1 for the (Winter) December issue.

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

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

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By Lynn Morrow



Berenice Morrison-Fuller, Glasgow Heiress

This issue features Part I of a major essay on the Morrison Family that will be serialized over three issues of the *Quarterly*. Below are titles of the next installments.

Historic George B. Harrison House, Glasgow Pages 26-27

By Don Cullimore



BHS members gathered at the historic Harrison House in Glasgow on July 17. The Italianate Victorian home is owned by Mark and Susan Freese.

Coming in the Fall issue, Morrison essay, Part II – Oswald and Berenice: Berenice Morrison's Education & Oswald's Visions

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

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

Special Three-part Essay

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

By Lynn Morrow

Introduction

Boone's Lick and the Morrison Observatory are two well-known historic sites in Missouri, yet, their organic and complicated connection in family history is not. The latter site resulted from the beneficence of Bernice Morrison (1856-1947), a teen-age ward of her uncle James Oswald Swinney (1830-1899) — Bernice wrote that the family called him Oswald. Bernice's charitable gift of \$100,000 to establish the observatory as a distinctive institution, to support professorships, and materially aid the general welfare of the Pritchett School Institute in 1875 is unique in Missouri history. What other young person in Victorian Missouri who had not yet reached majority age pledged that amount of money, worth \$2,180,000 in modern value, to the public good? Looking back 141 years, how could a nineteen-year-old heiress afford to direct such an enormous amount of money for a laudable purpose in small-town Missouri? And, how many other Missouri women lived a married life in the late nineteenth century with a hyphenated name, like Morrison-Fuller? Even her hyphenated name appears unique for the Booneslick and Missouri, and it reflects her access to radical, liberal thinking in Europe during the Victorian decades. Moreover, her financial support at Pritchett for mathematics, natural science, and languages is a modern STEM professor's dream. But, Bernice Morrison-Fuller had ongoing disagreements with the Pritchett school for nearly a half-century that finally drew to an end when the Morrison Observatory moved from Glasgow to Fayette. Bernice had a romantic and difficult relationship with Glasgow, her childhood environs, and later as home in adulthood for a decade in the Progressive Era. But, before that transpired, the Morrison imprint on Howard County, the Missouri River trade, and St. Louis institutions requires explanation.

Rarely are we able to trace, however superficially, three gen-

erations of an upper-class family in Missouri. The Morrisons present a glimpse of a prominent merchant household, who produced an heiress who was "at home" in St. Louis, Howard County, Europe, and in Brookline, Massachusetts, a quintessential New England enclave. The family, writ large, represents a cameo of a self-conscious clan, men who were aggressive capitalists; all were believers in training and education for advancement, and they contributed to educational institutions. They were related by blood and marriage, all had their likes and dislikes of each other, but their extended family's long-distance mercantile reach from the Upper Missouri River, down to New Orleans, and across the Atlantic to England connected their intertwined fortunes throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

Trade east-to-west, and to a lesser extent, west-to-east, is a dominant theme in Booneslick history. The Morrisons began business emphasizing the former and ended capitalizing on the latter. The first Morrison generation sent keelboats throughout the Ohio, most of the Mississippi, and along the Lower Missouri Rivers. The second generation of James Morrison's family managed steamboats along the Ohio, the Upper to Lower Mississippi, and the Upper and Lower Missouri River.

This overview encapsulates the reach of this ambitious collection of risk-takers. The height of their commercial success accrued to the second generation in partnerships that invested in modernity's newly emerging corporate structures of insurance and banking. Bernice Morrison, the third generation, inherited the prosperity of her antecedents to become an heiress, philanthropist, and suffragist. She was one of three state and national suffragist officeholders with deep connections to Glasgow.

The second generation included James Morrison's son, William M. Morrison, and his sisters, who married experienced urban merchants. Before James Morrison sold Boone's Lick, son-in-law Francis Yosti lived and traded in Santa Fe and son-in-law George Collier financed steamboats trading on the mid- and upper-Missouri River. William M. Morrison's marriage into the Capt. W. D. Swinney family brought two major river fortunes together. Then, the Swinneys and Morrisons capitalized on one another's advantages and prospered further in European markets. Son-in-law Wil-

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

Lynn Morrow is the former director of the Local Records Preservation Program, Missouri State Archives. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees in history from Southeast Missouri State University (now Missouri State University), Springfield.

liam G. Pettus, a leading political figure, corporate insurance agent and banker reaped profits made by the family. James Morrison's son and sons-in-law became leaders who advanced institutional accomplishments in their home towns. All consummated judicious marriages, had ability to spot opportunity, and had a lot of good luck.

After the Civil War, the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis organized to ask questions and preserve answers about the founding and development of the city and state. At the 1882 meeting, the president, George Leighton, gave the annual address naming six French families who were principals in that history. Next, he listed the "Morrison families who came from the French settlements." Attending St. Louis businessmen still remembered that the Irish Protestant Morrisons had married women from leading French Catholic families in Kaskaskia, Ste. Genevieve, and Portage des Sioux, and that their Morrison children became principals in Missouri business among the interrelated fields of keelboat and steamboat trade, insurance, banking, the lead mineral trade, railroads, and in the support of educational and religious institutions. Historian, Walter B. Stevens, celebrated the family in his Centennial History of Missouri in 1921 by dedicating a section to "The Six Morrisons," recognizing scions of the family into the third generation in Missouri and Illinois (this essay excludes the Illinois Morrisons, although some did move to St. Louis).

Berenice Morrison is the focus of the third generation and about whom most of the essay is concerned. Although she was orphaned at a young age, her grandfather Swinney and father, William M. Morrison, who were steamboat investors, international traders, bankers, land speculators and more, bequeathed an envied fortune to her. The story of her relationship between Uncle Oswald and her estate was beset with grandiose vision, failure, and embarrassment that ended with Berenice becoming a major landholder in Howard County. The Morrison Observatory became a virtual character in her long life. Her history connected to it is worthy of a modern soap opera script that she sometimes conduct-



Berenice Morrison (1856-1947), as a young girl. At age 19, she endowed the Pritchett Institute and the building of Morrison Observatory. [Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers, SHSMO-KC]

ed while on an international journey.

Berenice's marriage to John Fuller and their life together was a Gilded Age romance punctuated with elite mannerisms and obvious class distinctions. Fuller's academic prowess and resolute devotion to socialist and libertarian philosophy rocked the tranquility of Glasgow in a decade of sensational political provocation, litigation, and brawls, until authorities arrested the Pritchett College president for attempted murder on Main Street Glasgow. Glasgow's small-town moralist culture, significantly infused with traditions espoused at Pritchett College, purposely left Fuller's story in a sorrowful dust bin to be forgotten.

Nevertheless, Morrison family history lies wide and deep in the records of the Booneslick,

yet it rests quietly in Missouri history. This essay describes a generational heritage that brought Berenice Morrison into Booneslick history and accounted for her privileged life.

Part One: The Traders -- Keelboats to Steamboats Family Connections

We begin with an overview of James Morrison (1767-1848) and his role in the vanguard of American commerce centered on the Missouri River. The essay includes historical and modern financial comparisons, an American language of progress in a capitalist economy, that provides an economic context. This view is highly selective and does not include comprehensive discussions about diversified investments; it does include modern comparisons of wealth at various intervals. The statistical estimates evoke the relative prominence of the Morrisons and all valuations are conservative.

Sketches of family history indicate that the "Six Morrisons" descended from antecedents whose careers involved merchandising. The Morrisons' uncle, Guy Bryan, became a wealthy Philadelphia merchant in the 1780s. Bryan's father-in-law, Col. Timothy Matlack (1730-1829), was an educated clerk who actually penned the Declaration of Independence, served with Gen. George Washington and Gen. Marquis de Lafayette, and received

a Congressional appointment as a "store keeper of military supplies" during the American Revolution. This economic connection to the federal government became one aspect of the family's long-term business that ultimately made the first generation Morrisons wealthy after the Louisiana Purchase. Matlack developed an enviable reputation as an expert bureaucrat, serving in numerous positions in the administrations of Washington and Jefferson. Matlack's youngest daughter, Martha, married Guy Bryan (1754-1829), a rising star among Philadelphia's merchant class and the financial power behind the first generation of Morrison commerce in the trans-Mississippi West.

Bryan thrived in Philadelphia and traveled across the Appalachians. At Pittsburg, contemporaries discussed commercial visions for a New West, where Bryan established ties to men of like mind to explore merchandising down the Ohio River to Vincennes and beyond. When back in Philadelphia, Bryan trained his nephew, William Morrison (1763-1837), who aspired to a mercantile life in the West. William did not disappoint. Two centuries later, the *Dictionary of American Business Leaders* in 1982 proclaimed



The Borromeo Catholic Parish Cemetery, St. Charles, the family plot where patriarch James Morrison, Sr., (1767-1848) is buried—tall obelisk marker. Photo by Don Cullimore

William an influential and innovative businessmen in the nation's trans-Appalachian West history.

William and James Morrison's father, too, had mercantile experience as a supplier of goods to Washington's revolutionary army. Earlier, the grandfather, Sir John Morrison of County Cork, Ireland, prospered as an architect of great estates in the eighteenth-century Irish countryside. Sir John's son, Richard, followed in his father's architectural footsteps, as did grandson, William V. Morrison. It was Sir John's other son, John Morrison (1729-99), who immigrated to Philadelphia, served in the local militia, and married Rebecca Bryan. Her sibling Guy brought William and his five brothers into the western trade.

Bryan and Morrison Move to the Mississippi River

William Morrison became the family leader in the West. In 1790, William established the house of Bryan and Morrison in Kaskaskia, just as the Spanish had opened the port of New Orleans for American exports. By 1793, the company began accumulating a fleet of barges, flatboats, and keelboats for their waterborne commerce. Three years later, in 1796, the Spanish relaxed rules for American immigration, and suddenly William faced increased opportunities as Americans moved to Spanish Missouri and increasingly came to southern Illinois. In 1798 he called for his twin brothers – James and Robert – to join him in Kaskaskia.

James and Robert materially advanced the dynamic company expansion. Sales boomed and the following year, 1799, William received thirteen-year-old Jesse Morrison (1786-1875). Jesse remained single for years and became the most well-traveled of the six brothers on the rivers, and especially on the 240-mile overland wagon trip from Pittsburg eastward in procurement trips to Guy Bryan's Philadelphia warehouse. Flatboat exports to New

Orleans dramatically increased in 1802 and merchant navigators continued the expansion of tonnage until the War of 1812. Jesse's responsibilities included marketing voyages up the Cumberland River to Nashville, Tennessee, where the firm later acquired iron kettles for salt production and War of 1812 markets. Brothers Samuel and Guy followed in 1807 and 1814, respectively, working under William's tutelage in Illinois, and in subsequent assignments in Missouri.

The Morrisons Move into the Missouri Country

The American migration into Spanish Missouri after 1796 and the general growth of regional consumers leveraged all commercial enterprises. In 1800, the Bryan and Morrison company opened their "St. Louis" outlet at Cahokia that became their largest volume store. In its first five years, the Cahokia store received \$19,000 annually [\$1,515,000 total], an amount that would compete with one store anywhere in the mid-Mississippi River Valley. In 1803, the Louisiana Purchase allowed them to begin investing in the Missouri Country.

The new American government took stock of its territory and sought intelligence for the annual value of the peltries' trade in Missouri and Arkansas. Looking at the Lower Missouri River Valley only, colonial traders reported a commerce of \$40,000 in 1797 [\$560,000] with the Chouteaus controlling a majority share; that trade ballooned to nearly \$74,000 [\$1,180,000] in 1804. The Morrison brothers profited greatly in this economic bubble and tallied \$90,000 in 1804 sales, and the next year, exceeded \$100,000 [\$1,600,000] in revenues, an amount buoyed by William's relationship with Moses Austin and their lead exports to New Orleans. The Morrisons' 1804 Missouri River revenues were double the annual Lower Missouri River fur trade estimates of the mid-1790s. The house of Bryan and Morrison had established themselves as the premier American merchant capitalists in the Missouri Country. Importantly, Bryan and Morrison's domestic sales in 1804 staked their presence in the Missouri River Valley. Although the Morrison and Chouteau businesses were not comparable in structure, the revenue of the Morrisons is instructive for their matchless volume of American merchandising.

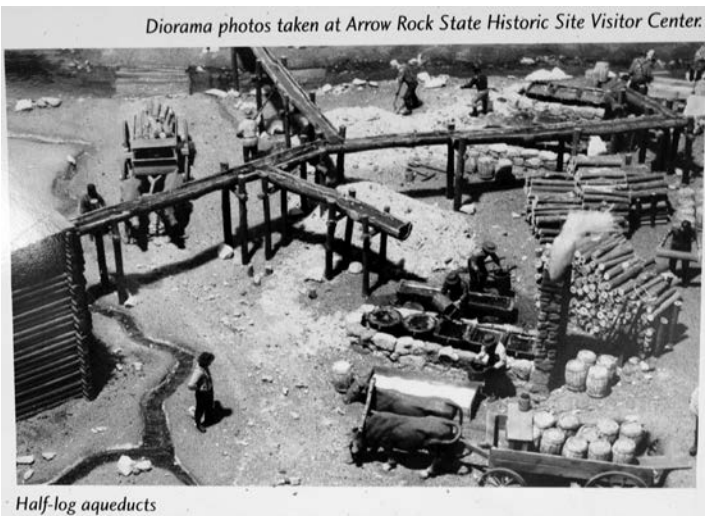
James Morrison established a branch store in St. Charles in late 1803, where he began an American commercial presence, although James and Jesse had already begun to claim real estate in the area. Their first purchase in 1802 was from Francois Roy; that allowed James to live near the nucleus of the Roy clan of boatmen and rowers, favored fur trading agents of the Chouteaus. A robust American settlement had already begun upriver in Femme Osage Township.

With the Louisiana Purchase finalized in late 1803, Amos Stoddard made James the first American licensed Indian trader on the Missouri River in June 1804, trading with White Hair and the Osage; James used neighbor Pierre Roy, Jr., in negotiations with them. In summer 1805, Gen. James Wilkinson renewed James

Morrison's authority for Osage trading. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Chouteau brothers did over \$40,000 [\$560,000] in business with Bryan and Morrison, expanding Morrison sales up the Missouri River. What makes the American Morrisons unique in territorial Missouri is their network of one economic entity based in Philadelphia that marketed through a western annex of multiple stores in the Missouri and Illinois Country.

William gave James the authority to develop the Missouri River trade, while the older brother managed the Mississippi River commerce. In 1805, the Morrisons received approval from the territorial government to establish a salt works on Indian lands. James worked with Morgan and Nathan Boone, his partners at the industrial saline. James continued his financial interest in the valuable Boone's Lick until 1834, while partnering along the way with the Boones, Braxton Cooper, brother Jesse Morrison, and William Becknell. Closer to St. Louis, after 1806, William Clark dispatched a number of administrative orders to contractor and militia officer James Morrison for Indian and government errands. James's ability to include regular supplies of salt in the family's private and government sector business, and Guy Bryan's Philadelphia fortune, maintained their American merchant leadership along the Missouri River until after the War of 1812.

The Morrison fortunes matured at the towns on the water-



Diorama photos taken at Arrow Rock State Historic Site Visitor Center.

Half-log aqueducts

Artist's depiction of Boone's Lick salt works shows salt boiling kettles, wood fuel piles, and aqueducts that would have been part of the salt-making enterprise. Image courtesy of Missouri State Parks

ways. By 1811, James held a justice of the peace office in St. Charles Township, and in the years prior to the War of 1812, both James and Jesse intermittently held federal licenses for Indian trade on the Missouri River. Henry Brackenridge, in his 1811 observations of French culture, noted that unlike the Americans, the French, in Missouri Country, did not have domestic manufacturing such as the spinning wheel and loom. The Morrison's extensive inventory of dozens of different textiles, linens, and domestic cloth from Philadelphia, perhaps the most diverse in the mid-Mississippi River Valley, served as a key entryway into French domestic customers and Native American consumers.

The War of 1812

Government contracts to Bryan and Morrison during the War of 1812 challenged the Morrisons' mobility, but they delivered all their shipments. In 1812 the Morrisons doubled their production capacity at Boone's Lick salt works and hired more laborers. The firm managed military ration contracts to supply salt, salt pork, beef, flour, whiskey, and tallow throughout 1811-14. Morrison business historian, John Tevebaugh, totaled a minimum sales of 750,000 rations in extant records, but estimated from business patterns that they may have shipped nearly one million. By contrast, Col. Henry Atkinson's Missouri Expedition of 1819 to establish a presence among the Mandan villages required a massive 670,000-ration contract to compete with the British on the Upper Missouri. Morrisons' general merchandise sent to wartime post stores mounted; the Vincennes store received over \$45,000 [\$513,000], and in little more than two years, August 1810 -- January 1813, the Cahokia store received \$72,000 [\$890,000]. During this crucial time, Col. Daniel Bissell recommended that Morrisons' salt works would be a good site to construct a blockhouse and stockade. A few months later, Col. Bissell became fifty-year-old William Morrison's father-in-law, as William married nineteen-year-old Elizabeth Bissell, his third wife.

Bracketing the war years, 1810-1815, company sales totaled \$700,000 [\$9,135,000], an annual average of \$140,000 [\$1,600,000]; Tevebaugh computed that over \$375,000 [\$4,890,000] came from the military contracts. Company records disclose that their salt works remained in production for most of the war, closing notably in late 1814. The Morrisons had ongoing contracts to fulfill and the Cooper's Bottom laborers rose to the occasion, regardless of the forting-up by settlers. In modern terms, the Bryan and Morrison firm was the Halliburton of the War of 1812, and the Morrisons made admirable frontier fortunes.

The next five years of peace time generated average receipts of \$56,000 annually [\$769,000, or a total of \$13,150,000]; their last military rations contract in 1816-1817 reaped a staggering \$160,000 [\$2,393,000]. Thus, the decade of 1810-1820 brought revenues of \$1,469,000 -- or -- a modern \$25,117,000 for the house of Bryan and Morrison. We do not know what the net profits were. Currently, there are no reports of any contemporary American merchant enterprise in Missouri that would have competed with those revenues, largely enhanced with cash payments from the federal government. Obviously, those levels of capital allowed the Morrisons to make investments in real estate, loans, boats, and other ventures well beyond the normal risk-taker. Guy Bryan expanded his wealth into eastern insurance and banking and withdrew from his western investments.

James Morrison proved his executive abilities. In St. Charles, James and Jesse constructed the first known American public building in 1808, when they built the city jail. Besides being a competent military officer, mercantile bookkeeper, and justice-of-the-peace, he served as St. Charles District treasurer, census taker, St. Charles town trustee, and post-war plaintiff in circuit court to pursue unsettled militia accounts after the war. Both Gen. William Clark and the Morrisons had responsibilities to balance their wartime financial ledgers after the peace.

Boone's Lick salt works production performed well, so in 1818-19, James contracted to update his domicile on Main Street in St. Charles. Berenice Morrison, who visited there several times when her aunt and uncle Yosti lived there, remembered that the house had doors on the veranda opening into interior rooms and there was a long rear extension. The large lot had a garden and orchard, and a kitchen in back near the slave quarters. William Postal, a builder in St. Charles, charged a \$1,400 [\$21,900] price tag that included a bake house, smoke house, and labor to paint the exterior stairs and the inside and outside of the house, a sign of refinement. James purchased new bedsteads, chairs, table, clock, and a "cupboard with glass." Like gentlemen of his class, he paid special attention to his countryside farm on the edge of town.

Transitions into Statehood and a Boone's Lick Base

At statehood, the Morrison brothers reorganized their business into Missouri and Illinois spheres. James Morrison had depended upon William Becknell for a decade. Becknell worked for James in St. Charles County, managed salt production at Boone's Lick, and finally became an investing partner with Morrison. When Becknell headed for Santa Fe in 1821, James Morrison secured a slave for him, and most likely helped finance part of the goods. Upon Becknell's return, his \$1,000 [\$18,000] sale of his share of the salt works back to Morrison in 1822, a price far under the value of his one-third share, suggests that Becknell had over-extended his credit line with Morrison, as he did with others. Moreover, the 1820s overland caravans involved large numbers of small investors within Cooper's Bottom, the primary area of the Morrisons' labor pool. No one had a track record of capitalist vision more than the Morrisons and no one locally had more contact with Philadelphia and riverside vendors, nor as a supplier of manufactured trading goods for long-distance commerce. As in the fur trade and in Bryan and Morrison's stores, textiles constituted the largest bulk of marketable goods on westward wagons.



William Becknell, known as Father of the Santa Fe Trail, is depicted in a granite monument on the Katy Trail near New Franklin. Photo by Don Cullimore

Santa Fe Trade

James and Emilie Morrison's daughters in St. Charles began to marry young traders. In October 1829, daughter Adeline (1807-85) married Francis Yosti (1798-1879). Francis was the eldest son of the wealthy Italian, Emelieu Yosti, former St. Louis fur trader and merchant. As a single man, Francis went with Andrew Henry and William Ashley to the famous trading rendezvous in the Rocky

Mountains in 1822-24. Newlyweds Francis and Adeline Yosti moved to Franklin to partner with James Morrison in supplying caravans to Santa Fe.

In 1830, the Yostis themselves took a wagon train of goods to Santa Fe, opened an outlet, came back to Missouri for more goods in 1831, and Francis and James Morrison outfitted a second wagon-group to Santa Fe in 1832. The Yostis sold out their second load of merchandise in Mexico, and decided to return to Missouri. During the trip, they barely escaped death at the hands of an Indian attack, and walked for more than two weeks overland to Ft. Gibson, where they boarded a boat for St. Louis and then home to St. Charles. In 1834, James Morrison sold Boone's Lick, moved home to St. Charles where his wife Emilie died at the home place on Main Street, while the Yostis established a prominent mercantile in St. Charles. Yosti became a county judge and bank president. Francis Yosti also went into a grain milling partnership at the St. Charles Steam Mill with George Collier (1796-1852), who had married James Morrison's oldest daughter, Francoise (Frize) Morrison (1806-1835), on New Year's Day, 1826. Unfortunately, three of James and Emilie's four sons died young, while the Morrisons manufactured salt; as a youth, William M. Morrison remained safe living with his relatives in St. Charles and St. Louis.

Historians question whether or not Missourians made much money in the Santa Fe trade, but invest they did. How much did James Morrison invest with Becknell and his son-in-law, Francis Yosti? The Coopers worked with the Morrisons at Boone's Lick longer than any other family. The subsequent caravans that involved the Coopers, who appeared in the Morrison business records as early as 1806 in Kaskaskia, and who had provided managerial and labor support to Morrison's Boone's Lick for over a decade, likely worked with James Morrison, who supplied salt, perhaps financing, and other products to southwestern markets. To what degree did the Coopers and Morrisons continue an economic relationship with the Southwest? The commercial opening in Mexico led to traditions that support the investment of Boone's Lick salt in the caravans, but how much, and to what degree was the Morrison speculation? As an independent trader, he would have financed more than salt, as long-distance trading was his forte. It does not seem reasonable that the veteran merchant ignored the Santa Fe opportunities in the 1820s, when he so easily could have partnered with the caravans, composed of dozens of former employees at the salt works. Perhaps there were several modest arrangements with Cooper's Bottom men.

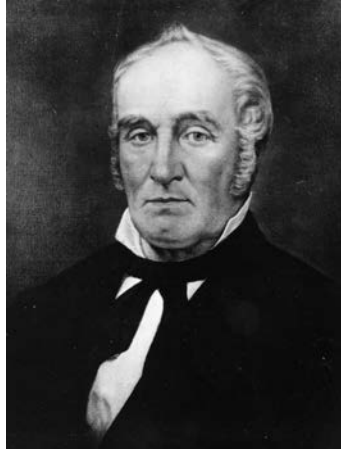
One study concluded that the average capital invested in an 1820s Santa Fe caravan was \$3,500 [\$74,000], and a second by Michael Dickey, reported \$3,000 [\$63,400]. Whatever the figure, successful trips resulted in local fortunes gained by Booneslick adventurers. In 1823, the local *Intelligencer* newspaper reported on William Becknell's proceeds from his highly successful second expedition saying that "We do not doubt that \$10,000 [\$195,000], or even a much larger sum, was brought into this state during last summer, from Santa Fe" Lee Cullimore summarized that the 1824 Meredith M. Marmaduke and Samuel McClure partnership did well on nearly \$2,000 [\$43,500] invested. Marmaduke and McClure continued through 1827, and may have capitalized larger amounts in subsequent trips, as both "became wealthy despite some losses." Did 1820s Southwest profits account for James

Morrison choosing to remain at Boone's Lick into the 1830s? Perhaps. By the late 1820s, James Morrison's wealthy son-in-law, George Collier, financed western steamboats and their cargoes to the Booneslick and far west of central Missouri – what was the commercial relationship among Morrison, Yosti, and son-in-law Collier and his St. Louis network? Trading families normally succeeded in networks of mutual assistance throughout antebellum Missouri.

The continuing production and value of Morrison's salt works indicates that Morrison provided shipments of salt going westward, even as the nearby regional price had plummeted from the earlier years. Morrison and his salt competitors in Howard, Saline, and Cooper Counties made a much smaller percentage of profits than in earlier years. Settlements eastward had access to relatively cheap salt from the Ohio Valley, although Booneslick salt makers still exported bulk salt downriver. Still, a vibrant trade in western salt export is suggested by Morrison's \$11,000 [\$263,500] sale of Boone's Lick in 1834 – that sum would have capitalized five of Merideth Marmaduke's 1824 Santa Fe speculations. The six-figure capitalization for Santa Fe caravans in the 1830s makes the previous Bryan and Morrison annual commerce of \$100,000-plus revenues during territorial Missouri look even more impressive.

James Morrison retired to St. Charles, an affluent man, but not one of great wealth later acquired by his son William and son-in-law, George Collier. Morrison had long since sold his keelboats, salt works, and much of his real estate, when he died in November 1848. James left more than a \$10,000 estate [\$277,000] and made his son, William, executor. William received a 640-acre land certificate, his two sisters a twenty-dollar gold ring each, and James' grandkids in the Lockwood and Collier families in St. Louis accepted \$250 each. James established a trust of real estate rent management for daughters Emilie Yosti, Caroline Pettus, and William that his wealthy son administered. He left "Negro Tom," a long-time family retainer to Francis Yosti, and his house and lot in town sold for \$1,830 [\$51,000]. The estate settlement continued until June 1852.

James Morrison's three-decade Boone's Lick salt manufacturing leveraged mineral profits, but the salt works' economy was combined into the larger world of multiple-products marketed on western waters. We are left with questions when it comes to what was the western extent of the Morrisons' economic reach. And, how did other companies' revenues compare at any given time with those of the Morrisons? Long afterwards, in 1870, Elihu Shepard in his history of St. Louis and Missouri did make one conclusion:



Meredith Miles Marmaduke (1791 – 1864) was a Democratic politician who briefly served as Missouri's eighth Governor in 1844 following the suicide of Governor Thomas Reynolds. Marmaduke was the father of John S. Marmaduke, a noted Confederate General during the American Civil War, and later 25th Governor of Missouri.

Image courtesy of BHS archives

"The fame of the salt works of Major James Morrison, conducted with such wonderful energy, skill, and success, had made it a point from which many travelers commenced their explorations and inquiries, and few places ever presented more wide-spread and fascinating prospects than this, or ever more bountifully repaid the advances made for its improvement." The Morrison story shows that far more research into economic patterns of early Missouri needs attention. In the waning years of James Morrison's mercantile career in Howard County, another family leader emerged. George Collier used keelboats, but invested his 1820s profits in the steamboat trade, judiciously chose partners, including his relatives, and in the long run brought James' son, William M. Morrison, into an elite circle of Missouri River merchants. William M. Morrison would develop a special relationship in Howard County.

George Collier: The New Family Leader

George Collier provided merchant apprenticeships for William M. Morrison and William G. Pettus, just like William Morrison in Kaskaskia did for his brother James. The second generation grew their fortunes with the new technology of steamboats, new financial structures that appeared in Missouri after statehood, and the steamers extended their commercial range to Europe. These enterprises required venture capital and a capitalist's optimism. Collier, the first of James Morrison's sons-in-law in 1826, had such public success that St. Louis business circles coined "Collier's luck" to describe his rapid ascension into the ranks of elite investors at the ripe old age of thirty-four in 1830.

Widow Catherine Collier (1762-1835) and her elder son, John (1792-1821), left Maryland and arrived in St. Charles by spring 1816, possessing a "handsome property" inherited from her late husband, Peter. John immediately began a Missouri mercantile trade, while George remained in Philadelphia to complete his education at the Presbyterian Wylie and Engles Academy. George joined his family in late 1817, where he partnered with John in his St. Charles general store. Soon, in January 1818, the brothers founded another store at Wood's Fort (Troy), marketing dry goods and hardware. In St. Charles, Mrs. Collier's female slaves worked in a loom house to produce commercial weaving that her sons marketed. Missouri population boomed, and in September 1818, a third John Collier and Company store commenced business in St. Louis -- it quickly became the family's leading enterprise at 19 N. Main Street.

The brothers imported from Philadelphia wholesalers, just as the Morrisons did. John, however, not yet thirty years old, died unmarried in 1821. George, the lone son, took over his brother's business, and eventually inherited a large sum from his father and mother's estates including the well-established St. Louis store. His father, Peter Collier, made a fortune in the coasting trade, shipping Philadelphia goods to Atlantic ports. Collier sons, especially George in St. Louis during the 1820s, mirrored his father's experience transporting boat loads of agricultural products. The successful Missouri Colliers, during the economic depression of the 1820s, filed dozens of lawsuits that foreclosed on real estate that made them landlords, and sued for debts in St. Charles and St. Louis. Following his brother's death, George did not work alone for long.

Walter Stevens wrote that George Collier "had more partners

in his time, probably, than any other St. Louisian.” Collier was a financier, normally a silent partner, who contracted his boats with others, as they speculated in the steamboat cargo trade on the Missouri and Mississippi waters. Collier’s voyages that took cargo and passengers were single contracts among investors -- there were no organized boat lines and no licensing until the 1850s, all participants learned by apprenticeship and trial and error. The high cost of operation, especially insurance, encouraged broadening the liabilities among several partners – disasters on the rivers did occur. North of St. Louis, Collier exported immense amounts of lead from the upper Mississippi River, becoming a “lead magnate,” according to James Neal Primm. Following success in shipping to New Orleans, Collier purchased lead mines and shipped mineral to Philadelphia, France, and other European ports. Over a generation, he diversified his interests in St. Louis’s new corporations in insurance, banking, real estate, and railroads.

During the depression in 1823, Collier optimistically partnered with another Marylander, Peter Powell, to form Collier and Company. Collier commonly based his strategy in creating partnerships upon the skilled bookkeeping abilities of young men who had visions of becoming capitalists in long-distance trade, and Peter Powell was the first. John Yates clerked for Collier in his St. Charles store until George sent him to Callaway County, first to Elizabeth, then to Fulton and the Boone’s Lick Road by 1825. Yates and Collier opened the first Fulton mercantile on the square that made Yates a wealthy man. Collier and Peter Powell prospered, too, then Joseph Powell joined their company in 1828, as Collier solidified riverside markets. Powell and Collier had real estate concerns in St. Charles, where George was doing business with his father-in-law, James Morrison. After Collier’s 1826 entry into the Morrison family, William M. Morrison came to live with his aunt and new uncle, joined in family business later by William G. Pettus.

The partners made their fortunes in the wholesale grocery and commission business importing eastern products via New Orleans. Both Powell and Collier had separate company buildings in St. Louis, as well as holding mortgages on others. In the decade from 1819-29, the Collier and Powell plaintiffs sued for debt and foreclosures on real estate some forty-four times in St. Charles and St. Louis circuit courts. Collier’s tenant and rent income grew. George’s quick rise into the affluent merchant class by 1830, and his “Collier’s luck,” stimulated his partnerships in steamboats and financial institutions. By the mid-1820s, as an educated, commercial man who knew how to handle money and assets, others trusted Collier to serve as an executor in several probate estates. In February 1830, John Mullanphy (1758-1833), whom some considered to be the wealthiest man in the Mississippi Valley, chose Collier as co-executor for his complicated domain and numerous legatees.

By 1829, George owned one of the nine steamboats doing business on the Missouri River. A dozen years later, only two-dozen side-wheelers plied the Big Muddy. The Collier-Morrison boats



St. Louis levee, 1853, the *Kate Swinney* steamboat is at far left. Thomas Easterly image courtesy of Missouri State Parks

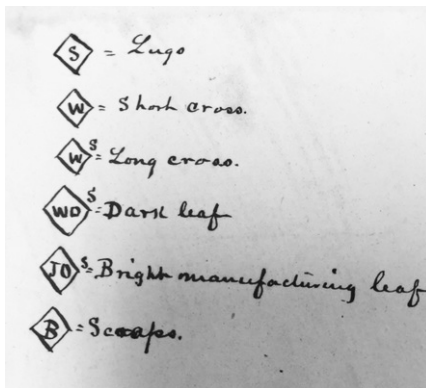
on the Missouri River always had smaller tonnage (a capacity for freight) than their larger boats on the Mississippi. However, whatever the steamer, they all carried freight much larger than James Morrisons’ 20-25 ton keelboats of the earlier generation; the family’s Missouri River steamboats commonly rated between 100-300 tons. Territorial keelboats cost several hundred dollars to build, but eminent historian William Laas found that average steamers in 1840s St. Louis cost in excess of \$20,000 [\$514,000] to build, others much more, and a few in the 1850s cost \$75,000 [\$1,950,000]. Lost to most observers is the fact that annual operation, insurance, and maintenance costs exceeded the purchase amount, sometimes double the cost. Collier and Morrison steamboats regularly docked at the St. Louis municipal wharves into the Civil War era.

Did Collier dock at Franklin Landing in Howard County working, in part, with his father-in-law, James, and his brother-in-law, Francis Yosti? Maybe. Thomas A. Smith, James Morrison’s fellow co-creditor to Becknell earlier, was already shipping Philadelphia goods to Franklin and reselling to traders bound for Santa Fe. With a Collier-financed boat steaming up the Missouri River in the late 1820s, it seems likely that the Yosti-led Santa Fe caravans of the early 1830s would have been part of Collier’s market. In 1830, Collier sold his company share to Peter Powell and began a new investment phase of his career that included a continuous presence on the Missouri River. John Yates co-founded Portland in 1831 that served as a new port for Collier and other boatmen.

Steamboats stopped at Old Franklin Landing in the 1830s and beyond, and like upriver ports, part of their freight and passengers were headed to the Far West. Old Franklin locals managed a warehouse or two, a ferry, and a tavern where brave settlers remained long after the famous 1826 and 1844 floods. There was a modest tobacco warehouse and inspector there in the early 1830s. At the same time, prominent merchants, like Lindsay P. Marshall and Claiborne Jackson, received large cargos from Philadelphia,

Baltimore, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, and New Orleans at the Franklin wharf. The larger volume merchants moved their operations elsewhere by the mid-1830s, but smaller businessmen remained. A ferryman, Joseph Young, who arrived at Franklin in 1816 lived continuously in the area and applied for his ferry license in 1843, as “much crossing [was] required for the accommodation of the public.” In December 1843, John Harrison paid his hired hand for breakfast and horse feed at Old Franklin during a haul of mill stones to his upriver Glasgow mill. New Franklin town promoter, Lindsay Marshall, who purchased the salt works from James Morrison in 1834, operated a keelboat from Franklin Landing, and steamboats delivered goods and took on cargo there into the 1840s. Capt. William Jewett, sailing out of Glasgow by 1840, made weekly freight and passenger packet trips to St. Louis with scheduled stops at Old Franklin. Jewett made common cause in the river trade with Glasgow’s Capt. W. D. Swinney, the future executor of his probate estate.

But, it was Joseph Cooper and his various partners who regularly managed a ferry at Old Franklin during the 1830s-1850s. Veteran ferryman Isaac Gearhart 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” and paid their \$10.00 license tax. The famous 1820s floods took “south Franklin,” but not “north Franklin.” In fact, the 1848 census, reported in the Glasgow *Weekly Times*, counted 120 folks in Old Franklin, perhaps two-dozen families and bachelors, and 229 citizens in New Franklin. Old Franklin settlers maintained a few warehouses, tavern, ferry, and domiciles into the 1850s.



Tobacco stamps were used on hogsheads to identify contents. [Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]

Collier hired educated and experienced men in navigation and sent them to Ohio River boatyards with his credit line to supervise the construction of steamboats; then Collier underwrote a partnership with them as they assumed the captain’s role of the vessel. The captain’s partnership was a strategy for the security of the larger investor who did not travel with the boat – the expensive boats were normally short-lived, many averaging a four or five-year lifespan. When Missouri’s population surged during the 1830s and 1840s, Thomas Scharf wrote that Collier had as many as a dozen steamboats on the water at the same time, cultivating profitable relationships with riverside businessmen. He built many boats for the turbulent Missouri River, and commissioned larger ones for the Mississippi, although Missouri River boats also served customers on the latter river, too. Like others, his transport included U.S. mail to anxiously awaiting customers.

Collier and partners in 1830 commissioned the 163-ton,

\$35,000 [\$785,000] side-wheeler *Otto* in Jeffersonville, Indiana. The boat made its first trip up the Missouri River in 1831 (docking at Old Franklin for Yosti & Morrison?), and went all the way to the Kansas River. The trip across the state expanded Collier’s regular shipping calendar on the Missouri that included intermediate ports. He brought eighteen-year-old William M. Morrison into the wholesale grocery business the next year, and, in 1834 added the highly experienced, forty-year-old William G. Pettus, two years older than Collier. During the early 1830s, the *Otto* made upriver voyages for the Aull brothers at Lexington and the fur trading firm of William Sublette and Robert Campbell. Experienced river men in their youth, such as future St. Louis commercial and civic leaders Capt. Sullivan Blood and Rufus J. Lackland, who became successive presidents of Boatmen’s Bank, joined Collier. Lackland later played an integral financial role in estate management for W. D. and James O. Swinney and Berenice Morrison. Collier enhanced the careers of John Simonds of Lucas & Simonds Bank, a co-investor in his *Boone’s Lick* steamer, and Capt. Nathaniel J. Eaton, served as a long-time master of Collier and Morrison steamboats on the Missouri River, piloting regular packets between St. Louis and Glasgow. These partners, and others, all laid the foundation of their river-borne fortunes with Collier, especially his in-laws, William G. Pettus, Francis Yosti, and William M. Morrison, who all learned from the sagacious investor.

William M. Morrison’s first year in the business was 1832, while his father was at Boone’s Lick and Yosti in Santa Fe. The same year, Collier sent the *Otto* to Pittsburg for a 40-ton cargo in an arrangement with the Aull brothers of Lexington, Missouri, who owned a small percentage in the boat. Their 1832 agreement demanded a stop at Arrow Rock Landing for 10,500 pounds of Booneslick salt. Additionally, the “heavy grocery” load intended for the *Otto* listed beans, candles, flour, salt pork, soap, and vinegar for ports from Louisville, Kentucky, and others along the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri levees, with the Aulls to deliver several tons to Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. A disagreement between the Aulls and Collier resulted in the Aulls choosing another ship, and the Aulls sued Collier for freight charges, but the Aulls ultimately discontinued the suit. The displeased Aulls sold out their interest in the *Otto*. Short-lived agreements in this era of single contracts were common among shippers and steamboat investors.

Collier sent his *Otto* to the Upper Missouri River fur trading posts. In 1833, he contracted it to veteran fur traders and the newly formed Campbell and Sublette Company. *Otto* transported Campbell’s party to Lexington, while Sublette followed with two keelboats. Sublette’s party left Lexington’s levee, and Campbell’s went overland. William Nestor wrote that “Perhaps no keelboat’s crew enjoyed an easier time up the Missouri River,” observing that the *Otto* towed Sublette’s keelboat and crew upstream, while the company established riverine trading posts, including Ft. William, near the mouth of the Yellowstone River. The St. Louis traders transferred cargo at Ft. Pierre to keelboats to complete their last leg of the far western journey. This upriver trip, co-sponsored by Collier, quickly led to the *Otto* becoming “the first regular packet boat on the Missouri River,” save Pierre Chouteau, Jr.’s, American Fur Company boats that supplied his Upper Missouri outposts. Towing a keelboat behind the steamer *Otto* was a Missouri River

feat not overlooked by others, and commonly repeated by steamboat pilots. The Collier-Morrison extended family continued what they knew best – provisioning buyers in long-distance trade in the settlement of the American West.

During the same year, James Morrison advertised the Boone's Lick salt works for sale, and Collier ordered a new boat in Pittsburg, naming his new steamer, the *Boone's Lick*. The ship was a large contemporary river boat, rated at 295-ton, a capacity that James Morrison never dreamed of in his heyday. By 1835, the *George Collier* boat docked in St. Louis. This 402-ton passenger and freight boat worked the Mississippi to New Orleans. Traveler Carlos Dehault Delassus took a round trip on the *George Collier* from New Orleans to St. Louis to see friends, and recorded his experience in a diary. Likewise, Henry Miller commented on the large cargo and passengers brought from New Orleans to St. Louis in 1838, including the small pox, one of the dreaded infectious diseases spread by steamboat travel. We have no indication that Collier ever piloted any of his boats, only that his St. Louis-based captains did.

George Collier and Frize Morrison were married nearly a year when sister, Caroline Morrison (1809-89) married William G. Pettus (1794-1867). Pettus, an educated Virginian, came to St. Louis in 1818 and went to work in the federal land office as an assistant to Alexander McNair. Two years later, McNair kept Pettus as his private secretary when Missouri advocated for statehood; it was Pettus who wrote the new constitution on parchment for the Constitutional Convention. In 1821, he became a mason, served as treasurer, briefly worked as clerk of the Supreme Court, and in June, became the new Missouri Secretary of State under Gov. McNair. Pettus's contemporaries elected him secretary of the State Senate in 1824, and Gov. Frederick Bates appointed him judge of the St. Charles probate court until he resigned in September 1826 to undertake business interests.

Modest liberal proclivities helped bring Pettus and Collier together. Sina Simonds, a local female mulatto slave, who purchased her freedom in 1817, acquired several St. Charles properties. Influential white benefactors represented her in business and in circuit court, and included William Pettus, and Catherine and George Collier. At Sina's death in 1853, she was a slave owner, but "emancipated Mary and Milly, both formerly owned by Catherine Collier." Giving a helping hand to Sina, "a free woman of color," in and out of court, also gave a certain social distinction to Pettus and Collier. In 1836, Collier emancipated Harry, a domestic slave, but he had difficulty from a neighbor's accusations for allowing a female slave to hire her time to someone else, a criminal offense. Apparently, Collier and Pettus's liberal attitudes toward slaves did not injure their reputations in Missouri's slaveholding society. But Collier always kept a dozen or so adult males and females in bondage for duties around his house on Locust Street and at riverfront properties. During Pettus's early married years to Caroline, his peers elected him to the State Senate for 1832-33. The following year, the Pettus couple moved to St. Louis, where William G. Pettus joined George Collier in the com-

mission house trade and private banking.

Bluff Port and Glasgow

In 1834, James Morrison and family members were located in St. Charles and St. Louis. Merchant Francis Yosti became a village elder in St. Charles, while George Collier, William Pettus, and William M. Morrison managed the larger steamboat trade to Howard County and westward. The Bluff Port story is but one example of a wharf on the Missouri River that Morrison-family merchants served, as the number of steamboats on the western rivers increased. Bluff Port is significant, however, in the evolution of trade and social networks that developed in Howard County. The story demonstrates how George Collier brought another protégé into the expanding Morrison-allied connections. This alliance aided prosperity for Glasgow and for a co-founder, William F. Dunnica. Dunnica, John C. Bull, Thomas Cockerill, W. D. Swinney, and others, all experienced in trading partnerships, created



Left to right, Berenice Morrison's grandfather Capt. W. D. Swinney, her mother Kate, grandmother Lucy Ann, and uncle James Oswald Swinney. [Scarritt-Royster Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]

Glasgow as a shareholding town company. Business at the new entrepot introduced the W. D. Swinney and William M. Morrison families to each other.

The short-lived Bluff Port, south of Glasgow between Richland and Hurricane Creeks, was the site of a commercially-viable store and tavern for eighteen months from October 1835 to March 1837. In spring 1837, Thomas M. Rooker began collecting overdue accounts and eventually closed out his business, when Glasgow emerged as the leading market center. By then, Rooker did business with well over a hundred clients on credit, barter, and cash, and participated in the frontier exchange of promissory notes, the store functioning as a rural bank. Slaveholders sent their chattel ("by girl," "by boy," "by Ben," "by Lucy," or "Dr. Cason's negro") to pick up items at his store. The Bluff Port post office,

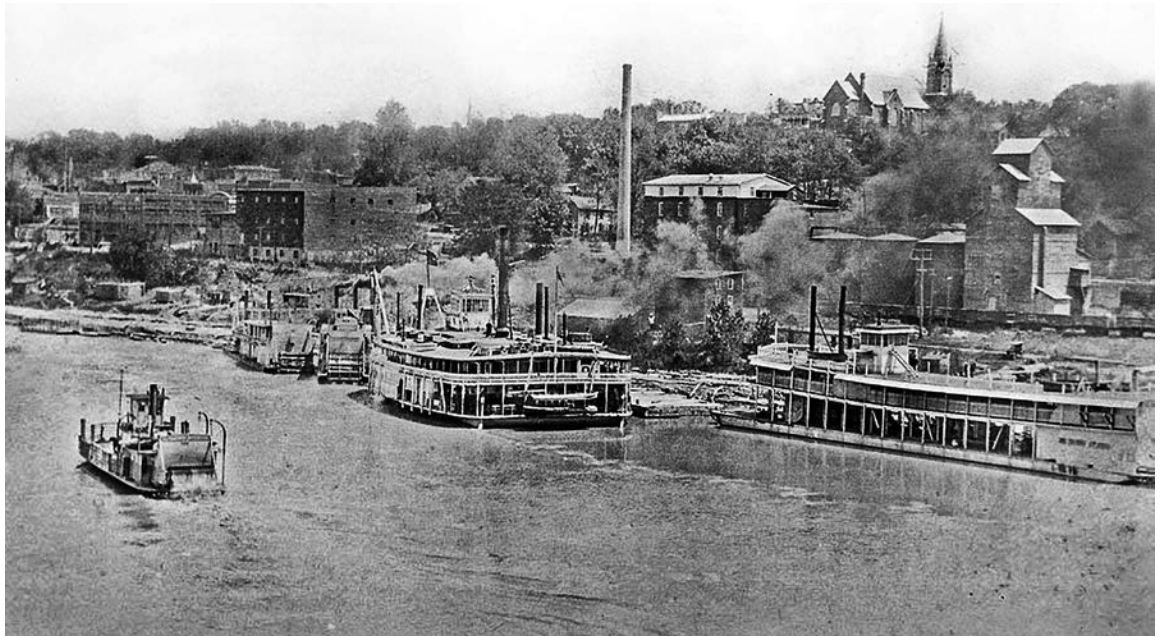
Morrison Family

1836-39, was apparently in Rooker's building and John M. Cason was the post rider.

For two decades, Capt. John Rooker operated flatboats loaded especially with tobacco, the first major cash crop in the Booneslick, from Old Franklin to New Orleans. His prominence as a merchant at Franklin resulted in his role as a deputy tax collector for Chariton township. He brought son Thomas into the river trade that imported goods from St. Louis and England and exported products from the Booneslick back to the St. Louis levee. A young Tennessean, Thomas M. Rooker,

christened the business, Thomas M. Rooker and Company. John re-located inland from Bluff Port, while Thomas managed the riverside tavern and warehouse. Rooker's customers included families who figured conspicuously in the founding of Glasgow. Client names included Ballew, Cason, Dunnica, Earickson, Estill, Jackson, Todd, Turner, and more. These men and additional Glasgow first families recognized the advantage of a deep and safe harbor at Glasgow "for high or low water" that was far superior to either Bluff Port or Old Chariton. It was prosperous, surplus agriculture, most notably tobacco for English markets that demanded a secure and reliable levee. Glasgow's founding as a town company was the vision of affluent traders who expected to prosper in the new steamboat age. The town's namesake, James Glasgow (1784-1856), with James Harrison (1803-70), was already an international trader in Chihuahau, Mexico, on the Red River in southwest Arkansas, and a steamboat investor on the Missouri River.

The Chariton-Bluff Port axis had already developed into a well-known tobacco corridor and residents and passengers enjoyed regular steamboat packet service by 1835 – one owned by Collier. When Glasgow promoters built the town in 1837, it quickly appeared on St. Louis steamboat schedules; the boats docked at the new levee in the warehouse district. William Laas wrote that the arrivals in 1838 totaled an amazing 158 steamboats [number of dockings] that involved only eighteen vessels -- functionally, floating warehouses -- with many boats docking several times. Three years later, twenty five boats docked 312 times driven by the vast increase in tobacco freight – the explosion in steamboat trade in Booneslick counties had arrived. Boats wore recognizable names like the *Chariton*, the *Fayette*, the *Glasgow*, the *Howard*, and the *Kansas*. Correspondent Holmes wrote to the *Missouri Republican* in 1839 in St. Louis that the "tobacco establishments of this



Late nineteenth-century photograph of the Glasgow waterfront with St. Mary's Church steeple in the background. By the mid-1800s Glasgow became a major steamboat port for shipping tobacco and other agricultural goods to St. Louis. Image courtesy of James M. Denny

place [Glasgow] ... have shipped an amount equal to all the rest of Missouri" from 1834 to 1839. The "tobacco boom" coalesced at Glasgow where promoters touted its first-rate harbor. Surplus agriculture from counties north of Glasgow and across the river in Saline County made Glasgow an influential regional port, so much so, that some St. Louis steamers ran only the route from St. Louis to Glasgow and back.

Finally, in 1837, St. Louis capital crystallized for the construction of that city's first steamboat. Relatively few boats traveled upriver from Glasgow until after 1840 which helped the new town enjoy its status as a riverside destination and port for St. Louis investors. Glasgow merchant families, like Dunnica, Harrison, Lewis, Swinney, Tatum, and others, developed close mercantile ties with associates and friends in St. Louis – trustworthy allies in the larger city were crucial to their competitive success. Glasgow's accelerated wealth and prosperity led by slaveholding elites resulted in its population becoming one-third slaves by 1846. By the Civil War, the slave trade and miscegenation resulted in hundreds of mulattos at work in agriculture, tobacco manufacturing, and domestic work in Howard County.

Thomas Rooker did considerable business with a large commercial outlet nearby, the William F. Dunnica & Company store at the mouth of Chariton River. In one year, Dunnica extended over \$3,500 [\$76,000] credit to Rooker by October 1836. George Collier, had taken notice of young Dunnica (1807-1896) years earlier. Dunnica had experience as a mercantile clerk in Cote sans Dessein working for riverman, Anson G. Bennett, who later piloted Pierre Chouteau, Jr.'s famous Yellowstone boat to the Upper Missouri River. Dunnica moved to Jefferson City where he co-founded the first newspaper, the *Jeffersonian*. Then his bookkeeping talents led to an appointment as a clerk in the state auditor's office in 1828.

While there, the Kentucky-educated Dunnica attracted the attention of Collier, who engineered Dunnica's 1831 appointment as a clerk for a branch U.S. Bank in St. Louis until 1834. In 1835, a Collier-Dunnica friendship resulted in the Dunnica & Company store and warehouse at Old Chariton, supplied by Collier-financed steamboats. Dunnica, with his skills as an educated, enterprising clerk, typified the scarce labor commodity of efficient clerks, who quickly rose to become administrators of larger enterprises. William Dunnica was one of several whom Collier brought into his ever-expanding long-distance money-making empire.

Merchant Dunnica supplied Rooker and Company and his own clientele from Old Chariton. In 1836, Dunnica married Martha Jane Shackelford (1820-58), daughter of the late Saline County judge, Thomas Shackelford (1776-1835), and Eliza Pulliam Shackelford (1797-1851). Dunnica then joined a dozen others to found Glasgow, where his lawyer became his younger brother-in-law, Thomas Shackelford (1822-1903). Rooker had depended heavily upon Dunnica's credit line and paid freight charges downriver to wharves at St. Charles, St. Louis, and other ports. It appears that Dunnica eventually foreclosed on Rooker's mercantile inventory, as the Bluff Port store went out of business in the late 1830s and the business ledger wound up in Shackelford's law office for collections of debts due.

Various steamboats docked at Bluff Port, including the *Chariton*, *Dart*, *Hancock*, *Iowa*, and *St. Charles*. Although St. Louisans financed most, a few Glasgow capitalists, e.g., Capt. John T. Cleveland, Capt. W. D. Swinney, Benjamin Lewis, and others became riverboat partners. By May 1836, St. Louis boats brought cargo from grocery and commission firms, such as, Pettus and William M. Morrison Company, Peter Powell and Company (formerly Collier and Powell Co.) and Powell, Lamont & Company, all of whom were partnerships that Collier co-founded and launched into an orbit of river trade, just as he did for William F. Dunnica & Co. It is likely that after Dunnica moved to Glasgow that some of his forwarding and commission trade used the "Stone Warehouse" of Dunnica's kinsmen in Jefferson City, the Cordell-Dunnica commission house, now a National Register of Historic Place, facing the old river levee. By 1840, Dunnica "became largely interested in the tobacco business with Mr. W. D. Swinney and marketing to foreign markets"; later, both men served as trustees in Glasgow's new Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844. Methodist identity implied a desire for individual and social improvement.

The synergism of commercial tobacco exports at Glasgow expanded quickly in downstream marketing. Several Booneslick capitalists invested in steamboats and tobacco factories. The Lewis and Swinney families, both with male relatives and large amounts of slave labor, built multi-generational fortunes. Richard C. Vaughn in 1840 wrote that the tobacco factories were full of hired slaves. Swinney, to expand his international marketing, bought out competition in 1845 when he purchased Dr. John C. Bull's tobacco factory, screws for packing tobacco, and land for \$5,400 [\$139,000]. Swinney's tobacco cash book, 1843-48, reflects his burgeoning business. His partner, Benjamin Lewis, shared the profits and they shipped to Collier and Morrison. Swinney and Lewis, according to the census, both hired over a hundred laborers, but Swinney occupied forty women, while Lewis engaged only five.

Glasgow Landing, "a series of seven steamboat landings, each with a warehouse or industry," sat in the center of an arc of tobacco plantations from Keytesville, to Salisbury, to Huntsville, and south to Fayette. At one time, Swinney owned and partnered in factories in those four towns that sent ox teams laden with inland tobacco to Glasgow warehouses. Swinney owned several dozen slaves, but he and his partner, William Spear, hired more males and females, especially at the Fayette factory, where they had thirty-four slaves in the mid-1850s. The Fayette operation required separate accounting not only for the hired slave labor, but the bacon, candles, pork, and consumables that contract labor demanded. His cousin, Thomas A. Swinney, was his plantation overseer from 1839-57. W. D. Swinney invested his profits in steamboat shipping, marine insurance, rural and St. Louis land speculation, and ultimately became president of the Western Bank in Glasgow. Lawyer and fellow Whig, Abiel Leonard, handled his land transactions. At the height of Swinney's empire, perhaps three hundred blacks and whites lived under his economic umbrella.

Swinney carried on the local tobacco trade in gold and promissory notes. His normal accounting shows transactions between \$100 and \$3,000, although individual trades did reach to \$5,000 [\$128,500] and above. The record reflects the face-to-face interaction of a busy waterfront. He transacted business, giving and receiving funds, at the bridge, drug store, factory, someone's house, at Savage's Store door, at the steamboat *Wapello* or *Julia*, and "at my house in bed," usually with local witnesses signing the transaction record. Tobacco merchants did business with each other, as W. C. Woodson's factory in Monticello and Benjamin W. Lewis in Glasgow were primary cogs in Swinney's network that shipped to St. Louis and reached the Brown Brothers in New York and then on to William and John Oxley Company in Liverpool. The Oxley Company served members of the Swinney family in European commerce, banking, international travel, and handled mail for traveling family members for decades into Berenice Morrison's generation. Swinney built a large, frame tobacco factory on South Water Street and partnered there with Charles McNair; he con-

1844 Commencement for 1845
 Dec 20 Cash Dr. To John F. Oxley No 4
 ✓ my nine boxes Light as directed
 by Oxley for £1000 sterling or 4146.58
 Paid. @ 97. 400 00
 \$4844 58
 21 Dec
 ✓ Ben & B Barton Dr To Cash
 this sum handed to pay
 for Tobo. at Factory 200 00
 27
 ✓ Benj. W. Lewis Dr To Cash
 this sum handed in Glasgow 300 00

A Capt. W. D. Swinney tobacco account document to John F. Oxley in London, 1845. [Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]

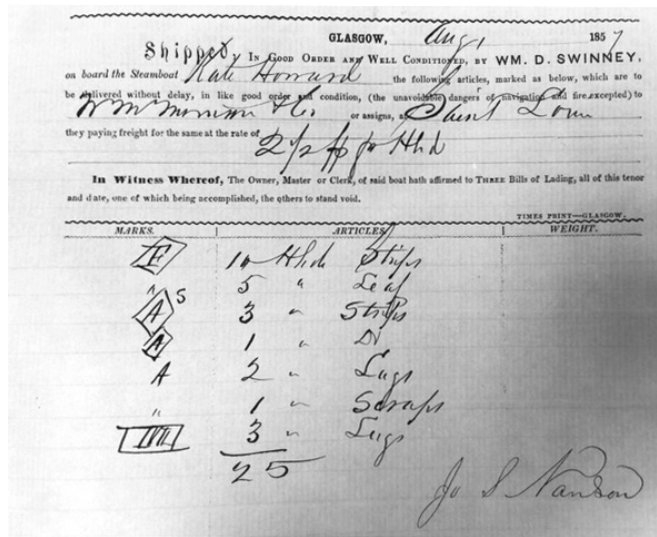
structed a three-story brick warehouse at Howard and 1st Streets. The synergism of his domain brought dozens of local families into his chain of commerce, e.g., Barton Bros., Billingsley, Boone, Cason, Dunnica, Estill, Herndon, Hereford, Jackson, Nichols, Smith, Tatum, Thomson, and more. Glasgow incorporated in 1845 and Swinney's revenues for that year in his Foreign Day Book for shipments across the Atlantic totaled over \$48,000 [\$1,233,000]. It is likely that these revenues contributed to the development of his *Sylvan Villa* country seat.

In hindsight, the previous Morrison-family business at Boone's Lick and the Cooper's Bottom neighborhood simply moved upriver to Glasgow, 273 river miles from St. Louis. The 1830s Missouri River connection from Glasgow to St. Louis that included brothers-in-law, George Collier, William Pettus, and William M. Morrison continued into the 1850s and brought William M. Morrison into Capt. W. D. Swinney's considerable enterprises. Politically, this group of businessmen were Whigs (i.e., anti-Andrew Jackson businessmen), who required domestic and international banking services, activities that kept them in political conversations.

Expanding Family Alliances: Collier, Pettus, and William M. Morrison

A Collier and Pettus relationship (1834-42) merged into banking and insurance, while located at 19 N. Front Street on the levee; William M. Morrison worked with both of the older men. They established a private bank westward on Olive Street, where they earned percentages in buying and selling out-of-state bank drafts. Their combined warehouse and office was in between three of the Chouteau family warehouses, a convenient locale for occasional steamer cooperation between the Chouteau and Collier interests. During the Pettus partnership, Pierre Chouteau and George Collier served as probate executors for Scotsman, Daniel Lamont, one of the original Columbia Fur Company men in 1822 – Lamont subsequently took the place of Collier in the Powell and Collier Company and traded on the Lower Missouri River, including the Bluff Port-Glasgow Landings.

The three brothers-in-law served as commercial forwarding agents, exporting upper Mississippi lead and Missouri tobacco, and importing sugar, tea, and coffee by the boat load from Collier's subsidiary in New Orleans. In June 1835, their *George Collier* steamboat, built in Pittsburg, docked at home in St. Louis. They built the boat specifically for the St. Louis to New Orleans trade and readers learned of it in St. Louis newspaper ads. In 1837, Collier and his St. Charles business partner, William Eckert, commissioned the *Astoria*, in part, to transport flour from their St. Charles Steam Mill. For the western upriver trade, Collier and Pettus commissioned the 158-ton side-wheeler *Platte*, constructed explicitly



Document for Capt. W. D. Swinney shipping hogsheads on *Kate Howard* steamer, which carried tobacco leaf, lugs, scraps, and strips.
[Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]

for the Missouri River. Lawrence Giffen found that the *Platte* was noteworthy for its continuity on the river, making a dozen trips in 1838, and thirteen more in 1839, an extremely high-profit margin investment. Central to their revenues was cargo hauling for Chouteau's American Fur Company.

Politically, Collier worked behind the scenes, as he did in business. His closest business associates were Whigs, those who trumpeted commerce and internal improvements leveraged with government aid. In July 1830, Collier served on a local committee with fellow Whigs, who dominated the river trade, to host Sen. David Barton at the Missouri Hotel in St. Louis. A decade later, in 1840, the *Platte* was one of two

steamboats that carried Whig delegates to a three-day party convention that attracted thousands for a log cabin rally to support the presidential candidacy of William H. Harrison in Rocheport.

Collier was more visible in his support of education. Early in the Collier-Pettus partnership, George's wife, Frize Morrison Collier, died in August 1835. Perhaps her passing resulted from complications in childbirth, as the newspaper reported that daughter Louisa died the same month. Adding to those tragedies, his mother Catherine Collier died the same year. Catherine was a devoted Methodist, who entertained traveling preachers in her St. Charles home. In 1830 she erected the first local Methodist Church on her property that she also used as an elementary subscription school.

By 1835, the St. Charles Methodists reported 519 whites, and 127 blacks in their congregation, including free and slave; the larger St. Louis Methodist Church reported only 100 blacks. The Protestant Methodists were more liberal than others in allowing blacks to attend services. Catherine wanted to expand her efforts into a college. George proposed a new, larger building with both mother and son donating a total of \$15,000 [\$348,000] for it, but Catherine died before the project began.

George purchased a St. Charles lot on Main Street and financed construction. Meanwhile, the Methodist Episcopal Church held its September 1835 conference in Arrow Rock. At the new evangelical camp ground, set in the Booneslick where the Morrisons had lived and worked for years, church leaders, who had previous conversation with the Colliers, decided to join the wealthy merchant's educational effort and named it St. Charles College; the Methodists raised \$10,000 to add to an endowment. The first Protestant college west of the Mississippi River began in fall 1836 in St. Charles.

The college served the sons of business families in St. Louis and St. Charles. Such familiar names as Chouteau, Copes, Dent, Dunklin, Eckert, Farrar, Finney, Glasgow, Griffith, Lackland, Laveille, Lindell, McKnight, Millington, Morrison, Morton, Page, Powell, Tracy, St. Vrain, Wiggins, and more took on the role of scholars. The classical curriculum included English and French.

A handful of hired male and female slaves worked for the staff and students at the school. Collier and Yosti supplied the academy with flour from their St. Charles Steam Mill, and manufactured goods came from Yosti and Company store, while Pettus and Morrison collected freight bills for delivering books. All of the integrated family merchants -- Collier, Yosti, Pettus, and William M. Morrison -- collected tuition during business transactions elsewhere that were later deposited to the scholars' accounts at the college.

Collier made generous contributions for salaries and payments to the college endowment. The Colliers' support over the years is unknown, but it exceeded \$50,000 [\$1,438,000]. In Collier's 1852 will, he bequeathed to the Methodist Episcopal Church South his lot of ground and brick church building in St. Charles, "a portion of said house separated off for people of color as it now is for their use." He established a \$5,000 [\$144,000] trust to be applied to the education of Methodist Episcopal young men in the ministry, while the Methodist Church nationally became the largest Protestant denomination in the nineteenth-century. Collier was a lifetime Methodist, but he had customers who were not. He held pews at the St. Louis Cathedral, Westminster Church, and First and Second Presbyterian Churches, serving as a trustee of the latter for many years. He gave another \$5,000 to the Protestant Orphan Asylum of St. Louis.

Collier "headed the list of incorporators" of the first fire insurance company in St. Louis, in 1831, the Missouri Insurance Company, serving as president. It was a timely venture. Not only did the company insure steamboats in their navigation of inland rivers, it underwrote warehouses, stores, cargos, dwellings, and generally most personal property. Historian, William Laas wrote that the St. Louis-based insurance company gave local businessmen an option other than more expensive eastern agencies. The company hosted an expansion of the insurance business at their offices in 1837, where investors offered stock in the St. Louis Union Insurance Company "under supervision of William G. Pettus."

The Collier and Pettus association built steamboats, shipped large cargos, and insured its own and others, too. One successful shipment, without incident on the river, often made small fortunes for investors. But, common accidents commanded high insurance rates. Participants in the navigation trade gambled on their shipments, sometimes not insuring anything, but often insuring a percentage of the value, e.g., 35%, 50%, or more. The risk for damage on the rivers and high insurance rates continued the tradition of partnerships to lessen the liabilities. Their family insurance paid off in April 1841, when criminals attempted to rob William

G. Pettus. The thieves torched Collier's large stone warehouse that forwarding agents, John Simonds and William M. Morrison, occupied; Pettus's brokerage office was in the rear. St. Louis firemen luckily limited the damage to one commercial block.

After three years a widower, in 1838, George married the young Sarah Bell (1816-85), daughter of John M. Bell, a Pittsburg merchant, banker, and wholesaler, but he never quit doing business with his Morrison kin. Nevertheless, not everything continued with "Collier's luck," either. In May 1839, a faulty piston rod on the engine of the steamer *George Collier* blew up the boiler near Natchez, killing twenty-six passengers and scalding nineteen more. Perhaps Collier's own marine insurance covered his liabilities. Collier's name quickly returned to the St. Louis levee. In August, 1839, Collier and Pettus advertised a new *George Collier* boat for the Mississippi waters. Collier's longtime colleagues in commerce and finance, the influential firm of J. and E. Walsh, contracted as agents for shipping freight on the new boat. (A third *George Collier*, a 539-ton steamer, sailed the Mississippi in 1851.)

During the Collier, Pettus, and Morrison coalition, the number of steamboats on the western rivers dramatically increased. Collier sponsored Nathaniel J. Eaton, who commanded the *Iatan* in 1841, one of many in Eaton's distinguished career. The *Iatan* specialized in the weekly packet trade from St. Louis to Glasgow and Chariton, advertising its regular schedule in the urban press, as "new commodious, light draught and fast running [boat]," stopping at intermediate landings. The 1840s boat technology allowed the *Iatan* to run the river in night and day to Glasgow.

The reliable *Iatan* competed with twenty-five other Lower Missouri River boats, such as, Collier's *Platte*. Historian Giffen wrote that the attraction at Glasgow was the "eleven stemmeries and factories built and developed at or near Glasgow" that required regular freight service. Laborers separated tobacco leaves from the stem and in doing so generated small scraps of tobacco that were also boxed and sold as "scraps." The cash crop of tobacco, one of dozens of products transported on boats, with wheat and hemp, became the largest dollar export shipped from the Booneslick. Nearing the end of the decade, four packets made weekly trips to Glasgow and "by 1852 fifteen steamboats visited Glasgow's port each week."

The reliable *Iatan* competed with

Diverse Engagements

The need for venture capital in the west pressed investors. In 1829, businessmen chartered the St. Louis branch of the U.S. Bank in St. Louis. Collier, a founding director, served with his commercial competitors and like-minded western Whigs, includ-



St. Charles College, built by George Collier in 1836. [The Methodist Church in Missouri, 1798-1939, by Frank C. Tucker, 1966]

ing William F. Dunnica. When President Andrew Jackson vetoed the re-charter of the bank in July 1832, Collier and exasperated businessmen attached their names to public resolutions that condemned the president's move. Collier and his associates tried to salvage the bank, prior to its 1835 closing, but to no avail. Collier then financed Dunnica to move to Old Chariton.

Collier and other anti-Andrew Jackson businessmen incorporated the Bank of the State of Missouri in 1837, where he was a major stockholder and a director from 1840-46. The new St. Louis Chamber of Commerce also formed in 1837 and Collier served terms on its Committee of Appeals to mitigate complaints by steamboat investors. Years later, western businessmen met at Memphis in 1845 for the first Inter-State River and Harbor Convention, and Thomas Scharf wrote that Collier "headed the list" of two-dozen prominent St. Louisians in attendance. In the early 1840s, the Bank of the State of Missouri's board of directors included entries for both George Collier and the firm of Collier and Morrison. Ultimately, Collier and William M. Morrison colleagues on the major rivers organized the Boatmen's Saving Bank in 1847 with investor Morrison serving as a long-time director. Collier's former business partner, Capt. Sullivan Blood, became president in 1856. Collier's current partner in the William M. Morrison and Company, R. J. Lackland, succeeded Blood in 1870.

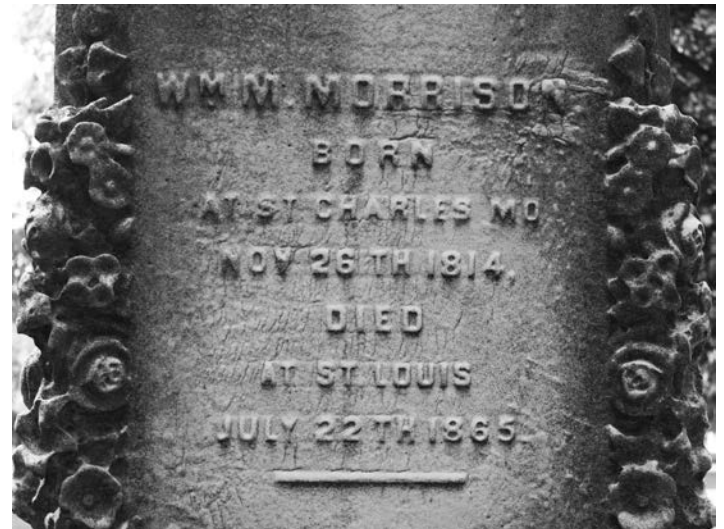
St. Louisians called a railroad convention in 1836 and formed a committee to raise subscriptions to survey a route westward and one south to the iron mines in southeast Missouri. The *Republican* newspaper celebrated the meeting and listed Collier's name at the head of several others who signaled for the work to begin. Enthusiastic Whigs promoted a line from St. Louis to Fayette, but the realities of financing soon set in; boosters had to wait decades for that railroad. Later, in 1849, businessmen organized the Missouri Pacific Railroad to be built to Jefferson City. Collier invested \$10,000 [\$287,500] in it and his contemporaries elected him to the board of directors in 1850 and 1851.

In 1837, Collier, William M. Morrison, and others incorporated the St. Louis Hotel Company. Collier's rising public persona led to his service for a term as an alderman in the 3rd ward in 1839, although his public work, by far, was primarily with commercial and philanthropic institutions. In 1840 Collier's declining health required that he "retire" from active work, but he consulted regularly with his partners, William Pettus and William M. Morrison. Pettus continued in St. Louis insurance businesses as a secretary and then as president of the St. Louis Floating Dock Insurance Company, where fellow Morrison-family colleagues R. J. Lackland, Richard Lockwood (who married one of Collier's daughters), and John C. Bull were directors. For a time, William Morrison and Lockwood had a boat supply firm together. Pettus resigned from the family business in 1855 to become secretary of the United States Insurance Company until retiring in 1862.

As a public figure, Collier gave time and money to volunteer efforts and city celebrations. In June 1842, he sat beside President Martin Van Buren at a downtown banquet. He contributed in several attempts to address St. Louis urban problems. The flood of 1844 caused considerable damage in the American heartland, and leaders, like him, held public meetings to address the relief of the poor. He presided at the December 1845 meeting that directed supplies of coal and wood for winter distribution. In 1847, he joined committee associates of "the friends of Ireland" in their

efforts to help relieve the famine. Cholera raged in 1833 and 1849. City leaders formed a Committee on Public Health and enlisted Collier, but their efforts did little to curtail the epidemic. Always interested in education, Collier "subscribed liberally" and co-founded the Mercantile Library in 1851 with William M. Morrison and others; Morrison was especially devoted to the library. He served as a vice-president, president in 1856, and director into the 1860s. Morrison continued to follow his mentor's lead and became a principal subscriber in 1853 to the Home of the Friendless, a charitable institution for women, and a volunteer in the city fire department.

Collier became a director of the new Merchants Exchange in 1850, the year of his last major investment. Significantly, he briefly served as president of the region's major lead-manufacturing concern. The Charless and Blow white lead factory burned in



Engraving on monument for Berenice Morrison's father, William M. Morrison, who died in 1865, leaving Berenice an orphan at the age of nine, in the care of her grandfather, Capt. W. D. Swinney. Photo by Don Cullimore

1850 and needed major funding to re-open. Collier, Pettus, and Morrison had procured lead from the Upper Mississippi River mines for years, and historian Thomas Scharf wrote that in the St. Louis traffic of lead "no man contributed more actively or more sagaciously than George Collier." In fact, one report said that the Collier and Morrison firm of the 1840s "dealt largely in lead" from the upper Mississippi. Their office had moved up the hill from the river on Front Street to Fourth Street, but they had warehouses near the river where Collier owned a docking station, so necessary for the maintenance and repair of steamboats. In 1851, the ruined Blow Company reorganized as the Collier White Lead and Oil Company, when George became the single largest financier. The paint firm manufactured "white lead, red lead, linseed oil," and more that were all packaged separately and shipped nationally. Collier's short life with the company concluded at his death in 1852, but William M. Morrison remained as a major shareholder. For twenty-six years, William, the younger brother-in-law, had lived with George Collier, save for a brief 1847 marriage to Mary Bissell (1827-48).

William M. Morrison: Ascension to International Trader

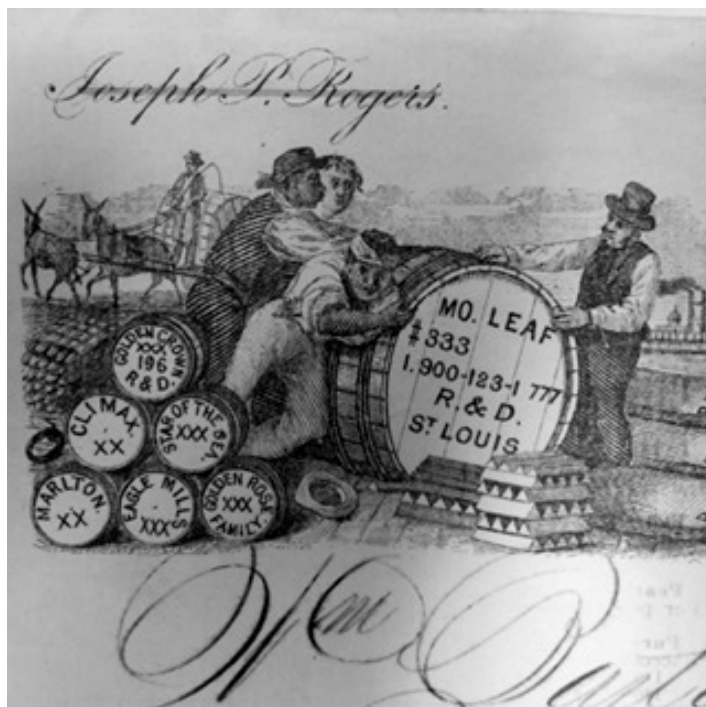
James and Emilie Morrison, the latter a practicing Catholic, sent their son, William Morrison (1814–65), to the Jesuits for his education at what became St. Louis University. At age twelve, William joined his older sister, Françoise (1806-35), newly married to George Collier. They lived at Washington and 4th Street “in the Collier mansion.” Cousins remembered Collier and Morrison riding frequently to George’s farm, west of Chouteau’s Pond. After his studies, Collier tutored him in business until William purchased his grocer’s license in 1832. Two years later, in 1834, Collier initiated a Collier and Pettus Company and sponsored a Pettus and Morrison venture, as part of his mercantile expansion with his brothers-in-law. The young Morrison was part of and witnessed the management of Collier’s partnerships, including three companies that shipped and docked at Bluff Port in 1836. Certainly, we could expect any St. Louis commission house to do business at a new landing on the Missouri River, but these companies who docked at Bluff Port reflects, in part, the long association of the Morrison extended family with Howard County commerce and Collier’s influence in the mid-Missouri Valley economy.

William M. Morrison trained for a decade with his two older brothers-in-law. Then, in 1842, came the formal announcement of a large firm, Collier & Morrison. The waterfront trade on the St. Louis levee boomed—inland, promoters platted thirty-one additions to St. Louis city to accommodate the burgeoning population from 1833-45, the same years that saw their businesses propelled to the top of St. Louis’s commercial world. This new partnership was one of two-dozen St. Louis commission houses that participated in foreign trade. Collier, consultant and financial backer, kept his office in the same building as his relatives. One Collier-Morrison steamboat was the *Huntsville*, a 138-ton boat designed for the Missouri River during the 1840s. A new and larger firm, William M. Morrison & Company began in 1847, with Collier partner, Rufus J. Lackland, and expert bookkeeper, Alfred Chadwick, as “the company” in William’s business. That year, the *St. Louis Business Directory* published Morrison’s business card, “William M. Morrison, commission and forwarding agent to New Orleans, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, London and Liverpool.” Morrison’s card reflected his training and ability to make mature judgments.

Collier allowed his partners in the steamboat trade to execute agreements that did not directly include him. In the early 1840s, wrote historian Frederick Hodes, the tobacco boom in Glasgow that sent hogsheads to St. Louis “expanded from 415 to 1,750 in the one year between 1841 and 1842.” St. Louis was now the hub of inland water shipping, as westerners covered the Missouri River with agricultural exports. In St. Louis, there were fifteen tobacco and cigar manufacturers. Capt. John Simonds (who had earlier partnered with Collier on the *Boone’s Lick* and *Alton* boats) and William M. Morrison, formed another company styled Simonds and Morrison. They contracted with Applegate and Salisbury at Keytesville and Col. John M. Bell, a tobacco merchant near Old Chariton. Bell occasionally lived in Glasgow, but visited St. Louis offices to discuss shipments of Booneslick tobacco to England.

The complicated business of commission houses and forwarding agents, who functioned as international bankers, was displayed in a Supreme Court case brought by John Bell against Simonds and

Morrison in 1848. The St. Louisans hired the law firm of Gamble and Bates to represent their side of disputed accounting. Financial records in the case commenced in 1840 with Collier’s former partner upriver, William F. Dunnica, a Methodist merchant, and James Keyte, Methodist preacher and merchant, tobacco dealers Applegate and Salisbury, and others. They had received advanced funds for drayage, hauling tobacco levers and screws to prepare tobacco shipments in hogsheads, and to apply insurance on the tobacco. But the case included many people between Glasgow and England, and involved other commodities such as sugar and iron. Dunnica, for example, had joined with William D. Swinney in Glasgow to arrange shipping large amounts of tobacco to St. Louis and beyond. Another Collier protégé, Capt. Nathaniel J. Eaton, served as master on the weekly packet, *Kit Carson*, to Rocheport, Glasgow, Arrow Rock, and other ports to pick up the tobacco



Mid-nineteenth-century ad for leaf tobacco for Rogers and Dowler, St. Louis, commission merchants who dealt in flour, hemp, and tobacco “factors.” [Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]

and passengers. By the summer of 1841, Liverpool dealers began receiving their tobacco from the Glasgow market.

John Bell, in 1841, began shipping with Simonds and Morrison in a multi-year agreement. Dissatisfied with the accounting a few years later, he filed a complaint in May 1845 against the St. Louis forwarding agents, Simonds and Morrison. The intricate details in the aspects of international bookkeeping were submitted for arbitration to the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce and its rules that governed its standing committee, the committee of appeals. The case outlined the complexity of long-distance marine shipping. Taking tobacco on boats to New Orleans was one endeavor, but engaging the Atlantic trade with hogsheads of tobacco from Glasgow to Liverpool, England, introduced new challenges to solve and a lengthy, unpredictable calendar in which to do it.

A three-man committee of appeals could not reach a resolution. Details involved credit and changes in percent of interest, depending on where the shipment was located in transit, e.g., in New Orleans, New York, Boston, London, or Liverpool. Bell disagreed on forward commission rates allowed to Simonds and Morrison at annual January accountings and disputed freight bills and warehouse charges at various ports, e.g., St.

Louis and Liverpool. They argued over differences in exchange rates of English pound sterling and the dollar; disputed various discounts and interest financing at calendar intervals, and questioned errors and credits on the balance sheets. Collier and Morrison, through their bookkeeper, Alfred Chadwick – who specialized in shipments to foreign ports -- had advanced expenses to Col. Bell. And, in this case, an accounting on a shipment aboard their steamboat *Oregon* totaled nearly \$36,000 [\$893,000], including a couple of thousand dollars in interest. Arbitration concluded that Simonds and Morrison should pay nearly \$700 [\$18,000] to Bell to adjust the account.

Bell wanted more, so he appealed to the Supreme Court. Testimony recalled conversations in the Collier and Morrison counting room among Bell and others, and the court heard testimony from New Orleans concerning Chadwick's character and professionalism -- Chadwick lived in the Collier and Morrison warehouse and Bell alleged corruption among his business partners, Simonds and Morrison, and the local arbitration committee. Lawyers examined the ledger and books of Simonds and Morrison and argued over entries that Bell only saw long after the delivery in England. Legal deliberations finally upheld the original \$700 award to Bell.

The uncertainties of trade on the western rivers, let alone the Atlantic, kept even the successful merchants in episodic litigation. Court cases occasionally reveal Collier partnerships other than those with his kinsmen. When a large Mississippi River steamer, also named the *Oregon*, sank near Ste. Genevieve in June 1841 on its way to New Orleans, a plaintiff sued its owners, George Collier and his associates Bernard Pratte, Sullivan Blood, and Charles Mullikin, all veteran wholesale grocers and river men.

Later, in 1846, Capt. William D. Swinney, George Collier, and William M. Morrison co-owned the steamer *Wapello* to regularly ship merchandise and hogsheads of tobacco from Swinney's warehouse in Glasgow to St. Louis. But, the 248-ton *Wapello* proved to be too heavy in low water. The co-owners disagreed over a contract for seasonal shipping of hogsheads from Glasgow to St. Louis from May to September, 1846. Captain and master of the boat, Nathaniel J. Eaton, Collier, and Swinney, all argued with each other to the Supreme Court in 1850. Swinney was on the hook for his contract with English tobacco dealer, John Stewart Oxley and Company, who had warehouses in Liverpool and London. The court ruled that "it was his [Collier's] own folly not to have made an exception" for an act of God and should have had a clause in his contract about low water; thus, as other common carriers on the Missouri River, he could have used different boats to transport all

Taking tobacco on boats to New Orleans was one endeavor, but engaging the Atlantic trade with hogsheads of tobacco from Glasgow to Liverpool, England, introduced new challenges to solve and a lengthy, unpredictable calendar in which to do it.

of the 351 hogsheads. The extra shipping charges were Collier's. This case, however, did not destroy the growing mutual respect that W. D. Swinney developed for Collier's partner, William M. Morrison.

Family papers report that William M. Morrison was fond of travel. He frequented Eastern resorts and visited his relatives who lived in southeast Pennsylvania. In 1852, he took a "Grand Tour" of Europe with

his favorite niece, Mary Collier, right after her father George Collier died in July. Mary's two half-brothers, Dwight and William, came too, as they were headed to European academies. Morrison's personal friend and local philanthropist, Wayman Crow, and his daughter, Cornelia, accompanied them. William wrote letters home to Mrs. Sarah Ann Collier that described "this delightful trip." William spoke French in France, but relied on their hired courier in Germany and Italy for translations, monetary exchanges, and tickets for trains and stage coaches. At the end of the trip the Collier boys bolted from school and joined their uncle William at Liverpool for the trip home – the boys refused to stay in Europe. Morrison surely visited the John Oxley & Company tobacco concern in Liverpool, his and Collier's long-standing export ally. The group sailed home and William returned to the Collier household.

We don't know much about the particulars of Capt. W. D. Swinney and William M. Morrison's business relationship, only that they traded for years. However, the marriage of forty-year-old William M. Morrison to twenty-one-year-old Sarah Catherine "Kate" Swinney [1832-61] in 1854 evokes a solid business alliance between Swinney and Morrison. Morrison's 1865-69 probate case and Swinney family papers indicate strong familial and commercial ties. A Swinney Tobacco Book, February 1857—July 1864, recorded dozens of shipments, primarily to William M. Morrison and R. J. Lackland, from Glasgow, picking up additional hogsheads at Boonville and Rocheport. Shipments at Glasgow traveled downriver on such well known boats as *Robert Campbell, Jr.*, *Kate Howard*, *John D. Perry*, *William H. Russell*, *David Tatum*, *War Eagle*, *White Cloud*, and more to dock in St. Louis with Swinney's Booneslick tobacco.

The wedding took place at Swinney's *Sylvan Villa* plantation, three miles east of Glasgow, on August 5, 1854. The Virginia Swinneys, who co-founded Glasgow and its commercial wharf, lived in a conspicuous row of tobacco exporters with factories located on a "tobacco road" from Glasgow to Huntsville. The Swinney livestock and tobacco won prizes at county fairs in the Booneslick. William Morrison hired a St. Louis caterer who spent a week at the Swinneys preparing "delicacies for the banquet." The bride's mother, Lucy Ann Swinney (1806-73), later shared with a teen-age Berenice Morrison, details of how nothing was spared for the event.

The St. Louis caterer, the Swinney's head cook, slave "Aunt Millie," and additional blacks "white-clad figures who waved beautiful peacock fans," waited on the attendees. Guests amused themselves with decorations and in "spun candy, fancy jellies, pyr-

amids of marvelous creams and every kind of cake. There were big freezers of ice cream and sherbet to top off.” Berenice continued her grandmother’s reminiscence that there were “substantial viands suitable for a feast, such as fried chicken with green peas right out of the garden, buffalo tongue in aspic and juicy home-cured hams, little roast suckling pigs, delicious hot breads, light rolls, and biscuits that Aunt Millie served to perfection. For drinks, there was Scuppernong wine [a dry, red muscatine wine] and frosted glasses on mint julep for grown-ups and lemonade for the young.” The bride Kate wore lace flounces and veil that Berenice Morrison later wore at her own wedding, as did Berenice’s daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Morrison took a steamboat back to St. Louis.

Earlier, the Benjamin W. Lewis and William D. Swinney tobacco factory had burned in September 1850. They ended their partnership, preferring to develop their own family industries, as shipping on the Missouri River was easier than ever and both could

remained the single largest group of exporters.

Growers clamored for better overland roads. A climax for improved overland transport became a new artery through the heart of the tobacco plantations – the route became an export spine of the region, the Glasgow to Huntsville Plank Road, incorporated in February 1851. Its length was twenty-six miles with three-inch oak planks set on a sill. The road had toll gates and keepers every five miles; the keeper position included the legal option to sell “cigars, tobacco, ginger cakes, and cider,” not an inconsequential revenue. A daily stage, freight wagons, and private vehicles traveled on it every day. Regular maintenance stopped during the Civil War, and local jurisdictions removed the planks in 1877.

The Glasgow-based merchants mimicked diversification of their counterparts in St. Louis. During the salad days of 1850s steamboat transportation, the Bartholow, Barton, Cockerill, Dunnic, Harrison, Hutchinson, Lewis, (Sydney) Shackelford, Swinney, Tatum, and others were co-investors in various personal and property insurance companies. These long-distance shippers established insurance ties in Glasgow, St. Louis, Hartford, Connecticut, and New York. They hired local attorney Thomas Shackelford, trained by Whig lawyer, Abiel Leonard, to keep the accounts of their far-flung investments. Shackelford’s sharp pencil and legal expertise would later make him a confidant in the post-war, family business of James Oswald Swinney and Berenice Morrison.

Traders Collier, Lackland, Chadwick, and Morrison all became good friends in St. Louis (in 1849, Lackland named his new-borne son, Morrison Lackland). Collier had recognized Lackland’s skill as a clerk on steamboats in the 1830s, and brought him deep into the Collier and Morrison Company, until 1847, when Lackland merged with William M. Morrison and Company in the wholesale grocery and commission business. At this time of Morrison’s prominence, he married

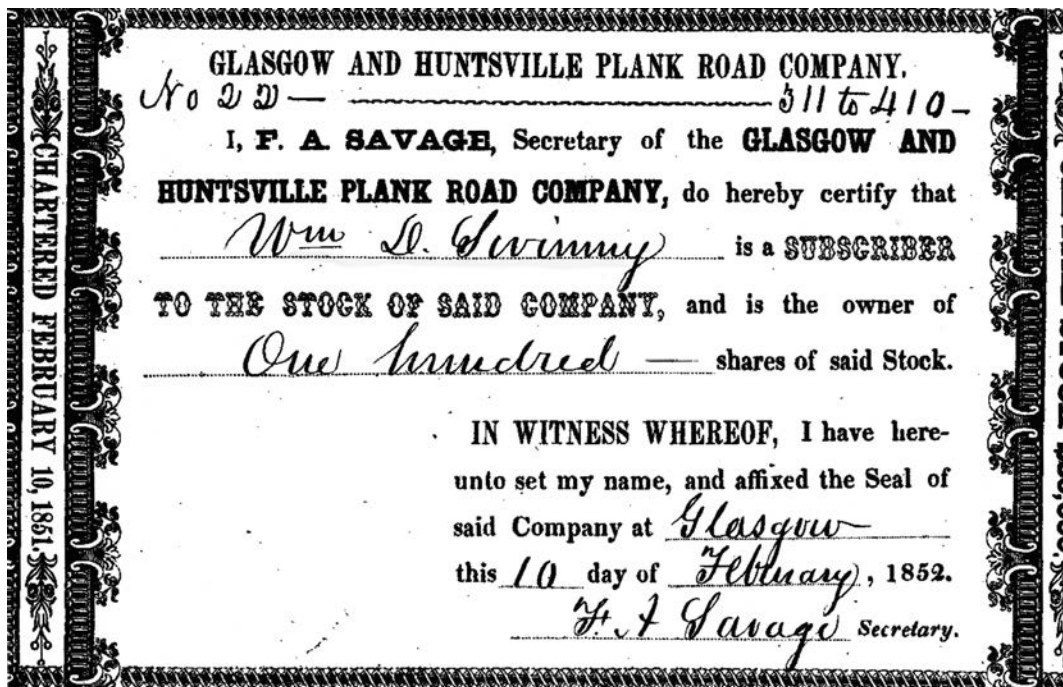
Mary Augusta Bissell. Marital bliss was very short-lived. Mary died in December 1848, well before her twenty-second birthday. Widower Morrison continued growing his business until Collier died in 1852. The merchant mentor and Mrs. Morrison were gone. In the aftermath of emotional challenges, Morrison and Lackland soared to commercial heights during the Golden Age of steamboat shipping in the 1850s.

Was Morrison financially involved with Capt. W. D. Swinney in the most famous tale about Swinney’s life on the Missouri River? We’ll probably never know for sure. Two years prior to the 1854 William Morrison-Kate Swinney marriage in Glasgow, Capt. William D. Swinney and partners commissioned the 328-ton *Kate Swinney* steamboat in Jeffersonville, Indiana, a side-wheeler, named for his daughter, and built “expressly for the packet trade between Glasgow and St. Louis.” In November 1852, the *Kate*



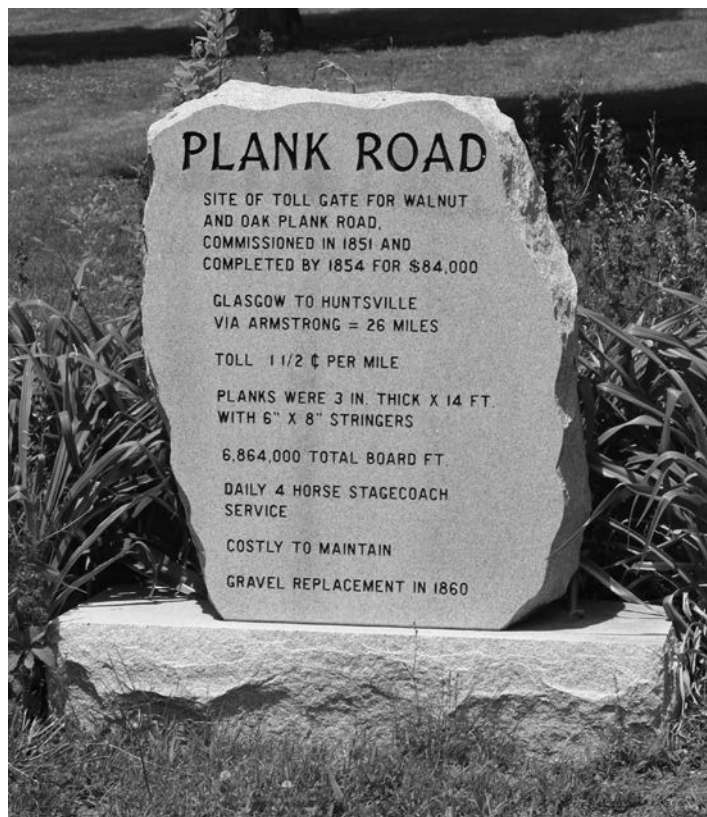
Capt. W. D. Swinney’s Glasgow residence, Sylvan Villa, built about 1845. Image courtesy of Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS)

afford investments in steamboats. By 1851, fully one-third of Missouri’s tobacco crop rolled across the docks at Glasgow. Tobacco leaf shipped in 1,200-1,500 pound hogsheads and manufactured tobacco – ready to use – was packed in boxes; for the latter item, in 1847-1851, Glasgow’s port shipped over one-half of all manufactured in Missouri. It’s likely that the Collier-Morrison boats left Glasgow with hundreds of hogsheads especially since the Morrison-allied shipping was part of Glasgow’s commercial origin and that Collier commissioned several of his steamboats explicitly for the Missouri River trade. Historian Douglas Hurt pointed out that tobacco, unlike corn and wheat, could be stored in warehouses for future shipping, a detail that helped make it the largest dollar export on the Missouri River. By 1850, Missouri planters sold the majority of their tobacco to St. Louisans, instead of taking risks to market it themselves to New Orleans. Howard County growers



Swinney pilot met Oswald Swinney and his new bride, Maria, in St. Louis and brought them to Glasgow to begin their married life. Capt. Swinney, however, decided to send the boat farther upriver. In 1853, the *Kate Swinney* transported immigrant passengers headed for Kansas, and unloaded them at St. Joseph; others had purchased tickets and left the river at Kansas City. Still more came from the New England Emigrant Aid Society to promote a Free Kansas and paid Capt. Swinney for passage. Obviously, the experienced Swinney saw opportunities above Glasgow.

Then, in 1854, Swinney contracted with the American Fur Company to bring buffalo hides from Ft. Pierre down the



Upper document is W. D. Swinney stock certificate for the Glasgow to Huntsville plank road, which ran through Armstrong and was completed in 1854 at a cost of \$84,000. Photo below is of plank road monument in Glasgow. Built of oak planks, 3 inches thick and 14 feet wide, it was used by stagecoaches and tobacco growers and other farmers to bring their agricultural goods to Glasgow, where steamboats carried them to markets downstream to St. Louis. Stock certificate [Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]. Monument photo by Don Cullimore.

Missouri River to St. Louis. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was co-owner of the boat during the year that Morrison married Kate Swinney. A successful season led to planning for the next in 1855, a trip to Ft. Union, 1,800 miles from St. Louis, a voyage destined to become legendary.

Pierre Chouteau, Jr., sold his Ft. Pierre, located in Nebraska Territory, to the U.S. government. The army needed to transport troops, horses, and ordinance to take possession of the property, but had only two steamboats available to make the trip. So, the army contracted with four more for the Ft. Union load that included the *Kate Swinney*, and the *Arabia*, now in a Kansas City museum, and scheduled six loads to steam from St. Louis to Ft. Pierre. Named the "Sioux Expedition," the costly flotilla headed west in the spring, each boat with a carefully measured one-sixth of the cargo, 112 soldiers, 90 horses, and Kansas immigrants and their luggage.

Weeks later, the *Kate Swinney* completed its voyage, off-loaded its cargo for transport to Ft. Union, and headed home empty. At a bend in the Missouri River, near the mouth of Vermillion River, nine miles south of Ft. Pierre, and more than 850 miles from the mouth of the Missouri River, the boat and Capt. Swinney hit a snag along the modern South Dakota shore on August 1, 1855. The *Kate Swinney* sank and today its remains lay hidden. But, the Kate Sweeney Bend (mis-spelled from Swinney) on Missouri River memorializes the accident-prone stretch of the river. Contemporary accounts reported a total loss of \$25,000 [\$642,000], one-half insured. Miraculously, Capt. Swinney, officers, and women on board retrieved a yawl – a small lifeboat – and survived a harrowing float to Sioux City, Iowa. The *Kate Swinney* crew decided to go overland and were never heard from again. A flood in 1881 exposed a dozen skeletons in what observers believed to be their remains, slain by Indians.

Collier's Departure

George Collier died in July 1852 at age fifty-six. Thomas

Scharf wrote that his estate was worth \$1,200,000 [\$35,500,000]. His will established a trust for his wife and children, as well as granting legacies to numerous kith and kin and one year's salary to three employees; its administration by the court continued for fifteen years until after the Civil War. He established a \$50,000 [\$1,438,000] trust for his daughter Mary, and appointed her uncle William M. Morrison to manage it. He gave another \$50,000 legacy to his son, George, with the advice that William M. Morrison be consulted for its "investment, management, and control." And, for his four children under their majority age, he bequeathed the same amount, as long as "they become worthy." A few years later, Collier's four sons donated \$25,000 [\$719,000] in his name for an endowed chair of Greek Language at Washington University. Collier directed \$2,500 [\$72,000] for his burial "without pomp or ostentation" and a monument at Bellefontaine Cemetery.

Collier's probate assets demonstrated financial business with his Morrison kin. He had nearly \$21,000 [\$604,000] with William M. Morrison and Company; a little less with Francis Yosti in St. Charles, much less with William Pettus, and some \$57,000 [\$1,639,000] with Henry Blow and the Collier White Lead Company. Perhaps it is ironic that among his vast real estate empire that Collier was a leading town lot speculator in Jackson County at the town of Sibley, located near old Ft. Osage, a regular destination for one of his father-in-law's many trading ventures. In St. Louis, Collier's annual accounts receivable on downtown rents that included obligations of William M. Morrison and William G. Pettus required active management, maintenance, and payment of taxes. William M. Morrison took control of the prime warehouse location and docking station on the levee that he and Collier occupied to become wealthy.

William M. Morrison: New Family Leader

During the rebuilding of St. Louis after the 1849 fire, William took on an ever-increasing public profile. Just as the old riverfront rebuilt in brick to become entirely commercial, Morrison assumed high-profile roles in the city's business. St. Louisans in the Chamber of Commerce elected Morrison as president in 1851 and 1852. The widower married Kate Swinney in 1854 and set up house-keeping at 3rd and Walnut in "a chic neighborhood" just southwest of the Old Cathedral. In this house, William and Kate had their only child, Berenice Morrison, on November 1, 1856. Berenice did not have any memories of the house, but William planned a great city estate for his young family, a place that Berenice always remembered.

James Lucas announced St. Louis's first exclusive street, Lucas Place, in 1851, a fashionable enclave for urban elites. There were barely two dozen original families who built there, including Morrison's 1859 estate on a large corner lot at 17th Street, a masonry, Italianate mansion, constructed the year after George Collier's widow, Sarah, built hers at the opposite end of the block on an equally large corner lot at 16th Street. Neighbors included those that Morrison did business with such as Rufus J. Lackland, who lived just across the street, and his kinsman and business attorney, Henry Hitchcock, a block east. Others like Taylor Blow, Trusten Polk, Robert Campbell, and Thomas Allen were all commercial associates of Morrison. Berenice Morrison remembered

years later that her father received letters of recommendation at his house brought by visiting cultural notables in St. Louis.

William's commission and forwarding business in 1854 was one of eight doing business in St. Louis. Owner and investor in downtown properties, he took an active role in a six-member committee in the "Rapids Convention," an ongoing discussion among western shippers, to "collect statistical and reliable information in regard to Commerce, Navigation, etc., of the Mississippi River above St. Louis." The convention's goal, of course, was to achieve improvements to river navigation and expansion of markets.

Morrison played a conspicuous role in St. Louis's built environment of the 1850s. The famed "Ten Buildings" commercial block on 4th Street was created by only two of the city's leading families, the Lucas-Hunts and Morrison-Colliers. Walter Stevens claimed they were "the most notable triumph of business architecture in St. Louis." In 1855, when incorporators created the new Belchers' Sugar Refining Company, William Morrison and partner R. J. Lackland, were founding investors. William maintained institutional banking affiliations as a director of the Mutual Savings Institution, and, in 1857, became one of thirteen directors in the new Merchants' National Bank and an incorporator in the City Bank of St. Louis. In July 1859, William and his associates inaugurated the city's first street car line, the Missouri Railroad Company. Horses pulled the cars along the tracks that ran east to west on Olive and Market Streets. Morrison, like many entrepreneurs during the 1850s, built an ever-diversifying portfolio.

The 1860 census confirmed the commercial success of wholesale grocer William M. Morrison. At age forty-eight, the record indicated he had \$260,000 [\$6,924,000] real property and \$180,000 [\$4,793,000] in personal. The combined \$440,000 [\$11,717,000] made him one of St. Louis's economic elites; the monetary worth of his father-in-law, Capt. W. D. Swinney, was even greater at a combined \$560,000 [\$14,912,000]. In September 1861, however, Capt. Swinney sent dozens of his eighty-six slaves to his cousin, William H. Swinney, in Texas, diminishing his financial estate. When the captain's physical condition worsened during 1863, he deposited a final \$2,500 in gold with Boatmen's Bank, where he had the majority of his negotiable fortune deposited. Sources at his death still estimated his estate at a handsome \$400,000 [\$10,652,000]. William Morrison's house was home to three Irish servants, one a carriage driver. His and partner R. J. Lackland's commercial warehouses were on N. Commercial and N. Levee near



Berenice Morrison as young girl. [Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]

the river. Morrison, and fellow St. Louis businessmen, such as, Henry Blow, Robert Campbell, Joseph Charless, William Christy, Thornton Grimsley, James Yeatman, and others, took keen interest in their branch bank facility at Brunswick, above Glasgow, and monitored their brisk trade with upriver Missouri businessmen.

One of the decade's high profile steamboats was the *William M. Morrison*. Southern historians, John Hope Franklin and Loren Schwe-niger, claimed that it was truly a luxury steamboat, a veritable "floating palace" on the Mississippi River. Morrison teamed up with Capt. John N. Bofinger, in 1857, to build and manage the 1,000-ton vessel; Bofinger became the river's most famous and wealthy pilot after the Civil War. In spring 1861, in the face of wartime, it was the last boat to leave St. Louis for New Orleans. Detained at Memphis, it was later sent to the Crescent City. When Unionist David Farragut's fleet invaded New Orleans in April 1862, the Confederates burned the ostentatious steamer.

Strangely, the *William M. Morrison* plays a role in contemporary debate among literary and steamboat enthusiasts who are concerned with the specific career assignments of Samuel Clemens. Scholars place the cub pilot on the R. J. Lackland steamer, named for Morrison's partner, in summer 1857. Some researchers, in the face of cloudy evidence, are less sanguine about Clemens working on the *William M. Morrison* during fall 1857--winter 1858. One wonders if they know that Lackland and Morrison were long-time partners and may have made contemporary shipping assignments on their namesake boats. What seems certain is that young Clemens worked on at least fourteen steamers in the Lower Mississippi River, but debate continues about five, including the *William M. Morrison*.

Family papers relate that Kate Morrison suffered ill health throughout her short married life and that William took her traveling "for her health." When Kate's pregnancy matured, Lucy Ann Swinney took a steamer to St. Louis for the arrival of her grandchild, Berenice. The Morrises, sometimes just Kate and Berenice, boated to Glasgow for extensive stays at Sylvan Villa and Hazel Ridge; the latter was home to Rev. Oswald and Maria Swinney. Maria's daughter Anne (1855-76) was born the previous January and the two first cousins became like sisters. The Swinneys had Berenice baptized in the parlor at the homestead Sylvan Villa. A homesick Kate, and daughter Berenice, spent most of the 1857 summer there and, in the fall, in the northeast with husband William Morrison. Maria Swinney jealously commented that Kate "has a grown woman to nurse Berenice so that she can do that easier than if she just had a little trifling darkie as I have."

Kate Swinney Morrison's family in Glasgow were well-traveled on the nation's steamboats and railroads. They particularly

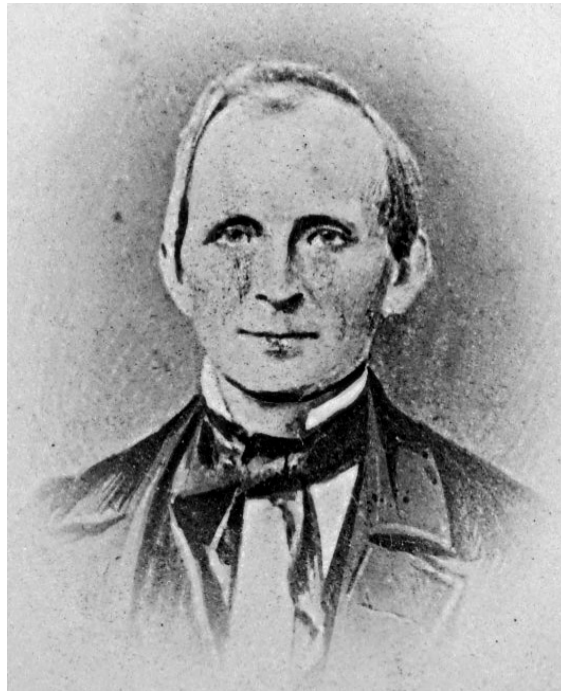
liked Philadelphia, where stays sometimes amounted to weeks when Kate, as a young girl, attended school there. Capt. W. D. and Lucy Ann purchased clothes and hired stylish dressmakers not available in St. Louis, wrote Berenice Morrison. W. D. and Lucy Ann joined William, Kate, and Berenice for trips to White Sulphur and Sweet Springs, Virginia, Saratoga Springs, New York, for horse races, and all enjoyed the cool Atlantic Ocean at Cape May and Newport. To see urban America, they resided in upscale New York and Boston hotels.

In summer 1858, William Morrison, Kate, Berenice, William D. and Lucy Ann Swinney traveled East. Berenice penned that from her earliest childhood, "I was familiar with Niagara Falls," where her family "lingered for weeks." During hot Septembers in St. Louis, she accompanied her parents to Lenox, Massachusetts, and the Berkshires. Cousin Mary Collier married Henry Hitchcock in 1857, and they accompanied the Morrises to western Massachusetts. Mary "guided my childish fingers in the intricacies of needle point and told me fairy tales" during the vacation. In St. Louis, the Morrison family looked forward to attending the annual St. Louis Fairs.

Hydrotherapy, or the "water cure," became fashionable in the 1850s. Kate Morrison tried it in fall 1860. She sought relief for her pain and received a broad range of therapeutic treatments

"to stimulate her blood" hoping to fortify herself against sickness. But, Kate worsened over the winter. Lucy Ann, accompanied by Oswald, went to Lucas Place to be with her sickly daughter. Doctors concluded that she would not survive her ailments, so the family made plans to take her to Howard County. The Swinneys fixed up a room at Sylvan Villa. When Kate arrived by boat she was "in a stupor and had to be carried on a lounge." In her late twenties, she recognized the adults, but "could not tell the children [Anne and her brother Billy] apart." After Kate's funeral in June 1861, William Morrison hired a local lady to accompany him and his child Berenice back to Lucas Place.

Capt. W. D. Swinney, in 1853, purchased the Capt. John T. Cleveland's mansion, farm, slave cabins, and household articles. The Swinneys named the place Hazel Ridge Farm. This purchase located Swinney's tobacco operation at the junction of roads that led west into Glasgow, northeast to Roanoke and Huntsville, and south to Fayette. The southern extension was Cleveland Road that became Cleveland Avenue that entered Fayette on the north. W. D. gave son Oswald shares in his property as part of the captain's estate, including the *Kate Swinney* steamer, seven slaves, and he moved Oswald and Maria to Hazel Ridge Farm. Oswald reminisced in 1897 that "the farms and the factories made negro slavery profitable, and their number increased rapidly." In October



Capt. W. D. Swinney, circa 1850s. [Scarritt-Royster-Swinney Family Papers Collection, SHSMO-KC]

1862, in failing health, Capt. Swinney deeded Hazel Ridge to William M. Morrison in a trust for his granddaughter Berenice. Morrison made agricultural agreements with members of the Swinney family to cultivate the premium agricultural property. W. D. had another quality farm known as the John Estill place that was closer to Glasgow. He moved Oswald and Maria there, much to Maria's dissatisfaction with the smaller house. However, nothing prepared the family for the death of Kate Swinney in June 1861, a trauma that overwhelmed the entire family.

Remembering the time after her mother's death, Berenice wrote that her father kept her with him as much as possible. She roamed the Morrison warehouse at the wharf and marveled at the dozens of docked steamboats. William purchased a pony for her that she named Hummingbird, taught Berenice how to ride side saddle, bought a "green habit and black patent leather boots," and father and daughter galloped around the countryside west of St. Louis. Berenice did have supervision at Lucas Place, her father could not take her everywhere. A domestic servant always had charge of her, but grandmother Lucy Ann came for visits, as did other Morrison relatives.

In 1864, St. Louis promoters convened the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair with William serving on the Central Finance Committee. The Fair, held downtown, advertised modern "exhibits, patriotic speeches, and mountains of donated merchandise for sale" to aid wartime charitable organizations for African Americans, soldiers, and to provide medical aid. Still the businessman, and in the height of his career, Morrison and his fellow incorporators created the Provident Savings Institution in 1864. He continued the family connection in business with Henry Hitchcock (1829-1902) becoming Morrison's banking partner, a man who married George Collier's daughter Mary, and was a founder and professor at the Washington University law school, judge, and ultimately another St. Louis financier. Morrison and Hitchcock were both staunch Unionists. When Morrison retired from active merchandising in 1861 to attend to his wife, Lackland continued their flourishing business; eventually it became R. J. Lackland and Sons. The nation's continuing lethal conflict between the North and South, however, created dire circumstances for William's relatives in Howard County.

On August 1, 1864, William and Berenice became part of a family and business association exodus to Brooklyn, New York.

Kinsman, James Lorenzo Morgan said it best, "We decided to refugee to N.Y." The disintegrating social setting due to threats from Confederate bushwhackers in Howard County made families anxious. W. D. Swinney had invited kinsman, Lorenzo Morgan, in Campbell County, Virginia, to join the family's tobacco business in 1859 which he did. W. D. died in June 1863 and Morgan went to Brooklyn to consult with commercial contacts the Missourians knew only from a distance. In Glasgow, the Morgan and McNair Company continued as brokers for Swinney tobacco. Other tobacco merchants had Brooklyn-New York area associates, too, as Southerners from many places congregated in the city.

Oswald and Maria boarded a steamer to meet the Morrisons in St. Louis. The Morrisons and Swinneys took the unwelcome opportunity to visit Niagara Falls and the Hudson Valley before settling in Brooklyn. Oswald, Maria, and Lucy Ann Swinney acquired a house and the Morgans joined them. Oswald invested in local real estate, too, and spent time preaching Methodism in the city. Other families near Glasgow trailed into the neighborhood. They included Rector and Sallie Barton, Gen. Edwin W. Price, Charley McNair (Morgan's tobacco partner in Glasgow), William Spear (Swinney's tobacco partner in Fayette & St. Louis), Brown, Butler and Jones families, and Weston Birch. Birch, Spear, and Morgan worked in New York as brokers for some time after the

war. Morgan, in October 1864, wrote that there were "very many Mo. Men, all trading a little in tobacco," and riding the Brooklyn street cars into New York. Swinney and Morrison discussed their own financial relationship, as they were executors for W. D. Swinney's large probate estate; the Union military allowed production of Swinney tobacco to continue shipping to St. Louis. In December 1864, Morrison, as trustee for Berenice, signed a receipt in Brooklyn for over \$33,000 [\$505,000], over one-half in gold in England, and the rest in

the United States. Other revenues came, too. Before leaving New York, Morrison received \$360.00 annual rent for one of Berenice's Booneslick farms. Berenice would be a Booneslick landlord for a half-century.

Back in Missouri, where Oswald and William both had relatives and assets to manage, kinsman Bowling W. Swinney (1832-86) oversaw the family's tobacco business at Hazel Ridge Farm. Capt. Swinney's younger cousin, James E. Swinney (1818-68), a two-decade Swinney plantation overseer and former steamboat



Historic tobacco barn, one of several still standing in the Boonslick Region. This barn is located in Southwest Boone County. A new metal roof was added at one point, but the barn is no longer used for curing tobacco leaves.

Photo by James M. Denny.

agent in Glasgow, sold his large tobacco plantation in Saline County and returned to Howard County when Capt. Swinney died in 1863. Amidst the wartime uncertainties, two of Oswald Swinney's male slaves enrolled in the Union Army. Oswald and William, temporary Brooklyn residents, must have discussed what the future held for them in post-war Missouri.

Unfortunately, Morrison took ill during the Brooklyn winter and his declining health required a doctor, one formerly from Boonville, Missouri, to minister unto him for three months. Morrison and Berenice lived with the Swinneys during that dire time. Once back in St. Louis, William's illness persisted, and he planned for his passing. He sold the expensive Lucas Place estate and rented former brother-in-law, Richard J. Lockwood's (1808-70) town house, between 6th and 7th Streets; the Lockwoods moved to their summer house at Old Orchard, the future Webster Groves. Nearby on Locust Street lived William's sister, Caroline Pettus with husband William, who helped care for Berenice. Dr. George Englemann, and others, attended to him, while family and business associates came "almost every day" to visit. Berenice spent the days with her cousins and family friends. William's sisters in St. Charles and the St. Louis Pettuses were Catholics.

On June 22, 1865, William signed a probate document designating Lucy Ann Swinney as guardian for Berenice; grandmother Swinney intended to raise her granddaughter as a Protestant, much to the distress of William's older sister, Caroline Pettus, who wanted to keep Berenice in St. Louis and raise her as a Catholic. In July 1865, a hearse and twenty carriages comprised William's funeral procession to Bellefontaine Cemetery, where the estate administration erected a monument and scattered five barrels of decorative shells on the gravesite.

William M. Morrison's Departure

Contemporaries said William died of dropsy in 1865, probably a congestive heart failure. He left legacies for a dozen of his relatives, although Berenice was the primary heir. His co-executors, James O. Swinney and R. J. Lackland, administered the estate obligations that took four years to liquidate. Lackland became long-time guardian and agent of Berenice's financial assets and administered W. D. Swinney properties left to her. William, like his mentor, George Collier, died at the height of his professional life. He had investments in the Pacific and North Missouri railroads, the St. Charles Ferry Company, a telegraph company, several insurance companies, Boatmen's Bank, and the Lindell and Southern Hotels; he had only recently invested in the Southern. He owned and managed commercial and speculative real estate, having acquired several parcels during the Civil War. William gave one-third each of his real estate holdings to his daughter Ber-

enice, and sisters, Caroline Pettus and Emily Yosti. William held a special affection for his late sister, Berenice Morrison Lockwood, the namesake for his own daughter, and left \$25,000 [\$391,000] to her son, William Morrison Lockwood, named for him.

Close friend, R. J. Lackland, dutifully executed Morrison's last wishes. Morrison's city taxes exceeded \$2,000 [\$31,300]

annually and administration of his real estate required attention. He personally rode the trains, traveled by hacks, hired horses to ride, stayed in hotels, and disposed of Morrison's land in several counties, including St. Louis, St. Charles, Audrain, Caldwell, Cooper, Linn, and Macon counties, paying taxes on them in the county seats. He had one-half interest in the Hazel Ridge Farm production, where Bowling and Maria L. Swinney lived. Berenice's co-executor, Oswald, sold Hazel Ridge to



Historic Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis is the burial place for Berenice Morrison-Fuller and other family members. Photo by Don Cullimore

Samuel Steinmetz in November 1865 for \$15,800 [\$247,000], but Steinmetz rented it to the Bowling Swinneys for a while until they moved to Saline County. The sale of Hazel Ridge triggered legal questions by Oswald's attorney, Thomas Shackelford. Berenice inherited Hazel Ridge from W. D. Swinney through William Morrison, as trustee, with no successor to William should he die. Alfred Chadwick, the deceased William's financial executor for Berenice in St. Louis who was Morrison and Lackland's partner, petitioned the Howard County circuit court for a trust successor for eleven-year-old Berenice. The petition sought and the court approved Oswald. Thus, Oswald did not acquire legal authority to transfer an un-encumbered deed to Steinmetz until June 1868. Legal questions concerning Berenice Morrison's resources would continue for decades.

The ultimate property sales by Morrison's executors makes it impossible to judge his wealth, but liquid negotiables of cash, notes and bonds at his death totaled \$216,000 [\$3,377,000] without complete valuations of his extensive real estate. Whatever his resources, William M. Morrison made Boatmen's Bank executive, R. J. Lackland, the financial manager of his estate, and his mother-in-law, Lucy Ann Swinney, widowed and living at Sylvan Villa, Berenice's guardian in summer 1865.

END NOTES

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

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

Coming in the Fall issue, Morrison essay Part II – Oswald and Berenice: Berenice Morrison's Education & Oswald's Visions

Tribute to George Billings Harrison, published in the *Glasgow Missourian*, Oct. 12, 1911
Prominent Citizen and Businessman Who Built the Harrison House in 1872

GEORGE BILLINGS HARRISON, son of John and Pemala Harr Harrison, was born on the Harrison farm, three miles east of Glasgow, February 16, 1844, and died at his residence in Glasgow October 5, 1911, in his 68th year. He was of the second generation of Harrisons connected with Glasgow. The first generation, large in physique, strong in character, successful in affairs, were James, who went to St. Louis, William, who went to Texas, Joseph, who died in his early prime, and John, father of the subject of this sketch. George was the ninth of ten children, six of whom grew to maturity. He attended school at Elm Ridge Academy and a private school in Glasgow under the care of Prof. Wm. T. Davis. He entered Central College at Fayette in 1860. The Civil War in 1861, closing the college, brought his education in school at an end. His father and Uncle James, being interested in the iron business at Iron Mountain, he went to Irondale, Mo. to assist his brother, John, in the development of the industry. Here he passed three years surrounded by scenes of constant danger and turbulence, in which he was often in great personal danger. His reminiscent accounts of those times and events, told in his inimitable way, were most interesting. Upon his return from Irondale, he spent one year in Huntsville in the mercantile business. He was married on November 16, 1865 to Miss Louan Birch, daughter of Thos. E. Birch, of Glasgow. The very next day he entered the banking house of Birch, Earickson & Co., with which business and institution even in its successor, he was actively connected to the very day of his death. He entered the bank without experience in a clerical capacity. He concluded his business life as president of the same institution, changed only in name and form.

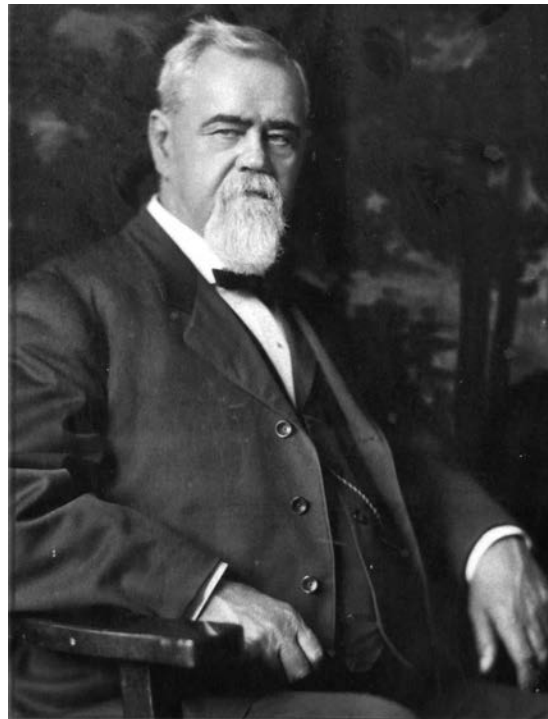
Mr. Harrison first built for a home the residence now occupied by Wm. A. Meyer. He sold this about 1870 and built the residence which he occupied with his family until his death. Five children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, two of whom died in infancy, Thomas E. and Eliza Birch. There survive him two sons, John M., of Haverhill, Mass., and George B., Jr., of Kansas City, and one daughter, Olive, of Glasgow, also two grandchildren, E. Birch and Ruth, children of Geo. B. Harrison, Jr. Of his brothers and sisters only two remain, John W. Harrison, of St. Louis, and Orrel M. Harrison, of Glasgow.

For some time Mr. Harrison's health had caused his friends much anxiety. Several years ago he came near to the end. Less than a year ago he was sick for some weeks, but rallied to his apparent usual condition of health. Yet he himself realized his danger and arranged all his affairs in anticipation of a possible recurrence of his trouble. From boyhood, subject to an affection of the heart, it

had at last assumed an alarming and rare form of attack. Smitten on the 10th day of September, he gradually grew weaker day by day until he passed away in peace.

Mr. Harrison united with the M. E. Church South in his youth, often disclaiming spirituality of life and humorously saying that he paid more for what religion he had than any man in the county, yet his kindness to his pastor, his regular attendance at church and his spotless life make wholly unnecessary any effort to explain the native modesty of his religious life.

It is difficult worthily to portray a man of such marked characteristics as those of Mr. Harrison. He was a good business man; he was successful in amassing large means; he was a man of kind and generous heart, one who took pleasure in helping others to larger opportunities; he was a man of great modesty; he was a most genial, and companionable associate. Others have been all these. But they were united in him in a rare and winning personality. To most people, he is the banker; always at his desk, courteous and kind to all, but clear and firm in his decisions. The Glasgow Savings Bank and Geo. B. Harrison came almost to be one and the same thing. When formed in 1871 from the old firm of Birch, Earickson & Co., he was the assistant cashier, then the cashier, then the president. Others might come and go, but he was there. He grew to love his business, so that a vacation in the modern sense, was no pleasure. Such a devotion to business could result in only one way. The resources of the bank increased until the surplus was twice the amount of the capital, placing it high up in the list of such banks in the whole country. He took pride, as well he might, in this enviable place held by the Glasgow Savings Bank, to which it



George Billings Harrison (1844-1911)
Image courtesy of Jim Denny

had attained largely through his business judgment and skill. To the superficial observer, he might seem only the shrewd and successful money maker. Far otherwise. The mere money getter is cold and selfish. There was no warmer-hearted man, of generous, helpful spirit than Mr. Harrison. He was the young man's friend, furnishing him money for an education if he were worthy; he was the widow's friend, advising her how best to conduct her affairs in times of anxiety or danger; he was the business man's friend, carrying him when in trouble, through the time of threatened disaster; he was always at hand when any interest of Glasgow or of any of its people were in need of encouragement or support. His readiness to help was such, and confidence in him so great, that estate after estate in Howard county, at the earnest request of the family, was administered by him. He was a trustee of Pritchett College from 1877 to 1902, and for 25 years its treasurer. During all this time he cared for its endowment funds without the loss of a single dollar,

making it produce an average of 8 ½ percent; and all this service of great labor and rare wisdom without the desire for compensation. How large the business capacity and how generously used, which could give so much to others and yet be so eminently successful for itself! Here was no mere amasser of wealth.

Mr. Harrison was also a man overflowing with good nature and humor. No one enjoyed a good story better than he, or could tell a story better. Things were never dull in his presence. You may have heard him tell the joke a dozen times, but it was always new. Such a gift may seem to be of little real value, but it is of untold worth both to the possessor and to others. It is the light which brightens the darker places of life; it is the oil which often smooths the rough places. The man is to be pitied who has not some real sense of humor. He is himself the loser in cheerfulness of spirit

and others are great losers in fellowship and enjoyment. Mr. Harrison's gift was a never failing fountain of good cheer, gushing out in refreshment to all.

If anything more were needed to win the esteem and affection of all, it was a modesty and democracy of spirit which despised and slighted no one and saw the good in all. He met everyone, not as one looking down with patronizing air from some height, but as one standing on the same level with them. Therefore, all classes, rich and poor, black and white, freely sought him as friend and helper. His death immediately revealed the breadth of affection for him in the unexpected tribute of all classes. This is his best eulogy and most fully reveals the purity and power of his life. His family can be assured of the sympathy of multitudes whose sense of loss in his death is only less keen than theirs.

Harrison House Site of Boonslick Historical Society July Meeting

Known historically as the George B. and Luan Birch Harrison House, the lovingly refurbished Victorian-era home of Mark and Susan Freese at 1109 Randolph Street in Glasgow was chosen as the location for the July 17 summer meeting of the Boonslick Historical Society.

Small group tours of the featured house were given by the Freeses. For more information about BHS events, contact BHS President Cindy Bowen at 660-273-2374.

The Harrisons built the seven-room house in 1871. Ownership of the house passed to Lloyd and Nancy Herring in 1912. The house was later owned by Ralph and Nanny Mae Maupin, then Richard and Vivian Bentley, and was acquired by the Freeses in 2009.

“The style [of house] would have to be called Italianate, even though it is not what a person typically sees,” notes historian Jim Denny. “This is a Victorian house form in that it breaks free of the classical I house forms with a front block with a hallway flanked by rooms presenting symmetrical 3 or 5 bay facades. Here a front block projects forward flanked by beautiful porches with early Victorian woodwork.”

The house still has the original marble-faced fireplaces and mantles found in many rooms and the hardwood floors.

Denny also notes that George Billings Harrison (1844-1911), the builder, was considered the best banker of his day. “He kept Pritchett College in Glasgow solvent for years with his wise management of the college funds.”

Pritchett College was a small institution that operated in Glasgow from 1866 until 1922. It was founded as Pritchett School Institute and became known as Pritchett College after 1897.

Another bit of interesting history is noted by the Plank Road monument located in front of the Harrison House. By 1850, Missouri planters sold the majority of their tobacco to St. Louisans, instead of taking risks to market it themselves to New Orleans. Howard County growers remained the single largest group of exporters.

The growers clamored for better overland roads to river port communities. This prompted development of a new artery through the heart of the tobacco plantations – the route became an export spine of the region: the Glasgow to Huntsville via Armstrong Plank Road, incorporated in February 1851.

Its length was twenty-six miles with three-inch by fourteen-foot-wide oak planks set on a sill. The road had toll gates and keepers every five miles. A daily stage, freight wagons, and private vehicles traveled on it every day. Regular maintenance stopped during the Civil War, and local jurisdictions removed the planks in 1877.

BHS members enjoy sitting in the shade and visiting while other members tour the George B. Harrison House. Now owned by Mark and Susan Freese, the house was the site of the Society's summer meeting.

Photo by Jim Steele



Boonslick Historical Society

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Nineteenth-century horse-drawn hearse owned by Mark and Susan Freese whose families have operated Friemonth-Freese Funeral Service in Glasgow and Fayette since 1934. Mark restored the carriage, which is brought out for special occasions in the area. Photo by Jim Steele