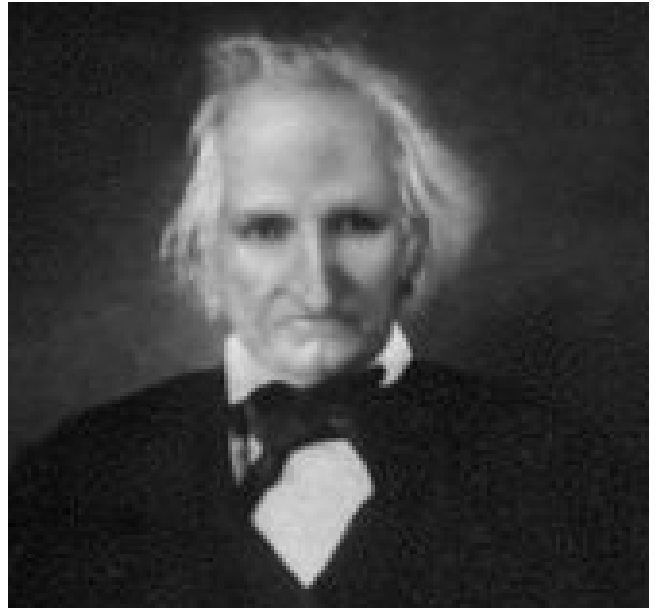


BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY



PROMINENT BOONSLICK PERSONALITIES, L-R clockwise: David Todd, Richard Gentry, Talton Turner and Elias Barcroft.

• FRANKLIN IN THE NEW WEST: PART 4

- BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS

VOL. 23 No. 2 — SEPTEMBER 2024
BOONSLICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY PERIODICAL

Telling The Untold Story of Franklin—Part 4: Franklin Honor

Larger than Life Personalities continued . . .

Time Travel: Imagine that it's dawn on a cool first day of September 200 years ago and you are standing on an island in the middle of the Mississippi River not far from New Madrid. You are a silent witness as two men — one tall and solidly built, menacing, the other only about five feet in height and small-framed and noticeably near-sighted — standing back to back, each with one arm outstretched holding a classic 19th-century flintlock dueling pistol, advance a measured number of paces (generally 20) and turn, aim their pistols toward each other and alternately pull the trigger. It is the second round of the duel. The first bullet misses the diminutive Abiel Leonard but the big man, Major Taylor Berry, staggers backward with the second shot and falls to the ground, a large, 45-50-caliber slug lodged firmly in his chest. He dies three weeks later, his wound injuries complicated by pneumonia.

These subconscious images would have been greatly bolstered the first day of this September had you been standing on the grounds of Oakwood, a stately Federal-style brick house built in Fayette in 1835-36 by Abiel Leonard (1797-1863), a Yankee slaveholder, eminent jurist, and passionate Unionist. Current owner of Oakwood, Dr. Reuben Merideth, a well-known veterinarian and student of Missouri history, was hosting a bicentennial reenactment of the Leonard-Berry Duel. Students studying drama at nearby Central Methodist University were dressed in period clothing and preparing to recreate the historic encounter for a crowd of about 60 guests invited to witness the performance. The Leonard-Berry Duel and the human passions that brought it about are noted in this chapter (page 6) of historian Lynn Morrow's extended essay on Franklin and the Boonslick region in the early 19th century.

The use of firearms to defend one's personal honor, either in organized duels or straight-out murder, was commonplace in the 19th century. In the latter instance, historian Morrow notes the conflict between Maj. Richard Gentry and Henry Carroll, acting Franklin Land Office Register, that resulted in Carroll being gunned down by Gentry after an angry exchange of words when they crossed paths on horseback near Fort Hempstead in Howard County.

Other famous 19th-century pistol duels in Missouri over matters of personal honor between well-known historical personalities were: Thomas Hart Benton and Charles Lucas, Joshua Barton and Thomas C. Rector, Maj. Thomas Biddle and Spencer Pitts, Benjamin Gratz Brown and Thomas C. Reynolds.

All were fought on what became known as "Bloody Island," a small sandbar in the middle of the Mississippi River between the states of Missouri and Illinois. Due to its neutral location, it was technically outside of both states and beyond the jurisdiction of local authorities. This made the island an ideal site as a secluded "field of honor" for dueling.

Thus, matters of honor, slavery, ambitious mercantilism, flatboat merchants, and international trade — the Santa Fe Trail — were defining characteristics of the Missouri Territory, later State, in the 19th century. This rich tale comprises much of Part 4 of Morrow's essay. The after effects are still present in the Show-Me State in the 21st century.

In Memoriam:

Two long-time Boonslick Historical Society members passed away earlier this year.



Classic 19th-century dueling pistols. *Courtesy of Wikimedia*

Dolores Pearl Clark, 87, of Columbia died on May 14 at St. Luke Hospice in Kansas City. Wife of fellow BHS member Bill Clark, she was also a member of the Unitarian-Universalist Church in Columbia. Pastor of the UU church, the Rev. Molly Housh Gordon, noted in a church website posting that Dolores "was a lover of nature and art, a fierce pursuer of justice, and a powerhouse of a woman, Dolores was a force of nature, wrangling her equally strong-willed husband Bill for more than six decades and

wrangling the UUCF Forum group here at the church for more than fifteen years."

Bill Clark, a long-time Missouri journalist, and Dolores had been married nearly 69 years and were both active in many community civic efforts and environmental organizations, especially the Audubon Society.

James K. (Jim) Wallace, 87, of Fayette, died at home August 31. He is survived by his wife of 58 years, Kathryn Young "Taffy" Wallace, also a BHS member. Jim was an Associate Professor Emeritus of French, University of Missouri, and also a long-time member of the Audubon Society.

After retiring from MU, he operated Possum Haw Antiquarian Bookstore on the Courthouse Square in Fayette for many years. He translated (from French) and co-edited with William Least Heat-Moon, *An Osage Journey to Europe, 1827-1830: Three French Accounts* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013). The book presents a remarkable, little-known tale involving six Missouri Territory Osage Indians touring in Europe nearly two centuries ago.

—Don B. Cullimore

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

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

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

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

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BOONE'S LICK HERITAGE QUARTERLY

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- Santa Fe Trading
- Flatboat Meerchants
- Lamme, Bingham & Hardeman

BHS News Briefs 2,27,28

- BHS Fall Meeting & Dinner
- In Memoriam: Jim Wallace & Deloras Clark
- Sculpture of Boonslick Civil Rights Leader C. T. Vivian



NELSON MEMORIAL UNITED METHODIST CHURCH: Located at 407 E Spring St., Boonville, will be the host space for the BHS Fall meeting. *Image courtesy Nelson Memorial UMC*



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

COVER: PROMINENT BOONSLICK PERSONALITIES: David Todd, Richard Gentry, Talton Turner and Elias Barcroft. All of these men began their notable careers in Franklin. *Images courtesy Find a Grave & Wikipedia*

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

Part 4

By Lynn Morrow

Franklin Honor

FRANKLIN RESIDENT, RICHARD GENTRY, A MADISON COUNTY, Kentucky native, was part of a group that included Gen. William Rector, to promote Osage, a new town in June-July 1819 at the confluence of the Osage and Missouri Rivers. Gentry and several St. Louisans advertised the “Osage at the mouth of Osage River for its harbor advantage, publishing that “The Missouri River has but few places capable of harboring a vessel.” Its plan had “a front street on each river.” They scheduled lot sales for June 19, 1819, in St. Louis and at Franklin on July 13th, Gentry harshly criticized Henry Carroll’s land register work during his father Charles Carroll’s absence. He claimed that he heard young Carroll say that he had sold a quarter section of land (160 acres) and then entered the land himself and made \$20 reselling it. Gentry wrote an incensed letter in September 1819 to President James Monroe to complain about shenanigans in Franklin. The same month Gentry, Taylor Berry and David Todd promoted Smithton, named for Gen. T. A. Smith, that later became Columbia.¹

On January 1 and 15, 1820, Gentry and others began selling lots in Franklin for another new town at Nashville, 30 miles downriver from Franklin “laid off on a confirmed Spanish grant” in Boone County. Nashville was Gentry’s fourth town lot speculation in two years. Bernard O’Neill, later state senator in 1822, also complained to President Monroe that Amos Barnes sold his pre-empted land to Henry Carroll and John Welch by “whatever land the register and receiver might adjudge to him by virtue.” It’s unknown if either received an answer, but the register and receiver’s office was first located in the original house that Barnes built until Smith constructed a much superior building for the public’s business, Gentry acquired Henry Carroll’s share in the Barnes pre-emption that lay on the east side of the original town.²

What *Intelligencer* editor Nathaniel Patten didn’t publish in September 1819 is that “Gentry’s letter” was a long, formal List of Petitioners to President Monroe that included dozens of Franklin area residents including newspapermen Nathaniel Patten and Benjamin Holliday Jr. It outlined acting register Henry

Carroll’s activities that irritated observers, They charged Carroll with irresponsible misdeeds in his office including his own purchase and sale of New Madrid certificates and suspicious details regarding the purchase and reputed re-sale of Hannah Cole’s pre-emption acres to speculators. Many thought widow Cole, a plain uneducated woman with a family, was cheated on the value of her claim.³

By February 1820, Franklin folks knew that Gentry and Carroll had become unfriendly. Depositions in a Supreme Court case related that locals witnessed their animosity and Carroll told others that he anticipated an encounter with Gentry and, if attacked, carried a standard pistol and a small one in his pocket for that purpose. After breakfast one morning, Gentry went to Solomon Mordecai’s stables to acquire a horse, Carroll, age 28, walked with a cane, but could ride a horse, and Gentry left the stable

with a stick and said he was going to follow Carroll and “cane him at the risk of his life.” With a “lively gallop” Gentry rode to overtake Henry Carroll on the road north to Ft. Hempstead.⁴

Town residents saw the two men stop and face one another on their horses near the bottomland slue before one crossed a stagnant Sulphur Creek. They saw “something in their hands which shone bright by the reflection of the sun” – brass barreled pistols, Loud conversation followed, but observers could not distinguish the words. Then, Carroll turned

his horse toward town and locals heard an “explosion of powder and saw smoke arise before Gentry.” Gentry turned his horse and calmly rode back to town to report to the sheriff.

Surveyor Talton and his brother Benjamin Turner had watched the episode from the porch of Pemberton Bridges’ house. Talton Turner ran up to the scene where Carroll lay on his back on the ground with his pistol nearby “pan shut, half-cocked” and “blood running out of his mouth and blood about his coat.” Turner mounted Carroll’s horse and rode back into Franklin to inform Henry’s father, Charles Carroll. Charles immediately wrote to Josiah Meigs that “my son Henry in riding out of Tuesday 29th February was deliberately shot on horseback and fell a corpse by Maj. Richard Gentry.”⁵



Col. Richard Gentry, left, speculated in several towns, most notably Columbia, where he became mayor. He was a merchant, made trading trips to Santa Fe from Franklin, state senator, Columbia postmaster, and died fighting Indians in Florida in December 1837. Henry Carroll, right, became the Acting Land Office Register when the Franklin land office opened in November 1818 to handle pre-emption fillings in the Boon’s Lick. Henry served until February 1820 when he was mortally wounded by Richard Gentry during a heated confrontation near Fort Hempstead. Murder charges against Gentry were later dropped when a jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. *Public Domain images courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.*

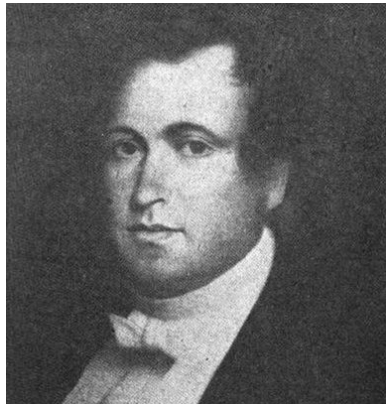
Augustus Storrs, justice of the peace and acting coroner, formed a jury and held an immediate inquest, as Henry Carroll died a couple of minutes after being shot. Authorities arrested Gentry and Judge David Todd charged him with murder, but ruled that Gentry's offense was "a bailable one in the amount of \$5,000." Six men signed a security bond for Gentry to leave jail.⁶

Gentry did not hire a Franklin attorney to represent him. George F. Strother was a College of William and Mary graduate, slaveholder, recent member of Virginia's House of Delegates and the U.S. House of Representatives, and a lawyer. He resigned his U.S. Representative position in February 1820 and headed to St. Louis to become the new land Receiver of Public Monies. Influenced by journalist-lawyer Thomas Hart Benton, during March 1820, Strother took his first major case in Missouri to defend Richard Gentry in the Howard County circuit court. Strother left for Franklin and spent three weeks defending Gentry's sensational murder charge to onlookers in Franklin for an acquittal. But that was not the end of Gentry's legal problems.

The Charles Carroll family appealed to the Supreme Court. Judge David Todd put the case on the May 1820 docket at Pinckney, the Montgomery County courthouse. This time, Gentry chose a young Edinburgh, Scotland, educated lawyer living in Chariton, who later moved west of Fayette, William Wirt, "a man of vast learning." Capt. Alexander Gray, another educated elite, who had been a criminal lawyer and circuit judge for Howard County's district, joined the criminal defense team, Gentry's choices paid off. Wirt distinguished himself by successfully defending Gentry and created an enviable reputation. However, Wirt died not long afterwards in Howard County, ending a promising career, and Gray drank himself to death in 1826.⁷

Charles Carroll did not quit seeking justice for his son. He and his other sons in New York hired an attorney that initiated another legal move. They requested a grand jury to investigate Gentry's killing of Henry Carroll. In January 1821, the jury "returned not a true bill," as the local court denied recourse.⁸

As Gentry's legal issue moved along in public discussion, Dr. Hardage Lane became one of several distinguished physicians to live for a time in Franklin. Lane spent several years near Potosi and had been the surgeon mate to Lt. Col. William Ashley during the late war. He and Stephen F. Austin in 1816 served in the third territorial General Assembly that created Howard County with Benjamin Cooper and James Alcorn from Howard participating



David Todd, left, and two brothers arrived at Franklin in 1817. Todd served as territorial judge until statehood and then Gov. Alexander McNair appointed him as the judicial circuit judge that included Howard County until 1837. He moved from Franklin to Columbia in the early twenties and espoused Whig politics. David's brother Robert Todd in Lexington, KY, was father to Mary Todd who married Abraham Lincoln. Charles Carroll, right, co-founder of Rochester, NY, was the first Register of Lands at Franklin, although his son Henry was Acting Register before Charles arrived. Richard Gentry and Henry Carroll's dispute led to Henry's death and Charles' resignation and return to New York. Col. John G. Miller replaced Carroll. Images courtesy of Find a Grave

in the deliberations. He joined southeast Missouri territorial politicians in January 1818 to send the "Memorial to the Citizens of Missouri Territory" to U.S. Representative John Scott to present to Congress to elevate the jurisdiction closer to statehood.⁹

Lane moved to Franklin in 1820 and became a charter member of the Franklin Union Lodge and its last Grand Master. The year after Gentry killed Henry Carroll, Dr. Lane married Carroll's sister, Anna Rebecca Carroll, while his cousin, Dr. William Carr Lane, in St. Louis, was the quartermaster general for Missouri. Hardage Lane's office began "in the north end at Mr. Burnett's house, where he may always be found," but he later moved to a room in one of "Mr. P. W. Thompson's buildings."¹⁰

Dr. Lane became a public figure in Franklin. He was co-founder of the Franklin Union Lodge in April 1822 and served a term as its Grand Master. He worked with others, unsuccessfully, to "extend and define the powers of the corporation of this town," but Missouri legislators would not cooperate and passed an act to remove the seat of justice to the interior. Patten, nevertheless, defended Franklin. He titled a column, "Removal of the Seat of

Justice," and admitted that it was "an event which for some time we have anticipated." But added, "we think that the ground upon which its removal was petitioned, were canvassed in too great haste, and acted upon with too little deliberation. This plan ... when examined will be found to be rotten at the core." Of course, it was a losing argument.¹¹

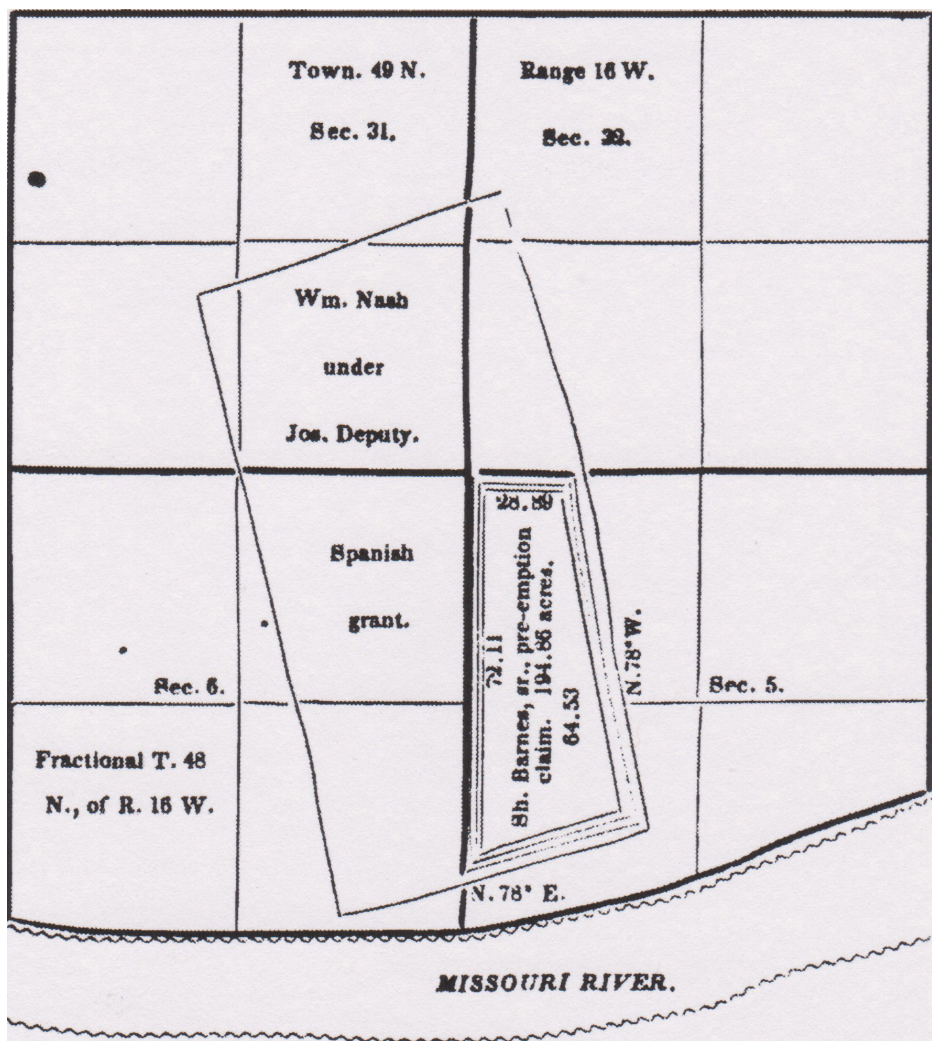
By early 1823, Dr. Lane announced that he had become the local administrator of Henry Carroll's estate. Carroll still owned the original pre-emption of Hannah Cole near Boonville, a town of 116 citizens, and lands in Howard,

Ray, and Lafayette Counties. Adding to Lane's concern was that his slave Joe decided to become a runaway. Dr. Lane wrote "He is a handsome servant ... he has a fine open countenance, and is apt to become intoxicated. He took two roundabouts, two pair of pantaloons of twilled cotton, white warp, with blue filling, and two Russia sheeting shirts, It is supposed that he has bent his course to Edwardsville, Illinois, in company with another negro, and probably one or more white persons." Lane offered going reward rates of \$20 if found in Howard or Cooper Counties, \$30 in any other county in the state, \$50 in Illinois, or beyond the state limits, \$100 and expenses. Clearly, Dr. Lane enjoyed Joe's work, but Joe would just as soon work for himself.¹²

The aggressive slaveholder Gentry left Franklin and his new brick house to move to another new town where he became Columbia's first mayor in 1821, a tavern owner, was promoted to

Colonel Gentry in the Missouri Militia in 1822, rented a room in his tavern to the county for circuit court, became state senator in 1826, and postmaster in 1830. On July 4, 1826, at noon, Gentry celebrated the national anniversary by selling seven slaves – Ben, Bill, Caleb, Caroline, Harriet, Miranda, and Rhoda – at the front door of his tavern on the Boone’s Lick Road in Columbia. The cocksure Gentry continued the practice of using his business as a slave market.¹³

Another affair of honor created public excitement in Franklin. Like the Gentry-Carroll matter, it involved a respected military veteran, Maj. Taylor Berry, who had involved himself in a number of questionable land dealings, including the Nash villainy to acquire real estate in Survey 1725 that became the town of Franklin. Berry had nearly two-dozen Booneslick parcels of land he had acquired and more north of St. Louis. He was a plaintiff and defendant in several civil suits regarding land and money, until one day in summer 1824 in Fayette he found himself in Howard County Circuit Court charged with forgery and perjury. A newly appointed prosecutor was Franklin-based attorney, Abiel Leonard.



Shadrach Barnes’ pre-emption Survey 1725 where Franklin was built. Barnes had several business investments at Franklin. One was the brick market house on the southwest corner of the square. *American State Papers, Public Lands, p. 846*

The jury acquitted Berry.¹⁴

Major Berry, however, took public umbrage over the insult of being challenged so vigorously in court by Leonard. Shortly after the trial, Berry, in bully-like violence, publicly berated Leonard and physically beat him with a rawhide whip. The diminutive Leonard responded with a challenge to a duel. The two combatants prepared to go downriver to Wolf Island, across from New Madrid, and not under Missouri legal jurisdiction, for the confrontation. Leonard’s second was Thomas J. Boggs, while Berry’s fellow land speculator, Angus L. Langham, was his second. The two met, fired and both missed. A second competition was organized, Berry missed again, but Leonard mortally wounded Berry in the throat and he died on September 22, 1824. The Howard County circuit court disbarred and disfranchised Leonard because he issued the challenge in Missouri. The very public nature of the event was argued statewide with large groups supporting both participants.

In a rare occurrence, Nathaniel Patten published a Taylor Berry obituary, probably because Alphonso Wetmore authored it. Berry, Wetmore, T. A. Smith, and the Rev. Finis Ewing were all in the same social circle. Berry’s obituary “recorded the death of our much lamented fellow-citizen, our grief is chastened by the reflection that he lived a life of honor, and that his children will enjoy, as an enviable legacy, his unsullied fame.” The author reviewed Berry’s integrity, his service as a sheriff in Kentucky, his military time in the recent war against Great Britain in the Pay Department and how he preserved the funds of Gen. William Hull at Detroit. The War Department appointed Berry as Deputy Quarter Master that included duties in Missouri. The obituary claimed that the “confidence of the government had recently renewed to him the appointment of post master at Franklin,” a post he had at his death. And, finally, “No good man who knew him could be his enemy.”¹⁵

Meanwhile, some 1,400 men signed a petition to the Missouri General Assembly that met in St. Charles to pardon Leonard for his indiscretion. In November 1824, the House, and then the Senate, led by Nicholas S. Burckhardt, passed “An act for the relief of Abiel Leonard,” and the attorney with restored civil rights went back to work.¹⁶

Becknell and Sally

Captain William Becknell planned a trading expedition westward sustained by slavery. He and the Booneslick region were in the doldrums of the economic depression in 1821, “Emigration has comparatively ceased, and the consequences are not lightly felt, Those whom Missouri seemed to wish chiefly to invite, will not go there -- because their *people* [slaves] can be much more profitably employed in the

south.” Becknell had purchased a Franklin lot in 1817 and married his second wife the same year, as his family adopted the frontier town. He later moved his family to a dog-trot house opposite the Arrow Rock ferry.

Luckily, Becknell’s upcoming trip became one of the most influential events in Booneslick history. Becknell had property interests in the Boone’s Lick Salt Works, and diversified his investments by obtaining a ferry license for the busy crossing at Arrow Rock ferry in 1818, but had overextended himself financially and was mired in debt with five creditors. In June he announced a visionary trading expedition of three months hundreds of miles into the distant west. In April, he arranged to hire three male slaves, “Aaron, Kain and Tom” at \$12 each monthly for one year from Thomas A. Smith and added the general’s “one Negro woman, Lucy” for one year, at \$40, all of whom likely contributed to Becknell’s financial obligations at the salt works, James Morrison, his partner at the salt works, secured another slave for him from an owner in St. Charles. Without investments in slaves, Becknell could not have left Franklin.¹⁷



William Becknell, know as “Father of the Santa Fe Trail”. Image from BHS Archives

In May 1821, at Henry V. Bingham’s order, the sheriff arrested Becknell for debt, but friends signed a security bond for his release. Then Becknell, “a pretty rough specimen of humanity famous for shooting, wrestling, fighting, gambling, and drinking,” proposed in the *Intelligencer* a vague expedition “westward” to acquire “horses, mules, and wild animals.” He hoped to

lead a unit up to 70 and “every 8 men shall have a pack horse, an ax, and a tent.” Becknell attracted only 17 interested parties that met at Ezekiel Williams house “on the Missouri [River], August 4th about five miles above Franklin” to review the proposed expedition.¹⁸

Indian trader Williams in 1812, working for Manual Lisa, had gone upriver with Joseph Philibert’s St. Louis trading company of men. They ran into trouble with Indian tribes, some retreated south to the Arkansas River to trap, Indians killed his few companions, Williams was captured and detained for a time, and with the help of Osage Indian tribal leadership was finally released and barely made it back to Boon’s Lick with his life. Braxton Cooper later went with Williams to retrieve his cached furs. A cousin visited Williams at his farm in 1819 in the Boonslick Township bottoms “well improved ... plenty of negroes to do his farm work, a wife”¹⁹ Becknell and local men were impressed with Williams’ presumed trading expertise as the year before Ezekiel revealed his moneylending business when he advertised a reward for his lost “Green Morocco Pocket Book on Nash’s prairie.” In it were hundreds of dollars loaned to area merchants, “Andrew Brisco, George Craig, Solomon Mordecai, William V.

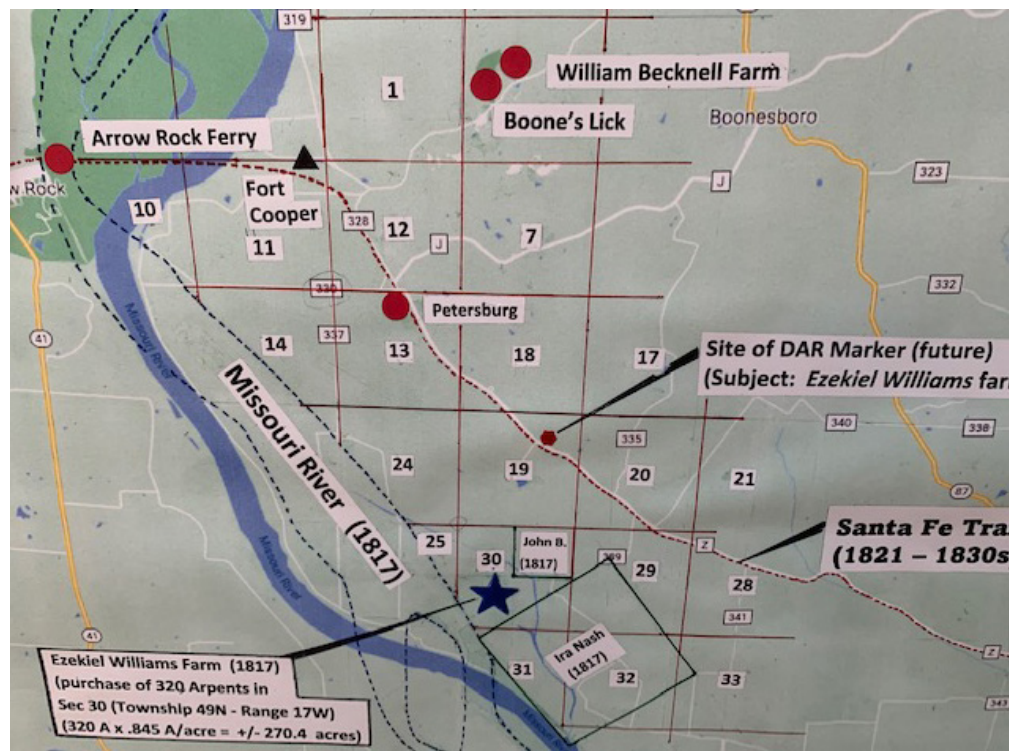
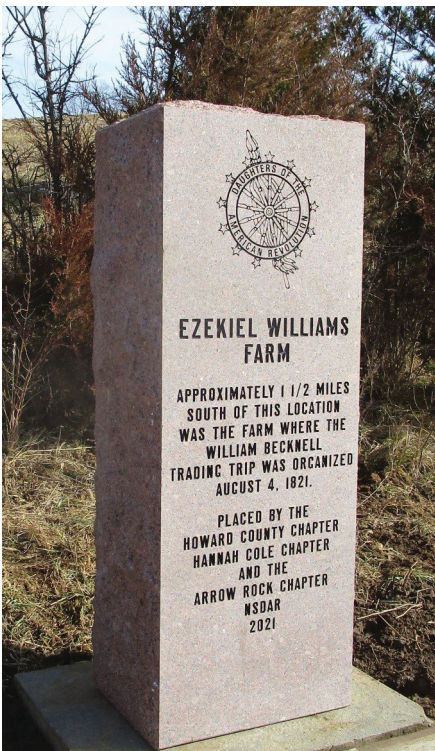
Rector, George Sexton,” and various bank notes. Such a man should have good advice for others.²⁰

Becknell’s next meeting was at John Shaw’s tavern on August 18th in Franklin, where he intended to elect his company lieutenants. After hearing Williams’ tale of trauma, most considered the trapping adventure a fool’s errand, and only a handful showed up. When Becknell left on September 1st, only five other men headed west with him, a sign that few thought Becknell’s idea was worth gambling with their lives. Becknell’s advice that “Every man will furnish his equal part ... 10 dollars a man will answer to purchase the quantity of merchandise required to trade on,” suggests Indian clients more than Mexicans in New Mexico. Becknell and Williams both knew that the Robert McKnight party who left Boon’s Lick in 1812 for Santa Fe had not returned, in fact, unknown to Missourians, they were still in a Spanish jail.²¹

Rumors floated about the status of an independence movement in Mexico, but there was no evidence that Becknell & Company, the company being financiers James and Jesse Morrison, knew about it. No trader had any reason to expect a hospitable environment, as no one knew how a new Mexican government would treat American traders. Any small party headed into the southwest could also have been overwhelmed by hostile Indians. The *Missouri Gazette* reported in mid-July 1821 that “the whole interior of the country was in a state of revolution” and that “large bodies of the royal troops have passed over to the patriots.” What policies a potential new government would embrace was entirely unknown. It was not until October 1821 that the *Gazette* announced that the Mexican “interior, more or less, has yielded” to the revolutionaries and “independence of Mexico is daily expected” although the insurrectionists did not have control of Mexico City.²²

Becknell’s group, uninformed about revolutionary Mexico, remained on horses for the security of mobile movement in the face of hostile adversaries, Indians or Mexicans, Becknell’s party took primarily textiles used in traditional Indian trading, the most likely clients for this expedition. He wound up in the Colorado plains on the Arkansas River, as Williams had done during his Indian trading saga. Ready to encounter friendly Indian trading, instead, while drifting into New Mexico, the lightly-packed horsemen accidentally met a large Mexican troop patrol of nearly 450 soldiers who recently received national independence from Spain. The armed escort of soldiers directed him through the New Mexican Mountains to Santa Fe in mid-November. Two weeks after he arrived, the John McKnight-Thomas James party from St. Louis came into town, as the location of Santa Fe was not a secret; Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler’s party headed to Santa Fe on January 2, 1822, two weeks after Becknell returned to Franklin. Santa Fe, 800 miles distant from Franklin, was not a destination that explicitly beckoned Becknell to town when he left Franklin, he rather meandered toward the famed city, while the other parties headed directly for it.²³

Becknell’s expense of \$530 for hiring five slaves, while deeply in debt, was a substantial financial commitment. What exactly did he do with those five slaves? Did he put them to work at the salt works? Probably. Did he take one or more with him? Maybe. Frontiersmen commonly kept female slaves with them



Dedication of the DAR Commemorative Marker of the Ezekiel Williams Farm was held in 2022, hosted by the Howard County, Hannah Cole and Arrow Rock Chapters of the NSDAR. It is located on Route Z (via Highway 87), Howard County, approximately 8.6 miles from the north-bank entrance to the Missouri River Bridge crossing to Boonville. Marker image courtesy of the DAR, the map of Lynn Morrow.

to perform cooking and domestic work. The current records are silent on the issue, but if Becknell took a slave with him and did not report it, that wouldn't be the first time that whites traveled with blacks in a trading expedition without mentioning bonded labor. Either way, slavery underpinned his experimental journey to relieve his debts in Howard County.²⁴

When Becknell returned from the Spanish Country, litigants for court waited for him and he paid several debts, but not T. A. Smith's slave rentals. Earlier, in spring 1820, before Becknell's announcement, Henry Devers of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, borrowed three female slaves – Phillis, her daughter Millie, and Sally – from his father to take to southern Howard County to begin a new homestead where he had purchased land.

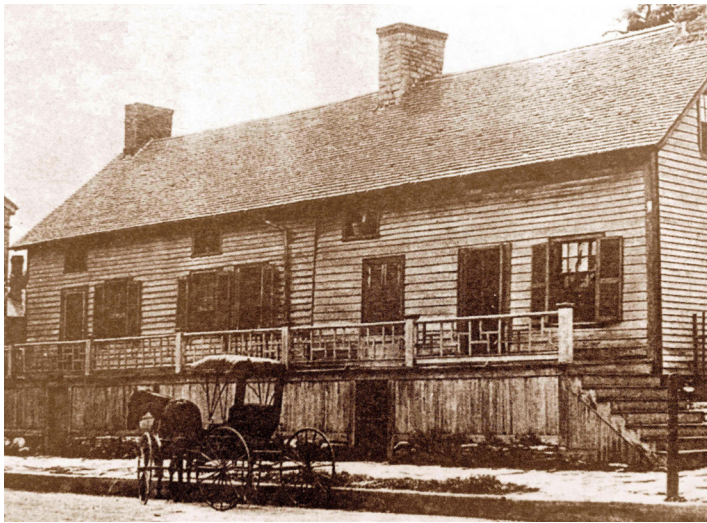
On September 1, 1821, the very day that Becknell's small group left Franklin for Santa Fe, according to a subsequent Supreme Court case, Henry Devers "on the day and year" [September 1, 1821] he "lost the said Negro woman [Sally] out of his possession" valued at \$600 ... and said William "Becknell unjustly detained" her from Devers. At the time, Sally was about twelve years old with "large white eyes."²⁵

After Becknell's return from Santa Fe in January 1822, the trader "came into the possession of the said Negro woman by finding." The case file does not mention specifically "how she was found." The Howard County circuit court had announced a Henry V. Bingham, admin. v. William Becknell case for a \$495 debt the same January, and in March 1822 ordered Sheriff Nickolas Burkhardt to arrest Becknell and bring him to jail in Franklin, where Jesse Morrison signed a security bond for Becknell's release until trial. The jury concluded that Becknell "does not detain the

said slave," now that she "was found" and was free to go where she wished; the court decided it was not going to deal with Sally the slave girl. The jury agreed with Becknell's attorney that there were errors in the proceedings concerning the evidence, a technical argument.²⁶

Devers, with power of attorney from his father, William, appealed the case; his father had justices of the peace in Kentucky take several depositions in 1822 that concerned his slaves in Missouri. In May that year, to acquire liquid capital, Becknell sold his salt works interest back to James and Jesse Morrison to generate resources and plan an expedition to Santa Fe while the Benjamin Cooper family did the same. It is not a surprise that experienced salt-boilers and managers of men and logistics at Boone's Lick saline, Becknell and Cooper, led the first planned expeditions in 1822 to Santa Fe. On this trip, Becknell took the first wagon to Santa Fe; that cost him \$150 and [he] sold it for \$700 that helped him with debt back in Franklin, Becknell remained in Franklin in 1823, long enough for financier Gen. Thomas A. Smith to prosecute him for slave rentals and financial credit Smith gave the Morrison brothers twice. The depression had hit the Morrises, too, as the price of salt caved in, Smith won both cases, first, \$120, and about \$210 on the second, evidence of a cash-strapped society, and Smith's ability to continue his wide-ranging money lending business.²⁷

In September 1823, the Supreme Court heard the Devers-Becknell dispute, Judges Matthias McGirk and Rufus Pettibone agreed that "execution of it [the evidence] was not sufficiently proven" and that the power of attorney procedure was problematic. They affirmed the lower court's ruling and billed Devers for court



James Morrison's house was across the street from the state capitol with commercial storage likely in the lower floor and located the beginning of the Boone's Lick Road. Morrison had a rental house in Franklin and a country farm and house outside of St. Charles. Image courtesy of Dorris Keevan-Franke.

costs.

As for Sally's whereabouts from September 1, 1821, the court did not discuss, nor offer any reason why after her absence why she suddenly appeared in Howard County immediately upon Becknell's return. Did Sally make the trip to Santa Fe to perform domestic duty for Becknell? It was illegal for Sally to testify in court for her whereabouts and it certainly was not to Becknell's advantage to mention her presence on his trip. Becknell never recorded or said publicly who was with him during his famous 1821 trip, the names of the other five men, or whether they had a servant girl Sally, or not. If Sally was with him, Becknell did not want to incriminate himself.

To add to this confusion, a week after Becknell left in September 1821, Sheriff Burckhart executed a writ to attach Becknell's land at the salt works for his debts and seized "one hundred salt kettles, one Negro Girl Slave named Sally, and twenty barrels of salt." Was this Devers' Sally or just another girl with the same name? Sally, like Bob, was a ubiquitous name among slaves. If she was Devers' Sally, there is no other conclusion than Booneslick law enforcement, the court, and Franklin residents engaged in a conspiracy to shield defendant Becknell from justice in the suit. That seems very unlikely.

Becknell was relieved of responsibility on technicalities in written evidence and the issue of where Sally was while missing from Franklin was never discussed. Franklin residents knew Mrs. Becknell and her family, and passed their dog-trot house "on the north bank of the Missouri on a Bank of sand," sited on a terrace overlooking the ferry crossing. If Sally was there during William Becknell's absence, it would be impossible to hide her from public view. Whatever the case, the episode is yet another instance where slavery underpinned Becknell's surprising discovery of hospitable trading opportunities at Santa Fe that contributed to the Booneslick economy.²⁸

Becknell brought a financial convenience to Franklin. An

unforeseen boon to both the traders and Franklin's land business was the introduction of Mexican silver specie as a medium of exchange, Thomas A. Smith, land receiver, decided to accept them as payment for public lands, a decided advantage in federal revenue, The Mexican dollars "are imperfectly milled, and in some cases, passed at discount." Augustus Storrs explained to Congress, "this places them at par by weight" for convenience and a higher profit margin in the U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton had asked Storrs for answers about questions concerning the Santa Fe trade, and Storrs, who had successfully traded in Santa Fe the previous spring, responded with "a written document, given national circulation in the *Niles Register*" after Benton presented it to the U.S. Senate in January 1825 to promote an international commercial alliance. Senator Benton presented a petition from Boone County that asked for military posts and protection of the trade between Missouri and Mexico; the next day, he presented the same from Howard County petitioners. The Federal government did not send help. In May 1827, Storrs left Franklin with Capt. Ezekiel Williams in charge of a 105-man caravan and "fifty three wagons and pleasure carriages...the largest which has traversed this route." Many well-known Booneslick men were on this tour. Storrs, educated at Dartmouth College and a former New England school teacher, became U.S. consul in Santa Fe, and a Mexican citizen.²⁹

Merchants and Slaves

Henry Carroll and Capt. Byrd Lockhart purchased and sold the pre-emption right of Hannah Cole to others, but the buyers defaulted, Byrd was manufacturing salt on the Salt Fork of Lamine River. The educated Lockhart deployed the precious metal legends of Missouri by claiming in 1819 for Franklin and St. Louis residents that he "lately attempted to dig here for silver ore, but left on account of press of other business." He wrote to merchants Ward and Parker, rare merchants in Franklin who painted their buildings white on the square, in September 1820 that he would have 100 barrels to them in October.³⁰

Lockhart had rented slaves from Kentucky, but one George had run away interrupting his production schedule, Lockhart wrote to his partner, Maj. Elias Barcroft in Franklin, who would know George on sight, and asked that merchants John Ward and Barcroft keep an eye out for him, as the thirty-year-old slave walks with a cane, and "I will pay you amply" for his return; Lockhart thought George was headed to the St. Charles Road. He further asked that Lemon Parker send word to their friends toward St. Charles as George was probably trying to walk to Kentucky. Work at a salt works was dirty, dangerous, and required the attention of slave masters, Lockhart concluded that he must purchase goods soon "to clothe our hands who are almost naked so much so that it is impossible for them to work in cold weather." The salt maker sent a few barrels of his product to Franklin to buy clothes for his bonded slaves and expected someone to boat up the Lamine River with empty barrels to fill with salt for Barcroft.³¹

Runaway slave George went east, but slaves ran away westward from Kentucky, too. Jeremiah Rogers in Fayette County, Kentucky, advertised in 1822 in Franklin for his twenty-seven-year-old Charles, "a stout built man." Charles "lost a left thumb to the joint, has a scar on this right breast, occasioned by the cut of

a knife, fresh done; very fond of whiskey." Rogers' offered "100 Dollars in Specie" plus "reasonable charges on the delivery, or having him secured in any jail so that I may get him." Charles was a valuable "commodity" with skill and may have known friends or relatives who had gone west with their masters. If Charles appeared in Franklin, for that kind of money, he didn't stand a chance of remaining at large.³²

Slaveowners commodified their bonded possessions as barter, too. Mr. Powell at Thrall's Prairie on the Boone's Lick Road, twenty miles east from Franklin, advertised he had "likely young Negroes for sale or he would exchange them for good tobacco." Slave sellers with other plans in Franklin advertised "Valuable NEGROES for sale: Boys and Young Women." Female slaves were not termed "women of color;" but their bodily autonomy changed as owner attitudes differed. The newspaper was always an effective public forum for Booneslick slave trading.³³

Franklin pioneer Dr. John J. Lowry advertised "Vaccine Matter" in August 1819 that he had fresh at his office for those who desired it. He purchased 800 Boone County acres in 1822, then, followed in the *Intelligencer*, "Wanted to Exchange LAND at the Two-Mile Prairie for a good NEGRO BOY." Whether he traded or not, Lowry moved to his Howard County farm, seven miles from Franklin. He advised his clients that he would "continue practice in Franklin and in the country." Lowry became Howard County's state representative in 1826 and 1828, later serving on the first board of curators for the University of Missouri.³⁴

John Thomson's ad, "Good Old Rye Whiskey," appealed to readers to trade whisky and "a few casks of prime French brandy" to him for land certificates in the Franklin district and to come see him on Spanish Needle Prairie one and a half miles west of Richmond. His countryman, Anthony T. Wilkerson in Spanish Needle Prairie, advertised in 1824 for his "Ran Away. A Mulatto Negro Man named Washington." Using America's founding father names for male slaves was

a popular tradition among slaveholders. Washington was 35, "a little cross-eyed," and "suppose he will make for a free state." He took three pantaloons and three waistcoats with him; Wilkerson offered \$10 and expenses for his return.³⁵

Slaves often worked on or were transported on steamboats. Runaways who left boats on the Mississippi River appeared in Franklin advertisements for rewards. Alonzo Pearson moved from Chariton to Franklin to teach school at the Pleasant Grove Academy in 1825, and had purchased "Jim, of dark, tho' not of very black complexion with little or no clothing. He can make shoes," and Pearson offered a \$20 reward for his confinement in prison or delivery to Robert P. Clark, postmaster at Boonville who worked with merchants Brisco & Wood. Clark and John Brisco were slave traders who purchased blacks between Lexington and Franklin for the expanding cotton market in the South and supplied blacks to regional slaveholders. In 1830, Clark was in the middle of a 22-year career as Cooper County circuit clerk, and Brisco, a county judge for 14 years, had slaves on their own farms. [Meredith] Miles Marmaduke, thinking about the Southern market, contacted them about a couple of his young slaves and details of the traders' terms. Marmaduke more commonly rented his slaves to others in Salline County.³⁶

Santa Fe Trading

As 1822 waxed and waned, adventurous white settlers near Boone's Lick were optimistic about Santa Fe trading. Commonly, two and three men, or so, formed partnerships secured often by their word or a hand shake to try their luck,

They traveled with others in caravans. We do not have many accounts of "regular guys" who decided on the adventure they hoped would become economically worthwhile for their future. In spring, William White purchased \$180 in goods from Franklin merchant Robert Hood, and took about \$200 worth on the trail, a standard amount for dozens of traders. His partner in the "art and business of saddlers," John D. Jones, backed out of making the trip and said

RAN AWAY

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

A Mulatto Negro Man,
named

Washington,

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

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

ANTHONY T. WILKERSON.
Howard County, Aug. 14, 1824.

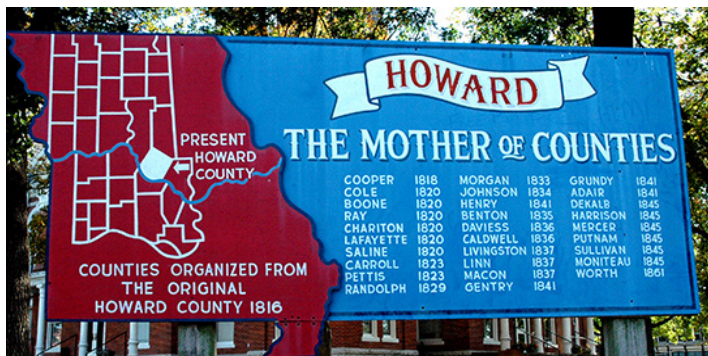
RAN AWAY: *Missouri Intelligencer*, August 14, 1824. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project.

he would continue to work and pay on their outstanding \$60 debt to Robert Hood. Meanwhile, William White left with Col. Benjamin Cooper's party.

In Santa Fe, White traded a yellow mule for a brace of pistols, sold most of his inventory, and paid accumulating local expenses. Then White died. Jacob Nave, a friend, was 60 miles out in Taos, but heard the news and hurried to Santa Fe to secure White's unsold property including two pairs of shoes and seven or eight knives. He gathered what he could, as he was not privy to all of White's arrangements. Nave returned to Franklin with a herd of stock, but lost 10 on the way back. He salvaged six jennies (female donkeys), three horses, one mule, but left his wagon in Santa Fe as part of his negotiations. Indians stole a horse, but remarkably, Nave identified and secured it in Missouri, where upon Col. Benjamin Cooper's return to Franklin, the colonel said the company "met with some trifling losses on their return." Widow Nancy White's estate sale was the next year in 1823.³⁷

John D. Jones sued the White estate in 1824 for one-half of the expedition's profits. Mrs. White and Nave both testified that Jones had not paid his half of Robert Hood's merchandise. Moreover, William White had paid \$25 of an \$86 note that the saddlery business owed to Robert Patrick, but Jones argued that he had advanced White some \$15-20 for Hood's goods. White's estate sale brought \$428 of the Santa Fe inventory that Nave brought back. In addition to the animal stock, it included "papers of pin, dirk and pocket knives, pack and Spanish saddles, shoes, blanket," and more. The sale of William White's half of the saddlery business totaled \$53, "leather, saddle pattern, woman's saddle, stirrup leathers, buckles, etc." Plaintiff attorney Abiel Leonard and defendant counsel John Ryland at the courthouse in Jefferson, Saline County, negotiated a financial settlement that is not in the case file. However, slaveholder Jacob Nave, in March 1826, agreed to pay one-half of the court costs. Obviously, Mrs. White and Nave had an agreement that Nave would share in the expedition's profits and recoup his own expenses in returning White's assets.³⁸

In 1823, the county court hired a Franklin school teacher and Howard County surveyor, Laurence J. Daly, "for finding the center of the county" and for "laying out Fayette," the county seat



for an initial sale of 150 lots on May 15th. Daly, an Irish immigrant, [had] immigrated to Kentucky where he married widow Elizabeth Morrison and, in 1819, brought her large family and their four daughters to the Booneslick. Daly had taught surveying to his 21-year-old Kentucky stepson, Alfred W. Morrison, who was his deputy surveyor that he directed to do the Fayette job with a

team. Men cut native timber out to create a town courthouse space and the logs provided timber to build a temporary county clerk's office, Daly had already purchased land just northeast of the town site and moved to Fayette after its beginning to become an original co-trustee in 1826. By then, Fayette boasted "35 families and more than 300 inhabitants."³⁹

Fayette formed with new buildings in 1824 as numbers of settlers moved from Franklin to Fayette, and Daly became the first postmaster in spring 1824. In June 1824, James Daly (Laurence Daly's son), still lived in Franklin, and began a subscription school with his father for a classical education, located "a few doors above Mr. Parker's grocery," as Laurence offered as his teaching credentials, twenty-one years' experience near Lexington, Kentucky. Later, A. W. Morrison moved on to Fayette, as a young-married man to become active in town affairs, a town trustee himself, while Daly's daughter, Elizabeth Daly, married Samuel C. Major Sr.⁴⁰

During the 1820s Franklin and Chariton merchants and farmers speculated in the Santa Fe Trade. The Coopers made the trek several times and brought back 3,000 or more mules during the decade, a foundational achievement for helping to establish the mule trade in Missouri. Success in the stock trade allowed smaller dealers, like Robert W. Morris, to advertise "Spanish horses, GENETS and JACK" and "MULES suitable for the Santa Fe trade."⁴¹

Horses were valuable on any American frontier. When the *Intelligencer* printed William Becknell's journal, he told readers that "none but the wealthy have horses and hogs" in Santa Fe. Trading caravans organized in Howard County included various numbers of horses for the journeys to the Southwest and suggest that stockmen kept large numbers of horses in Cooper's Bottom. Col. Benjamin Cooper's group of 30 men in 1823 took a reported 53, 45 of which they lost to Indians near the Arkansas River. In a sign of the herd strength back home, six riders returned and acquired replacement horses that they drove to join the caravan for marketing. The following year, in 1824, in the Le Grand and Storrs' 81-man caravan with a couple of slaves, left Franklin, and crossed the river at Hardeman's ferry with 200 horses and mules. They, too, lost some of their horses frightened away by herds of buffalo.⁴²

But many more commercial men continued their traditional long distance agricultural export on flatboats to St. Louis and New Orleans. A correspondent to the newspaper recalled but "two or three Keelboats per year would come up the Missouri River in 17 to 25 days from St. Louis." One was "the large and elegant keel boat *Governor Clark*," a vessel that operated on the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers. Another, the "staunch and well rigged" *Charles*, advertised as the regular packet for Franklin and Chariton freight with agents Sanguinet & Bright, merchants with stores in Franklin and St. Louis. By 1819, they delivered dry goods, groceries, crockery, hardware, hoes, chains, iron, log chains, and fish, and passengers. Joining the *Charles* that year was the *Pittsburg Boxer* shipping freight to Franklin in August. Flatboats continued east while 1820s Santa Fe traders went west.⁴³

Flatboat Merchants

Merchant Robert Hood advertised for farmers' surplus for the flatboat and keels' downriver trips. One staple was pork that he ex-

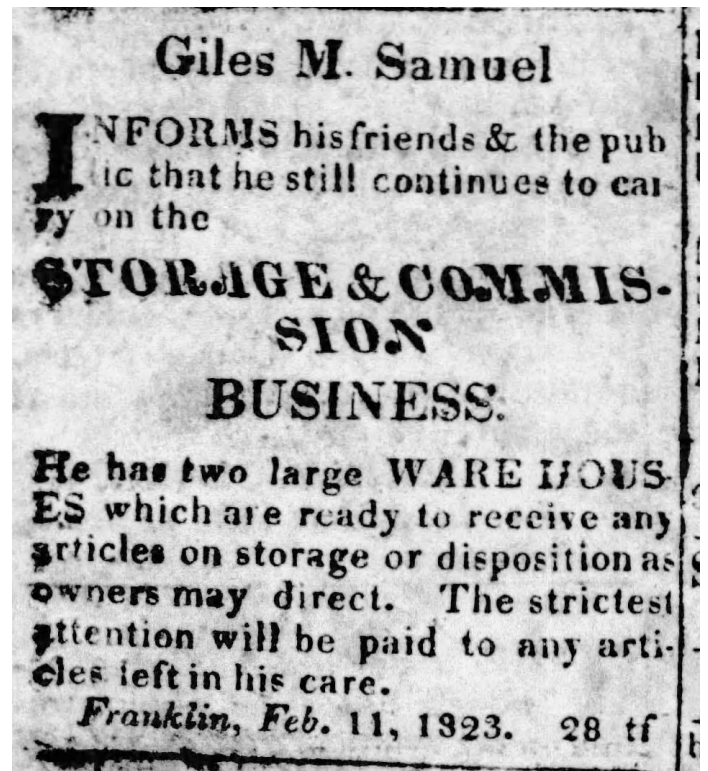
changed for imported goods. Hood, by 1821, operated in a brick store that merchant John Love formerly occupied (not the “Brick House” where William T. Lamme presided). Hood was one of the Franklin merchants who traveled to Philadelphia to purchase his goods for cash and ship them back to the Booneslick. Hood also owned a riverside warehouse at the mouth of Moniteau Creek where Franklin proprietors, Lemon Parker, John Ward, and Abraham Barnes, founded Rocheport in 1825. Hood directed his agricultural customers to come to Franklin in late November, “pork to be delivered on foot, subject to the usual deduction for slaughtering.” He refused to accept any swine that weighed less than 200 pounds. Since merchants depended on country craftsmen for barrels, he was also ready to purchase “good Pork Barrels.” Merchant Joseph Simpson, also located on the town square, offered the same deal for pork and barrels, but more. He wanted to purchase additional downriver exports of “tallow, lard, honey, beeswax, venison hams, a few small beeves, and LARD KEGS.” Simpson sponsored public sales of “Sonora mules, jennys and Spanish horses” in Franklin.⁴⁴

The American migration across the Mississippi River brought honey bees to the West. By the 1820s, Booneslick men planned annual commercial caravans to hunt the valuable insect. The first generation of settlers found the mixed prairie and timber belts environmentally friendly to bees and the insects built hives up and down the timbered drainages on the prairies, Chariton County’s 50% prairie and 50% timber and the Grand River drainage particularly attracted them and made it easier for bee hunters to acquire larger volumes than those in the Ozarks Highlands,

In September 1826 “waggon passed through Fayette accompanied with guns & dogs” for the journey northwest for a “Bee hunting.” Patten estimated “40 wagons with teams of 4, 5, or 6 horses” went from Howard County for a month. In October “A Bee Hunter” reported a “trip of fatigue but rich compensation.” In his wagon, he reported “190 gallons of honey and 400 pounds of beeswax besides several deer skins, hams, etc.” concluding the honey and beeswax alone was worth \$195.” Thus, the caravan of “40 waggons, at \$195 each, will make \$7,800 or net proceeds of the trip \$3,900, sufficient to pay the state and county tax,” claimed the hunter. In fact, each wagon load, sold to merchants for export, would purchase significant additions to their farms or pay for additions to their houses.⁴⁵

Giles M. Samuel, with his various partners, was the second-longest tenured merchant from territorial Franklin to the 1830s (William T. Lamme sold goods 1817-30). In November 1819, Samuel & Moderwell opened on the “southeast corner of the Public Square, next door to G. C. Hartt & Company” with a large assortment of goods, including an ad for “BOONSLICK SALT.” The building proved to be too small and attorney Andrew S. McGirk moved into it. The traders built a “large and convenient warehouse” in Franklin “where vessels can at all times come directly to the bank, and within a few yards of the warehouse.” Part of their business was storing goods on consignment for others. In December 1819, they offered their “excellent Negro Man at a fair price.”⁴⁶

Giles and John Samuel managed a store on Main Street, St. Louis, before moving to Franklin. Giles purchased goods in St. Louis and accompanied his own freight to Franklin in 1820.



GILES M. SAMUEL INFORMS HIS FRIENDS: *Missouri Intelligencer*, November 6, 1824. Courtesy State of Missouri Historical Society Digital Newspaper Project

He came on the *Mary Jane*, a large 40-45-ton keelboat, with flour, cheese, whiskey, gun powder, plough lines, account books, quills, and more for their firm, on consignment from a St. Louis company. Builders could purchase “house joiners and cabinet maker tools” wholesale and retail. By August, his “Ware House” included large amounts of “Old Whiskey,” iron products, shoes, bed cords, saws, salt kettles,” and “8 x 10 Window Glass” for those who could afford to install it in their timber frame and brick buildings.

In 1821, under the name, Giles M. Samuel & Company, he offered for sale or freight his 50-ton “substantial Keel Boat *Independence*.” Then he told readers to expect a boat from Council Bluffs to “call at Franklin for freight about November 4, 1821.” A year later, Patten announced that “several boats have left this place for New Orleans laden with productions of the country.”⁴⁷

Samuel married in 1823, his family owned a farm in the bottom southwest of Franklin, and he advertised his “two large warehouses” for his storage and commission business. Active in local politics, after Augustus Storrs resigned the postmaster position in fall 1823, Taylor Berry served briefly until he was killed by Abiel Leonard, then Samuel became Franklin’s longest serving postmaster, 1824-31, starting work after Berry’s killing. Berry had kept the “office at [Samuel’s] store in the southeast corner of the public square.” Samuel, in a position of trust and easily found, when Nathaniel Patten lost his saddle bags “containing thirty-eight dollars in specie,” Patten offered a “liberal reward” if a finder delivered his property to Samuel.⁴⁸

In early 1826, Giles worked under “Samuel & Barnes,” in a building on the “North West Corner of the Public Square”

with an inventory of groceries, a variety of “wines, tea, molasses, Queen’s ware, and Liverpool ware.” His partner, Barnes, left, as later in September 1826, Samuel used both the *Osage* and *Water Witch* keelboats to bring large loads to his store, including “tar, tanner’s oil, rosin, bed cords, more window glass 8 by 10, bar lead and iron,” and more. Newcomer, Dr. George K. Walker, “Lately from the Eastward,” offered surgery, midwifery, practice of medicine, and in the diseases of Women and Children,” advertised his location “a little north of Mr. Samuel’s store.” Keelboat *Belvidere* brought dry goods to David Kyle & Company in fall 1827. Commercial profits in the Booneslick came largely from the keelboat and flatboat trade until regular steamer packets docked in the 1830s.⁴⁹

Samuel, styled as G. M. & F. S. Samuel in May 1828, was among the first to advertise goods regularly received by steamboats: *Steam Boat LaGrange* brought a “Large, General, and Beautiful Assortment of GOODS,” selected by one of the firm (Giles Samuel) that included dry goods, hardware, groceries, and Queen’s Ware, etc. In August that year, “*Steam Boat Illinois*,” brought a special load of iron ware—salt kettles, hollow ware, saw mill irons, bark mills, and bar iron” to Samuel’s warehouse at riverbank where J. H. McIlvain stored them on consignment. During the 1829 year, the Samuel firm and Ross & Glasgow at Chariton had an agreement for freight or passage on the *Steam Boat Wm. D. Duncan*, the first regular packet to service the area. In July the steamer unloaded arms and ammunition freight from St. Charles to the state’s quartermaster general at the capitol and its laborers carried the same to a warehouse at Jefferson City. The state had still been renting a house from George Collier to store its state militia arms.⁵⁰

Captain John Rooker made a reputation for numerous commercial trips downriver by flatboat, but most pilots’ names who made a living doing it are lost to history. Pilots built their own boats as their experience hauling different products suggested modifications from time to time. Chariton’s boat yard was home to several pilots, Jesse and William Spense, who had a saw mill, floated plank in rafts to New Orleans. At tax time, local government directed Chariton Township citizens to pay at Capt. John Rooker’s house.⁵¹

Flatboat pilots in 1822 commenced tobacco shipments from Chariton downriver. Five boats “14 feet wide and not

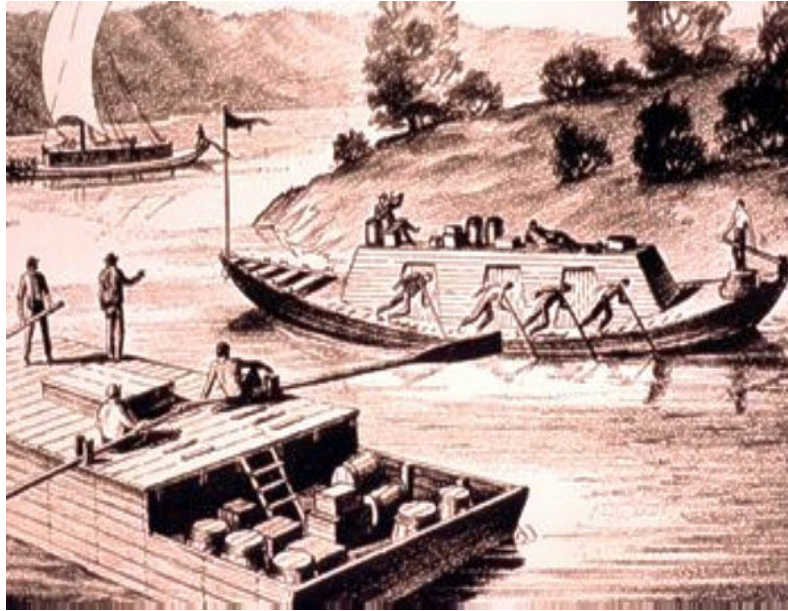
less than 50 feet long” with pumps, oars, and necessary equipment went. Later that year, Abraham Barnes announced his new “Franklin Tobacco Storehouse” at Franklin, while he also had a ferry license. C. Tiffany & Company, headquartered in Philadelphia, shipped “the first lot of tobacco ever shipped from Boon’s Lick country.” The *Niles Register* responded that the “citizens of St. Louis were gratified with the arrival of several flat-bottomed boats, laden with produce from the Boons-lick settlements bound for New Orleans. Tobacco, it is thought, will be the great staple.”⁵²

However, Tiffany received a long letter from “the New Orleans warehouse inspector, an old planter” that notified Missourians that their “tobacco remains unsold,” but they outlined in detail in the newspaper how to harvest, dry, pack tobacco in a hogshead, varying 1,200-1,500 pounds in a barrel so they could be rolled around to and on boats, and shipped after stacked together. The letter defined eight different qualities of tobacco and Tiffany had one highlight he credited: “1st. No. 1 Quality, No. 6—best cured hhd. and well ripened” to “Mr. John Tooley, raised and put up in Chariton County.”

Problems for the rest were the lack of “neatness in the handling,” not completely cured, lack of culling bad leaves, and packed too high in the containment. The inspector outlined solutions for processing it “on the sticks in the houses” best done with great care “over a moderate fire” in order to produce hard and firm bulk tobacco. The letter was gentle and constructive, but Missouri growers had the same problems for decades in the quality control of tobacco that resulted in receiving lower prices than proper treatment would have brought. Contemporary flatboat pilots stopped at other warehouses on the left bank

of the river at the mouth of the Moniteau River and Nashville, but more importantly, agriculturalists looked forward to plan for spring and fall shipment calendars to the South.⁵³

Scholars of Missouri River boats estimated that during the 1820s some 90% of the traffic was in flatboats, 10% in keelboats. Giles Samuel, perhaps the most frequent Franklin shipper downriver, advertised to buy hogsheads of tobacco at Chariton and Franklin warehouses for export. The Franklin warehouse held 4-500 hogsheads. Merchants often placed a date for tobacco delivery with months of lead time, e.g., Robert Hood published, “to be delivered on the 1st day of March 1826” in order to prepare for the spring shipment. Dr. John Sappington, in one of his agricultural



Scholars of Missouri River boats estimated that during the 1820s some 90% of the traffic was in flatboats (foreground), 10% in keelboats (background). Flatboats, which could carry large amounts of freight, were rectangular, flat-bottomed boats used for downstream travel. They typically measured between 12 and 20 feet wide and from 20 to more than 100 feet in length. Most of the keelboats were 50 to 80 feet long and 15 feet wide; often equipped with a sail, they generally were used to move people and goods upstream.
Illustration courtesy Wikipedia

lease agreements, required payment in hemp delivered at Franklin, or in tobacco delivered at Chariton.⁵⁴

William Laas, historian of boats on the Missouri River, estimated that there were only nine small steamboats that ventured up the churning Missouri River by 1832. Thus, publisher Nathaniel Patten in Fayette was relieved when the steamer *Native* brought "Printing Paper" for advertising and printing pamphlets and other job work, while druggist and Dr. James H. Benson, William T. Lamme's early partner in Franklin, promoted an order that delivered perfumes, soaps, and sarsaparilla. Dr. Benson purchased a stock of medicine to advertise "Medicine & Surgery." Later, he expanded his business firm with Dr. James C. Boggs, Lilburn's brother and apprentice to Dr. Benson, and they advertised extensive inventories of patent medicine, including supplies with directions printed in Spanish for the Santa Fe trade. Patten's income from advertising slaves for purchase or hire did not diminish. Patten himself advertised to hire "a Negro Boy about 12 or 15 years of age for 12 months." In late 1827, in Fayette, the printer announced "About 12 or 15 likely slaves consisting of Men, Women, Boys and Girls will be hired out" for one year.⁵⁵

John T. Cleveland arrived at Franklin and became one of the many entrepreneurs who taught a term of school prior to a business career. From August 1822 to April 1824 he partnered with Nathaniel Patten to edit and publish the *Missouri Intelligencer*, and, as financial security for the business, was the collector of all debts at the dissolution of their association, while working as the assistant postmaster. At the newspaper, Cleveland advertised for "A Negro Woman, Healthy and masculine who can turn out 100 rails per day, may be hired at \$6 per month." That woman truly did a man's job. During Cleveland's tenure in Franklin, many of his neighbors wanted to hire slaves for a variety of tasks. Some included "Wanted to Hire 3 or 4 Negro Men by the year," and "For Sale or Hire, a NEGRO MAN, about 24 years of age, a very good blacksmith," and "Wanted to Hire, NEGRO GIRL OR WOMAN to do the work of a small family."⁵⁶

In 1825, John T. Cleveland moved upriver east of modern Glasgow, where justices of the peace commissioned him to appraise loose horses found on the range. In spring 1828, trustees of the Fayette Academy announced that Cleveland would "take charge as a teacher" for the upcoming classes. He became a slaveholder and widely known Captain on 1830s steamboats that allowed him to purchase several parcels of land in Howard County and develop a large estate.

Dr. Rowland Willard from St. Charles traveled through Franklin in May 1825. Staying with a slaveholder acquaintance, "their

Negroes were set to baking crackers for my journey which took them nearly all night." More travelers in Willard's entourage arrived, and "the poor Negroes had no respite, but forced to continue their cracker trade." Wherever whites lived and worked, slaves were nearby at their service.⁵⁷

Lamme, Bingham & Hardeman

Major William T. Lamme became the most aggressive and longest-serving merchant capitalist at Franklin, 1817-30. Born in Bourbon County, Kentucky, he settled at La Charrette (Marthasville) on the Missouri River by 1802 and developed a large landholding along the Tuque River. His hunting friends Nathan and Daniel Morgan Boone, and many laborers and slaves began salt manufacture in fall 1805 at the famous lick, and several Van Bibber and Callaway men provided overland supplies and worked there. Surely, William made at least one trip to the lick with supplies or stock, to work or hunt, or to just see the operation out of curiosity.⁵⁸

Lamme was in St. Louis regularly in 1817 to pick up his mail held at the St. Louis and St. Charles post offices, likely communications from Kentucky. He owned two slaves at this early date, At Charrette village, Dr. John Jones, a Kentuckian from Lexington, kept his shop in the Lamme house and advertised his services in the July 1817 *Missouri Gazette*.

William Lamme & Company began merchandising and paying a license fee in Howard County in late 1817. He traveled there alone, made partner arrangements, and tested the market at Warrington. A cautious man, he traveled back and forth before making a final decision to move upriver more than a year later. William and Frances Callaway Lamme loaded up their six children, several slaves, and moved to Howard County. The Lammes kept ownership of their extensive real estate, paying taxes on it during the years of their absence, likely leasing it to relatives. At age 41, William was already a man of economic achievement, but not a stranger to risk, and he wanted to multiply his assets, He was older than most men who joined the bustling settlements near Franklin, although Frances was yet a young woman at 33.⁵⁹

Slaveholder William T. Lamme enhanced his mercantile venture in 1818 with Maj. James H. Benson near Ft. Hempstead, One of the Hickmans joined them to name the firm Hickman & Benson, They dissolved their partnership by November 1819 and Lamme located in Franklin, On December 4, 1819, attorney George Tompkins, as agent for William V. Rector, sold a two-story brick mercantile and two-story frame house, auctioned at Mrs. Peebles tavern to William Lamme who organized his goods as



STEAM BOAT SUPPLIES: *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, November 6, 1823. Courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri Digital Newspaper Project

“Wm. Lamme & Co.” Then, Lamme & Company began a small store at Richmond, while his “Brick House” on the west side of the square became a prominent landmark. Lamme had purchased the former Boggs and Rector building. Lamme kept dual sets of account books at both stores, William advertised an inventory of “60 barrells Old Whiskey, Kentucky Spun Cotton, 300 bushels Salt,” and much more, Soon, in a revised agreement, Thomas and James Hickman joined the business.⁶⁰

By 1820, Lamme occupied the largest store in Franklin. On the south side of the square, Abram Barnes also had a “Store-Room” for merchandise purchased in Philadelphia and New York, handled by St. Louis middlemen, where merchants like Lamme could rent space, Lamme’s Philadelphia commercial connections could supply most any goods on special order, such as Peruvian bark for Dr. John Sappington’s experiments to produce quinine, or salt kettles for the regional salt works in operation. Lamme sold “salt and stills,” and retail liquor, too. Franklin’s Dr. Nathaniel Hutchison, too, informed his customers that he kept “a small quantity of Bark” on hand. Westering frontiersmen along the Ohio River had chewed and eaten it as a folk medicine for fever relief since the mid-18th century. Lamme exported tobacco after 1822 and sold cigars and chewing tobacco to the local trade.⁶¹

Perhaps the four-member Lamme & Company made too many chefs in the kitchen, so in early 1821 they dissolved that firm. Lamme purchased the inventory and remained in the Brick House, Later in the year, he allied with Henry V. Bingham as a partner in a tobacco manufactory, Bingham was a tavern and inn keeper at his Square & Compass, north of the square, where he employed an ostler to care for travelers’ horses, and served as a justice of the peace and circuit court judge, Bingham was 33 when he arrived in Franklin with his family and seven slaves in 1819. He purchased properties and in March 1820 advertised a lot west of the square on Main Street for sale with one acre, two houses, a stable, and several dependencies.⁶²

In May 1820 he began business by advertising himself “Lately from Virginia” in opening his inn. He “assured travelers that he will keep his house clear of disorderly company.” One of his early guests was itinerant artist, Chester Harding, whose first client in Missouri was William Clark in St. Louis. Then he traveled to Daniel Boone’s cabin at Flanders Callaway’s property in La Charrette, where he painted the famous frontiersman, Histo-

rian Kenneth Winn wrote about Harding in Franklin. He stayed at the Square & Compass and continued working on his Boone portrait, the grandfather of Frances Lamme. It seems likely that the Lammes, living just down the street, saw a part of the finishing touches that Harding made. The artist Harding allowed nine-year-old George Caleb Bingham, to assist him at his work.⁶³

Bingham’s inn became a prominent public place. Mr. D. Fisher, who offered subscription schooling for Franklin children, advertised his availability for anyone “to interview him about his character or qualifications at Mr. Bingham’s tavern.” Attorneys, John F. Ryland and Armstead S. Grundy located their office adjacent to Bingham’s. Capt. Grundy, in April 1821, was appointed Howard County Clerk, In August 1821, when taxes for Franklin Township were due, the public was directed to Bingham’s to make payment, By October, the *Missouri Gazette* in St. Louis notified the public that folks could purchase Chester Harding prints of Col. Daniel Boone “on paper of the first quality” for \$3 at engraver James O. Lewis’s shop. Bingham served on the organizing committee in May 1822 to establish the Franklin Union Lodge that had its own meeting room. The popularity of the masonic institution and its name may have inspired Samuel C. McNees to establish Union Hall on the west side of the square in October 1822, a House of Entertainment with “moderate charges, stables well furnished with provender, and attentive ostlers.”⁶⁴

By May 1823, Bingham was ill, His sickness and high water from rains caused county business to be postponed. Henry Bingham’s business success and life was short-lived, He died of malaria on December 23, 1823, and neighbor John Ryland assisted Mary in settling his estate following a solemn masonic funeral. Patten memorialized Bingham’s reputation: “Who was there in all the relations of private and social life superior to Bingham? Who was a citizen, was more enterprising and more public spirited than Bingham? Who, as a public officer ever discharged his duties with more firmness, integrity, and impartiality than Bingham? All exclaim – not one. His death has created a chasm in our newly formed society.”⁶⁵

Bingham died not being able to see an award for his work. The *St. Louis Enquirer* announced after New Year’s that “Thirty-eight hogsheads of MISSOURI TOBACCO, with the stamp of Bingham & Lamme, Boon’s Lick, Missouri” sold in New York “at the highest price, being pronounced superior to any other descrip-



DANIEL BOONE SR. PORTRAIT: Chester Harding checked into Henry Bingham’s Square & Compass tavern in Franklin to complete his painting of Daniel Boone, Sr. Boone was the grandfather of neighbor Frances Lamme who lived in the same block on the west side of the town square. Tradition relates that Harding allowed the nine-year-old George C. Bingham to assist Harding at work. Image courtesy State Historical Society of Missouri

tion of Tobacco in market. It's unknown if Lamme continued to ship tobacco to New York, but he did commonly sell to merchants in St. Louis. Contemporary with this public notice, Franklinites shipped "Six boats laden with bacon, tobacco, peltries, bees wax, venison hams, etc. to New Orleans."⁶⁶

The public sale highlighted Bingham's "gig and harness, a first rate Bell for a tavern, two stoves & a first rate stove for cooking, a jackscrew, and two tobacco screws." They advertised his "Bingham and Lamme manufactured tobacco in strong kegs and good quality." Mary Bingham opened a school for girls, but later moved her family west across the river. She was able to do so with special aid in 1827 from the Franklin Union Lodge, No. 7, to secure a small farm. This suggests that Lamme primarily financed the Bingham-Lamme tobacco effort, as Bingham came to town with fewer resources than Lamme controlled. Mary Bingham reopened her school and her in-laws co-donated acreage for the new town of Philadelphia, to be called Arrow Rock in 1833, after the sale of lots and new buildings

were constructed. Her son George owned a brick, Federal house in town where she stayed when not at the farm, remaining a slaveholder until she died.⁶⁷

The year of 1823 continued to frustrate Franklinites at the post office. In February, editor Patten complained about the current mail that brought few letters, "The old route to St. Charles, by way of Loutre Island, we are informed crosses the river at Newport [Franklin County]. The Missouri is now full of floating ice and we can see no good reason why this important mail, containing packages for the public offices at this place and to the Council Bluffs, should be again trusted to [crossing] water ... when we have a direct route from St. Charles over dry land." Franklin was still on the western end of postal routes that sent the "Eastern Mail" via Cote Sans Dessein and a "Southern or Mine au Breton Mail" through the northern Ozarks.⁶⁸

In early March, Patten announced that "The last two mails have brought no letters east of St. Louis, and but few newspapers [exchanged with other publishers], and those in a shocking state, being completely saturated with water, covers worn off, etc." Postmaster General rules required contractors to "furnish the post-riders with bear skins to cover the mail, but in very few instances, this is attended to in this part of the country." Two weeks later, "The mail bags arrived late on Saturday evening, but were entirely empty. It is now 31 days since the arrival of any mail east of St. Louis."⁶⁹

On Sunday evening, in January 1824, editor Patten brought everyone's attention to a new arrival. "A very decent looking mail coach, drawn by four horses, stopped before the post-office. It is part of a new line of stages. The new contractor was Duff Green, editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*; partnered with mechanics George and his son, Isham Burke Sexton, in St. Louis. Green's brother-in-law, Sen. Ninian Edwards of Illinois, successfully lobbied to obtain three contracts for Green, founder of "the first stage-coach line west of the Mississippi River." They used small stages from St. Louis to Franklin and continued on horseback to Clay County. Green had been postmaster of Chariton, 1820-22 before

moving to St. Louis.⁷⁰

Patten feared, however, that the arrival of the mail to Franklin, by this arrangement, will not be so regular as it would be, if carried on horseback, During time of high water and miry roads, and especially in crossing swimming creeks, a single horse would be subject to less detention than the stage." Franklinites knew that previous attempts in bringing a regular stage to Franklin had failed and that the lack of road maintenance offered severe liabilities to any four-wheeled stage coach. He remained optimistic, "We hope the experience will dispel our fears in this respect."⁷¹

The mail contractors, who promised to bring the postal products, too often emphasized instead more lucrative and heavier passenger service. The Boonslick Road, or the Franklin/St. Charles Road in local terminology, was too much of a challenge. Patten quickly changed his tune that very January 1824. "Nearly three weeks have elapsed without affording us an eastern mail. We did receive "a very lean mail from St. Louis" this month, but the Post Master General promised us a weekly mail which should arrive in three days, The traveler, at his leisure, precedes it nearly two weeks." The mail stage and contractor from St. Louis still had problems to solve.

Months later, in April 1824, the post office announced a new line of mail stages from Louisville to Franklin. They struggled with making deliveries. But slowly, Franklin received more mail, as publisher Patten in spring 1824 complimented the contractor for his late delivery "when the whole country was literally deluged, and every petty creek and rivulet swelled to the size of rivers." Tolerance wore thin by the end of the year. Patten wrote, "The irregularity of the Eastern mail is particularly vexatious to us" and it impacted all the upper river settlements. Near Christmas, Franklin had not received "the St. Charles paper, by mail, for three weeks," an irritant for lack of state legislative news. "The manner in which the Eastern mail from St. Louis to this place is conducted is really disgraceful to all concerned." They were promised mail in three days, "it seldom arrives in less than seven, and without any regularity," complained Patten.

By March 1825, the Post Master General published specific guidelines for contractors in newspapers. The advice applied to the Booneslick region, Where "rapid progress of stages was impracticable, contractors should place the mail in covered Sulkies (4-wheel buggies) or in other vehicles better suited until the road will admit of stages." Moreover, the U.S. manager said, "there is no mail stage in the Union on which the mail cannot be conveyed in a Sulky or Cart, as rapidly as the contract requires. The transportation of the mail must not be made a secondary object."

Patten, trying to guess the day of mail and papers delivery to Franklin, adjusted his day of publication in an attempt to get fresher news to his readers. In January 1826, he changed from his traditional Friday to Wednesday. In less than a month, he exclaimed to his readers about the "scandalous alteration in the times of arrival and departure of the Eastern and Western mails" and commiserated with them that "we are particularly injured and aggrieved, we know the whole community are sufferers." He published a subscription cancellation "from Callaway County that "in

two years the average receipt of the *Intelligencer* has been about one in every three weeks.” By mid-March, the editor announced he concluded his experiment had failed and changed his publication day back to Friday. In April 1826, Patten circulated the rumor that the St. Louis postmaster general may soon issue a contract for mail transported in stages to Franklin.

Patten told his readers in February 1827 that “we are subjected to failures both from east and west. Last week we had only a partial eastern mail. Thus our subscribers are constantly suffering, while Chariton’s mail is only half the mail deposited that leaves Franklin for the upper country. Can not the rider forward the mail from Chariton’s office to Franklin? We hope the Contractor, “our friend, Mr. Sexton” can make proper arrangements. Throughout 1827, George Sexton in Boone County and Isham Sexton in St. Louis and their colleagues worked to establish predictable deliveries for the post riders and plan for stages to hauling passengers and mail from St. Louis westward. Within a year, Sexton managed the first reliable postal and stage business along the Boone’s Lick Road and up the Missouri River Valley.

In 1828, Franklin finally received stages “by way of Fayette to Franklin, and its return to St. Louis.” Four-horse stages began to replace the postal riders. George Sexton, a slaveholding farmer and skilled mechanic, became a long-term mail contractor for carrying the mail the length of the Boone’s Lick Road. Sexton had his own repair shops for his several stagecoaches and wagons at his farm several miles northwest of Columbia. By now, travelers noticed the striking difference in development along the eastern St. Charles County axis and the interior road, Virginia lawyer, William M. Campbell, wrote “the houses are generally small neat houses of log, with stone chimneys and white washed cracks and laudable attention paid to the planting of orchards of apples and peaches.” But, in Montgomery County, “the improvements are rather indifferent; afford very few indications of wealth and industry and enterprise.” After Campbell tramped across Howard County, he proclaimed it “one of the most thickly settled and most highly improved counties in the state. It may be my lot to travel through the best part of this county that lies near Franklin and on the Franklin Road.” He went to Fayette and stayed the night with Gov. John Miller.⁷²

While Patten directed rhetoric during the 1820s for a better postal delivery, by May 1821, James Hickman had rejoined Lamme in the Brick House mercantile, styled as Hickman and Lamme, where they touted their “large and safe Ware House” selling “a large assortment of dry goods, hardware, groceries, and queensware just received from Philadelphia.” In 1823, Hickman and Lamme became landlords and leased “the building immediately back of the store” to St. Louis merchants Ingram & Reily and their agent Caleb Jones, Lamme purchased hooped kegs to contain exported shipments and his slaves likely produced the chewing tobacco “put up in quarter pound twists for the Indian trade and first quality of Common Segars.”⁷³

North of town, the Sulphur Creek had caused Franklinites much trouble. They built a bridge, but it weathered and rotted. A public call for a new one was championed by the *Intelligencer*. Local government formed a commission that became James Hickman and James Mahan to draw up a contract and seek bidders.

The commissioners announced they would let the contract on a Saturday in June 1823 to the lowest bidder for the requisite bridge repair. Those interested could see the plan “exhibited in the Hickman and Lamme store” on the square.⁷⁴

The gradual growth in Santa Fe trade by 1825 led Franklin merchants and slaveholders to advertise “Santa Fe Goods.” William T. Lamme and James Hickman, and Gen. T. A. Smith and Col. George Knox Jr. became the largest suppliers among several stores in town. Government land receiver Smith partnered in business in 1824 with a fellow veteran military officer. Knox was one of the local leaders who participated in the town’s Brethren of Franklin Union Lodge. Smith and Knox combined with fellow merchants and masons, Robert Hood, Joseph Simpson, and Hickman and Lamme, to advertise their acquisition of goods from New York and Philadelphia “expressly for the Santa Fe market.” The steamboat, *Muskingum*, from Pittsburg, delivered their boat load in April 1826. Smith rented slaves to affluent men for a variety of agricultural and business tasks to pay for the slaves’ maintenance.⁷⁵

By spring 1826, it was no longer novel for Franklinites to see caravans prepare for journeys to Santa Fe. Patten commented on the spring 1826 caravan of 80-100 men that left Franklin with “wagons and carriages, of almost every description, are numerous ... and has the air of romance to see splendid pleasure carriages, with elegant horses, journeying to the Republic of Mexico.” The Americans no sooner left town than Manuel Escudero, a representative of Chihuahuan traders, who during the 1820s came to the Midwest to negotiate with the Americans and native tribes’ leadership to excite interest in two-way international commerce. Escudero’s crew came into Franklin with “six or seven new and substantial built wagons heavily laden with merchandise” on their way back to New Mexico. Although Patten, too, hoped for a “new



Missourian Josiah Gregg’s brothers, Jacob and John, traveled with traders’ caravans to Santa Fe in the 1820s. Josiah joined a caravan leaving Independence for Santa Fe in May 1831. He paid his way by working as a bookkeeper, and taught himself Spanish on the trip. The traveling life of a Santa Fe trader appealed to Gregg’s restless nature and insatiable curiosity. He spent the next nine years in the trade, completing four trips from Missouri to Santa Fe and back again. This is an illustration from Gregg’s *Commerce of the Prairies of a trading caravan arriving in Santa Fe*. Courtesy New York Public Library Digital Images, Rare Books Division [cd24_368](#)

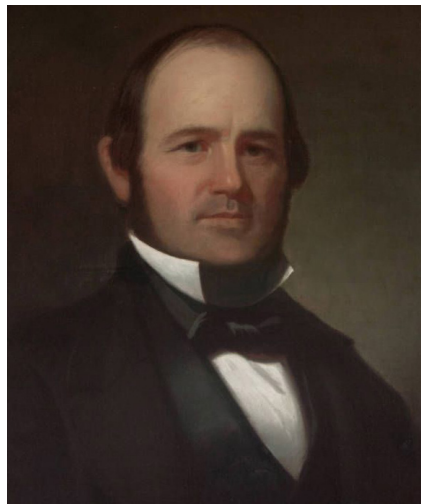
era” in commerce, it did not materialize.⁷⁶

The expanding urbanized nature of Franklin’s commerce encouraged Lamme to advertise products often beyond polite con-

versation. They generally fall under the rubric of patent medicines, but they were directed at some of society's worst debilities, Customers could review Lamme's pharmacy of cures for the "King's Evil; Ulcers; Syphilis in every stage; Rheumatism and Gout, Liver Complaints" and more that came with certificates of assurance for their efficacy; one could purchase a bottle for \$3, or \$30 per dozen.⁷⁷

The attraction of profits in Santa Fe did not come without extreme pain. Thomas Hardeman's youngest son and lawyer, Bailey, and Thomas' son-in-law, Capt. Glen Owen, who married his daughter Elizabeth, were stocked by Smith and Knox, Bailey and Owen went in 1824 on the LeGrand-Marmaduke caravan, when Marmaduke left his Booneslick business in the care of John Hardeman, and Bailey joined Becknell's trapping adventure in 1824. In 1825 there were separate expeditions. Owen wisely made out his will "being about to travel to Santa Fe in New Mexico and considering the dangers and uncertainties" on May 18, 1824, named "my friend, John Hardeman to be my executor." Owen and his comrades went on down to Chihuahua for horses and mules. But, near the Rio Grande, Comanches attacked and killed Owen. William Wolfskill brought Owen's share of the trade back to his widow Elizabeth. Editor Patten's public sale notice included "well blooded mares, horses, mules, a stock of cattle, sheep," etc., Captain Owen had been one of the five commissioners who chose the location of Fayette for the Howard County county seat.⁷⁸

Late in the decade, the tables turned on John Hardeman, too. The 1826 Missouri River flood impacted Hardeman's fragile property more than anyone's in Cooper's Bottom and downriver past Franklin. Earlier in the year, George Sibley had sent "parcels and cuttings of very fine Grape Vines" from San Fernando (Taos), New Mexico to Hardeman. His *Fruitage Farm* nursery of a 10-acre plot carved out in the bottom timber, was thought to be protected by its surrounding forest. The "evergreens, flowers, grape vines, and departure of the foliage beneath the trees, fruit trees, and dead apples floated upon the waters, leaving an unpruned corner of an orchard," wrote Alphonso Wetmore. Hardeman's



JOHN LOCK HARDEMAN (1776-1829): Portrait by Missouri artist George Caleb Bingham, a long-time friend of the family. Image courtesy of Nancy Kiser and Find a Grave

garden of shrubs and small trees was covered in silt and sand, and large waterlogged trees and river debris, while bank erosion at the bend of the river claimed many acres. In 1827, the county court had to once again approve new road work at Hardeman's property. Alphonso Wetmore, Daniel Munro, and others petitioned to abandon the 1822 road work and adjust it inland again due to flooding so travelers could get to the Arrow Rock ferry.⁷⁹

Hardeman left Franklin and traveled to the new City of

Jefferson. There, he purchased an acreage west of town on the Boonville Road (modern Main Street) and a scenic parcel further west near modern Boonville Road and Highway 179, This latter site he intended to develop, *Penultima*, another garden and floral site, but this time on an upland acreage. He may have spent time in 1827 in its conception and planning, including a small house, as his wife, Nancy Knox Hardeman moved into Jefferson City, too. It's likely the Hardeman house west of Franklin was damaged beyond her wish to reclaim or rebuild it.

However, the adventurous pull of the Spanish country and imaginary profits propelled Hardeman to plan a trip to Santa Fe with material support from his father-in-law, George Knox Jr. of Smith and Knox in Franklin. In April 1828 John Hardeman left with others for the Southwest trade. Not long after his departure, Senator Benton sent a printed copy of the recent *Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the U.S. and Mexico* to T. A. Smith to pass on "to Hardeman & Col. Marmaduke, as it will be a great protection to them in Mexico." Meanwhile, Nancy Hardeman and her two small children by John, lived in Jefferson City, While John was gone, in June 1828, the child George Hardeman died and in April 1829, the other son, Knox Hardeman died, and both were buried in Jefferson City. After John had been among traders and the Spanish country for fifteen months, he started his return to Missouri via New Orleans, where he contracted yellow fever, died, and was buried there in September 1829.⁸⁰

Hardeman had significant funds with him, but the exact amount is unknown, with locals in New Orleans taking charge of his remains and his money deposited in a bank. Gen. Thomas A. Smith made a written inquiry being advised that Hardeman's probate settlement would cost less in New Orleans; Sen. Thomas H. Benton helped survivors with legal problems. Nancy Hardeman decided to transfer the money and administer her husband's property in Missouri and Miles Marmaduke agreed to be guardian of Hardeman's minor children. In Hardeman's absence, the Missouri River had once again encroached upon his real estate and more upriver west of Franklin in the bottoms. The county approved marking out yet another road farther inland, a Fayette to Arrow Rock ferry pathway.⁸¹

Some of Hardeman's estate administration took place in Howard County, but Nancy and her friends in Cole County managed much of it there. In January 1830, a George T. White, began working with Nancy in Jefferson City, while Nancy traveled back and forth to Franklin to consult with her administrator, attorney Charles French. Hardeman's ownership of 26 slaves made the estate administration stretch out for years, Nancy kept 10 slaves in Howard County, but many of the rest were hired out in Cole County. French held a public auction at Hardeman's former residence in February 1830 to hire 24 of the slaves. By 1831, Hampton Boone acted as a paid clerk in the estate for the hiring, and that year, hired all 26 to ten different individuals for Nancy's income.⁸²

In April 1831, heir John Locke Hardeman sold all his interest in his father's estate to Meredith M. Marmaduke. For Nancy, the demand for black women to do domestic work was always high, and her female slaves, ages 17-38, worked throughout Jefferson City. By December 1832, the Cole County Court started ordering the sale of several slaves, and Charles French, longtime Franklin attorney, continued as Nancy's administrator. In Jeffer-

son City, widow Nancy began a romance with businessman, James Dunnica, and they were married in March 1835 in New Franklin, Howard County. The marriage, at law, put Dunnica in charge of the continuing administration of Hardeman slave assets that continued into the 1850s after Nancy and wealthy slaveholder James Dunnica had moved to St. Louis.⁸³

Growth in the Santa Fe trade led William Lamme to expand his reach upriver with another partnership in late 1825 at Liberty, Clay County, named "Hickman, Lamme & Ringo." To increase their inventories, James Hickman planned a trip to east coast wholesale houses to import 1826 shipments. But, before he left, his slave Jim left, Hickman advertised a \$25 reward for the "35 year old man, tolerable large eyes, with more white than is common, He had a wool hat, a white roundabout coat of twilled linsey and large pantaloons, white woolen socks, new shoes, pegged in the bottom." A teenage Greenup Bird from Kentucky clerked at their Franklin store.⁸⁴

At the "first Jubilee of American Independence" celebrating the previous half-century of freedom's progress in Franklin, Capt. James Hickman officiated as president of the festivities while participants made their toasts. By November, Lamme's partner, James Hickman, was dead, William Lamme joined David and Thomas Hickman in signing an enormous security bond of \$60,000 for Hickman's estate, owner of 4,700 acres in Howard County, but also tracts in Cooper and Boone Counties that represented one of the more shrewd land speculation inventories in the Booneslick. Lamme purchased Hickman's mercantile interests. By November 1827, Lamme was still "at their old stand on the west side of the Public Square," and offered "goods for cash or in exchange for good tobacco." For some time, Lamme had an arrangement to sell his tobacco at the Scott and Rule store in St. Louis, an alliance he continued until he retired.⁸⁵

Since Lamme's residency in the Brick House, the west side of the Franklin town square had continued as the most prominent commercial row in town, He highlighted his "stills for sale" for the thirsty Booneslickers and "expect my New Goods in a few days will make my assortment complete." In March 1828, the court ordered creditor and co-contractor for the courthouse at Fayette, Stephen Trigg, to pay the Hickman estate "a female slave about 2 1/2 years old and a male about 1 year of age." Hickman's probate administrators advertised them to sell quickly to others. The slave society held little remorse for children. Potential buyers of slaves learned to watch for ads in settling estates

to consider a purchase of their own. The traditional local government market was the courthouse door, where a seven-year-old boy and an adult man were sold prior to Hickman's slaves. The 1828 population abstract for Missouri counties indicated that Howard County's 2,326 slaves led the state in numbers, with 24% of its people in slavery and also held 100 more slaves in the county than were in St. Louis.⁸⁶

Those into slave trading were more interested in the ages of slaves, not their gender, As one Southern historian wrote, "the traffic bore heaviest upon those adolescents and young adults whose children would soon perpetuate slavery." In February 1830, Elbridge Jackson advertised children and adult slaves for sale in Fayette, "Twelve Likely Negroes." They included "three women, six boys, from two to eight years old; three girls, eight and nine years of age." We wonder how much did the children understand what was happening to them? Enslaver Jackson died the following year.⁸⁷

In early 1828, Lamme & Brothers purchased "the large Warehouse in Franklin, on the bank of the Missouri River" and offered its two-story space for storage prior to subsequent shipping and that "a hand at all times will attend to receiving produce." The steamboat *Bolivar* brought the Lammes wholesale inventory for Franklin and Columbia stores. Smith, Knox, Hardeman, Lamme, and Marshal were all prominent long distance traders to New Orleans and to the "Spanish Country." By now, several salt manufacturers at regional springs competed with one another as their product was a staple in the Santa Fe trade. In 1828, the Lamme Brothers contracted for 700 bushels with John A. Jones, the namesake for the village Jonesboro, on Salt Fork in Saline County to stock their several stores. A year later, in November 1829, Jones agreed to supply 10,000 bushels to slaveholder John Graves at 37 1/2 cents per bushel and allow Graves to store and retail any amount at Jones salt works.⁸⁸

In 1828, the Lamme brothers continued to market to Santa Fe, but their young bachelor brother Samuel decided that he wanted to accompany the 1829 caravan, After all, in 1828, he made the journey on a mule-buying trip, when Indians killed Franklin merchant John Means. "Leading proprietors, including Samuel C. Lamme and David Waldo, sent direct appeals to the new president, Andrew Jackson for a military escort." The Lammes knew the risk from Comanche warfare and raiding parties who had killed many Mexicans and Americans and stolen horses and trade goods along the Indian territories, but Samuel, manager of the Lamme's Indepen-

New Goods.

LAMME & BROTHERS.
AT FRANKLIN--And
DAVID S. LAMME & CO.
AT COLUMBIA.

HAVE the pleasure of informing their friends and the public generally, that they have just received by the Steam Boat Bolivar, and are now opening, a large and extensive assortment of

**FANCY
SPRING GOODS**

In addition to which they have at Franklin, a large quantity of well selected

**SANTA FE
GOODS,**

All of which they will sell at unusually low prices.

Franklin, March 21, 1828. 36 4w

NEW GOODS: Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, March 21, 1828. Courtesy of State Historical Society Digital Newspaper Project

dence emporium, committed to the adventure, He made his will in December 1828 and retained David Lamme as his executor (William was not part of Samuel's will). Nearly 20 men from Fayette joined this expedition.⁸⁹

Capt. Alphonso Wetmore, in April 1829, after spending a year in Mexico for the U.S. Army, reported to the *Intelligencer* about "threatened hostility of the Indians" and that with the recent Congressional failure to provide "protection to this trade, great fears are entertained that some disaster may befall them." President Jackson, in an order to the War Department, resulted in Maj. Bennett Riley at Jefferson Barracks going to escort the 1829 caravan. Gen. Henry Atkinson notified Gen. T. A. Smith about these preparations in April and sent Lt. Brooke to Franklin to acquire "30 yoke of oxen for the expedition" that would join more oxen and wagons at Liberty. The May 1, 1829, *Intelligencer* announced Riley's command would join the 38-wagon caravan, only one-third the size of the 1828 group, but opined the "general views taken by us about this limited escort was nothing but an electioneering maneuver." Editor Patten continued that "few deem it prudent or advisable to engage in the Santa Fe trade this spring." On July 17, he reprinted a *St. Louis Times* June 18 letter from Maj. Riley saying Capt. Charles Bent of St. Louis was the leader of the traders' caravan worth over \$70,000 in goods, and that "Mr. L[amme] of Liberty is with us, and has 6 or 7,000 dollars worth of his own."⁹⁰

Samuel C. Lamme never made it to Santa Fe. He died before Franklin readers of the *Intelligencer* had read Maj. Riley's report to the *St. Louis Times*. Riders went back to Maj. Riley and convinced the soldiers to accompany the traders which they did for two more days before camping and not providing further escort south, while returning to the Arkansas River to wait for the caravan's return in October. Their traders made it to Santa Fe, spent a couple of months doing business and met the soldiers in October for the return trip to Missouri. Overall, the military considered the mission a success and it led to mounted cavalry being assigned as more effective future escorts on the Santa Fe Trail.⁹¹

There was nothing successful about it for William Lamme. His brothers had joined him in Missouri years after he arrived at La Charette. The family leader and eldest brother of Lamme & Company talked with David and they decided to liquidate all business assets. On December 10, 1829, they invited highest bidders to attend sales of merchandise at Independence and Liberty; On December 15, buyers could consider the personal property of Samuel C. Lamme, who owned slaves, nearly 2,300 acres in various places, accounts due, books, and as a horse breeder, receipts for seasoning mares. William's primary inventory was in Franklin's Lamme & Brothers, and that of William's protégé, C. F. Jackson & Company's store in Franklin, The Lamme ads for western Missouri highlighted "Horses, Mules, Waggon, Harness for the Santa Fe trade," while in Lamme's Franklin sale "Manufactured Tobacco, Four Tobacco Screws and Apparatus" were singled out. Another

ad notified readers that the David S. Lamme & Company in Columbia was dissolved, but David reopened a store later. The names of different collectors for debts owed to each company were listed. In Fayette, trustee James Harrison sold two male slaves and land

"The loss of entrepreneurs Henry V. Bingham, Glen Owen, John Hardeman, James Hickman, Robert Hood, Samuel Lamme, Robert McNees, Daniel Munro, John Means, and other public men who were vital to Franklin's prosperity, was metaphorically devastating for Franklin's future as a business hub, even though the annual high water and new settlement opportunities would direct futures elsewhere in the long run. Franklin's commercial diaspora went in every direction as most Franklinites desired 'dry dock' settlements."

on a defaulted deed for the benefit of William and David Lamme. William and David were in court during the 1830s trying to collect assets in several counties owed to them. David was a co-trustee in the establishment of New Franklin and invested in Chihuahua, Mexico, trading with Augustus Storrs.⁹²

Samuel's death may have precipitated what William and Frances wanted to do anyway, take their assets and go home to kith

and kin, and their nearly 1,300 acres in La Charette Township. The market hunter, farmer, merchant, and land speculator died on October 1, 1840. Much of his will concerned his planning for the continued education of his children and grandchildren, girls and boys. Slavery, too, had always existed in parallel in all of Lamme's adult life. He wrote, "In selling my negroes however I desire particularly in behalf of my woman servant Mary and as a mark of my favor to her, because of her signal fidelity to me that she and all her children be sold together and to the same bidder and I further request that my family will use all reasonable efforts to enable her to procure an acceptable purchaser." Lamme willingly forced Mary and her kids out of her domicile. Both Lamme and Mary knew that master-slave relationships could abruptly change for the worse, that's why he hoped for "an acceptable purchaser." Mary was not guaranteed that a new master or his son would be in her room, or her daughters' beds, late one night. Their bodies would be the property of the new owner. Mary may have thought William's wish was more a gamble than a favor. Either way, Lamme's directions contributed to the continuance of Missouri's internal slave trade.⁹³

The loss of entrepreneurs Henry V. Bingham, Glen Owen, John Hardeman, James Hickman, Robert Hood, Samuel Lamme, Robert McNees, Daniel Munro, John Means, and other public men who were vital to Franklin's prosperity, was metaphorically devastating for Franklin's future as a business hub, even though the annual high water and new settlement opportunities would direct futures elsewhere in the long run. Franklin's commercial diaspora went in every direction as most Franklinites desired "dry dock" settlements. In faraway Mexico, Augustus Storrs welcomed Boonslick traders' business in Chihuahua for several years. The episodic cleanup of river debris around and in buildings grew old with William T. Lamme and T. A. Smith although they had slaves and plenty of labor to clean yards and renew domiciles; few residents had their resources. The last high society event in Franklin was the spring 1830 marriage of the Hon. Nathaniel B. Tucker to Ms. Lucy Ann Smith, at the Smith Federal mansion east of town. Lamme and Smith gradually moved out in fall 1830. Lamme had witnessed the changes in the Franklin environs longer than any other merchant, and Smith's experience wasn't much shorter. Other locales were glad to have their investments.⁹⁴

In 1830, Capt. Crooks piloted the *Wm. M. Duncan*, an occasional packet that delivered and picked up freight at Giles Samuel's warehouses at Franklin and Ross and Glasgow's at Chariton with a return stop at Boonville. The small steamer *Native* delivered a load to William Lamme's old partner, J. H. Benson & Company, at Franklin's dock that included a light load of drug and pharmacy items. Benson was much more than a local merchant, he had invested in the burgeoning stock trade. The previous July, he advertised a sale at Franklin for "70 Large First Rate Mules" and the same qualities for 10 horses. The Booneslick became known for its quality stock just as it did for its exported tobacco. By this time, it had been more than a decade since the first steamer visited Franklin and Chariton that ushered in a disappointed optimism for regular steamboat service for over a decade. Everyone's future in Franklin Township became dramatically different after 1830.⁹⁵

EDITOR'S NOTE: In 1990, Lynn Morrow was named supervisor of Missouri's newly created Local Records Preservation Program at the Missouri State Archives, now a national model for federal and state records associations. He retired in 2013. He has published extensively on the history of Missouri and the Ozarks region of Missouri and Arkansas in scholarly journals including the *Missouri Historical Review*. He holds undergraduate and graduate degrees in American History from Southwest Missouri State University (now Missouri State University) in Springfield. Lynn and his wife, Kristen, live in Jefferson City.

NOTES

1 Town of Osage, *Missouri Gazette*, June 2, 1819. Gentry, early Franklin merchant John Love, and a number of Boonslick men complained to the President about Henry Carroll, Barnes' house in *History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri*, 1883, 166. Smithton, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 3, 1819, Gentry, Berry, and Todd were three of 35 speculators in Smithton, Beth Pendergast, "Smithton, Missouri," *MHR* (January 1976), 136, and the first house was Gentry's tavern, bid for "two chimneys, one story and a half high ... and digging and walling a well," *Intelligencer*, Aug. 13, 1819. A Patten ad said that the Smithton property was part of a 2,700 acre parcel, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, 1819, which explains why there were so many investors, many with familiar names around Franklin like James H. Benson, Taylor Berry, Nicholas Burckhardt, John & Robert Heath, Angus L. Langham, William Lientz, David Todd, Talton Turner, etc.

2 Gentry was co-promoter of Nashville in 1820, In May 1821, Smithton relocated east and was renamed Columbia that soon attracted the main east-west overland route, the Boone's Lick Road. Gentry moved his tavern to Broadway on the road. Nathaniel Patten brought the *Intelligencer* from Fayette to Columbia in 1830.

3 Among the petitioners were Hampton L. Boon, Nicholas Burckhardt, Gray Bynum, John B. Clark, Charles French, Payton R. Hayden, Nathaniel Hutchinson, Daniel Munro, Lemon Parker, William V. Rector, Augustus Storrs, Stephen Trigg, Jr., Philip Turner, and more, petition dated Sept. 14, 1819, *Territorial Papers ... Vol. XV*, 556-61. Storrs had promoted the area since he was at Warrington where he gave the July 4th oration in 1817, *Gazette*, July 19, 1817.

4 Caroll to Meigs, *Territorial Papers, Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1815-1821*, March 11, 1820.

5 Ibid., Carroll sent his evidence that Henry had made an error on one of Gentry's land certificates, apologized for it, but concluded that Gentry had provided wrong information in the first place. United States vs. Richard Gentry, March 1820, Howard County, Supreme Court case files, MSA,

6 Col. John G. Miller replaced Charles Carroll as register in December 1821, *Missouri Intelligencer*, December 18, 1821, After Gov. Frederick Bates died in late 1825, Miller became governor until ending his second term in 1833 and moved to Fayette.

7 *History of Howard and Chariton Counties* (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883), 546, and Alexander Gray was another distinguished lawyer, W. V. N. Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri ...* (St. Louis: F. H. Thomas and Company), 55-56.

8 Grand jury, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 29, 1821.

9 Houck, *History of Missouri, Volume III*, 7; *Intelligencer*, and Mar. 26, 1821. William Carr Lane held the rank of Colonel, due to Gov. Alexander McNair's appointment of Lane as his aide-de-camp, Letters of William Carr Lane, 1819-1831, *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis, 1940), 49.

10 Thompson building, *Intelligencer*, May 7, 1822. Dr. Lane was Master of the Franklin Lodge in 1821 and 1823 and served as Grand Master 1828-31.

11 County seat removal, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1823. Franklin Lodge, J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis and County, Vol. II* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co., 1883), 1783.

12 *Intelligencer*, Oct. 22, 1822; *Intelligencer*, Carroll's administrator, Jan. 14, 1823, Boonville 116, Feb. 4, 1823, slave Joe in Aug. 19, 1823. Dr. Lane and Henry Carroll's relatives spent several years trying to collect debts owed to Henry Carroll, and hired John Ryland to bring lawsuits for them. Finally, in fall 1828, after Dr. Lane's family had moved to St. Louis in 1826, Lane was still administrator of the estate as it began to sell off Henry Carroll's land at public auction, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 3, 1826, and Oct. 31, 1828. Dr. Lane died of cholera during the famous St. Louis epidemic in 1849, as he remained in the city to attend patients.

13 Gentry court rental, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 1, 1825; Gentry sales, *Intelligencer*, May 12 and Sept. 28, 1826, for slave Isaac, and slave marketing of Clayburn, Hannah, Henry, Reuben, and Warren on June 2, 1827, *Intelligencer*, May 3, 1827. On May 8, 1827, a deed indicated that Gentry still owed money to his former partner in promoting Franklin, John Welch, only it was for Columbia property, Richard Gentry mortgaged slaves to his brother David Gentry to cover a \$863.12 debt to Parker and Berry, e.g., "a negro woman named Agg, aged about thirty years, a negro girl names Louisan, aged about twelve years, a negro boy named Edmund, aged about ten years," and much of his household possessions. At this time, Gentry was trading and traveling on the Santa Fe Trail. Richard Gentry, *The Gentry Family in America: 1676 to 1909*, and in email from David Sapp to author, Dec. 19, 2011, *Boone County Deed Book B*, p. 219 for mortgage deed. For a narrative of the newspaper gossip about the Gentry-Carroll affair (with historical errors because the author did not consult the government records, e.g., Thomas H. Benton did not mount his horse in St. Louis and ride to Franklin to defend his friend Gentry), see Dick Steward, *Duels and the Roots of Violence in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 50-53.

14 This famous event is told in many places. A good summary is Dick Steward, *Duels and the Roots of Violence in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 2000), 100-108. Some of the primary documents are on the State Archives website about dueling in Missouri. The *Intelligencer* reported Leonard's appointment on March 6, 1824, as Hamilton Gamble had resigned.

15 *Intelligencer*, Nov. 6, 1824, and Crack of the Pistol of Abiel Leonard, Missouri State Archives, online.

16 Ibid.

17 Ferry license, *Missouri Gazette*, Dec. 4, 1818. Larry Beachum, *William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trade* (University of Texas El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1982), 16. Emigration, *Niles Weekly*, Oct. 27, 1821. See copy of Becknell's hire of slaves from Smith, in Gregory Hanks, *The World of Hannah Cribbs Evans*, Chapter IV, William Becknell, "To Santa Fe," online, copied from Thomas A. Smith v. William Becknell & Co., Howard County circuit court case files, MSA. Smith had the agreement notarized and signed by John Ryland on August 18, 1821.

18 *Intelligencer*, June 25, 1821. Becknell, "rough etc.," Luke Shortfield, *The Western Merchant* (Philadelphia: Grigg, Elliott & Co., 1849), 64.

19 Keith T. Berry, The Ezekiel Williams Family from his Great-Grandfather to his Grandchildren, privately printed typescript, Revised October 21, 2019, 61. Williams' life is discussed in pages 33-83.

20 "Ezekiel Williams Adventures in Colorado," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1913), online. Lost billfold, *Intelligencer*, April 22, 1820.

21 Kansas State Historical Society, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Traders in Santa Fe, Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail (Revised), Spring 2012, 13-14, online. John Shaw, while still managing his tavern, died in Jan. 1826. Ten dollars, *Intelligencer*, June 25, 1821; the following year, the average financial investment for individuals in Benjamin Cooper's caravan was \$200.00 a person, Kenneth Holmes, "The Benjamin Cooper Expeditions," 145.

22 *Gazette*, July 18, and 25, and Oct. 10, 1821. T. A. Smith's 1822 lawsuit against Becknell and Company describes it as a partnership among Becknell and the Morrisons, Howard County circuit court.

23 See summary by Michael L. Olsen and Harry C. Myers, "The Diary of Pedro Ignacio Gallego Wherein 400 Soldiers Following the Trail of Comanches met William Becknell on His First Trip to Santa Fe," *Wagon Tracks* (Nov. 1992); unfortunately, the deeper into the article one reads, the more the authors become advocates of Becknell's assumed intentions without primary sources that attribute plans by Becknell, only the authors' desired results that Becknell intended to go to Santa Fe. "Captain William Becknell's Journal of Two Expeditions from Boon's Lick to Santa Fe," Harry C. Myers, ed. *Wagon Tracks* (May 1997), 1, 20-24, online. Becknell's intentions upon leaving Franklin are murky at best. Some primary documents have more than one interpretation that allows for speculation where Becknell thought he was going when he left Franklin, As Alphonso Wetmore wrote in Franklin, "In his wanderings, he had, either by accident or design, fallen into the Spanish settlements," Augustus Storrs and Alphonso Wetmore, *Santa Fe Trail*,

Reports 1825 (Houston, TX: Stagecoach Press, Sept. 1960), 61-62. Jeff Bremer in *A Store Almost in Sight, The Economic Transformation of Missouri from the Louisiana Purchase to the Civil War* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014), 132, also believes "The Santa Fe trade began by accident in November 1821." In contrast to Becknell, readings of the John McKnight-Thomas James and Hugh Glenn-Jacob Fowler parties that arrived on Becknell's heels, seemed to know exactly how to travel to Santa Fe. Likewise, historian Kenneth L. Holmes in "The Benjamin Cooper Expeditions to Santa Fe in 1822 and 1823, *New Mexico Historical Review* (1963), 150, attributes to Cooper a share of "a multiple paternity" as a founder of the Santa Fe trade.

24 \$530.00 slave rental, Thomas A. Smith v. William Becknell et al, Howard County circuit court, May 1822, MSA. Morrow, "Western Expansion," 27; Larry Beachum, *William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trade* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1982), 1-16; and National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Historic Resources of the Santa Fe Trail (Revised), Spring, 2012.

25 Henry Devers v. William Becknell, 1823, Supreme Court Case Files, MSA.

26 Becknell contemporaries, such as the well-traveled Franklin resident, Alphonso Wetmore, considered 1822 to be the first year of any planned trading expedition to Santa Fe.

27 The property history of the salt works is in Morrow, "Western Expansion..." *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Fall-Winter 2014). Becknell's \$700 sale, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1823; 1823 lawsuits, Beachum, *William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trade*, 40.

28 Craig Case in "Without a Trace: The Becknell Five," *Wagon Tracks* (August 2014), 11-15, suggested possibilities for the other five men with Becknell, Burckhardt's attachment of Sally, William Lay, "The Story of the Boone's Lick State Historic Site," typescript, p. 3. Becknell's house, "Westward Along the Boone's Lick Trail in 1826," *MHR* (Jan. 1945), 193.

29 *Answers of Augustus Storrs, of Missouri to Certain Queries upon the Origin, Present State, and Future Prospect of Trade and Intercourse between Missouri and the Internal Provinces of Mexico propounded by the Hon. Mr. Benton, January 3, 1825* (Washington D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1825), 12, and William Nisbet Chambers, *Old Bullion Benton*, 127-28. Failed petitions, *Niles Register*, January 29, 1825. Benton's speech included that Storrs' caravan was "eighty persons, one hundred and fifty-six horses, and twenty-three wagons and carriages in May and June." Storrs was captain of the 1825 caravan that included Dr. Rowland Willard of St. Charles, Homestead Museum post, May 16, 2018. Storrs was consul, 1825-29. The 1827 caravan included Presley Samuel, Richard Gentry, A. Barnes, David Workman, and others. Storrs moved to Mexico, and established a mercantile business in Chihuahua in 1831. Booneslick long distance traders from Chariton and Howard County did business with him during the 1830s. Storrs moved to Texas in 1839 and managed another store at Linville in Refugio County, Augustus Storrs, *Handbook of Texas*, online.

30 Silver ore in *Missouri Gazette*, Aug. 18, 1819; correspondence in Parker-Russell Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. A decade prior, in 1809, John Shaw asked for and received a territorial government license in St. Louis "to search for gold and silver anywhere within the limits of that territory," *Personal Narrative of Col. John Shaw of Marquette County, Wisconsin* (Wisconsin Historical Society), 1856, an

interview of Shaw collected by Lyman Draper, Lockhart went to Texas in 1826 to practice surveying where Lockhart, Texas, is named for him. The *Gazette*, May 24, 1817, claimed there were two furnaces with 40 kettles each on the Lamine, furnishing salt for 2,000 families who lived above Franklin.

31 Elias Barcroft was a distinguished surveyor who surveyed from 1810 in Ohio, then Illinois, and in Missouri by 1816 for William Rector, who became the Surveyor of Public Lands' office in St. Louis, and Barcroft clerked in Rector's St. Louis office. Gen. William Rector, of St. Louis County, received the highest number of votes for any candidate to Missouri's constitutional convention. Rector, during the 1820s, speculated in many Booneslick parcels in Boone, Callaway, Cole, Howard, Osage, Saline, and other counties, BLM search, Gen. Rector sent Maj. Barcroft to Franklin to manage surveys, while Barcroft was appointed Howard County surveyor in early 1821. Barcroft sub-contracted with George Thomas to survey 13 townships, and invested in personal business, He had a warehouse on the north side of the square that merchants Stanley & Ludlow used to sell imported whiskey, New Orleans sugar, tar, raisins, and more. He was Howard and Cooper County's state senator in 1820 and state auditor, 1824-33. In between those offices, in March 1822, Gov. Alexander McNair appointed him to survey the original plat for the City of Jefferson, which he sub-contracted to Callaway County surveyor, David Sterigere, who had earlier surveyed in St. Louis, and later became a lawyer and judge in Franklin County. Surveyor Sterigere's chainmen were George Ollar and William Taylor and Johnson Taylor was the marker, Lynn Morrow email to James Harlan and Jim Denny, Nov. 26, 2008, from State Auditor Papers, MSA. Barcroft survey contract for City of Jefferson, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 21, 1823. In Franklin, John Ward and Lemon Parker were the Ward and Parker firm,

32 *Intelligencer*, October 8, 1822, and July 22, 1823.

33 Boys and young women, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 12, 1823.

34 Lowry ads, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 6, Oct. 8, and Jan. 21, 1823.

35 Slave Washington, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 8, 1824. Thomson's ad, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 7, 1821.

36 Pearson in *Intelligencer*, June 25, 1825, and Dec. 7, 1826, and Lee Cullimore, *To Make a Fortune in Missouri, Meredith Miles Marmaduke, 1791-1864* (Arrow Rock: Friends of Arrow Rock, 2021), 24, and 223, Clark was later known as the "Father of the county" in the Centennial history, by Henry C. Levens and Nathaniel M. Drake, *A History of Cooper County, Missouri* (St. Louis: Perrin & Smith, 1876), 197, and see the appendices for offices held by Brisco and Clark.

37 Wagons that arrived in Mexico brought extremely high prices when traded away in the southwest. However, what these wagons looked like is unknown in the literature except for some advertisements for those joining a caravan to bring "small wagons," like Robert W. Morris did in Franklin, *Intelligencer*, March 20, 1824. Morris was an early area trader, since 1817, *Gazette*, March 8, 1817, An historical study into this puzzling issue is Mark L. Gardner, "Wagons on the Santa Fe Trail, 1822-1880," (National Park Service, Department of the Interior, September 1997), online. Becknell's successful trip using three wagons for his first planned trip in 1822 resulted in Gov. Alexander McNair taking note of it in his address to the Missouri General Assembly, Nov. 4, 1822. McNair said, "it is a fact to the belief of which no credit would have been given until it was performed, that wagons have this summer made

the same journey [to Santa Fe]," *Intelligencer*, Nov. 12, 1822. The first ad for wagon making in St. Louis on Main Street was "Wagon Making and Blacksmithing," in the *Gazette*, April 4, 1821, including "Dearborn Wagons made to order." In later years, there were at least three St. Louis wagon-making firms who targeted the Boone's Lick Road traffic, Santa Fe trade, and immigration west, the best known was Joseph Murphy, see entries by Frederick A. Hodes, *Rising on the River: St. Louis 1822 to 1850, Explosive Growth from Town to City* (Tooele, Utah: Patrice Press, 2009), 515, and *ad passim*.

38 John D. Jones v. Jacob Nave and Nancy White, administrator for William White, Saline County circuit court, 1824, MSA.

39 Daly received \$75.00 for finding the center and \$150.00 for the Fayette town survey, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 16, 1823 and postmaster, June 5, 1824, Howard County paid Daly \$58.00 for surveying in Nov. 1822. These amounts were better incomes than for teaching at the school he opened in 1824, *Intelligencer*, July 17, 1824, and May 7, 1825, but he probably gave all or most survey options to his stepson, A. W. Morrison, The court hired Morrison, too, to survey for probate divisions of private property by 1823. Fayette, *Intelligencer*, June 29, 1826. In January 1830, Morrison became Howard County assessor, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 12, 1830.

40 Major-Daly marriage, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 6, 1829. Morrison surveyed for a decade locally until he procured lucrative federal survey contracts in the Platte Purchase, northern Missouri, and on the Osage River, in *United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-made Men: Missouri volume*, New York, 1878, online and transcribed in Morrison's *Findagrave* entry. These federal contracts are what primarily financed the construction of his estate, Lilac Hill, during the mid-1830s, unless a friend helped him with a mortgage deed.

41 The Coopers' mules, Mike Dickey, "Specie, Sweat, and Survival: The Impact of the Santa Fe Trail on Missouri's Economy," *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Winter 2013-14), 6. Morris stock, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 15, 1824, and Feb. 8, 1825, Later, Joseph Cooper and his stock hands did well with military contracts to supply cattle to Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Indians on their Oklahoma reservations and in cattle drives to St. Peters, MN (Fort Snelling), Joseph Cooper interview, by M. Quidam, January 23, 1874, *St. Louis Times*; Joseph was also a government hunter for surveyors when they worked on the Missouri-Iowa state line.

42 Journal, *Intelligencer*, April 22, 1823; Cooper's horses, June 17, 1823; horses, *Intelligencer*, June 5, 1824. F. A. Sampson, *Journal of M. M. Marmaduke of a trip from Franklin, Missouri to Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1824*, rpt. from the *Missouri Intelligencer* [Sept. 2, 1825] with Notes (State Historical Society of Missouri, 1911), 3.

43 Keel boat *Charles* in *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 30 and *Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 8, Oct. 20, and Nov. 3, 1819; the *Boxer*, July 14, and *Governor Clark* in April 7 & May 28, 1819, Charles Sanguinet was a French slaveholder merchant in St. Louis by 1818, who had moved to Franklin, and in summer 1820, Charles Sanguinet and Josiah Bright dissolved their firm located on the south side of the square, In July, Marc & Lycett opened a store in their old building, a lot and building that Sanguinet owned and put up for sale in November, *Intelligencer*, July 1 and 22, and Nov. 4, 1820, Sanguinet began liquidating his St. Louis store near the urban post office, too, *Missouri Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1818, and May 3 and July 5, 1820.

44 Hood's ad for the brick store, *Intelligencer*, July 16, 1821, for

pork, Aug. 12, 1823, and Simpson's ad, Sept. 2, 1823. Simpson also sponsored a billiard game in his store. Rocheport, *History of Boone County* (St. Louis: Western Historical Company, 1882, rpt. Ramfre Press), 177. Simpson stock sales, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 19, 1827.

45 Bee hunting, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 21 and Oct. 19, 1826.

Beeswax served as material for clean-burning, dripless candles and for a sealant in wine casks. Some used it as a lubricant. James Aull of Lexington sent wagon loads of beeswax to Franklin for transfer to keelboats headed for St. Louis and New Orleans, Lewis E. Atherton, *The Western Merchant*, 1971, 129.

46 "Past-Present-Improvements," December 26, 1850, *Glasgow Weekly Times*. Samuel's items, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, and Dec. 3, 10 & 31, 1819, warehouse in Feb. 18, 1820; Samuel's boats in the *Intelligencer*, June 7, 1820; June 11, Aug. 14 for list of goods, and Oct. 23, 1821; storage and commission, June 24, 1823. Between Wetmore's travel for the army and military boat travel by keels and steamers, Patten does offer insights to several military boats that docked at Franklin for maintenance, to purchase liquor, pause in a trip, or perhaps pick up part of a subsistence contract for swine, beef, or other produce awarded to someone near Franklin, Chariton, or elsewhere, although usually the latter contractor had to deliver those items close to the military post. In the 1820s, there were military boats that stopped or passed Franklin on a Fort Osage trip, and Patten did report the 1822 sinking of Gen. William Ashley's supply boat below Fort Osage. Many more traveled to Fort Atkinson in the 1820s, e.g., Capt. Shreve and his "large and elegant steam boat *Washington*" with provisions for Fort Atkinson that stopped for fifteen minutes in Franklin in 1821 and the *Gen. Neville* and *Mandan* steam boats in 1824. In March 1826, he noted that Gen. William H. Ashley and a company of twenty-five men on their way to a Rocky Mountain Rendezvous arrived and spent the evening, the year that Ashley sold his company, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 24, 1826. As Fort Atkinson's operations ended, Jefferson Barracks and Fort Leavenworth began construction in the late 1820s. In May 1827, Gen. Henry Leavenworth and four companies of U.S. Infantry stopped in Franklin on their way to establish the fort that carries the general's name, *Intelligencer*, May 10, 1827. Gen. Clark's diary in 1827 mentions three groups: four keelboats that went up to the Little Platte in April 1827 and Col. Henry Leavenworth had gone before them; in May 1827, steamers *Commerce*, *Phoenix*, & *Jubilee* with troops from Council Bluffs came down to St. Louis; and in June 1827, more from Council Bluffs arrived, assigned to Jefferson Barracks, Clark's Diary, May 1826-Feb. 1831, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* (Feb 1948). Shreve, *Intelligencer*, April 30, 1821. Ashley's boat, *Intelligencer*, June 18, 1822; *Gen. Neville* and *Mandan*, Apr. 3 and June 5, 1824.

47 Flat boats left, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, 1822.

48 Patten's saddle bags, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 1, 1827. Samuel's post office, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 28, 1823.

49 *Intelligencer*, Samuel & Barnes, Jan. 18, and Dr. Walker, May 2; keel boats, Sept. 28, 1826; Dr. Walker, May 2, 1828, and David Kyle, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 26, 1927.

50 *Intelligencer*, *LaGrange* in May 9, 1828; *Illinois* in Aug. 29, 1828; *Wm. D. Duncan* in Sept. 25, 1829; Giles partner was Francis Samuel. Arms and ammunition, J. B. Read was quartermaster, Collier rent, \$8.00 annually, Auditors Papers, Box 3, MSA.

51 *History of Howard and Chariton Counties (1883)*, 550,

mentions Chariton flatboat pilots Capt. Jack Minn, Jesse Spense, and Andrew Thrask who built their boats at a boat yard near the Spense lumber operation. Tax at Rooker's, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 7, 1821.

52 Boats, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 17, 1822.

53 *Intelligencer*, Nov. 5, 1822. Barnes, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 31, 1822, C. Tiffany & Company ceased business in late 1823, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 9, 1823, but the owners later became a premier jewelry company in Philadelphia. Tobacco house, *Howard County Court Minutes, Book B*, Nov. 5, 1822, and *Niles Register*, Jan. 19, 1822, both online.

54 Franklin's tobacco warehouse, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, 1822. A hogshead was a wooden barrel, and they varied in size to hold tobacco and were generally smaller on the Missouri River. Most tobacco landing warehouses would have been smaller than Patten's estimate of 500 hogsheads in volume, Hood's ad, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 23, 1825, and he was partner in Oliver Parker and Robert Hood's firm in Columbia, *Intelligencer*, May 12, 1826; patent medicine list, June 19, 1829, John Sappington Papers, SHS-Columbia, 1027, f. 15, November 13, 1826.

55 Dr. Benson and Dr. Boggs, *Intelligencer*, July 16, 1825; Patten slave hire, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 5, 1826, and Mar. 26, 1830; slave hire, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 21, 1827.

56 Cleveland teacher, *Intelligencer*, June 20, 1828; Cleveland slave ad, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 25, 1823. Slave ads, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 1, 1821; Dec. 23, 1823; and Nov. 27, 1824.

57 Negroes and crackers, Joy Poole, "Over the Santa Fe Trail to Mexico: The Diaries and Autobiography of Dr. Rowland Willard, 1825-1828," *Confluence* (Fall/Winter 2016-2017), 53.

58 The Lamme section is a revised summary, with additions, one for Henry V. Bingham, another for John Hardeman, from Lynn Morrow, "Franklin Merchant, William T. Lamme," *Boone's Lick Heritage Quarterly* (Spring 2022).

59 William Lamme & Co. taxes, *Missouri Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1817.

60 William Laas, *Navigating the Missouri, Steamboating on Nature's Highway, 1819-1935* (Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2008), 80, The *Intelligencer*, Sept. 17, 1819, has Warrington, a village that emerged adjacent to Fort Hempstead. Hickman & Benson, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, 1819. Brick House sale, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, 1819. Barnes store house, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 26, 1820. Lamme's "salt and stills" and Brick House, *Missouri Intelligencer* June 10, 1820, and November 11, 1822. Lamme and his brothers had several partners for short periods of time in towns up the Missouri River, Hickman & Lamme announced a removal of their store to the Brick House (there are references to Lamme having a frame store, too) that Barr, Tilton & Howard had occupied and that the brick was just south "of their old stand," apparently the frame building Lamme used, too, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 25, 1824, and Jan. 1, 1825. James Tilton, Joseph Howard, and Robert S. Barr dissolved on Jan. 1, 1826, *Intelligencer*, Mar. 15, 1826. Richmond & Franklin store, *Intelligencer*, July 1, 1820. Benson became paymaster for the 14th Regiment, 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Missouri Militia at Franklin in 1823, *Howard County Minutes, Book B*, Aug. 1823.

61 Dr. Nathaniel Hutchison was a town trustee in 1819 and for years had an office and store in Franklin, *Intelligencer*, May 14, 1819, and Jan. 16, 1821, but moved to Boonville to become a successful

pharmacist and slaveholder, while his daughter, Mary Elizabeth Hutchinson married George Caleb Bingham in Sept. 1836, Paul Nagel, *George Caleb Bingham* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 21, For a George Morgan letter about his reliance on the bark in 1766, see Mark A. Baker, *Sons of the Trackless Forest* (Franklin, TN: Baker's Trace Publishing, 1997), 921. The U.S. Army after constructing Fort Belle Fontaine in 1805 used Peruvian bark to mitigate fevers along the Missouri River, Kate Gregg, "Building of the First American Fort West of the Mississippi," *MHR* (July 1936), 354-56. People could also purchase the bark from merchants in St. Louis who advertised, "Wine, Limejuice, Peruvian Bark, etc." at W. H. Savage's store, *Gazette*, Mar. 27, 1821.

62 Four-way partnership and in the Brick House, *Intelligencer*, May 28, 1821.

63 Harding at Bingham's, *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, Christensen et al, 71, *Intelligencer*, March 25 and May 6, 1820;

64 Taxes, *Intelligencer*, Aug. 7, Mr. Fisher, Oct. 7, and Ryland, Nov. 4, 1820. Boone prints, *Missouri Gazette*, Oct. 14, 1820, Daniel Boone died in September 1820. Grundy, *Intelligencer*, April 23, 1821. Lodge, *Intelligencer*, May 14, 1822; McNeese, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 22, 1822.

65 Bingham's sickness, *Intelligencer*, May 20, 1823; Bingham, *Intelligencer*, Dec. 30, 1823.

66 *Intelligencer*, Mar. 13, 1824.

67 Bingham's sale, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 15, 1824, and Bingham and Lamme tobacco, Jan. 11, 1825. Lodge aid, "Diary of Henry Vest Bingham," *MHR* (Oct. 1945), 32. Philadelphia sale of lots took place on July 24, 1829, *Intelligencer*, July 3, 1829.

68 *Intelligencer*, Feb. 4 and 11, March 4 and 18, 1823.

68

69 William S. Belko, "A Founding Missourian: Duff Green and Missouri's Formative Years, 1816-1825," Part 2, *MHR*, 188; *American State Papers, Post Office Department, Vol. VII*, 146-55, *ad passim* for postal history;

70 Lynn Morrow, "How Do I Get my Letter to Franklin? Broken Regulations, High Water, Deep Ditches, and Broken-down Stagecoaches," *News from the Boone's Lick Road Association* (Spring 2023), 5-15, online.

71 *Intelligencer*, Jan. 6, 1824.

72 Sexton in William Switzler, *History of Boone County* (1882), 1056, online. Sexton began his first contract in summer 1826 after purchasing it from Duff Green, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 1, 1827, and *American State Papers, Post Office Department, Vol. VII*, 154. His son, Charles E. Sexton, assumed responsibility in the mail contracts and had his stage repair shop at Thrall's Prairie. The Howard County Road Petitions and Road Overseer Appointments do not use the term, Boonslick Road, until about 1860, as the local court required more localized terminology, Howard County Clerk's Office, MSA. Mail, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 15, Feb. 12, June 12, 1824; Post Master General, March 29, 1825 and Sept. 25, 1829. "Travel Notes of William M. Campbell," April 27, 1830.

73 Lamme & Hickman, *Intelligencer*, May 21, 1821; Bingham and

Lamme manufactory, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 12, 1822, Hickman & Lamme, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 8, 1822, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 17 and 24, 1819, for Warrington; and landlord, June 24, 1823. "Travel Notes of William M. Campbell," May 4, 1830.

74 *Intelligencer*, June 17, 1823, for the bridge plan.

75 Santa Fe market, *Intelligencer*, May 7, 1825, and April 14, 1826, *Intelligencer*, June 2, 1826. Former Franklin merchant, Robert W. Morris, who moved to Hinkson Creek, Boone County, on the Boone's Lick Trail, advertised to organize a Santa Fe Trail caravan "on the old St. Charles Road" for August 1827, *Intelligencer*, March 1, 1827. An excellent description of the interior of frontier stores is by Lewis E. Atherton, *The Frontier Merchant in Mid-America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 49.

76 *Intelligencer*, June 9, 1826, and Susan Calafate Boyle, *Special History Study, Santa Fe National Historic Trail* (Division of History, Southwest Region, National Park Service, 1994), Chapter 5.

77 *Intelligencer*, May 17, 1827.

78 Hardeman, *Wilderness Calling*, 97-108, and Owen's will on Ancestry.com. Owen estate sale, *Intelligencer*, June 18 & 25, 1825. Owen and Fayette, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 19, 1822.

79 Grape vines, Glen Hardeman Papers, #3655, Feb. 15, 1826. Move road, Road Petitions, Howard County Clerk's Office, box 2, f. 50, MSA. Alphonso Wetmore, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis: Published by C. Keemle, 1837), 88-89.

80 Nicholas Hardeman, *Wilderness Calling*, 115-16, and Cole County local sources in author's possession. Treaty, T. A. Smith Papers, f. 20, 1828, SHS-Columbia. By late 1827, Knox had begun to move and establish his store in Rocheport, *Intelligencer*, Oct. 19, 1827.

81 Fayette to Arrow Rock ferry, Road Petitions, Howard County Clerk's Office, box 2, f. 100, MSA.

82 Hardeman's slave hire in Howard County, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 12, 1830. Hardeman-Dunnica vertical file, author's possession. Hardeman female slave, Sadie, age 30 in 1841, worked as a hired slave for nine years in the estate, and then James and Nancy Dunnica manumitted her in Cole County, James W. Johnnet, "The Negro in Cole County from 1830 to 1860," M.A. Lincoln University, 1951, 61.

83 Comparing associated documents in Jefferson City, one of Nancy Hardeman's friends may have been former Franklin attorney, then Supreme Court Judge, George O. Tompkins and his wife Elizabeth Lientz Tompkins, who had married in 1824. Charles French, who administered much of Nancy Hardeman's estate, had been a law partner of Tompkins in Franklin. Lawyer, George T. White, perhaps the son of Nancy's Cole County administrator, lived with widow Tompkins after Judge Tompkins died in 1846 and Judge Tompkins had Boonville Road (West Main Street) acreage that was near John and Nancy's Hardeman's,

84 Slave Jim, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 11, 1825, Liberty store, Dec. 9, 1825. Dr. John Bull immigrated from Louisville, KY, to Chariton and managed a store there several years before opening one in Fayette. Greenup Bird married in Franklin in 1830 and moved to Clay County in 1831, where he eventually prospered as a successful banker.

85 Capt. Hickman as president, *Intelligencer*, July 13, 1826; Lamme's stills, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 23, 1827. James Hickman probate administration, November 1826, online; *Intelligencer*, Nov. 30, 1826 for Lamme's ad; a Scott and Rule ad authorized in October 1826, *Intelligencer*, March 1, 1827. It's unclear if one of Scott and Rule's steam boats, *Maryland*, made commercial trips, or not, to Franklin, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 1, 1827.

86 R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 261, for the slave children. Hickman was likely buried in the "Hickman graveyard, not far from the present town of Franklin," Houck, *History of Missouri, Volume III*, 70, but either the cemetery washed away in floods or its burials were moved, perhaps to Clark's Chapel. James Hickman has a grave stone in the Columbia Cemetery. Seven-year-old slave, *Intelligencer*, June 18, 1825 and male adult, July 6, 1826. Dr. William Baldwin of the Yellowstone Expedition who died in Franklin in 1819 was likely buried in Franklin's Lot 10 or perhaps where Hickman was interned. 1828 population, *Niles Weekly Register*, Jan. 31, 1829. Marion had 25%, Callaway 23%, while Boone, St. Louis and Washington had 19% in slavery.

87 Elbridge Jackson, *Intelligencer*, Feb. 2, 1830, Jesse W. Garner and Stephen Trigg's masonry contract for the foundation and walls of the courthouse was \$2,124.50, *Intelligencer*, Sept. 2, 1823. Slave trade, Max L. Grivno, "There Slavery Cannot Dwell": Agriculture and Labor in Northern Maryland, PhD, University of Maryland, 2007, 99, online.

88 Lamme's riverside warehouse, *Intelligencer* Feb. 29, 1828 and steamer *Bolivar*, Mar. 28, 1828. Jones defaulted on the 700 bushels, see William Lamme et al vs. John A. Jones, Saline County circuit court case files, MSA, The jury awarded \$945.53 to Lamme, but the appeals continued into the 1830s, Interestingly, Jones was a Melungeon from Southern Appalachia, a mixed race descendant whose members claimed to be Portuguese, By now, salt from the Kanawha River in West Virginia was the high volume product marketed in the West, In 1830, master builder Jesse Lankford, who built Dr. Sappington's house, sued Jones for default on a store room and warehouse near his works and occupied by E. D. Sappington and M. M. Marmaduke, Jesse Lankford v. John A. Jones, Saline County circuit court case files, MSA. Locals manufactured modest amounts of salt at Boone's Lick until the mid-1850s, Jones and Graves Agreement, November 19, 1829, Saline County Deed books A, E, & F that include other Jones' business in land, credit, and salt, Missouri Law termed Jones' lease to be at Big Spring on Salt Fork of the Lamine River began on December 30, 1824, where he operated Jones Mill, too (that Lankford built and retained one-half interest), and the mineral lease was renewed December 8, 1826, with a five-year lease, When the legislature passed the law to sell all the state leased salt springs on January 15, 1831, it included that "nothing in the act shall be so construed as to divest John A. Jones of the possession of the Big Spring Saline during the term for which he may be entitled to retain possession" Thus, Jones must have been able to service his debts with salt profits into the 1830s.

89 See Leo E. Oliva, and his excellent "Bear Creek Pass Battle," online with the Santa Fe Trail Research group for a detailed study of the 1829 caravan, Means death in James Riding In, "American Indians and the Santa Fe Trail," PhD, Santa Fe: Arizona State University, June 23, 2009, 733, online, Means had sold his tavern in July 1821 to buyers who changed the name to the Franklin Hotel, *Intelligencer* Aug. 7, 1821. Also killed was well-known Franklin leader, Capt. Daniel Munro, Jr., a war veteran and 1818 Howard County territorial representative; and Robert McNees, son of Capt. Samuel McNees of Franklin, The multi-lingual

David Waldo became a famous Santa Fe trader and one of the wealthiest men in Kansas City. Fayette men, *Niles Weekly Register*, Dec. 5, 1829. The report said the Fayette men all "realized 100 percent profits" and came into town with \$240,000.

90 Wetmore's warning, *Intelligencer*, April 10, 1829. Oxen, T. A. Smith Papers, April 18, 1829, SHS-Columbia.

91 Patten's report on military success, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 6, 1829.

92 *Intelligencer*, Nov. 20 and Dec. 18, 1829, Caleb Jones, only thirty years old in 1830, collected for Columbia and Franklin stores, Berry Hughes for Liberty, and Samuel D. Lucas for Independence, Jones worked for the St. Louis firm that Lammes housed in the back building of their store in 1823, Jones learned their long distance trade, and may have been another protégé of William's, Later Jones opened his own store in Arrow Rock, then Boonville, where he became a wealthy man. Kentuckian Lucas became involved in Jackson County politics, the Mormon War, and was Maj. Gen'l. of the Missouri State Militia during the 1830s. C. F. Jackson announced "Removal to New Town of Franklin" to open a C. F. Jackson & Moss Prewitt store in 1830, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 1, 1830. Harrison trustee, *Intelligencer*, Jan. 22, 1830. David Lamme & Storrs, Abiel Leonard Papers, f. 622, SHS-Columbia.

93 Lamme's will is transcribed in Lilian Hays Oliver, "Some Boone Descendants (1964)," 176-78.

94 Tucker-Smith marriage, *Intelligencer*, May 4, 1830.

95 Steamers *Native* and *Wm. M. Duncan*, *Intelligencer*, Nov. 6 and 27, 1819 and Feb. 19, 1830. Benson, *Intelligencer*, July 17, 1829, In May 1830, Ross and Glasgow, litigants in the Supreme Court over an unpaid note to them, were still in business, but we do not have evidence for exactly how long afterwards. James Ross and William Glasgow firm v. Waddy T. Currin, Howard County, Supreme Court case files, MSA, Currin was a territorial immigrant to Howard County, a J.P. in Moniteau Township, 1820-21, a cooper, then small merchant in Franklin. He died in 1831.

Part Five of "Franklin in the New West" will be coming in the next issue of *Boone's Lick Quarterly Heritage*. It will be the final installment of Missouri historian Lynn Morrow's extended essay on Franklin and the Boonslick region in the early 19th century. The first chapters (Parts One through Four) may be seen on the Boonslick Historical Society website: www.boonslickhistoricalsociety.org.

Historian Michael Dickey Guest Speaker at Boonslick Historical Society Fall Meeting November 10 at Nelson Memorial United Methodist Church in Boonville

Missouri historian Michael Dickey will be the featured speaker November 10 at the Boonslick Historical Society (BHS) fall meeting at the historic Nelson Memorial United Methodist Church, 407 East Spring Street, in Boonville.

The BHS fall meeting begins at 4:30 p.m., followed by the buffet dinner at 5 p.m. and then the program. Cost of the dinner is \$23 per person. For meal reservations (**due by Oct. 25**), send a check to Boonslick Historical Society, P.O. Box 426, Boonville, MO 65233.

The title of Dickey's presentation is "Native Missouri from the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 to the Platte Purchase Treaty 1803-1836."

Using Spanish and American records historian and author and board member Michael Dickey will explain the cultural

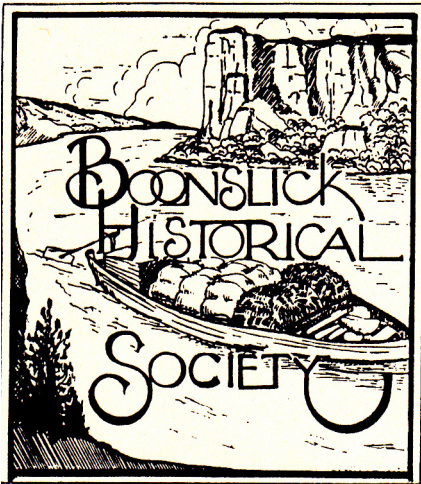


tension and rapid changes that characterized Euro-American relations with the Osage, Missouri, Kansa, Ioway, Sac & Fox, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Lenape, and Illinois nations in the Missouri region from 1803 to the final extinguishment of Indian titles in 1836. The presentation will demonstrate that each tribe had its unique qualities and characteristics and summarize what happened to them. There is a reminder that they are still with us and not museum pieces.

Dickey was formerly the administrator of the Arrow Rock, Sappington Cemetery and Boone's Lick State Historic Site (1986-2021). He is a graduate of University of Central Missouri in Warrensburg (1972-1976). He has written two books and co-authored a chapter of *The Archaeology of the War of 1812*. In the past he has collaborated with the Osage Tribal Museum and Wah-Zha-Zhi Cultural Center in Pawhuska, Oklahoma, to produce exhibits and develop programs utilizing Native American speakers and artisans. His presentation at the Boonslick Historical Society Fall meeting is sponsored by the Missouri Humanities Speakers Bureau.



Artist's rendering of "Saukie and Fox Indians at St. Louis Waterfront" by Karl Bodmer, 1833



P.O. Box 426
Boonville, MO 65233

Dedication of Civil Rights Leader C. T. Vivian Sculpture takes Place in Boonville



Dedication of the C. T. Vivian sculpture was held at the Morgan Street Sculpture Park in Boonville, August 3. The bust of Vivian takes its place among sculptures of other prominent Missourians native to the Boonslick region. Vivian spent part of his early life in Boonville. The bust, cast in bronze, was created by Missouri artist Jane Mudd. Members of Vivian's family attending the ceremony pose with the sculpture, mounted on a base, in the Morgan Street Park shortly after the formal dedication. *Photo courtesy of Brett Rogers*