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# GLEANINGS IN MISSOURI HISTORY



By MILLARD FILLMORE STIPES





GLEANINGS  
IN  
MISSOURI HISTORY

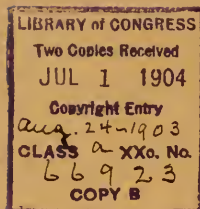
BY MILLARD FILLMORE STIPES

PART I  
*From Discovery to Statehood*

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*To My Mother.*



## P R E F A C E.



**I** T IS NOW just ten years since the author began to devote a large portion of his leisure hours (but few at best) to the study of the history of his native State; and it is almost four years since he began to transfer to paper the result of this study. At the very outset he was impressed with the paucity of books pertaining to the theme, but he has gathered here and there until a goodly number graces his library shelves—as the list printed herewith testifies. But many of these are scarce or out of print, and only a few are available to the general reader.

The writer has been impressed, too, with the fact that comparatively few residents of Missouri have even a cursory knowledge of the history of our commonwealth, yet no State in the Mississippi Valley presents a story of more intense interest. Until recently, no history of our State was ever seen in even the best of our schools. As works of reference, only one or two could be had, and even now there are upon the market only three works pertaining directly to the history of our great State. These facts prompted the writer to publish a series of newspaper articles upon the subject, which are reproduced (with some revision) in this little volume.

In writing these chapters, two things—in addition to the general trend of the story—have been kept constantly in view: (1) to enrich the pages with such anecdotes and local incidents as came to the notice of the author; and (2) to present as completely as circumstances permitted, pictures of life in the territory during the several periods. The most of the incidents related are authentic, but a few rest upon newspaper articles.

While some errors of statement may have crept into these pages, the author, in every instance, has given that version which seemed to be borne out by the weight of authority. In many instances the authority is given *in loco*.

In the preparation of these chapters, the writer is indebted more or less to each of the following works:

Abbott's Life of De Soto.

Barnes' Centenary History of the United States.

Barrows' Oregon.

Billon's Annals of St. Louis.

Carr's Missouri.

Davis and Durrie's History of Missouri.

Drake's The Making of the Great West.

Dye's The Conquest.

Fiske's Discovery of America.

Garrison's Texas.

Gilman's Life of Monroe.

Hosmer's Brief History of the Mississippi Valley.

Hosmer's History of the Louisiana Purchase

Howard's History of the Louisiana Purchase.

Hermann's The Louisiana Purchase.

Hough's The Way to the West.

Journals of Lewis and Clark.

Life of Daniel Boone.

Lighton's Lewis and Clark.

McMaster's History of the People of the United States.



Musick's Stories of Missouri.  
Morse's Life of Thomas Jefferson.  
Mather's The Making of Illinois.  
Old South Leaflets.  
Parkman's The Pioneers of France in the New World.  
Parkman's The Jesuits in North America.  
Parkman's La Salle and Discovery of the Great West.  
Parkman's A Half Century of Conflict.  
Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe,  
Parkman's The Conspiracy of Pontiac.  
Peck's Annals of the West.  
Rader's School History of Missouri.  
Roosevelt's Winning of the West.  
Sabin's The Making of Iowa.  
Shea's Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi.  
State Papers of the Louisiana Purchase.  
Switzler's History of Missouri.  
Thompson's Alice of Old Vincennes.  
Thompson's The Story of Louisiana.  
Thwaites' Father Marquette.  
Watson's Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson.  
Wetmore's Out of a Fleur-de-Lis.  
Many Newspaper and Magazine Articles.

A small edition of this book is published by the author. Some friends have asked if it would appear in permanent form. Whether it ever does, or whether it is ever brought on down to the present time, thus forming a complete history of the State, depends entirely upon circumstances.

JAMESPORT, Mo., *May 18, 1904.*

M. F. S.



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# GLEANINGS IN MISSOURI HISTORY.

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## PRE-HISTORIC MISSOURI.



THE red men found within the present borders of Missouri, when for the first time the trans-Mississippi region was entered by white men, were not the most ancient inhabitants of our commonwealth. It is a fact that in all lands wherever, in ages past, it has been possible for man to subsist, the earth is found thickly studded with the graves of vanished people. Babylonia, Egypt and Assyria furnish evidences of this truth, and the same may be said of America. Countless generations have peopled certain regions and then passed off the scene, leaving no record of their occupation and works save a few surviving monuments and fragmentary remains of their handiwork. It is a singular fact that mounds of earth grassed over are the most enduring of the works of man. Buildings crumble into ruins and even their sites are forgotten, but grass-covered works, if untouched by human agency, will endure throughout the ages.

To-day we sow and reap on the same spot where have lived innumerable hosts of pre-historic peoples, for whom we have no name, and of whose history we shall forever remain in ignorance. As generations come and go, all traces of former inhabitants are obliterated, save here and

there a solitary footprint. We know that these people were the predecessors of the Indians, whom they far surpassed in their progress towards civilization. But whence came they, how long they abode in this bountiful land, and what was their ultimate fate, must remain matters of speculation. We believe that afterwards, in a more enlightened condition, they found a home in the far Southwest, but of this we have no proof. The ancient pueblos of Arizona and the cave dwellings of the great Tonto Basin and other localities among the canyons and the all but inaccessible cliffs of the Rocky Mountains may have been the work of the descendants of that mighty host that once peopled the Mississippi Valley. Possibly the incursions of the fiercer tribes from the North and East forced them to relinquish their claim to that region which yields more abundantly than does the fertile valley of the Nile, and seek a refuge in the rock-hewn fastnesses of their mountain homes, whence, in the course of time, they were driven beyond the Rio Grande del Norte. There existed in Missouri at some period a people who, from choice or necessity, dwelt in caves; but whether these were the ancestors of the Cliff-Dwellers of Colorado and Arizona we have no means of ascertaining.

Whatever other people may have inhabited this region, the evidences of the former existence of a pre-historic race, known as the Mound Builders, who at one time occupied the Mississippi Valley, the Gulf Coast, and the regions of the Great Lakes, are too conclusive to admit of doubt. Hence it is not our purpose, in this connection, to present proofs of the existence of such a people, but shall give some attention to those evidences found within our own State which convince archæologists beyond the shadow of a doubt that these valleys and woodland once teemed with such a race.

Who will tell the story of those times? Even back in the dim avenues of the mystic past, we are assured, the



ancient Mound Builders and Cave Dwellers inhabited this region contemporaneously with the unwieldy Mastodon and other huge animals of the Tertiary Epoch. Ruins of the handiwork of these people abound in Central and South-eastern Missouri. Their history doubtless was destroyed when the fanatical Cortez put the torch to the magnificent collections of picture-writing in the ancient city of Tenochtitlan, thus inflicting upon civilization a greater loss than the destruction by the deluded followers of Mahomet of those ancient tomes in the lotus-land of the Nile. These pre-historic inhabitants of our soil succumbed to the invasions of the Gauls of America—the fiercer Indian tribes, who, in irresistible hordes, swept down from their fastnesses to the Northeast, driving the less hostile, but more progressive, Mound Builders to the mountainous and unproductive regions about the Rocky Mountains and beyond. The history of this conquest, and of the origin, migrations, conquests and defeats of these fierce Northern Vandals—thanks to the incendiary and iconoclastic Castilians—will forever be shrouded in mystery.

That many ages have elapsed since man first inhabited the fertile valley of the Mississippi, ample proofs exist; and no State than Missouri has been more prolific in supplying such evidence. For the present purpose it will suffice to adduce a few instances of such proofs.

In 1839 Dr. Koch, of St. Louis, discovered and disinterred, in Gasconade county, the magnificent Mastodon skeleton which now forms so conspicuous a figure in the British Museum. With its discovery are connected some remarkable circumstances. The greater portion of the bones were more or less burned by fire, And that the fire had not been an accidental one, but had been kindled by human agency with the design of killing the huge creature which was evidently mired in the mud about a salt lick and in a helpless condition, there was evidence ample to con-

vince the most skeptical. The bones not charred were found in an upright position in the clay, whilst the others were partially consumed by the fire; and the surface of the clay was covered as far as the fire had extended by a layer of wood-ashes mingled with pieces of charred wood and burned bones.

The fire had been most destructive around the head of the animal, and where lay the bones of this portion of the skeleton were a large number of broken pieces of rock, evidently brought from the shore of the small river near by and hurled at the imprisoned animal by his destroyers. That the fire was kept up for some time is shown by the fact that the layer of ashes was from two to six inches in depth. Among the ashes were found arrow and spear heads and some stone axes.\*

Another Mastodon skeleton, found a year later in Benton county by the same person, had evidently belonged to an animal killed by its human contemporaries. Two arrow heads were found with the bones, one of them just beneath the thigh bone and in contact with it, hence could not have been brought thither after the deposit of the bone as both were buried beneath a stratum of vegetable mold, twenty feet in thickness. These bones and arrow heads were found in the Loess beds of the Post-Pliocene Epoch. Hence that our commonwealth was inhabited by primitive man at the time these huge and unwieldy mammals roamed over our fertile valleys and undulating prairies, no doubt exists. Geologists tell us that the Mastodon has long been extinct.

\* The little valley about the salt lick where Dr. Koch discovered this skeleton is a veritable graveyard of pre-historic monsters. In 1899 a gentleman from St. Louis leased a tract of ten acres and is now engaged in a systematic effort to uncover this great storehouse of antiquity. Besides the bones of Mastodons, he finds those of several other extinct animals. The lick at one time was evidently surrounded by a quagmire.

In nearly all the counties of Central and Eastern Missouri are found conical elevations, known locally as "Indian Mounds." The site of St. Louis was originally so thickly studded with these ancient tumuli that the town acquired the title of "Mound City." On the Illinois side of the Mississippi, a few miles to the East, was the great mound of Cahokia, rising in the form of a magnificent parallelogram, its sides at the base being respectively 700 and 500 feet in length, and the height of which was ninety feet. On the Southwest was a terrace 160 by 300 feet, reached by a graded way; and the summit was truncated, forming a platform 200 by 250 feet. From this platform rose a conical mound, which, on being explored, yielded human bones, funeral vases and various implements of stone. It is believed that upon this platform was reared an imposing temple, within the walls of which high priests celebrated mystic rights, while from the plain below the swarming multitudes gazed in mute adoration. It is probable, too, that at some period this great tumulus became the resting-place of the remains of some mighty ruler, after the manner in which the pyramids of the Nile received the sarcophagi of the Pharaohs.

The great mound of the St. Louis group was thirty-five feet high. When it was removed (which unfortunately was done in 1869) there was found at a depth of twenty-five feet what was apparently a trench or grave four feet deep, eighteen feet broad and seventy feet long, in which had been deposited several human bodies, evidently of individuals above the ordinary size. The heads were placed towards the East, and the skeletons occupied a reclining posture. Patches of cloth of a coarse texture and more or less carbonized; two copper vessels, shaped like spoon-bowls; a quantity of beads which had evidently been strung and wound about the neck and head of the recumbent warrior; and a quantity of small sea shells, were found.

From Missouri have come some of the best relics, in clay and in copper and in stone, of the Mound Builders. In Perry county some water-coolers, eight inches in height, and made of unglazed pottery, were taken from an ancient cemetery where they had been placed at the head of a corpse. Near Belmont, in Southeast Missouri, were found water-jugs, the tops of which presented a fair delineation of the human head. In the same locality were found human figures in the form of statues. Others have been found in Perry county. Some of these show considerable artistic skill. A water jug with supporting feet, and a drinking cup, the handle of which is surmounted by a female head, were found in the same county.

How far these ancient inhabitants of our State had progressed towards civilization can only be surmised from the discovered remains. In the Southeastern counties are evidences which go to prove that great numbers of agricultural folk once densely populated that locality. Not only did they till the soil, but in the river valleys and bottoms they drained large tracts of land by elevating a portion of it, thereby fitting the elevated parts for tillage. They constructed canals by which they were able to connect their inland towns with the Mississippi, indicating that to some extent at least they must have been a commercial people. They buried their dead in stone vaults, and placed with the bodies highly ornamented and skillfully wrought pottery. They shaped the hardest porphyry and greenstone into axes and other implements. They mined copper, and from this metal cast implements used in war, in hunting, and in the useful arts. Their old pits in the Lake Superior copper regions are known as the "ancient diggings." In one of them was found a mass of metal which weighed forty-six tons. The block had been separated from the original and the surface pounded smooth. About it lay an abundance of

stone hammers, copper chisels and wedges, as though but yesterday the workmen had departed.

As to the age of these ancient earth works, suffice it to say that on their crests the tallest forest trees are growing. On one at Marietta, Ohio, are trees that have seen at least eight centuries. Another near Little Rock, Arkansas, is crowned with a magnificent elm which has stood the storms of four hundred years.\* And yet the mounds must be older than the trees by which they are surmounted.

“A people that long has passed away  
Built them; a disciplined and populous race  
Heaped with long toil the earth, while yet the Greek  
Was hewing the Pentelicus to forms  
Of symmetry, and rearing on its rock  
The glittering Parthenon.”—*Bryant*.

Thus ample evidences exist that in some former age there lived in Missouri a people who, in their strides towards civilization, far surpassed the Indians.

Who these Mound Builders were will never be known. That they were a people who had made considerable advancement in the manual arts is shown by the relics discovered in our own State. That they made a desperate stand against the encroachments of the more warlike Northern barbarians is shown by the remains of forts and other defensive earth-works in parts of Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri. “One can but speculate on the fearful struggle which apparently forced this people to leave their fortified villages and cultivated fields, and to hew for themselves asylums in the rock; the long months and years during which they continued the contest in their mountain fortresses; the details of this final death-struggle; and when and how the last of this host yielded and was blotted out of existence.”\*

\* Barnes' Popular History of the United States.

Near the childhood home of the writer, in Saline county, are the ruins of a fort believed to have been erected by these people.\* It stood on a commanding hill, the declivities of which furnish ample evidence that this was once the scene of a sanguinary conflict. Flint arrow and spear heads, polished axes cut from greenstone or porphyry, covered the ground when first trod by white men, and even yet the ploughshare occasionally turns up something fashioned by these ancient people. A few years ago the writer passed over the site of this fort, and the feeling that swept across his mind as he viewed the scene and speculated as to what manner of people were they who surged back and forth about that hill crowned with primitive fortifications, as the tide of battle ebbed and flowed, were akin to those he experienced when, standing on the hill once defended by the British battery at Lundy's Lane, he looked down the slope whence, in the early hours of night, again and again charged the invincible Americans. The history and characteristics of these primeval people we know not, but doubtless with that energy and courage born of despair did they defend their homes against the ruthless invaders. Slowly, but too surely, they gave way before their fiercer enemies, contesting valiantly every foot of their beloved land, until finally they were driven to Mexico and Central America, where their works at Uxmal, Palenque and Copan, magnificent even in their ruins, bear testimony to the achievements within the possibilities of the original inhabitants of this fertile valley,

\*It is possible, however, as believed by some writers, that these are the ruins of Fort Orleans, built by De Bourgmont. Of this we shall speak hereafter.



## INDIAN CHARACTERISTICS AND INDIANS IN MISSOURI.



THE INDIAN is the true child of the forest, and no association with the Caucasian will ever wean him from the arms of his earth-mother. Subsisting chiefly by the hunt, the tribes, at the advent of Europeans, were widely and thinly scattered. No allegiance was held to any higher power than the tribal chieftain, and even to him obedience was subservient to the whim of the individual. When the war sachem, for civic or individual reasons, determined upon an expedition against some neighboring tribe, it was left to each warrior to decide whether or not he would espouse the cause of his chieftain. If the eloquence of the latter was successful in arousing the martial ardor of the warrior, he signified his willingness to accompany the projected expedition by striking his tomahawk deep into the sapling already containing that of the chief; otherwise with immovable features he sat in gloomy silence and gazed upon the belligerent preparations of his brothers.

To the red aborigine the trackless forest was an open book. No compass needed he to guide him through its most intricate depths. Living by stealth, the woods were more to his liking than the broad, undulating prairie. He

preferred that all his movements should be under cover. At no time was he in absolute safety, even though at peace with neighboring tribes. Depredatory bands roamed abroad, and at what moment the fierce war-whoops of one of these would startle his village no warrior knew.

For the last hundred and thirty-seven years—or since the close of French domination in the New World—the red aborigines have slowly receded before the steadily advancing wave of Anglo-Saxon power. During that period this wave, unchecked and well-nigh unopposed, has ever rolled to the West. Had Montcalm, on the Plains of Abraham, not surged in vain against the solid phalanx of Wolfe's prowess, the tenure of Indian supremacy in the vast Mississippi Valley may have been immeasurably prolonged, because it was the policy of the French to Catholicize the Indians and make respectable citizens of them (though indifferent success attended their efforts), rather than to dispossess them of their lands. But the result of that brilliant engagement between the fleur-de-lis and the cross of Saint George stamped "Finis" after the sanguinary history of the red man in this section; and even Pontiac, than whom a more redoubtable or more sagacious sachem the forests of America never produced, was unable to avert the doom that overshadowed him.

The Indian was a barbarian. His condition was that designated in geology as the Stone Age of man. His weapons and implements were made of that material. In the arts he had progressed no farther than to fashion his flint arrow heads and hatchets, to build rude wigwams, to shape bark canoes, and to make tight baskets in which his soup was boiled. He had no domestic animals, no beast of burden. While the forests and prairies where he roamed in search of food or in pursuit of his enemies hid vast deposits of the useful and the precious metals, to him they were valueless. Labor he considered as degrading, and while he

hunted, or fished, or awakened the echoes of the surrounding forests with his blood-chilling war-whoop, his squaw hoed his corn, dressed skins for his clothes, and built his wigwam. She cooked his food by dropping hot stones into a tight basket containing materials for soup. The leavings of her lord's table sufficed her for food, and she had to be content with the coldest corner of his wigwam. She carried his burdens when on the march; or, as Champlain tersely states it, "served as his mule." The members of most tribes spent the winter evenings in smoking, at games (the Indian was an inveterate gambler\*), or in coarse and idle conversation, for many of them seem to have been of a congenial disposition. When alone with his family, and sometimes on other occasions, the warrior would for days sit upon the ground in stupid silence; but oftentimes a party of them would be wildly hilarious. And he was the very acme of hospitality. While he was an inordinate beggar from other people, with his own he would share his last morsel of food. No petitioner went hungry so long as he had ought to give.

The word of the Indian was no protection. If it suited his purpose, he never hesitated to break his most solemn pledge or violate a treaty. He was crafty and cruel. He fought by strategem and rarely in the open field. That victory was prized most which was purchased at the cost of no warrior's life. His powers of endurance were remarkable. He could go for days without food, or subsist upon that which other people discarded. No winter was so severe as to debar him from the chase or the warpath.†

\* He would wager anything he possessed—his clothes, his weapons, his wife. "Brebeuf states that once, in mid-winter, with the snow nearly three feet deep, the men of his village returned from a gambling visit, bereft of their leggins and barefoot, yet in excellent humor."—Parkman's *Jesuits in North America*.

† In relating the experience of Champlain at Hochelaga (Quebec), Parkman says: "The rocks, the shores, the pine trees, the sol-

The wigwam was of bark resting on poles. An opening at the top sufficed to let in the light and to let out the smoke. The fire was built on the ground in the center. As the game of one locality was exhausted, the wigwams would be moved to another. Some tribes, notably the Iroquois, built larger dwellings, sometimes one or two hundred feet in length. One of these served as the abode of many families. Down the center the fires were built. There were no partitions, hence no privacy. The stranger was privileged to enter at any hour of the day or night. Sometimes a raised platform along either side of the building served as a place to sleep. Festoons of dried corn, dried venison and various other articles of food, as well as wearing apparel, hung from the poles that supported the roof. Filth and dirt were everywhere, while every hut was alive with fleas and other vermin. Says Francis Parkman, the great student of Indian life: "A person entering one of these wigwams on a winter's evening might have beheld a strange spectacle; the vista of fires lighting the smoky concave; the bronzed group encircling each—cooking, eating, gambling, or amusing themselves with idle badinage; wrinkled squaws, hideous with three-score years of hardship; grizzled old warriors, scarred with war-club and tomahawk; young aspirants, whose honors were yet to be won; damsels gay with ochre and wampum; and restless children, pell-mell with restless dogs. Now a tongue of resinous flame painted each wild feature in vivid light; now the fitful gleam expired, and the group vanished from sight as the nation has from history."‡

Perhaps on the morrow the scene would be changed. The exultant whoop of the victorious party, returning with id floor of the frozen river, all alike were blanketed with snow. The drifts rose above the sides of their ships. Yet in the bitterest weather, the neighboring Indians, hardy as so many beasts, came daily to the fort, wading, half naked, waist-deep through the snow."—Pioneers of France in the New World.

‡ Parkman's Jesuits in North America.

captives in its train, would resound through the village; the terrible scene of torture, in which every infliction that savage ingenuity can conceive, would ensue; followed by the burning of the victim at the stake. Over these horrible details it is best to draw the veil.

With most tribes, female life had no bright side. It was a youth of license, an age of drudgery. Marriage existed among all the nations, and polygamy was rare. Divorce took place at the whim or caprice of either party. They married young, the boys at eighteen and the girls at thirteen or fourteen. In some tribes a practice of temporary marriage for a day or a week or longer prevailed: The ceremony was simple—merely the acceptance on the part of the female of wampum or some other article of value offered her by a brave. Sometimes a comely damsel boasted of as many as twenty such marriages before she was finally settled in life.

Many nations also practiced temporary burial. The bodies of the newly-dead would be put on a high scaffold or in the top of a tree or in a shallow grave, or sometimes the bones, stripped of all flesh, would be kept in the wigwam, until an appointed time (usually once in five or six years) when each family would collect the remains of all its dead, tenderly wrapping each skeleton in a bundle, and carry them to a designated spot where, with tedious and mystic ceremonies and unprecedented lamentation, all the bones would be consigned to one common grave.

Left to his own resources, the American Indian is singularly unprogressive. Had not the advent of the pale face marked an epoch in his career, he would to-day be no farther advanced than the Stone Age, using the same weapons his forefathers used hundreds of years prior to the landing of Columbus, and eking out the same miserable existence. Civilization sounds the death-knell of these people, and ere

many decades a full-blooded American Indian will be an object of curiosity.

Of the Indians who dwelt within the present confines of Missouri, we have little reliable information. Indeed it is probable that our State was never at any time more than the transitory home of roving tribes. The Illinois, at the time of the first explorers, lived within the boundaries of the present State bearing their name; to the East, on the verdant banks of the Wabash, dwelt the Miamis, some of whom about this time inhabited a portion of Missouri; while to the North and West were the fierce, bison-chasing Dakotas.

Missouri was a broad expanse of wilderness, shaggy with primeval woods and rolling prairie. Hundreds of streams traversed her wide area; scores of lakes glimmered in the fiery sunsets; numerous mountains and hills bared their rocky crests to the wind. These wastes were the home of the red savage. Through dense forests and over boundless plains roamed the tribes of the Mississippi Valley,—the Illinois, the Missouris, the Miamis, the Peorias, the Hurons, the Wyandots, the Osages, the Outagamies, the Sioux, the Winnebagoes, the Sacs, the Chickasaws, the Kansas, the Pawnees, the Arkansas, the Quapaws, and the Iowas. Nurtured in the forest and schooled in its subtle craft, they were unexcelled woodsmen. No enemy could steal upon them unawares. The wild mazes of the densest forest they threaded as easily and as unerringly as the villager finds his way about his native environs. No training of the white man in woodcraft could make him the peer of his red competitor. The latter followed the trail of friend or foe as unerringly as the truest bloodhound. Show him one end of it, and it was no idle boast of his that he would find what was at the other, no matter what manner of hill or water or morass intervened. The craftiest or most cunning foe failed to baffle him or throw him off the trail.

In the virgin solitude of Missouri, the Indian was mon-



arch of all he surveyed. Save the bear and the bison, there was none to dispute his right. In the pursuit of foe or game, he made his way through the densest thickets so silently that not the snapping of a twig betrayed his passage; and so cunningly he hid his tracks that none save those as well versed in woodcraft as himself would ever suspect his presence. A realm of forest, ancient as the world itself, creeping around inaccessible heights, shading rivulet and waterfall, crowning crags and hills and rocky steeps, surrounded him. In glimpses only, through jagged boughs and flickering leaves, did the wild primeval world reveal itself. Or, seated in his light canoe he would stem the swiftest current, or glide over the pellucid waters of the tranquil lake so deftly that not a ripple would appear in his wake. Depending principally upon the flesh of wild animals for his food, he became the most expert of hunters; and until the game of the locality was exhausted, rarely did his family want for sustenance. The greater part of his days were spent in the chase or on the warpath. But he was singularly improvident. Little provision did he make for the morrow. With him each day cared for itself.

Poet and novelist have combined to cast a halo over the red aborigine, but a dispassionate study of him shows a rare combination of characteristics diametrically opposed to one another. In him were strangely exemplified courage and cowardice, cunning and stupidity, cruelty and kindness, generosity and cupidity, arrogance and subserviency, love and hatred. At the stake he would endure the most excruciating torture with the sublimest fortitude; and with his expiring breath taunt his enemies with their puny attempts at torture as compared with those he himself had inflicted upon their tribesmen. The women evinced as much fortitude in suffering and as much cruelty in inflicting pain as did the braves.

For a long period the Indians regarded the European

as some mystical and superior being. His firearms and blade of Damascus steel struck terror to the hearts of the simple children of the forest. But after a time the halo of mystery was penetrated, the habits of the pale face were learned, and the dread of his charms and the fear of his deadly thunderbolts wore away. They even became experts in the use of the rifle. But as it is the principle of savage warfare to win by crafty device, by sudden surprise, and by unlooked-for perfidy, and to strike terror by ferocious cruelty, the addition of firearms to the weapons of the aborigine did not change the dominant characteristics of his savage nature.



## DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS.

DE SOTO.



HILE the first settlements within the present limits of Missouri were made by the French, to the subjects of another nation belongs the honor of first entering its borders. This honor, if such it may be called, was but an incident in a mad scramble for gold by a party of buccaneers under the leadership of Ferdinand de Soto, a Spaniard who had won some slight renown in the part he took in the conquest of Peru by Pizarro, and who hoped to find in the New World "a second Mexico with its royal palace and sacred pyramids, or another Cuzco with its Temple of the Sun enriched with a frieze of gold," Obtaining the consent of his emperor, Charles V, and the title of *Adalantado*, he set sail from San Lucar in April, 1538. He stopped first at Santiago de Cuba (recently made famous by the great naval victory won by the Americans off its harbor on July 3, 1898), and then proceeded to Havana, where his command was reorganized. On the 25th of May, 1539, with one thousand men thoroughly armed and equipped—cavaliers gay with helmet and cuirass and dancing plumes,—together with three hundred and fifty horses, he landed at Tampa Bay, on the coast of Florida, and shortly afterwards began that memorable march into an unknown wilderness, peopled, for the most part, by

fierce tribes (whose ire had already been kindled by the depredations of De Narvaez), in a wild search for gold, tidings of the existence of which in the region to the Northwest had for a generation floated to Spanish ears. It was indeed a glittering pageant that threaded the fastnesses of our Southern borders.

With the adventures of these Spanish East of the Mississippi, we are not concerned in this narrative; though historians relate a very interesting incident in which a beautiful young Indian queen figures. Their march was one continuous conflict with the natives. In nearly every encounter the Spaniards were the victors.

One day in the month of April, 1541 (nearly two years after their search for gold began), the great Mississippi, rolling between banks a mile and a half apart, burst majestically upon the view of the astonished Spaniards.\* Its shores were inhabited by a tribe of Indians who at first seemed averse to the peaceful reception of De Soto and his adventurers, but the Spaniards succeeded in negotiating a peace. In this place De Soto remained twenty days, building four barges in which to cross the broad stream; for he was assured that the Eldorado which for two years had persistently eluded his grasp lay just beyond. The farther bank seemed to be alive with natives, and several warlike demonstrations were made against De Soto's force. When the barges were completed, they were one night quietly manned with select crews, who, to their surprise, met with no opposition on reaching the farther shore, nor was a native to be seen,

The five hundred Spanish adventurers (for to that number had the party diminished) were safely transported

\* The picture of this event may be seen in the capitol at Washington, with De Soto in his bright, new armor, seated on a horse as fat and smooth as if he had just been led out of a livery stable instead of having come through seven days' journey in forest and swamp since the last rest. (Noble L. Prentiss.)

to the Western shore. It is believed that this crossing was effected at what are now known as the lower Chickasaw Bluffs. The march to the North and West was begun, and on the fifth day an Indian village of about a hundred houses, situated on a stream believed to be the St. Francois, was reached. The natives were friendly, and soon the chief town of the province, some twenty miles up the Mississippi, came into view. This is believed to have been situated in the region now called Little Prairie, not far from New Madrid, in Missouri. Soon the Spaniards were domiciled in the village and harmony reigned supreme.

"It was now the month of May. The weather was intensely hot, and the rustic bowers were found to be refreshingly cool and grateful. The name of this friendly chief was Casquin. Here the army remained for three days, without a ripple of unfriendly feeling arising between the Spaniards and the natives. It was a season of unusual drouth in the country, and on the fourth day the following extraordinary incident occurred:

"Casquin, accompanied by quite an imposing retinue of his most distinguished men, came into the presence of De Soto, and stepping forward with great solemnity of manner, said to him:

" 'Senor, as you are superior to us in prowess and surpass us in arms, we likewise believe that your God is better than our God. These you behold before you are the chief warriors of my dominions. We supplicate you to pray to your God to send us rain, for our fields are parched for the want of water.'

"De Soto, who was a reflective man, of pensive temperament and devoutly inclined, responded:

" 'We are all alike sinners, but we will pray to God, the Father of mercies, to show his kindness unto you.'

"He then ordered the carpenter to cut down one of the tallest pines in the vicinity. It was carefully trimmed and

formed into a perfect, but gigantic cross. Its dimensions were such that it required the strength of one hundred men to raise and plant it in the ground. Two days were employed in this operation. The cross stood on the Western bank of the Mississippi. The next morning after it was reared, the whole Spanish army was called out to celebrate the erection of the cross by a solemn religious procession. A large number of the natives, with apparent devoutness, joined in the festival.

"Casquin and De Soto took the lead, walking side by side. The Spanish soldiers and the native warriors, composing a procession of more than a thousand persons, walked harmoniously along as brothers, to commemorate the erection of the cross—the symbol of the Christian's faith. The priests, for there were several in the army, chanted their Christian hymns, and offered fervent prayers. The Mississippi at this point is not very wide, and it is said that upon the opposite bank twenty thousand natives were assembled, watching with intense interest the imposing ceremony, and apparently, at times, taking part in the exercises. When the priests raised their hands in prayer, they, too, extended their arms and raised their eyes, as if imploring the aid of the God of heaven and earth.

"Occasionally a low moan was heard wafted across the river—a wailing cry, as if woe-stricken children were imploring the aid of an Almighty Father. The spirit of De Soto was deeply moved to tenderness and sympathy as he witnessed this benighted people paying such homage to the emblem of man's redemption. After several prayers were offered, the whole procession, slowly advancing two by two, knelt before the cross, as in brief ejaculatory prayer, and kissed it. All then returned with the same solemnity to the village, the priests chanting the grand anthem, *Te Deum Laudamus*.'"\*

\* Abbott's Ferdinand de Soto, XVII.

We have given the above quotation as one of interest, describing as it does the first rite solemnized by white people within the presents limits of the State of Missouri. Las Casas, the great Spanish historian, adds that in the middle of the ensuing night the heavens sent down a plenteous rain.

The discoveries of De Soto came to naught. After wandering a few months in Arkansas and spending the winter of 1541-42 in the region West of the Ozarks,\* he retraced his steps and again encamped upon the banks of the great river he had discovered. Here a fever attacked him. It resulted fatally, and his despairing followers, chanting over his remains the first requiem ever heard in that region, sank his body, in the stillness of the night, beneath the waters of the Mississippi.† "He had crossed half the continent," says Bancroft, "and found nothing to remarkable as his burial place." Down the muddy current of the mighty stream the survivors of the ill-starred expedition, under the command of Moscoso who succeeded De Soto, fled from the Eldorado of their dreams, now transformed into a wilderness of misery and death. Few of them ever lived to again see Spain. To this discovery is due the foundation of the claim, maintained for a long period, that the Mississippi was a Spanish river.

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MARQUETTE AND JOLIET.

AFTER the discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto, one hundred and thirty-two years—what seems to us an incredible period—elapsed before white men again looked upon its waters. During this time the English had made nu-

\*In Vernon County, Missouri, it is believed by many.

†De Soto died at a point below the mouth of the Arkansas, some writers claim near the mouth of the Red. After his death the survivors, under Moscoso, made one more march into the Western region in search of gold. But they found only disaster and death. Then it was that they fled down the river.

merous settlements along the Atlantic coast, but had not pushed their explorations far West of the Alleghanies. To the French belong the honor of the re-discovery of the great river, of tracing its course, exploring its basin, and making therein the earliest settlements. Cartier and Champlain had explored the icy regions about the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Settlements were made at Port Royal (1605) and at Quebec (1608). From these feeble beginnings the French, urged by the zeal of Recollet and Jesuit priests, had slowly pushed their way to the region about the great lakes. To the unflagging energy of these priests, and to their indomitable Catholic ardor, are due the explorations of the Mississippi Valley. It was their hope to convert the Indians to their faith. They established missions among the Hurons, who dwelt on the shores of the lake bearing their name. The Jesuits founded missions on both the East and the West shores of Lake Michigan. They were tortured and mutilated and tomahawked and burned and eaten by the savages,\* but as one fell out of the ranks, another sprang forward to take his place. In their efforts to explore the regions about the great lakes and the Mississippi Basin, the Jesuits were ably seconded by the French trappers or *voyageurs*. These children of nature, wild and uncouth as the Indians themselves, took readily to savage life. Their habits, free and easy manners, vivacity and roving disposition well fitted them for assimilating with the natives. They had no regular abode. They lived, for the most part, with the Indians, adopted their dress and mode of living, and married into their families. These were fur-traders, and to their zeal and that of the Jesuits the French are indebted for their early acquaintance with all this re-

\* While none of the Indians of the United States were addicted to cannibalism, it was the custom of many tribes—notably the Iroquois, Hurons, Neutrals, Eries, Peorias and others—to feast on the bodies of prisoners, in the belief that the flesh of a brave enemy would transmit his virtues to themselves.



gion. Hand in hand went priest and *voyageur*, wherever there was a promise of commercial or spiritual harvest. By their aptitude in assimilating with the savages and their adroitness in winning the confidence of the red man, they gained a paramount ascendancy over both English and Spanish competitors. Many of the names borne by towns and localities in the region about the great lakes bear testimony to the early French occupancy.

To the Jesuits about Lakes Superior and Michigan came tidings now and then of a mighty river in the far West, and they longed to test the truthfulness of these Indian reports. As early as 1639, only about thirty years after Quebec was settled, Nicollet was upon the Wisconsin and within three days' travel of the Mississippi—or as it was then thought, the ocean. By 1671 the French had completed the circuit of Lake Superior, and Talon, the intendant, resolved to find the great river, selected Louis Joliet as a suitable person for the enterprise. But before his plans were matured, Frontenac succeeded Courcelle as governor of Canada, and Talon's career was at an end. But the new governor took up the matter and, influenced by the Jesuits, the selection of Joliet was endorsed,

In the meantime Father Marquette, in the "Relation of 1670," reports that the Illinois had told him of this mysterious river, and at his distant station at the Western extremity of Lake Superior was planning to visit the nations that dwelt upon its banks. But an attack by the Sioux broke up the station at St. Esprit and forced his Huron friends to retrace their steps towards the East. Coming to the Straits of Michilimackinac and being pleased with the prospects thereabouts, the Hurons decided to locate there and fortify themselves. Marquette built a log chapel and founded the mission of St. Ignatius. There, at the end of two years, Joliet found him, ripe for the projected expedition in quest of the Mississippi.

Jacques Marquette came from a patrician family in the beautiful old cathedral city of Laon, in Northern France, and was now thirty-five years of age. He had become a Jesuit at seventeen, and in 1666 had been sent to the missions of Canada. Two years later he had been assigned to the upper lake region, which had since been his field of labor. It is clear that he possessed remarkable talents as a linguist, for it is told of him that in a few years he became proficient in the use of six Indian languages. He was a zealot in a Christian sect remarkable for its zeal. Parkman writes of him, "The longing of a sensitive heart, divorced from earth, sought solace in the skies." Joliet was the son of a wagon-maker in the service of the company which owned Canada. He was born at Quebec in 1645. He had been educated by the Jesuits, and received the tonsure and minor orders when only seventeen; but a few years later he renounced his clerical vocation and turned fur-trader. Some time previously he had been sent by Talon to explore the copper mines of Lake Superior. "He appears to have been simply a merchant, intelligent, well educated, courageous, hardy, and enterprising."

At Michilimackinac (now known as Mackinac), these two men spent some weeks in obtaining all information possible concerning their trip into the unknown, for they were determined that the enterprise "should not be foolhardy." They even, from the descriptions given by the Indians, constructed a rude map of the region to the West and South, and traced thereon the route they purposed taking. Their outfit was simple. It consisted of two birch-bark canoes and a quantity of smoked meat and Indian corn. Five men were engaged to accompany them. On the 17th of May, 1673, the perilous undertaking was begun. Westward lay their course, and soon they were skirting the Northern shore of Lake Michigan. The Indians of the Menomonie or Wild-rice village where the explorers stopped were aston-



ished when told the object of the voyage, and endeavored to dissuade the white men from a venture fraught with such deadly perils. The banks of the Mississippi, they said, were peopled with ferocious tribes who tomahawked all strangers without cause or provocation; in a certain part of the river was a demon who would engulf them in a frightful abyss; that great monsters dwelt in its waters and that the pale faces and their canoes would surely be devoured.

Turning a deaf ear to the admonitions of the friendly savages, the Frenchmen re-embarked, reaching in a short time the waters of Green Bay. Entering Fox River, which flows into this bay, they crossed Lake Winnebago, and soon were gliding through endless fields of wild rice. On the 7th of June they reached the village of the Macoutins and Miamis, and from them engaged guides to the Wisconsin River. Continuing the ascent of the Fox to its source, they carried their canoes a mile and a half across the portage that marks the watershed between the tributaries of the Mississippi and those of the St. Lawrence, and launched them upon the waters of the Wisconsin, rejoiced to embark at last upon a stream that would bear them—they knew not whither; perhaps to the Gulf of Mexico, perhaps to the South Sea, perhaps to the Gulf of California.

Calmly down the tranquil stream glided the explorers, steering their light canoes in the shade of the tall forests that overarched its waters. On the 17th of June they beheld athwart their course the broadly-rolling, majestic stream for which priest and trader long had sought, and "with a joy I cannot express," writes Marquette, they drove their frail barks upon its waters. This was near the spot where now stands the town of Prairie du Chien.

Turning their prows Southward, they glided along between its verdant banks. Soon Marquette was badly frightened by a huge fish (probably a cat-fish) which blundered against his canoe. Not the faintest trace of man was dis-

cernible. They were greatly astonished at the eccentric appearance of a shovel-fish which they caught in their net. Presently herds of buffaloes, grazing peacefully on the prairies which bordered the stream, came into view; and Marquette remarks upon the fierce, but stupid appearance of the old males as they gazed at the intruders through the burry mass of mane which nearly blinded them.

The party advanced with extreme caution. It was their custom to land in the evening, cook and eat their supper, and then, re-embarking, paddle several miles farther down the stream and anchor at some distance from the bank. On the 25th of June they saw footprints on the Western shore, and looking closer discovered a well-beaten path leading away from the river. Conjecturing that it led to an Indian settlement, Joliet and Marquette resolved to follow it, leaving their men in charge of the canoes. After walking some six miles through leafy forests and across flowery prairies, an Indian village came into view. With beating hearts, and invoking the protection of the Virgin Mary, the white men approached without being seen. Presently they shouted to attract attention. A great commotion ensued in the village. The inmates swarmed out of their huts, and soon four chiefs, bearing aloft two calumets or peace-pipes, advanced deliberately to meet the strangers. They wore French cloths, at the sight of which Marquette was much relieved. The two white men were escorted to the village, where, after the peace-pipe was smoked, a feast was served. The first course consisted of Indian meal boiled in grease; the second, a platter of fish; the third, a large dog; and the last, a dish of buffalo meat. The master of ceremonies fed the white guests in turn, using a large spoon or his fingers, placing the food in their mouths. The chief assured his guests that their presence added flavor to his tobacco, made the river more calm, the sky more serene, and the earth more beautiful. These Indians belonged

to the Illinois tribe, with some of whom Marquette had been longing to meet.

After this feast (which probably took place in what is now Clark County, Missouri), the white men returned to their canoes and resumed their journey, carrying with them two large calumets—the gift of the friendly Illinois. Near where the city of Alton now stands, they passed a large rock upon which some native artist had painted, in red and black and green, a pair of monsters, “each as large as a calf, with horns like a deer, red eyes, beard like a tiger, and a frightful expression of countenance. The face is something like that of a man, the body covered with scales; and the tail so long that it passes entirely around the body, over the head and between the legs, ending like that of a fish.”\*

A little later, “and while still talking about these strange figures,” they were startled by a real danger. They had reached the mouth of the Missouri—or, as Marquette called it, the Pekitanoui (pronounced peck-i-taw-noo-ee)†—and it was evidently at the time of a freshet. Those who have visited the spot at such a season understand the frightful aspect presented by the swollen stream. Their frail canoes were whirled in the vortex like dry leaves on an angry brook. Writes Marquette: “I never saw any thing more terrific.” But the explorers escaped without loss or injury, and held

\* The rock where these figures were painted is just above the city of Alton. Parkman says (La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West) that in 1867 the figures were entirely effaced and a part of the rock quarried away. St. Cosme says that in 1699 they were almost obliterated.

† It is this word which means “muddy water;” and not the present name as so often asserted. The word “Missouri” was the native name of a tribe of Indians whom the French found living near the mouth of the stream. On early French maps the river also bears the names of Riviere des Osages, and Riviere des Emis-sourites (Parkman).

on their way down the turbulent current of the united rivers. Past the lonely forest which marked the present site of St. Louis they floated, and a few days later reached the mouth of the Ohio.

Concerning their adventures with the natives of the lower Mississippi, we shall not dwell. On two or three occasions the hostile demonstrations of the red men were allayed and collisions that seemed inevitable averted by a sight of the mysterious calumet which the priest held aloft. At the mouth of the Arkansas, after narrowly escaping what would have been a disastrous conflict with the natives, they paused; and as the mouth of the river, they were told, was yet distant many days' journey, they deemed it expedient to retrace their steps, especially as the hardships they had undergone had all but exhausted Father Marquette. Slowly and tediously they made their way up the stream, returning by way of the Illinois River, and in the latter part of September again touched land on the shores of Green Bay, having been absent four months, during which time they had paddled their canoes more than twenty-five hundred miles.

While Marquette remained to recuperate his exhausted strength, Joliet hastened to Quebec to report his discoveries. In the La Chine Rapids, at the very end of his journey, his canoe was capsized, two of his men drowned, and his box of papers lost. During the spring of 1676, while engaged in his beloved vocation of carrying the Gospel to the natives, Marquette was stricken with a fatal sickness. In the midst of the wilderness he loved so well (near where now stands Grand Rapids, Michigan), with two companions, his spirit passed peacefully to its rest (May 19). The survivors buried his body on the spot, but in the winter of 1676, some friendly Indians carried his bones to Point St. Ignace, where, beneath the little chapel he had built, the relics were laid. Afterwards this tiny chapel was burned, as was also

a church built upon the spot, and to-day its very site is forgotten.

NOTE.—The newspapers in May, 1877, chronicled the discovery of the site of Marquette's chapel at Point St. Ignace. It was also stated that a number of church relics had been unearthed, and that the bones of a human being had been exhumed. These were confidently believed to be the relics of Father Marquette. The site is just outside the present limits of Point St. Ignace, and was, in 1877, covered with a dense underbrush.

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#### LA SALLE.

THE report of the discovery of the Mississippi River by Marquette and Joliet aroused the French to the importance of the exploration and the settlement of the great valley. It revealed to them something of the extent of the American continent; and while they knew that its Western shores were washed by the Pacific, it was now plain that a vast extent of territory lay between the two oceans. To explore this great interior basin and to occupy it in the name of Louis XIV was the problem that confronted them.

A proper leader for this vast enterprise was presented in the person of Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, who came of the old and wealthy family of Caveliers, at Rouen, France. He was born in 1643, and it seems was trained for a Jesuit priest, but he did not take kindly to the confessional, nor did he ever show very great religious tendencies. Indeed his strong personality, vaulting ambition, and inordinate vanity were far from the model which Loyola had commended to his followers.

In 1666 we find him in Canada, where he received the gratuitous grant of a large tract of land at what is now called La Chine, some eight miles above Montreal. Here he laid out a settlement, of which he was the head. From a band of visiting Seneca Indians, he learned of the Ohio and



the Mississippi Rivers. The intelligence fired his imagination, and he resolved to explore the territory through which they flow.

In 1670 La Salle made a trip into the Western wilderness, the details of which are quite meager and to some degree shrouded in mystery. It appears that he became separated from his white companions and for two years roamed with tribes of friendly Indians. La Salle himself told little about his adventures, but it is claimed by friends in France that he discovered the Ohio, and possibly the Mississippi. The first claim is generally accepted, but of the latter there is no proof.

After these alleged discoveries, La Salle, at the advice of Frontenac, governor of Canada, visited France, and on account of the representation there made, obtained the grant of the large seigniory of Fort Frontenac, located on the present site of Kingston, at the East end of Lake Ontario. Included was a large tract of land. Of the intrigues at home, and of the annoyances and impediments he suffered at the hands of envious and malicious contemporaries, we are not concerned. Suffice it to say that they were ample to dishearten any ordinary man, but the indomitable will of La Salle never for a moment faltered. With the Jesuits he was completely estranged, and henceforth chose his religious counsellors and assistants from among the Recollet Fathers. His elder brother, who was also in Canada, was a priest of the Sulpitian order.

After another trip to Paris, La Salle finally secured the coveted authority and grants, and obtained the requisite funds for prosecuting such an undertaking as he had in contemplation. Associated with him were Hennepin, a Recollet friar, and Henri de Tonty, an Italian, whose father had invented a form of life insurance still called the Tontine.

During the winter of 1678, La Salle and his party spent several months on the Niagara River above the falls,

building, with materials brought from Fort Frontenac, a vessel of forty-five tons burden. These materials were, with prodigious labor, carried up the heights at Lewiston, thence to the mouth of Cayuga Creek, twelve miles beyond. The ship was named the "Griffin." After many vexatious delays, La Salle set sail on August 7th, 1679. The prow of the "Griffin" was the first of any vessel larger than an Indian canoe to cut the waters of the four great lakes above Niagara River. Passing through Detroit River, it was soon gliding over the waters of Lake Huron. At Point St. Ignace a stop was made. In September the "Griffin" again got under way, and in a few days came to anchor in Green Bay. Here La Salle decided to freight his vessel with a cargo of furs and dispatch her to Niagara, while he with fourteen companions continued the voyage up Lake Michigan. The "Griffin" was never heard of again. Whether she was captured by hostile natives, foundered in a storm, or wrecked by treachery, has never been known.

After various adventures upon the lake, La Salle finally disembarked at the mouth of St. Joseph River. Here three weeks were spent in the construction of a fort, which was named Miami. At length La Salle was joined by Tonty who had been left at Ste. Marie. After an anxious wait until the third of September for the return of the "Griffin" and receiving no tidings of her, La Salle began his journey. His party consisted of thirty-three persons. In eight canoes they stemmed the current of the St. Joseph. Near where now stands the town of South Bend, Indiana, the canoes were shouldered and thus transported across the five-mile portage to the Kankakee, which here is a mere thread of water. Launching their canoes upon the tiny streamlet, they pushed their way through pool and morass. With every mile the current widened and deepened, and shortly the Illinois was reached. Through a dreary, voiceless, ice-bound solitude they floated. A Mohegan hunter supplied their

scanty food. Farther along, Indian camps appeared, but they were silent and deserted. The tribes were absent on their winter hunt.

On the fourth of January (1680) they entered Peoria Lake, where the first Indians were seen. Here the party remained several days. Six of La Salle's men, alarmed by the threatening demonstrations of the savages, deserted. It was decided to build a fort, and a spot half a league below the Indian town was selected. This was the first civilized occupation of the region now comprising the State of Illinois. La Salle christened it Fort Crevecoeur. No tidings of the "Griffin" having reached the Frenchmen, it was resolved to build another vessel. Before it was completed, La Salle concluded to retrace his steps to Fort Frontenac, in order to secure additional men and supplies; ordering Father Hennepin, in the meantime, to explore the Illinois to its mouth. Tonty was to remain in charge at Crevecoeur. On the last day of February, Hennepin, with two companions, set out on his voyage; and one day later, La Salle, accompanied by four men, turned the prows of his canoes to the East.

On Easter morning the intrepid Cavalier stepped ashore at Niagara. No word concerning the "Griffin" awaited him, and he was now satisfied that she had been lost. The sixth of May found him at Fort Frontenac, having, in sixty-five days, traveled about a thousand miles through a country beset with every form of peril and obstruction; "the most arduous journey," says a chronicler, "ever made by Frenchmen in America."

Procuring ample supplies and twenty-five men, La Salle, on the tenth of August (1680), embarked again for the Illinois, going via Lakes Simcoe, Huron and Michigan, and the St. Joseph, the Kankakee and the Illinois Rivers. Arriving at the site of the great town of the Illinois, a scene of desolation and appalling evidences of savage fury met



their gaze. A few weeks previously, the Iroquois had invaded that region. The plain which a year before had swarmed with life was now a barren waste of ruin and death. Everywhere were seen heaps of ashes, charred poles, and human bones; while packs of wolves held high carnival. Even the cemetery had been desecrated, and the bodies of the dead flung from the scaffolds. Not a sign of a living being could be discerned. Victor and vanquished had alike disappeared. At the site of Fort Crevecoeur (which had been destroyed by white deserters shortly after the departure of La Salle) the same scene of desolation was presented. No trace of Tonty or his men could be found. La Salle continued his voyage down the Illinois—it being evident that the Indians had fled in that direction,—and at many points found deserted camps of the antagonists, those of the Illinois on one side of the stream, and those of their savage enemies always exactly opposite. This was the method adopted to harass the Illinois to their death. Silence brooded over the desert waste. Here and there were found the half-consumed bodies of women, bound to stakes. Continuing the descent of the river, the party at length reached the broad current of the Mississippi. No trace of the missing Tonty was found. As the greater part of La Salle's men had been left, under La Forest, at Fort Miami, the Frenchmen resolved to retrace their steps.

When the great town of the Illinois had been attacked by the Iroquois, Tonty and the priests with him had vainly attempted to ward off hostilities. But they succeeded only in delaying the conflict. When the Illinois fled, the Frenchmen remained in their town. Finally the Iroquois became so incensed at what they believed was the duplicity of the white men that they ordered them to begone. Then it was that Tonty began the ascent of the river; while the Illinois fled in the opposite direction. Father Ribourde, one of the priests, wandered off alone and was murdered by some

prowling Kickapoos. His companions, subsisting mainly upon acorns and roots, at length reached Green Bay. Thus ended the first attempt by white men to establish a settlement in Illinois.

In the meantime Father Hennepin had paddled his canoe to the mouth of the Illinois and thence turned its prow up the Mississippi. He was captured by a party of Sioux and carried to the upper part of that stream. His release was finally brought about through the efforts of Du Lhut, immediately after which the friar made his way to Quebec and took passage for France without ever reporting to La Salle. He published a long account of his adventures, the greater part of which is believed to be pure fiction.

Three times have we followed *Sieur de la Salle* into the wilderness in quest of the Mississippi; three times have we seen him return to Canada without having accomplished his mission, though on two occasions its fruition seemed within his very grasp—and on his third voyage it was even given him to behold the great Father of Waters. Notwithstanding his sore disappointments, never, so far as the student of his life can discover, did he for one moment falter in his purpose to trace the meanderings of this stream from the point where, a tiny rill, it trickles through the virgin soil of the wilderness, to where the measureless volume of its muddy current unites with the briny waters of the great deep. In this purpose he had thus far signally failed. His failures, too, were largely due to the malignity of certain influential persons in Canada, and partly to the perfidy of those he had trusted. Not another man in all New France would have persevered in the face of such tremendous odds. But with La Salle, while life and strength were given him, there was no abatement of effort. It was his fixed purpose to explore the Mississippi and end the uncertainty as to whether it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico or into the Ver-

million Sea (Gulf of California), and only death could swerve him from that determination. We shall see how at last he grappled with adversity, and out of the fragments of his ruin built up the fabric of success, thus stamping his name upon the pages of history as one of the great explorers of America.

La Salle had spent the winter of 1680-81 at Fort Miami, at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. Instead of brooding over his misfortunes, he improved the opportunity to gain the friendship and win the confidence of the Indians in that locality. The Iroquois were at war with all the tribes of that region and also with many of those in the far East, hence it behooved red man and white to join forces against the common enemy. Early in the spring La Salle learned that Tonty was at Michilimackinac. To put his affairs in shape, the Cavalier once more hastened to Fort Frontenac, paddling his canoe over one thousand miles of lake and river. In September we find him embarked on his return, determined to essay once again the self-imposed task of following the Mississippi to the sea. It was late in the month when the patient voyager drew up his canoe at last upon the beach at Fort Miami. Twenty-three Frenchmen and thirty-one Indians—including ten squaws and three children whom the braves insisted should be taken along—comprised La Salle's fourth expedition into the Western wilderness.

It was the 21st of December when they set out. They crossed the Southern end of Lake Michigan and entered the mouth of the Chicago River. As it was the dead of winter, they found all the streams frozen. Sledges were made, and on these were loaded canoes, baggage and disabled Frenchmen. Their course was up the Chicago River and across the portage to the most Northern branch of the Illinois, dragging their canoes until the open water below Peoria Lake was reached.

On the sixth of February, 1682, they swept out of the mouth of the Illinois on to the majestic bosom of the Mississippi. After a week's delay, waiting for the arrival of the lagging Indians and for the river to clear of floating ice, the journey was resumed. Without incident they floated past the mouth of the Pekitanoui (the Missouri), past the mouth of the crystal Ohio, and on February 24th landed at what is now known as the First Chickasaw Bluffs. Here a hunter, Prudhomme, became lost, but, after some two weeks' absence, was found in a half-dead condition. The Arkansas Indians extended to the explorers a kindly welcome, and two of them served as guides to the town of the Taensas, a tribe which had made far greater progress towards civilization than had any of the neighboring aborigines.\* These also smoked the pipe of peace with the pale-faced strangers. The voyage, on the whole, was quite uneventful. On the sixth of April the river divided itself into three wide channels and shortly "the broad bosom of the Gulf opened on their sight, tossing its restless billows, limitless, voiceless, lonely as when born of chaos, without a sail, without a sign of life."

On the 9th, after chanting the *Te Deum Laudamus* and the *Exaudiat*, and amid volleys of musketry, La Salle took possession of "this country of Louisiana . . . along

\* Tonty writes that he had "seen nothing like it in America; dwellings large and square, built of sun-baked mortar, mixed with straw, surmounted by dome-shaped roofs of thatched cane. Two buildings larger than the others attracted the attention of the visitors. The one set apart for the chief was forty feet square and contained but a single room. The chief sat upon his throne to receive his visitors. His three wives sat near him and howled an accompaniment to his speech. About him stood sixty grave men clad in white robes made from the inner bark of the mulberry." The other building was the temple of the sun, where were kept the bones of the departed chiefs, supposed to have been children of the Sun god. A fire was kept constantly burning upon the altar by three old men appointed to that service.—Mather's *The Making of Illinois*,

the river Colbert or Mississippi,\* and the rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, from the source beyond the country of the Nadoussioux . . . . as far as the Gulf of Mexico," in the name of Louis XIV of France. A cross, and a column bearing a suitable inscription, were planted; and beside them was buried a leaden plate bearing the arms of France.

Of the subsequent career of La Salle, we do not need to speak at length. Returning to Illinois, he dispatched Father Membre, one of the friars who had accompanied the expedition, to France with the news of his discovery, while he himself built, on a high bluff (afterwards named Starved Rock, near where the town of Ottawa now stands) a fort which he named St. Louis. At this place a score of Frenchmen and many friendly natives speedily gathered. To the former the explorer made grants of large tracts of land; to the latter the offer of protection was extended.

But the affairs of the Cavalier were in desperate straits. La Barre, who had succeeded Frontenac as governor, was identified with the enemies of La Salle. Fort Frontenac was seized, a successor for the command at St. Louis was dispatched, and it is even asserted that the Iroquois were told they might rob and murder the great explorer with impunity. Leaving Tonty in command at Fort St. Louis, La Salle, in the autumn of 1683, and prior to the reception of the news of his deposal, sailed for France. At Paris he laid his case before the colonial minister, in whom he found a warm advocate. Frontenac, too, who was regarded with considerable favor at court, interceded in his behalf. The

\* The Mississippi has had a variety of names. De Soto called it "Rio del Espiritu Santo;" other early Spanish writers, "Rio Grande." Marquette gave it the name, "Riviere de la Conception;" on a Jesuit map of 1673 it bears the name, "Mitchisipi ou Grande Riviere;" in a later map it is called the Colbert River. Joliet called it the "Messissippi;" on another French map it is called "Riviere Baude." Many of the early French writers call it the "Messipi."

outcome was that the business affairs of the explorer were put upon a substantial basis, his forts restored, La Barre ordered to make restitution for the humiliations inflicted, and means furnished for the establishment of a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, conceded on all hands to be a strategic point,——if it was expected to gather the fruits of the discoveries and bring the great basin under the sway of the lilies of France.

From its very incipency, this last enterprise was fraught with disaster. A goodly number of persons—"three or four mechanics in each trade"; some eight or ten respectable families; a number of girls, allured by the prospect of certain marriage; a full complement of priests, among whom was La Salle's elder brother, the Sulpitian Cavelier; and a number of soldiers and sailors—constituted the expedition, which, on July 24th, 1684, sailed in four vessels from Rochelle. After a series of misfortunes (among them the capture by Spanish buccaneers of one of their vessels), the voyagers reached the Gulf of Mexico, and sighted land on the 28th of December. By accident, or owing to ignorance, or possibly by treachery, they passed the mouth of the Mississippi, and, after coasting aimlessly along for several weeks, came to anchor in Matagorda Bay, which La Salle supposed was one of the mouths of the great river.\* Here he built a fort, also called St. Louis; and after satisfying himself that he was too far to the West, started out to find the Mississippi. But the effort was not attended with success, nor was another which was made in 1686.

Meantime the affairs of the colony were becoming desperate. The other vessels had been wrecked—one of them

\* The fleet was commanded by a naval officer named Beaujeau, who disliked La Salle, ridiculed his project, and quarreled with him before they were fairly out of Rochelle harbor.. Shortly after landing at Matagorda Bay, Beaujeau became greatly offended and sailed for France, taking one of the three vessels and much of the supplies and amunition.



doubtless through treachery. Disease and death ran rict. The number of colonists was reduced to forty-five. Those left alive became despondent. La Salle was charged with all the evils which had befallen the colony. Chief among his defamers was one Duhaut, who let pass no opportunity to cast aspersions upon his commander and to fan into flame the prevailing spirit of discontent. In his efforts he found a willing assistant in Hiens, a German. The abode of the colonists was one of weariness and a perpetual prison. Their thoughts, with unspeakable yearning, dwelt upon the blessings of sunny France, which to them seemed an unattainable Eden.

The nearest point whence succor could be obtained was the Illinois, and to the other far-distant St. Louis La Salle resolved to go. In his party were included Duhaut, Hiens, and the other discontents—in all, seventeen persons. They did not march far. One day on the Trinity River, a party under Duhaut, out after game, tarried so long that three others—one a nephew of La Salle—were sent to ascertain the cause. They found the hunters, and some violent words ensued. That night the three men were murdered as they slept by Duhaut and his followers.

As the three messengers had failed to return when expected, La Salle, with Father Douay and an Indian guide, set out the next morning in search of them. As they drew near the camp of the murderers, Duhaut and one Liotot, discovering the approach of their commander, concealed themselves in the tall grass and sent a companion to decoy him in their direction. The scheme was successful. Two shots rang out from the ambush, and the explorer lay dead upon the sward with a bullet through his brain. The faithful Indian met a like fate, but the life of the priest was spared. Thus on March 19th, 1687 miserably perished at the early age of forty-three, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, the most conspicuous figure among all the explorers

of North America. Like his own Rock of St. Louis, he had stood unmoved by the pitiless blasts of diversity and death that swept about him. His shameful end was due to his inability or indisposition to gain the affection of those who served under him.

Retribution followed swiftly in the path of the murderers. Soon they fell out among themselves. Duhaut and two or three of his fellow-conspirators were killed, while Hiens, fleeing to some neighboring Indians, came, it is told, to a miserable end. The Sulpitian Cavelier and the other survivors faithful to La Salle pushed on to St. Louis on the Illinois. Here they kept concealed the fate of their commander, representing that he had sent them to Canada. From Tonty they borrowed a large sum (in furs) and hastened to Quebec, thence to Paris, never divulging their secret until the Atlantic was crossed. Months afterward, Tonty learned of the pitiful fate of his beloved commander. Forthwith, with eight companions, he set out for the relief of the colony in Texas, but at the Arkansas River six of his men deserted, and after untold hardships he was forced to abandon the attempt.\*

What of the colony in Texas? It fell a victim to the treachery of a party of Indians, admitted within the pali-

\* Before this, Tonty had done a noble act, one that showed the metal of which he was made. When Beaujeau reached France in 1685, he told of La Salle's misfortune, and his story came to Tonty by way of Quebec. Forthwith the latter fitted out a relief party of twenty-five white men and five natives, and hastened down the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers. Reaching the Gulf without discovering any traces of La Salle's party, Tonty explored the coast for thirty leagues in each direction, but this search was equally fruitless. Leaving with some natives a letter for La Salle, he sorrowfully retraced his course to St. Louis on the Illinois. Thirteen years afterward, this letter was delivered to Iberville, governor of Louisiana, having been, in all that period, sacredly treasured by the Indians.



sades on the pretense of friendship. Only a few whites escaped the massacre. These took up their abode with friendly natives, and eventually one or two escaped to tell the fate of St. Louis of Texas.

Thus ends the mournful story of the explorers of the Mississippi. Of their almost herculean efforts, no monument remained save the claim, by their king, to a vast territory stretching from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains; and the record of a grand type of incarnate energy and will. Where La Salle sowed, others were to reap.

## SILVER HUNTERS AND EARLY LEAD MINERS.

**I**N ORDER to trace intelligently the interior explorations and the development of Missouri, it is necessary, by way of introduction, to say a word concerning the first settlements in Illinois, whence sprang those of our own commonwealth. Good Father Marquette had established at the chief town of the Illinois Indians a mission to which he gave the name of Kaskaskia. When growing infirmities impressed upon him the conviction that his remaining days upon earth were few, he bade a reluctant farewell to the tribe, promising that he would send other missionaries to carry on the work he had so auspiciously begun. The natives had learned to love this humble priest, and with sorrowing hearts they watched his canoe disappear in the distance. But other priests came and administered the sacraments in the little cross-crowned chapel.

About the close of the seventeenth century (probably in 1696), the encroachments of the ferocious Iroquois forced the Illinois to seek for their town a more protected location. A spot about six miles from the mouth of the Kaskaskia River was chosen, and there, on the banks of that little purling stream, the mission was re-located. Soon row upon row of Indian lodges covered the plain, while the log chapel was enclosed in a stout stockade pierced with loopholes. With the help of the natives, the Jesuit Fathers tilled the

soil adjoining the village. Large numbers of cattle, hogs, and other domestic animals were also among their products.

About 1700 another mission was established at Cahokia, four miles South of the present town of East St. Louis. There several Frenchmen located, and soon quite a settlement sprang up. But Kaskaskia was, at this time, the metropolis and commercial center of Upper Louisiana.

The most important post of this locality was, however, yet to be established. The growing commerce between these settlements and Biloxi and New Orleans, which had been founded near the mouth of the Mississippi, necessitated the establishment, for the protection thereof, of a strong military post somewhere in Illinois. A point on the Mississippi, about midway between Kaskaskia and Cahokia, was selected for its site; and here, in 1718, ground was broken for a substantial fort. This post was called Fort Chartres, in honor of Duc de Chartres, son of the regent of France, and "was erected on a scale of magnificence unequalled by any other fortification of France in the new world." After more than two years of labor and at a cost of one million crowns, the fort was completed. It at once became the center of French military power in the Mississippi basin, and under the protection of its guns a large village speedily sprang into existence. Into such prominence did the settlement grow that it was a saying of the time that "all roads lead to Fort Chartres."

"Seven years after the death of La Salle, Henri de Tonty urged the seizure of Louisiana for three reasons: first, as a base of attack upon Mexico; secondly, as a depot for the furs and lead ores of the interior; and thirdly, as the means of preventing the English from becoming masters of the West."\* The emigration to Upper Louisiana was from two sources—the settlements of the lower Mississippi and those of Canada. Soon there came a third class of persons,

\* Parkman's *A Half-Century of Conflict*, Vol. II.

principally direct from France. These were adventurers who had become impoverished and came in the hope of replenishing their depleted exchequers, or "beggars sent out to enrich themselves" None of these were desirable acquisitions for the colonies. They were men who did not care to follow the ordinary vocations of hunting or tilling the soil,

We shall now tell why this last class came to Louisiana. It is very certain that at the time of the first settlements in Illinois (as the upper part of Louisiana had come to be called), the search for silver was the controlling interest of the prominent colonists. There were current in the new settlements—as well as in the mother-country—reports to the effect that the hills and bluffs across the Mississippi from the posts above mentioned abounded in both silver and copper, and it is easily established that the official documents and dispatches of the time gave especial prominence to this subject. As early as 1703, a party of twenty set out for Mexico, by way of the Missouri River, for the purpose of "visiting certain mines which were said by the Indians to yield a kind of lead that was white and of no account because it would not melt in the fire," Of the fate of this party, there is no record.\*

There were exhibited at Kaskaskia, New Orleans, Mobile, and other towns specimens of silver ore said to have been mined in the Illinois country, but those who listened to such reports were doomed to disappointments. As a matter of fact, no silver was mined in Upper Louisiana, the specimens mentioned having been brought by the Indians from Mexico. But the colonial authorities seemed confident that the white metal would ultimately be discovered, and attributed the past failures to the want of skill on the part of their agents.

Louis Fourteenth had found his American colonies

\* Carr's Missouri, in American Commonwealths Series.

very expensive luxuries. Wars in which he was, at the opening of the eighteenth century, engaged at home had sadly depleted the royal exchequer. Hence the king could not furnish the means for developing the mines which he, in common with many of his foremost subjects, believed existed in Louisiana; but he was determined to keep this vast territory out of the hands of his enemies. So in 1712, a charter or patent for the entire district was granted to Anthony Crozat, giving him a monopoly for a term of fifteen years of the mines, fur trade, and all other sources of revenue. But the mines, which to the enchanted fancy of the Frenchmen were to yield wealth exceeding the historic richness of Peru and Golconda, were never discovered. Immense sums from which no returns were ever reaped Crozat spent in the vain search for the fleeting *ignis fatuus*. In 1717, he gladly relinquished his claim, which then passed into the hands of John Law's Mississippi Company. The members of this organization had their minds fixed upon silver mining, and all their energies were concentrated in that direction. Several parties were sent out, but a record of failure is all that remains of their exploitations, while the abandonment of agricultural pursuits brought the colonists, on several occasions, near the verge of starvation. In 1719 came one Sieur de Lochon who "dug in a place showed him," but all he secured, after an outlay of some \$350, were two drachms of silver (put into the crucible by himself, it was believed) and fourteen pounds of very poor lead. Other parties followed, but they met with no better success. The field of all these operations was along the Meramec River and in other localities South of St. Louis. In order to promote the object of their organization and to encourage the settlement of the country, the Mississippi Company held out to emigrants the most liberal inducements and made them donations of all lands which they would cultivate and improve,

In 1719, Sieur Philippe Francois Renault (or Renaud), the son of a celebrated iron founder in France, set out for the Illinois District. He is said to have been a rich man and one of unusual vim and enterprise. To him was given the title of "Director-General of the Mines of Louisiana." With him came two hundred practical miners and skilled assayers. En route they stopped at St. Domingo where were purchased a number of slaves, some writers say five hundred, for working in the mines. The party sailed up the Mississippi, and in 1720 we hear of them at Fort Chartres. From this point miners were dispatched to explore the hills and bluffs between the Mississippi and the Ozarks. No satisfactory reports having been brought to Renault, he crossed the river and engaged personally in the prosecution of his project. Prospecting shafts were sunk wherever it was deemed probable that ore might be found. Accompanying Renault was a miner named La Motte. They journeyed far into the pathless wilderness. Many were the dangers they braved. It is related that on one occasion the party was attacked by a large bear. All fled except Renault, who was fortunate enough to kill bruin before any injury was inflicted upon himself. Nearly all of Ste. Genevieve County was explored by these prospectors. That their work was prosecuted with untiring energy is proven by the number of their mines which have since been discovered. La Motte, in one of his excursions, discovered the lead mine on the St. Francois which to-day bears his name; and Renault is credited with the discovery of the mines North of Potosi which are now called by his name.

No silver was found, but lead ore was discovered in abundance. It occurred to Renault that doubtless it would be profitable to mine the latter metal. The idea was acted upon, and forthwith the slaves were set to work taking out lead. Rude furnaces for smelting the ore were erected. The lead was carried on pack-horses to the banks of the

Mississippi, whence it was ferried to Fort Chartres. From that point it was shipped down the river on flat-boats to New Orleans and thence conveyed to France. The lead mines proved profitable investments. How long the enterprise was continued, or how great the quantity of ore mined, is not definitely known. From all indications, it is quite certain that a number of men were engaged in the work for many years. Large grants of land in the mining district were made to Renault and others, and we shall see that this resulted in settlements being made upon the West bank of the Mississippi.

This enterprise of Renault's is of especial interest to students of Missouri history, because it was the first industry established within the present boundaries of the State and directed the attention of the civilized world to her inexhaustible supply of lead.

## FIRST SETTLEMENTS.



TE. GENEVIEVE was the first permanent settlement made by Europeans within the present limits of Missouri. Of this there is no question; but, unfortunately, there has not come down to us sufficient data to determine with any certainty the precise year in which this settlement was begun. But before proceeding with this subject, it will be necessary, in order to clearly understand subsequent events, to devote some space to other important matters connected with the early history of our commonwealth.

In the year 1719, one Du Tisne conducted a party up the Missouri River to a point about where the present town of Grand Pass is located. Here he found, on the South bank of the river, the village of the Missouris. He desired to proceed farther, but the Indians refused to give him permission. Thereupon he returned to the Illinois, whence with a few followers he set out on horseback (starting from the mouth of Saline River, about seventy miles South of St. Louis), proceeding Westwardly across what is now the commonwealth of Missouri, until the village of the Osages, situated on a high hill near the stream bearing their name, was reached. After a short stay with these friendly natives, he went forty leagues farther to the village of the Pawnees (Panis). As he came from their enemies, these took him for a foe. Twice was the deadly tomahawk raised over his



head to brain him, but when he coolly dared the red men to strike, they began to treat him as a friend. After planting a French flag in their village, Du Tisne returned as he had come, guiding his party by means of a pocket compass, and reaching the Illinois after many hardships.

It is well, in passing, to call attention to the fact that on the basis of the discoveries by De Soto, the Spanish still laid claim to all of Louisiana. The encroachments of the French in both the upper and the lower Mississippi valleys had brought the Spaniards to a realization of the fact that they must either put forth strenuous efforts to dislodge the intruders and divert the fur trade to New Mexico, or else abandon all claim to the territory. With the former alternative in view, a party of two hundred was, in 1721, organized at Santa Fe. This party was a moving caravan of the desert, much as the one which, in the days of De Soto, astonished the natives of Florida. There were soldiers, families, horses, mules, herds of hogs and cattle for food on the way and to stock the settlements which they purposed establishing in the disputed region. This caravan, with a large body of Comanche warriors, marched into Missouri, lost their way, and engaged guides whom they instructed to lead the way to the village of the Pawnees. This tribe, the Spaniards had heard, were enemies of the French. By either mistake or treachery, the Spaniards were piloted to the camp of the Missouris, to whose chief they disclosed their purpose of exterminating his people, together with all the French settlers. The wily sachem listened gravely, and with that imperturbability characteristic of his race gave no sign that betrayed to the Spaniards their error. Every courtesy was shown the white men and they were invited to remain a few days ere resuming their march. Pleased with their reception, the visitors distributed a number of guns and other presents to the natives. In the meantime the chief summoned all his warriors, and on the night pre-

ceding the day appointed for the Spaniards to march fell upon his guests, dispatching with indiscriminate slaughter all except one priest whose life was spared on account of the crucifix he wore. This priest was kept a prisoner for some time, but finally made his escape, the only messenger to carry the news that the treachery which the Spaniards expected to mete out to others had befallen themselves.

The boldness of this move on the part of their rivals warned the French that the time for establishing armed posts on the Missouri had arrived. Accordingly, in 1722, the West India Company ordered one Bourgmont to build and garrison a fort at, or near the Kansas River. He was instructed also to use his utmost endeavor to effect a peace between the Comanche (Paducah) Indians and the tribes of the Missouri, in the interest of the fur trade of the Southwest, which it was hoped would be diverted to the French. Bourgmont had traded for years with the tribes among whom he was sent, hence was familiar with their customs. In accordance with his orders, he built a fort which he named Fort Orleans, the location of which is in dispute. Le Page du Pratz, in his *‘‘Histoire de la Louisiana,’’* says it was situated on an island in the Missouri, opposite a village of the nation of that name; while another early account places it on the South side of the river, some fifteen or twenty miles above the mouth of Grand River. In support of the latter statement, attention is called to the fact that two miles above the town of Miami, in Saline County, on a commanding eminence, are to be seen the ruins of a fort. These ruins antedate the first settlement by white people in the vicinity.\* Wherever may have been the location of this fort, there is no question of its being the first settle-

\* These are the ruins to which reference was made in our first article concerning the Mound Builders. The writer is inclined to the opinion that here stood Fort Orleans, and not some pre-historic stronghold, as many writers contend.

ment made by civilized people within the present limits of the State of Missouri. But brief as a summer's day was its existence, as the sequel shows.

Bourgamont made a voyage up the Missouri to the Kansas, thence sent envoys to the Comanches, whose town was on the Arkansas River. In 1724, a peace between this nation and the Indians of the Missouri was negotiated. Shortly afterwards there arose some trouble between the French at Fort Orleans and the Missouris, in consequence of which the white garrison at the fort were butchered to a man. The French writers of the time are singularly reticent in regard to the event. Some assert that it was due to the insulting treatment of the wives of the red men by the white soldiers. Though the fort was destroyed, no more Spanish expeditions entered the bounds of Missouri.

To Ste. Genevieve belongs the distinction of being the first permanent settlement in Missouri, but in regard to the year in which the town was founded, one can but speculate. Pencaut, who ascended the Mississippi in 1700, refers, in the journal which he kept, to the salt licks near the town, and adds that "presently there was a settlement at this place." But the earliest authentic reference to the village was made by Captain Bossu, who visited the Illinois country in 1752. In his work he says: "The five *bourgades* (settlements) of the French in the Illinois are the village of the Kaskaskias, the Fort de Chartres, the Cahokias, the Prairie du Rocher, Saint Philippe; there is now among them a sixth called Ste. Genevieve."\*

Two brothers are intimately connected with the story of this first settlement,—Francis and Jean Batiste Valle, members of the Mississippi Company. These Frenchmen made their home, about 1730, at Fort Chartres. They were fur traders. Into the depths of the forests on the farther side of the Mississippi they made long journeys in ca-

\* New Voyages to the West Indies, published in 1768.

noes or on pack-horses, carrying supplies of such merchandise as was adapted for traffic with the red aborigines. Day after day they went from one Indian village to another, displaying in one hand the calumet of peace and in the other some article signifying their desire for barter. An interpreter always accompanied them. Thus were collected large cargoes of furs, which were sent down the river to New Orleans and thence conveyed to France. This vocation proved much more remunerative than digging for silver or copper.

Passing so many of their days on the Western shore, where the soil was very productive and the Indians never hostile, it occurred to the brothers after awhile that it would be far more convenient and profitable to establish a post in that inviting region. Accordingly, in 1735 (so tradition has it), the Valles, with several of their friends and their families, crossed over the broad stream and laid out a settlement which was called Ste. Genevieve. It contained the usual blockhouse, surrounded by the homes of the settlers.

The names of these first dwellers within our State have come down to us. They were: Francis Valle (commandant of the post), Jean Baptiste Valle, Joseph Loisselle, Jean Baptiste Maurice, Francis Coleman, Jacques Boyer, Henri Maurice, Parfant Dufour, Louis Boidue, B. N. James, and J. B. T. Pratt.

The attention of these hardy pioneers was at first given to hunting and trading, but ere long the productiveness of the soil led them to devote much of their time to agricultural pursuits. Corn and wheat were raised. That the settlement in its earliest days was not especially noted for its prosperity, however, is attested by the story that to it the proud and opulent inhabitants of Kaskaskia gave the derisive appellation of "Misere."

The town of old Ste. Genevieve was situated on Gabori Creek, one mile from the Mississippi and three miles South of the present town. In 1785, "*l'annee des grandes*

*eaux,"* it was completely inundated, and for protection against the recurrence of such a disaster, the inhabitants chose a higher location where the present town was founded. From this date the growth of Ste. Genevieve was rapid, and soon it developed into a post of importance.

Little concerning the life of the early settlers at Ste. Genevieve has come down to us. But some writer has put on record one story that is worth repeating.

A young man of the settlement, Francis Maisonville, laid siege to the heart of a Peoria maiden, the lodges of whose tribe stood in the vicinity. The wooing was successful, their troth was plighted, and in due time, in the little village chapel, the dusky maiden, in broken French, lisped the responses which made her the wife of young Maisonville. But their union was bitterly opposed by the family of the maiden, and one day when her husband was absent the bride was stolen away by her brother and some companions. They carried her to a village of her tribe about six days' journey from Ste. Genevieve. Here she was kept bound with thongs and closely watched by two old squaws.

When the husband returned and found his wife gone, he at once knew what had happened. Summoning several friends, he started in pursuit. But the cunning savages had used all the ingenuity of their race to conceal their trail, and after several days of fruitless search, the white men abandoned the chase in despair.

One night the patter of drops upon the roof of the wigwam told the captive that a gentle rain was falling. Her two guardians, wearied with their long vigil, had fallen into a deep slumber. Stealthily she made her way to the door and held under the drip from the roof the deer-skin thong with which her hands were bound, until it became softened. Then she deftly slipped it off her wrists, and loosened that which bound her feet. One hasty glance assured her that the two old women still slept, so with noiseless yet quick

steps she stole into the darkness. Quickly was her flight discovered and soon fleet warriors were upon her track. But she possessed a large share of Indian cunning and succeeded in eluding the pursuit. Once her brother sat upon the very hollow log in which she was concealed, while a few yards away his companions cooked and ate a meal.

After many days of weary travel during which she subsisted upon such berries and fruits as the forests yielded, she presented herself at the cabin of her distracted husband. Then there was a season of rejoicing in that humble home.

Afterwards the wife's family became reconciled to her marriage with the pale face, and soon she and young Maisonville were numbered among the most respected of the citizens of Ste. Genevieve.

NOTE.—General Rozier, in his "History of the Early Settlements of the Mississippi Valley," says: "In the district of Ste. Genevieve, during the occupation by the Spanish and French governments, were many Indian villages, among others one called Challicothe, situated on Pomme [Apple] River. This village was occupied by the Chowanans; a branch of the Peorias, who belong to the once numerous Illinois family. The Chowanans numbered about five hundred, lived in log cabins, cultivated corn, and were far more advanced in civilization than were other tribes in upper Louisiana. They were tall, robust people, and their women were pretty and exceedingly swift of foot. A sister of the celebrated Tecumseh was a member of this tribe and lived in the village. She married a Frenchman named Maisonville, and their descendants, now numerous, still live in New Madrid County. These Indians, who always maintained friendly relations with the French, returned to their kindred on the East side of the river about 1750, and were living near Kaskaskia, with the Peorias, in 1769, when Pontiac was assassinated by a member of that tribe. This murder, which aroused the vengeance of all the tribes friendly to Pontiac, especially the Sacs and Foxes, brought on the successive wars which resulted in the total extermination of the Illinois nation, including the Chowanans."



## CESSION OF LOUISIANA AND SETTLEMENT OF ST. LOUIS.



NO OTHER settlements were made within the present boundaries of Missouri until after the close of the French domination in Louisiana, which occurred in 1762. In November of this year, Louis XV transferred to Spain that part of the colony West of the Mississippi. How this was brought about it is now necessary to relate.

Under the control of John Law's company, Louisiana had prospered, but the prosperity was the result of a lavish expenditure of money on the part of the managers. During the fourteen years the territory was under their control, the company had spent upon it twenty million livres. The population in that period had grown from seven hundred to seven thousand, two thousand of the number being slaves. In 1731, the charter was surrendered to the crown, the expenditures were reduced to a fraction of what they had been under the preceding regime, and the population, no longer augmented by fortune-seeking adventurers from France, fell off to six thousand (1745). From this latter date, however, the number of the colonists slowly increased, until, in 1763, according to De Rassac, Louisiana contained three thousand families which averaged four persons to each. In 1766, according to Martin's History of Louisiana, published in 1827, there were in Spanish Louisiana five thousand, five

hundred and fifty-six white persons; and the blacks were nearly as numerous.

We have said that the king of France found his American colonies expensive luxuries. In 1740, the royal expenditures in Louisiana alone were 310,000 livres; in 1747 they were 532,000; and in 1759 they are said to have been 800,000. During the whole of the time that the colony was a dependency of the crown, the expenditures aggregated probably eight or ten million dollars.

France at this time found herself in sore straits. Through centuries of strife and vicissitudes, the monarchy had triumphed over nobles, parliaments and peoples and reached, under Louis the Great, the zenith of its power; but under his contemptible successor the seeds of decay speedily appeared, until, robbed of prestige, burdened with debt and honeycombed with corruption, it made great and rapid strides towards the abyss of ruin. A few years later came the culmination in the Revolution which deluged the whole kingdom, pitilessly sweeping to the guillotine all that were noble of both sexes, including Louis XVI and the ever lamented Marie Antoinette,\* while the rabble, drunken with rapine and slaughter, abandoned religion and worshipped first at the shrine of the Girondists and then at that of the Mountain, until they found their master in the young

\* The reign of Louis XV was nearly coincident with the French regime in Missouri. His accession to the throne dates from 1715, and he died in 1774, "tired even of his pleasures, disgusted with everything, and despised by all." His grandson, who succeeded to the throne, was twenty years old. He and his youthful wife, Marie Antoinette, were in another part of the palace, awaiting the tidings of the death of the king. Suddenly a sound, "terrible and absolutely like thunder," smote upon their ears. It was a crowd of courtiers rushing to salute the new king and queen. Overpowered by emotion, the youthful pair threw themselves upon their knees, exclaiming, "O God, guide us! Protect us! We are too young to govern!" Perhaps theirs was a sad premonition of the terrible fate that befell them. Fifteen years later came the Revolution.



Corsican lieutenant of artillery, who trained his guns upon their ranks with terrible effect.

In America, the downfall of Quebec, due to the shameful corruption and speculation of those high in power, marked the end of French domination. The flower of New France that, on the fateful Plains of Abraham, went down before the conquering Cross of St. George could never more be marshaled beneath the snowy folds of the fleur-de-lis. England was master; her supremacy on the sea was undisputed; both her great rivals were humbled—France swept entirely from her path. Spain, with her vast American possessions, began sinking into that phenomenal decay which, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, found its culmination in those causes which brought about the war that deprived her of the last remnant of her colonial possessions, —causes as infamous as those which, during the heroic struggle of Protestantism in the Netherlands, made the name of Alva a stigma to civilization. And France, lately England's maritime rival, gave up the contest in despair.

The result was a peace (the preliminaries of which were signed on November 10th, 1762), disastrous to both France and Spain. With its European conditions we are not concerned, but in America, Canada, Acadia, Cape Breton, and all that part of Louisiana East of the Mississippi, excepting New Orleans and a small adjacent territory, were ceded to England; while Spain gave up Florida in return for Havana which England had wrested from her. On the same day Louis, making a virtue of necessity, signed a secret agreement with his cousin of Spain by which he transferred to that nation the remainder of his American possessions, comprising New Orleans and that part of Louisiana West of the Mississippi. It was at best a gift of doubtful value and seems to have been accepted with reluctance by the king of Spain, who did so doubtless more as a favor to his most Christian majesty, Louis of France, than in the

hope of ever reaping any benefits therefrom. The definitive treaty between England, France and Spain was signed on February 16th. 1763.

Before the news of the cession of the territory reached Louisiana, the most important settlement in the district was begun. We refer to St. Louis, which was founded on the 15th of February, 1764, by Pierre Laclede Ligueste, or as he is more commonly called, Pierre Laclede. "He was born in Bion, France, near the base of the Pyrenees Mountains, the line between France and Spain. in the year 1724. He was about five feet, eleven inches in height, of very dark complexion, had black, piercing and expressive eyes, a large nose and expansive forehead. He was a merchant of no ordinary mind. Others have acquired vastly larger estates, but no one has excelled him in pushing forward commercial enterprises in person, and planting the seed of a city in more fertile soil. . . . He left a host of friends to lament his death. speak his praise, and enjoy his labors; but no widow to shed a tear, or child to inherit his property or his name. His history while in Missouri, however, lives, and must live as long as the city he founded retains its name."\*

In 1763, the firm of Laclede, Maxent & Company, more popularly known as "The Louisiana Fur Company," obtained from M. D'Abbadie, civil and military commander and director-general of Louisiana, a charter which gave them a monopoly of the fur trade with the Indians of the Missouri and those West of the Mississippi above the Missouri. An expedition under the leadership of Laclede was fitted out at New Orleans, having for its purpose the establishment of a permanent trading post at some point in the territory mentioned and North of the then existing settlements. This expedition, including a number of trappers, hunters and mechanics, and carrying a large quantity of

\* History of St. Louis, by Elihu H. Shepard.

merchandise adapted for barter with the natives, left New Orleans on August 3d, 1763, and three months later, after toiling for many weary days against the impetuous current of the Mississippi, touched at Ste. Genevieve. Laclede's first object was to secure storage-room for his cargo of goods, but Ste. Genevieve afforded no suitable accommodations. D'Abbadie had been directed to transfer to the English on demand that portion of the territory East of the river, and pending the time when such transfer should be made, the commandant at Fort Chartres tendered Laclede permission to store his goods within that stronghold. The offer was accepted, and soon Laclede's men were distributed at different points along the Mississippi.

After a brief stay at Fort Chartres, Laclede set out for the mouth of the Missouri. Soon upon the Western bank of the river he discerned a spot which his practical eye told him was well adapted for mercantile pursuits. Here a line of richly wooded bluffs rose with easy ascent from the margin of the river; while Westward from their summits extended a broad plateau of fertile prairie. Pleased with the aspect, Laclede decided to establish there the proposed settlement. As winter was at hand, he could do no more than to mark a few trees, in order that the spot might easily be found, and return to Fort Chartres.

In the following February, he sent out a party under Auguste Chouteau to begin the new settlement. On the 15th of the month they arrived at the site chosen, and work was at once begun "on the block next to the river on the South side of Market Street, where the old Merchants' Exchange building now stands, which has been the site of the only market-house the city contained for about sixty years from its foundation, and gave name to the street on which it was located. Temporary buildings for the shelter of his workmen and tools were soon constructed from the timber on the ground; for that part of the city was covered with a

growth of the most suitable timber for that purpose, and for the camp-fires of the new settlers, so necessary at that inclement season of the year."\*

In honor of Louis XV, the new settlement was named St. Louis; but, as it afterwards transpired, that part of Louisiana had already been secretly transferred to Spain. Says Parkman: "Side by side with Laclede, in his adventurous enterprise, was a young man, slight in person, but endowed with a vigor and elasticity of frame which could resist heat or cold, fatigue, hunger, or the wasting hand of time. Not all the magic of a dream, nor the enchantment of an Arabian tale, could outmatch the waking realities which were to arise upon the vision of Pierre Chouteau. Where, in his youth, he had climbed the woody bluff and looked around on the prairies dotted with bison, he saw, with the dim eye of his old age, the land darkened for many a furlong with the clustered roofs of the Western metropolis. For the silence of the wilderness, he heard the clang and turmoil of human labor, the din of congregated thousands; and where the great river rolled down through the forest, in lonely grandeur, he saw the water lashed into foam beneath the prows of panting steamboats, flocking to the broad levee."†

In a footnote to the above, Mr. Parkman adds: "I visited this venerable man in the spring of 1846, at his country seat, in a rural spot surrounded by woods, within a few miles of St. Louis. The building, in the picturesque architecture peculiar to the French dwellings of the Mississippi Valley, with its broad eaves and light verandas, and the surrounding negro houses filled with gay and contented inmates, was in singular harmony with the character of the patriarchal owner, who prided himself on his fidelity to old French usages. Though in extreme old age, he still retained the vivacity of his nation "

\* Shepard's History of St. Louis.

† Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. II.

Another writer says of Laclede: "His scrutinizing eye and sound judgment directed him to the point on the block on Main Street, in front of the spot where the Merchants' Exchange was afterwards located, as the best spot to sell goods on the West side of the Mississippi, in 1764. More than a century has since elapsed. and it is the best place yet. On this celebrated block Mr. Laclede Liguette erected his dwelling house and store."\*

Laclede's party had been increased by some families from Cahokia. but the band, numerically, was much too small to cope successfully with the Indians, had the latter been of hostile intent. But the natives of that vicinity do not appear to have been of a belligerent disposition. They visited the settlement, but they came not grotesquely horrible with vermilion and ochre, with white lead and soot. They came instead begging alms of the newcomers, for the wolf was lurking about the doors of the savage wigwams. Their importunities were granted.

Long years of war with England had deeply imbittered the colonists, and with disgust and execration they heard of the treaty. Loth to dwell under the British flag, many of those in Illinois left the country. Of these, some crossed over to Ste. Genevieve; others followed the commandant, Neyon de Villiers, to New Orleans; while others, taking with them all their belongings, even to the frames and clapboarding of their houses, passed over the river to the new settlement at St. Louis, following, as they fondly believed, the snowy banner of France. Thither came also the commandant at Fort Chartres, St. Ange de Bellerive, and his force of forty soldiers. By common consent, St. Ange assumed control at St. Louis, and thenceforth the new settlement was the *chef-lieu* or seat of justice of the new district.

The disastrous war waged against the English by Pontiac was just closing. Beaten in every quarter. and with a

\* Davis and Durrie's History of Missouri.

spirit burning with hate and a desire for vengeance, the baffled chieftain appealed to St. Ange, ere the surrender of Fort Chartres, for aid. While it doubtless would have rejoiced the Frenchman to see dangling in the wind above the Indian tepees the scalp of every Englishman in the Mississippi Valley, he could not openly give the aid sought, so he had to temporize with his late allies, cajoling them with presents and promises. Again and again was St. Ange beset by the importunate savages, until with intense longing he watched for the coming of the English.

Not long had the commandant to wait. A hundred Highlanders of the famous 42d Regiment, whose battle-cry had echoed over the most hotly contested of American fields, under the command of Captain Stirling, left Fort Pitt, and, descending the Ohio, reached Fort Chartres just as the first fleeting snow-clouds of winter began to darken the Northern horizon (October, 1765). The white banner of Louis fluttered down from the flag-staff, the Cross of St. George was flung to the breeze, St. Ange yielded up his post, and the citadel of the Illinois, with its twenty cannon frowning across the encroaching Mississippi (which a score of years later engulfed curtain and bastion in its yawning abyss), had new masters.

Later, Pontiac came to St. Louis to renew his petition, but met with no encouragement. After visiting St. Ange, he proceeded to the house of which Pierre Chouteau was an inmate. The savage chief was arrayed in the full uniform of a French officer, which had been presented to him by Montcalm as a special mark of favor and respect, and which the doughty chieftain had the good taste not to wear except on occasions of unusual importance. He remained in St. Louis two or three days. Hearing that a number of Indians had gathered at Cahokia, Pontiac, against the advice of St. Ange, crossed over and engaged with them in a carousal. While drunk, he stole into the adjacent for-



est. An assassin, a Kaskaskia Indian, bribed, it is said, by an English trader with a barrel of liquor, followed stealthily in his footsteps. Nearer and nearer crept the skulking savage. Then a sudden bound, the gleam of a tomahawk, and the renowned chieftain sank to the earth, his cranium cleft in twain (April, 1769). To expiate this crime, a whole nation (the Illinois, to the Peoria branch of which the assassin belonged) was all but exterminated.

St. Ange claimed the neglected body of his red friend, and carried it to St. Louis. There it was buried near the fort. For a mausoleum, a city of nearly three-quarters of a million has risen above the ashes of the forest hero; and with unceasing steps the race which he hated with such burning rancor and fought so long and so valiantly trample over his grave. For one hundred and thirty years no monument or inscription marked his burial-place, but as we write \* a tablet in the Southern Hotel, which is supposed to stand on or near the spot of his interment, is being dedicated to his memory.

A little later, the body of St. Ange was laid to rest near that of his red friend. But no man can point to the grave of either.

And what of the grave of Pierre Laclede? While on his return from a business trip to New Orleans, he died on June 20th, 1778, at the mouth of the Arkansas River, and was buried about two hundred yards from the West bank of the Mississippi, in a public cemetery. No stone ever marked his grave, and it is believed that long since his ashes washed into the river to join those of its great discoverer. But a county and a town, besides other objects, perpetuate his name in Missouri; and the inhabitants will ever hold the memory of the great merchant, trader and pioneer in the most profound reverence.

‡ January 27th, 1901.



## SPANISH DOMINATION.

**O**VER the Western half of divided Louisiana floated the red and yellow banner of Castile for forty years. But during this period the home country contributed little to the population and to the wealth of the territory. The realms of the Montezumas and of the Incas offered a more inviting field for the avaricious Spaniards than did the Mississippi region, where no mines other than those which yielded lead had been developed, and where the process of acquiring wealth from the fur trade was too slow and arduous for the impotent natives of the European peninsula. Hence save those who filled the offices and places of trust, few Hidalgos came to the Mississippi Valley. The colonists were French, and under the Spanish regime, their life "pursued the even tenor of its way," with scarcely a ripple to indicate that the lilies had been supplanted by the bicolor of the new rulers. The French names, the French customs, and, in the main, the French laws prevailed; and, save in the highest courts, the French language was everywhere spoken. Under the Spanish sovereignty, few settlements were established. Of these, New Madrid is the only one of importance within our commonwealth. It is true that during these forty years many new settlements sprang up, but the enterprises in this direction had no aid from the King of Spain except in grants of land—considered valueless until occupied and improved.

As the territory offered no field for Spanish greed, the new rulers were remarkable for nothing so much as their incompetency.

At St. Louis, the transfer of the province to Spain was effected quietly. Although the cession dates from 1762, it was not until 1771 that the rule of the Spanish actually began. In April, 1764, the governor, D'Abbadie, received orders to proclaim the change of royal masters. The arrival in New Orleans, in 1766, of General D'Ulloa with a detachment of troops indicated an intention on the part of Spain to assume control of her newly acquired territory, but the authority of the Spanish representative was strongly resisted, and, after two years of strife, D'Ulloa, by a decree of the council, was banished. He was charged, among other things, with "hoisting the flag of Spain at the Balize, at the Illinois, and other places." With singular inconsistency, however, the French authorities permitted D'Ulloa's royal master to pay the expenditures of the colony. France continued in nominal control of the territory until 1769 when Count O'Reilly arrived at New Orleans with three thousand men—a force large enough to overcome all opposition. With his coming ended the French supremacy in the territory. The authorities submitted quietly, giving O'Reilly no occasion to use his troops. It is said that for the conspiracy against the administration of D'Ulloa, five of the ring-leaders were executed and several others banished.

During 1768, one Rios, with a small detachment of Spanish troops, reached St. Louis and took possession of the country in the name of his most Catholic Majesty. The inhabitants, having no means of defense, offered no resistance, but the records show that St. Ange continued to act as governor until the close of 1770, when Don Pedro Píernas arrived from New Orleans and entered upon executive functions as lieutenant-governor and military commandant of the district.

Upper Louisiana was constituted a province or district, separate from lower Louisiana. In 1769 it had a population of 891, confined to the villages of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. The acts of the lieutenant-governor were subject to the approval of the governor-general at New Orleans. The few laws seem to have been quite salutary, and aggravated crimes against the person rare. During the entire forty years of Spanish rule, only one case of murder was reported at St. Louis.

"In September, 1774, St. Ange died at his quarters at Madame Chouteau's house, then situated on the block between Chestnut and Market, and Main and Second Streets. Before dying, he made his will, in which was shown that his ruling passion, honesty, was strong in death. Declaring himself a good Catholic, and commending his soul 'to God, the blessed Virgin, and to the saints of the Celestial Court,' he appointed his friend, Pierre Ligest Laclede, his executor—directing in his will that the bill for his board should be paid to Madame Chouteau; that he owed for twenty-five cords of wood, and an account to his tailor. He also ordered that masses be said for the repose of his soul, and that five hundred livres be paid out of his estate to the Catholic Church."\*

In 1775, Piernas was succeeded by Cruzat; in 1778 De Leyba became lieutenant-governor, but two years later Cruzat was recalled. In 1787, Perez was appointed to the office. In 1793, he was followed by Trudeau; and he in turn, in 1799, by Delassus, the last of the Spanish lieutenant-governors.

Hundreds of English-Americans flocked to Louisiana. Two causes brought this about. The first was the liberality of the Spanish rulers in making grants of land to settlers, and the second was the comparative exemption from taxation on the West side of the Mississippi. The land grants

\*Switzler's History of Missouri.

are classified as complete and incomplete. In the first class are the grants direct from the crown, and those made by, or with the approval of, the governor-general. The second class includes those made by the lieutenant-governor, without the confirmation of his superior. The grants were also classified as specific, when defined by metes and bounds; and general, when they applied to any unoccupied lands. They gave rise to endless litigation, and it was many years before the last of such cases passed from the court docket.

After the cession of Louisiana and the founding of St. Louis, settlements within the present boundaries of Missouri multiplied rapidly. The soil was productive; the prospect inviting; the mines yielded abundantly; game was plentiful; the climate salubrious; the natives friendly; the laws beneficent; taxes not burdensome;—and thither, as we have said, came many of the French settlers and *voyageurs* from the Illinois, preferring to follow the red and yellow banner of Spain rather than to live beneath the hated Cross of St. George.

The success of the French in planting colonies throughout the West was largely due to the conciliatory policy adopted in their dealings with the natives. In all their long journeys overland, in their explorations of the remotest rivers, in their winter quarters in wigwam and fort, the red man and the white fraternized on terms of perfect equality. In his free and easy manners, the French trapper and hunter mingled with the dusky aborigines, and was cordially welcomed in all their villages. If he chose he might make his home with them, adopt their dress, join their hunting parties, and marry one of their maidens. From this ready adoption of Indian customs and mode of living, and the frequent intermarriage with native women arose most amicable relations between the red men and the white settlers. But the result tended to sink the Frenchman into a barbarian.

He loved to decorate his hair with the feathers of the eagle, adorn his hunting shirt with hairy fringes, embellish his moccasins with a web-work of porcupine quills, dance the war dance of the savages and yell their war songs, regale the chiefs at his table, and load them with presents and decorations. It is said that Count Frontenac himself, plumed and painted like a savage chief, danced and yelled about their camp fires, to the intense delight of his red allies; and whenever a party of sachems paid a visit to a French fort, they were welcomed with a thundering salvo of artillery.

The people seem to have lived in peace with the natives. In 1794 a war with a tribe of Missouri Indians, with whom the hunters and trappers for some years had not been on very amicable terms, was threatened; but according to Major Stoddard it was averted in the following curious manner: A chief with a party of his warriors at his back boldly entered St. Louis and demanded an interview with Governor Trudeau. His demand being granted, the chief said: "We have come to offer you peace; we have been at war with you for many moons, and what have we done? Nothing. Our warriors have tried every means to meet yours in battle; but you will not, you dare not fight us; you are a parcel of old women. What can be done with such a people but make peace, since you will not fight? I come therefore to offer you peace, and to bury the hatchet, to brighten the chain and again to open the way between us." The Spanish governor was obliged to bear the insult, but there was no war.

During Cruzat's second administration, bands of Shawnees, Delawares and other tribes, crowded out of their hunting grounds in the East by the encroachments of the Europeans, were brought to Louisiana and located on reservations about Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and other settlements, so as to serve as a barrier against the warlike

Osages, who had been committing sundry depredations upon the whites. The move was effective. It resulted in perfect immunity from danger in that quarter.

A story told of one of these Shawnee chiefs forcibly illustrates the difference in the treatment the natives received at the hands of the French and Spanish and the English and Americans. Many years later, he is said to have addressed these words to General Harrison: "You call us your children; why do you not make us happy as our fathers, the French, did? They never took from us our lands; indeed, they were in common between us. They planted where they pleased, and cut wood where they pleased. So did we. But now, if a poor Indian attempts to take a little bark from a tree to cover him from the rain, up comes a white man and threatens to shoot him, claiming the tree as his own."

The year 1785 is remarkable for an unusual rise in the Mississippi River. The whole American Bottom was covered with a flood of water, bearing along in its impetuous career thousands of uprooted trees, logs, and quantities of other *debris*. The grain and stock, and in many cases the buildings of the husbandmen were swept onward toward the gulf. In St. Louis the water rose in many of the houses, but just as the thoroughly frightened inhabitants were about to abandon their homes, the river began to subside. At Ste. Genevieve, the flood worked such havoc that the old town was abandoned for the present site, on higher ground. Cahokia and Kaskaskia were surrounded by water, but the dwellings were not deserted. The year passed into local history as "the year of the great waters."

The winter of 1798-99 was one of unusual severity, and to it was given the title of "the year of the hard winter."

The more important settlements made during the forty years of Spanish domination will now be mentioned:



Vide Poche or Louisburg, afterwards called Carondelet, in honor of Baron de Carondelet, was founded in 1767 by Delor de Tregette. To-day it is a suburb of St. Louis.

In 1776 Beausosier Dunnegant made a settlement at Florissant, afterwards called St. Ferdinand in honor of the King of Spain. The original name of Florissant was subsequently restored.

Blanchette Chasseur, or "Blanchette the Hunter," in 1768, attracted to the North side of the Missouri River by the superior advantages for hunting and trapping, built a cabin on the farther shore, and a year later established there a post called Les Petites Cotes (The Little Hills), subsequently St. Andrews, and now St. Charles. This was the first settlement within that portion of the commonwealth North of the Missouri.

Early in the Spanish regime a fort was built on the present site of New Madrid, and in 1781 a village was laid out about the stockade. It was named in honor of the capital of Spain.

For the most part, the Spanish domination over Missouri was uneventful. The great War of Independence occurred during this period, and this conflict between the American colonies and the mother country brought about an attack on St. Louis, which will next receive our attention.



## ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS AND OTHER EVENTS.

**I**N 1778, Captain George Rogers Clark, of the American army, made a descent upon Cahokia and Kaskaskia, capturing both posts. This was the first forceful realization of the existence of a war between the colonists and Great Britain that had come to the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley. Hitherto rumors of the struggle had been as tidings of a war beyond the Atlantic. The settlers in Missouri, being subjects of the King of Spain, were not directly concerned in the conflict. But they were French. The English people were their bitterest enemies. Hence it was natural that their sympathies should be enlisted with the Continentals, though it is true that prior to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War they had looked upon the latter also as subjects of the English crown—hence their enemies. But the alliances between America and France, and France and Spain brought Louis XV and Charles III into war with the old-time enemies of Louisiana, hence the new settlements West of the Mississippi were technically involved in the struggle.

Fears that an attack would be made upon Captain Clark at the captured posts, and thereby bring the war directly home to the inhabitants of Louisiana, were entertained. The proximity of one combatant might bring the other. But, to the intense relief of all the settlers, in 1780, the captain marched upon St. Vincent (now Vincennes, In-

diana), and after toiling for days through icy floods and miry swamps, surprised and captured Colonel Henry Hamilton, the commander at that post. This affair has always been regarded as one of the most brilliant of that memorable struggle during which our forefathers laid broad and deep the foundation stones upon which has since been reared the glorious superstructure of the American Republic. It was through the representations of Francis Vigo, a trader from St. Louis, that this attack was made,

This daring feat, with the intelligence of the capture of the British post at Baton Rouge by a detachment of Spaniards, caused a plan for the capture of St. Louis to be formulated in Canada. The attack was not to be made by English soldiers, but by Ojibway, Winnebago, Sioux and other Indians. A man named Ducharme, a French Canadian, who, some years before, had been caught trading with the natives in Spanish territory and his goods confiscated, was the prime mover in the proposed expedition. A force of Indians, variously estimated from nine hundred to fifteen hundred, under the leadership of a British officer, set out from Fort Michilimackinac early in the spring of 1780. While the attack was to be made by red men, the British, it was confidently expected, would harvest all the benefits of the undertaking.

The first warning of impending danger came from Vigo on his return from St. Vincent. Colonel Hamilton was concerned in the expedition as planned, and it was expected to march by way of his post. Somehow, subsequently to his surrender, the story leaked out. Upon the reception of the news, all was consternation at the capitol of Upper Louisiana.

The settlement was unfortified, but it was agreed that at once should preparations for defense begin. A low line of breastworks, consisting of logs and brush, filled in with clay, was built about the town, beginning on the North at

or near Franklin Avenue, thence extending West to Broadway and South to Poplar Street, forming an irregular semicircle with the ends terminating at the river. The line was pierced by three gates, one at either end and the third near the center. At the head of Walnut Street a stone fort was begun. A small brass cannon was placed at either gate, and a fourth in the unfinished fort. Ste. Genevieve, learning of the threatened attack, sent a small detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant Francisco de Carabona, to assist in the defense

So often was the alarm repeated, and so often had the expected attack failed to materialize, that the villagers grew careless and indifferent and the rumors were regarded as mere canards. The vigilance was relaxed, the sentinels became less alert, and a general air of fancied security prevailed. The honorable treatment the natives had received at the hands of the French and the Spanish would, it was confidently believed, secure immunity from danger. Little wot the villagers of the insidious enemy with whom they had to deal. For several years British agents had labored to incite a concerted Indian attack upon the American colonies from the rear.

Two stories of an unheeded warning of the proximity of a large force of red warriors are told. We give both.

On the 24th of May, 1780, an old citizen of St. Louis, Quenelle by name, crossed the river at Cahokia Creek to try his skill as a disciple of Izaak Walton upon the finny inhabitants of that stream. While watching his lines, a man whom he recognized as Ducharme, appeared on the opposite bank of the creek and endeavored to induce Quenelle to come over to him. But the fisherman thought he detected Indians among the bushes and refused to cross the stream. Hastening home, he related what had occurred, But the commandant, General Leyba, ridiculed the idea of an Indian force being near, nor was danger apprehended by any of the villagers to whom the story was told.

The second account has it that beside Ducharme there were three other white men—Langdon, Calve, and Jean Quenelle—with the savages. Quenelle had a brother Pierre in St. Louis, and after dusk on the day preceding the attack Jean tramped to that settlement to warn Pierre. But the latter merely laughed at the story—he had heard such an one before,—and refused to flee, as his brother urged. After Jean had departed, Pierre related to the commandant what he had heard. But Leyba exclaimed “Pooh!” and gave the story no more thought. So whichever is the correct version, the warning of Quenelle came to naught.

So many of these rumors had proven false that the settlers ceased to heed them and again cultivated the fields more distant from the fort, going farther and farther out for that purpose. In La Grande Prairie, La Prairie de Cul de Sac, and La Prairie des Noyers tillers of the soil were busy, though following the custom of the day, they kept their loaded rifles close at hand. These were far beyond the limits of the village—as far as the Fair Grounds and Forest Park are from Broadway.

The 25th of May was Corpus Christi, observed by every devout Catholic with religious ceremonies and rejoicing. In the early morning every villager had attended mass in the little chapel, and heard the service read by Father Bernard, a Capuchin priest; had told his beads, devoutly bent his knees and made the sign of the cross. Then the women, children, and some of the men gaily tramped far out on the commons, gathering the strawberries, then lusciously ripe, and culling bouquets of early spring flowers. What a day for a massacre!

In the shaded recesses of the forests hovered armed and painted savages, who, as they observed the reckless abandon of fair women and prattling children, grasped fiercely the tomahawk and scalping-knife and gave vent to gutter-

al grunts of anticipation. But fortunately, only reconnoitering parties had crossed the river, and the attack was delayed until the ensuing day. The warriors returned to their comrades, and in the breast of no settler lurked a suspicion that on that day the forests had hidden the gliding forms of pitiless enemies.

At early dawn on the 26th, every savage, hideous with ochre and vermillion, was astir. Canoe after canoe, each with its gunwales almost awash from its burden of living freight, pushed out from the Eastern shore of the great Father of Waters. The savage force disembarked at what is now called Bremen. Again and again did the canoes bring over their loads, until all the dusky warriors were gathered upon the Missouri shore. Then began their stealthy march through the wilderness. Their design was to surround the village and capture it by surprise. The four white men, having no heart for the contemplated butchery, remained behind.

At Cardinal Spring, near the fair grounds, the skulking savages came upon an old man, Jean Cardinal, working far afield. He was killed and scalped. Farther on, they captured Batiste Riviere, whose life was spared. Pressing on across La Grande Prairie, where several settlers were at work tilling the soil, the invaders killed and scalped, or captured, whomsoever they found. Few women and children were abroad. The sound of the firing alarmed those nearer the village, and with fleeing steps they hastened to places of safety. At a point near the Northeast corner of Forest Park, Francis Hebert was killed. No depredations were committed nearer the village.

The first of the fleeing settlers, stumbling half dead from fright and exhaustion into the North gate of the village, told the meaning of the firing which had been faintly heard. Colonel Auguste Chouteau and a dozen other hardy frontiersmen seized their rifles and flew to the assistance

of those who were hastening to the fort. Numbers of Indians were in wild pursuit. As they emerged from the timber into the clearing which, after the custom of frontier settlements, surrounded the town, their dusky forms came into plain view. But a few well-directed shots from the unerring rifles of Chouteau and his men stretched a few of the redskins upon the green sward and checked the impetuosity of the attack until the imperiled husbandmen and their families reached the shelter of the friendly walls. Quickly was the artillery manned, for it was seen that the enemy were gathering for a rush. Their main body moved directly toward the central gate. It was agreed to let the savages approach within easy range and then open upon them with cannon and rifles. But while the Indians were yet a quarter of a mile away, some nervous hand applied the match to the gun. The grape with which the piece was loaded tore up the earth in their front, but not one of the howling savages was struck. That one shot, however, misdirected as it was, served well its purpose. Dismayed, the redskins halted, and anxiously discussed the unexpected reception. They had hoped to take the town by surprise, but instead they found it defended by cannon, with which they were unaccustomed. This disconcerted them. They hesitated, and then fled. No pursuit was attempted. The strength of the defendants, barely one hundred and fifty capable of bearing arms, forbade that, but in a few hours not an enemy remained upon the Missouri side.

In the meantime, what of Leyba, the Spanish commandant? He was worse panic-stricken than any old woman. In the midst of a drunken debauch when the news of the attack came to him, he locked himself in his room at the government house, nor did he venture therefrom until the echo of the last rifle had died away in the distance. Nor did Lieutenant Cartabona and his soldiers any better. With the first alarm, they made a mad dash for the tower, climbed to its highest point, and there shivered in terror until all danger was past.



As the foes fled, Governor Leyba appeared upon the scene. If tradition is to be credited, his conduct then was most despicable and treacherous. "He immediately ordered several pieces of ordnance, which had been placed near the government house, to be spiked, and was then rolled to the immediate scene of action in a wheel-barrow. He ordered the inhabitants to cease firing and return to their houses. Those stationed near the lower gates, not hearing the command, paid no attention to it, and he directed a cannon to be fired at them. This barbarous order was carried out, the citizens only escaping the volley of grape by throwing themselves upon the ground, while the shot struck down a portion of the wall."\* The indignant settlers at once transmitted to the governor-general at New Orleans a full report of the extraordinary conduct of Leyba, in consequence of which he was deposed and Cruzat reinstated as commandant. Within a year Leyba died, it is said from the effects of poison administered by his own hand, owing to the general obloquy and reproach with which he was held by his own people.

As a result of this attack upon St. Louis, some twenty or thirty of the villagers were killed and as many more carried away into captivity, some of whom were afterwards recovered. Locally, 1780 passed into history as "*l'annee du coup*," the year of the attack.

In the year 1787 there was located at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek, below St. Louis, a band of pirates headed by two men named Culbert and Magilbray. These river bandits levied tribute on all barges that passed. One belonging to M. Beausoiiel set out from New Orleans, richly laden with merchandise. Near the mouth of the creek named, the barge was tied up for the night. While the crew were smoking and watching the dancing of Casotte, the negro cook, they suddenly found themselves in the hands of the pirates. Culbert enjoyed a frolic himself, and after the crew were secured, he ordered Casotte to proceed

\* Davis and Durrie's History of Missouri,



with his dancing while he and his freebooters imbibed freely of the choice wines and brandy which formed part of the cargo of the barge. Fast and furious was the fun until Culbert and his men were more or less intoxicated, many in a death-like stupor, when Casotte manœuvered so as to knock several of them off into the river. A few of the imprisoned crew were released, and the remainder of the pirates were tumbled unceremoniously into the stream. The greater part of them, including Culbert, were drowned, or shot as they attempted to climb back on the barge. Then the boat turned about and hastened to New Orleans. The governor the next spring issued an order that thereafter all boats bound for St. Louis should travel in company for mutual protection. Shortly afterwards the arrival of ten barges at one time caused a season of prolonged rejoicing at St. Louis.

In 1799, Delassus, the last Spanish governor of Missouri, caused a census of the settlements of upper Louisiana to be taken. The population of the different towns was found to be as follows: Ste. Genevieve, 949; St. Louis, 925; Carondelet, 184; St. Charles, 875; St. Ferdinand, 276; Marius des Liard, 376; Meramec, 115; St. Andrews 393; New Bourbon, 560; New Madrid, 782; Little Meadows, 72; total, 6,028. Total number of whites, 4,948; free colored, 197; slaves, 883.

NOTE.—It is proper to state that while some authorities assert that the expedition against St. Louis was led by a British officer, as we have given in the text, others claim that the expedition was entirely in the hands of the red men. It is also claimed by some that Ducharme participated in the attack on St. Louis, receiving a severe wound.

LIFE UNDER THE FRENCH AND THE SPANISH  
REGIMES.

WE HAVE now traced the history of the commonwealth of Missouri to the close of the eighteenth century. With the opening of the nineteenth came a new regime, one which has withstood the vicissitudes of a hundred years, and which has witnessed the development of the State from an unsettled and unexplored wilderness to the fifth in the Union in respect to population. Before narrating the momentous events which brought about on successive days two transfers of ownership in the territory now included in Missouri (in commemoration of which preparations are now making to hold in the metropolis of the district two years hence an international exposition), we shall direct our attention to the life and social conditions of the colonists.

Primitive in the extreme were the customs of the inhabitants of Missouri during the eighteenth century. Residents of a wilderness, good-natured, easy-living, they had the manners of children. These simple French (for as we have stated, Spain contributed little to the population) were uncontaminated by the arts and the affectations of civilization. There were no public schools and few religious organizations. The virtue of these early settlers was proverbial; their honesty beyond question; their social functions crude; and they were simple to a fault. For lawyers, sheriffs, notaries public, and civil tribunals they had no use.

It is remarkable that during the latter half of the eighteenth century, there was not left on record a single instance of delinquency, civil or criminal.

The French settlers gathered into compact little villages, consisting usually of a single street, along either side of which were erected the dwellings. These were quaint in appearance and peculiar in construction, and stood so close together that from their own doorway the members of any family could hold easy converse with their neighbors upon either hand. Back of each house was a little field, long and narrow, cultivated by the occupants. A large tract of unenclosed land furnished common pasturage for all. This tract was usually known as "The Common." When a couple married, a portion of the uncultivated land was assigned them, and as soon as the honeymoon had waned, the men of the village turned out to assist the young husband in the erection of his dwelling. This was a rude affair, one story in height, and partly surrounded by sheds or lean-tos. In the ground was planted a frame-work of posts held together by a large number of horizontal strips and firmly braced at the corners. The whole was plastered inside and out with "cat and clay" (grass or hair and mud), and covered with many coats of whitewash. The thatched roof usually projected over wide verandas added to one or more sides of the building. Indeed the more pretentious dwellings had verandas on all sides. Towards the close of the century, clapboards were used for roofing. The floors were made of puncheons or slabs hewn from logs, while the chimneys were built of sticks, like a pen, and plastered. No locks secured the doors—there was need of none; nor was there any glass in the windows, though sometimes well oiled paper let in a soft, translucent light. A rough picket fence enclosed each little homestead. The land had no value, hence it was neither bought nor sold. Rent was practically unknown.

Tradition has it that some of the banished Acadians found new homes among the colonists in the inviting dells of Louisiana, and it is of such dwellings as above described that Longfellow speaks in his splendid poem founded upon this tragedy in the lives of these simple peasants:

"Strongly built were the houses, with frames of oak and hemlock,  
Such as the peasants of Normandy built in the reign of the Henrys,  
Thatched were the roofs, with dormer windows, while gables projecting  
Over the basement below, protected and shaded the doorway."

Except such as the grandees brought with them from the mother-country, rich and handsome clothing was unknown. The attire of the men consisted of homespun trousers, coarse blue woolen shirts, and a long cloak with pointed hood. In winter or on hunting expeditions, a coon-skin cap, deerskin leggings, and a hunting shirt of skins were added. The women wore a dress of calico or Spanish cloth, made with full skirt and short waist. A Spanish capote was thrown over the shoulders and a handkerchief tied about the neck. Both men and women wore beaded and embroidered moccasins.

From the first arrival of the French in the Mississippi Valley, they gave their attention largely to agricultural pursuits. No isle of Greece nor cycle of Cathay can surpass in fertility the region comprising the Louisiana territory. A rival in the productiveness of the wondrous lotus-land of Cleopatra, is the splendid plain drained by the broad Father of Waters and his tributaries. The farmer tickled the face of Mother Earth with his hoe and she smiled forth in prolific abundance. As the forests abounded in game, want in the settlements was practically unknown. To this fertility of the soil and abundance of game was due the exemption of Upper Louisiana from the oft-recurring seasons of scarcity to which the inhabitants of New Orleans and the settlers along the Gulf were subject. Indeed as early as 1721,

Charlevoix, the great historian of early Louisiana, says that the French about Kaskaskia were "living pretty much at their ease." In 1743, boats laden with "flour, corn, bacon hams (of both bear and hog), corned pork, wild beef, myrtle, beeswax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, copper, buffalo-wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, fowls, and hides," came down the river to New Orleans. A varied and extensive show for a newly-settled region, but Captain Pittman, who traveled up the river about 1770, adds to the list beer and wines.

Primitive indeed, and usually of home make, were their farming implements. A forked tree, cut off near the point of branching, served as a plow. To one fork, left long enough to answer for a pole or beam, was attached a yoke of oxen; while the other, left about two foot in length and the end sharpened, formed the shovel with which the earth was stirred. A pair of rough handles fastened to the top completed the crude implement. Each morning during the summer months saw a cheery procession of French carts from the village to the fields. The laborers took their dinners with them and remained afield until nightfall. At the harvesting season the entire family usually assisted in gathering in the grain,—for the pioneer women were robust and it was no uncommon thing to see matron and maid at work in the little fields beside husband or brother. After the busy season passed, the villagers gave themselves no further anxiety, but devoted their days and a portion of the nights to pleasure.

As the colonists were all related by ties of consanguinity or marriage, social distinctions were unknown. If the wealthy or the intelligent were the recipients of a trifle more consideration, it was only a personal compliment and implied no social pre-eminence. At the fireside, at church, in their labors, they met upon absolute equality. Cut off from Quebec and New Orleans by thousands of miles of

all but impassible barriers, innovations were rare and progress slow. Each did as his father had done before him, no matter how crude or unsatisfactory the method. Their wants were few and easily supplied. Not many could read and write, yet Stoddard admits rather unwillingly that they were "apparently the happiest people upon the globe."

Litigation and crimes against the person were rare. At first the lieutenant-governor constituted the sole tribunal for the adjudication of all cases, civil and criminal; but after 1794 an intendant (a sort of adjunct to the governor, having limited jurisdiction in both civil and military affairs) was appointed. From the decisions of the two officials appeals were made to the governor-general at New Orleans.

Says Francis Parkman of these early settlers: "The people labored long enough to gain a bare subsistence for each passing day, and spent their time in dancing and merry-making, smoking, gossiping and hunting. Their native gayety was irrepressible, and they found means to stimulate it with wine made from the fruit of the grapevine. Thus they passed their days, at peace with themselves, hand and glove with their Indian neighbors, and ignorant of all the world beside. Money was scarcely known among them. Skins and furs were the prevailing currency, and in every village a great portion of the land was held in common."\*

Among the amusements was one known as the "king's ball." It was held annually, and with eager anticipation was it looked forward to by young and old. Every inhabitant of the settlement made it a duty to attend. Bond and free, priest and layman, old and young, red man and white, were there. Before the dancing began, divine blessing upon the amusements was invoked. A leading feature of this ball was the cutting of a large cake in which four beans had been concealed. Only the men participated, and each of those lucky enough to find a bean in his portion served as

\* Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. II.



"king" at the next annual ball. And it was no uncommon spectacle at these festivities to see a bronzed trapper or *voyageur*, in buckskin raiment, with fringed leggins and moc-casins, and coonskin cap with pendant tail; while at his heels trooped his Indian wife and a half-dozen half-breed children.

For some years St. Louis and Carondelet struggled for commercial supremacy. But an interchange of social courtesies between the rivals was maintained. St. Louis swains wooed Carondelet damsels, and many were the Carondelet men who breathed life's sweetest story to willing ears in the shadows of St. Louis verandas. It is told that the citizens of the lower settlement excelled at cards and dice—resorting, it was alleged, to Ah Sin's methods. Their neighbors at St. Louis often challenged them to a trial of their skill, and many a winter's evening was spent at cards or dominoes. More or less worldly wealth were staked on these contests, and so often did the Carondelet players come out victors that the defeated bestowed upon that town the name *Vide Poche* (Empty Pocket), as this term so fittingly described their own condition as homeward they dis-comfitly wended their way. In retaliation, the populace of the Southern settlement gave to the home of their less fortunate opponents the title of *Pain Court* (Dry Bread), because it could not maintain a public bakery where fresh bread could be obtained at all times. By these appellations the respective towns for years were widely known,

With these early settlers, hospitality was a duty. There were no inns or taverns, but to the traveler or the stranger every latchstring hung out, and it was regarded as almost an insult to offer a host pay for entertainment. Once an Englishman, going down the river in his boat, landed at St. Louis. Approaching a group of people in front of a house, he asked to be directed to a tavern. To his astonishment, he was told that the settlement contained none.



"No tavern!" cried the Englishman. "Then where am I to sleep to-night?"

"There are many houses here," was the reply. "You are welcome to sleep in any of them."

Then it was the traveler discovered that the villagers were offering him the hospitality of their homes.

The surplus products mentioned above were taken down the Mississippi in huge flat boats or keel boats. Going down stream was easy enough as the vessel, guided by sweeps or large oars simply floated with the current. The return trip, however, was another matter. Laden with supplies and stores for the colonists, the heavy and unwieldy boat was laboriously cordelled up the swiftly-flowing stream. That is, the boatmen walked along the shore and by means of a long rope made fast to the barge, pulled it slowly homeward. One or two persons were left on board to steer. Or the rope was made fast to a tree far up stream and the men on board slowly propelled the boat along by pulling in the rope. When the wind was favorable, sails were brought into use. In this way many a weary day passed before the boatmen were again cheered by a glimpse of home. Not the least of the hardships of such a voyage was the frequency of Indian attacks.

An amusing story is told of an Irishman who obtained permission to work his passage up from New Orleans. Putting his carpetbag aboard, he went far ahead with the men and helped tow the heavy craft upstream. After several miles of such navigation, he was heard to soliloquize:

"Faith, an' if it was n't for the name of riding, I'd as soon walk."

The religious practices of the French settlers were curious—some of them wholly foreign to the ideas of persons educated under the Puritanical tenets of New England. To those who had always seen the Sabbath given up wholly to religious services and to the study of the Catechism,

it seemed sacrilegious for the major part of the first day of the week to be devoted to balls and other forms of worldly amusements. Stoddard, who remarks that their levity borders on licentiousness, admits that the settlers avoided all manner of intemperance and always conducted themselves with proper decorum. "When questioned in relation to their gayety on Sundays, they will answer that men were made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves the more acceptable they are to their Creator. They are of the opinion that a sullen countenance, an attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior are much more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they have often remarked that those who practice these singularities on Sundays will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the rest of the week."\*

Captain Stoddard was particularly impressed with the vivacity of the French, which, he says, is peculiar to this people, "and in no situation does it wholly forsake them. To this may be ascribed their passion for social intercourse, which is always gratified when opportunity permits. They are particularly attached to the exercise of dancing, and carry it to an incredible excess. Neither the severity of the cold nor the oppression of the heat ever restrains them from this amusement, which usually commences early in the evening and is seldom suspended until late the next morning. They even attend the balls, not unfrequently, for two or three days in succession and without the least apparent fatigue. At this exercises the females, in particular, are extremely active, and those in the United States must submit to be called their inferiors."

With the general habits of the inhabitants of Louisiana, Stoddard was favorably impressed. He writes that they

\*Sketches Historical and Descriptive, by Captain Amos Stoddard, of the United States Army.

limited the desires of their appetites to vegetables, soups and coffee. They were "great smokers of tobacco, and no doubt this gives a yellow tinge to their skin." Ardent spirits were seldom used except by the most laborious classes. Even white wines were discarded. Great economy was displayed in the family meals, because they reasoned that the climate and their robust constitutions did not demand any more than simple food. On occasions when strangers of distinction graced their boards, amends were made for their every-day simplicity. Then the tables were covered with a great variety of foods, served in a multiplicity of ways. Many of these sumptuous entertainments cost from \$250 to \$400.

That wedded life among these early Missourians was as uncertain and wedding bells sometimes as greatly out of tune as they are in these twentieth century days is attested by a story told of Captain de Volsay when he came to die. His wife was the daughter of De Villiers, the last French commandant of Fort Chartres. Connubial felicity had fled from their home and for some years prior to the captain's death his wife had resided at New Orleans while his home was in St. Louis. A liberal allowance had been set aside for her maintenance, but an hour or two before breathing his last Captain de Volsay sent in haste for a notary and had this codicil added to his last will and testament:

"In addition to the provision of separate maintenance made for my beloved wife, Elizabeth Coulon de Volsay, nee De Villiers, and in addition to the provision already made for her in this, my last will and testament, I hereby give and bequeath her, for her own proper use, five pair of my best breeches, to be selected from the stock I leave on hand." The document was duly signed and witnessed.

Then the good captain smiled at his great joke and fell back upon his pillow. A moment later he was dead.

It is related that even with the well-to-do, carpets were unknown. The hard floors were waxed once a week and polished daily. Excepting an occasional mahogany side-board or table brought from France, the furniture was of home manufacture. Slaves, even in that early day, were by no means uncommon, and they seem to have received considerate treatment at the hands of their French masters.

Couched in the quaint French of the period, an old record bears this upon one of its first pages: "On the 20th of the month, April, 1766, there were married Toussaint Hasien and Marie Baugenou, in St. Louis, being the first marriage in that place." Doubtless the bride looked very sweet and perfect in the eyes of her lover. Her dress was of home-spun of her own make, a bit of crimson ribbon wound in and out of the tresses of her dark brown hair, and a bunch of wild flowers at her throat was her only bridal bouquet. The groom wore a suit of yellow buckskin, ornamented with fringes. The ceremony was at the residence of Colonel Chouteau. Every villager was present. Father Gibault married them according to the rites of the Catholic church. After the nuptials, refreshments of a solid nature were served. Then came the indispensable frolic, joined in by all except the old and decrepit; when the fiddles were scraped until the gray dawn of approaching day dispelled the mists from the American Bottoms, and moccasined feet danced deftly in time to the music.

These early settlers were intensely devout. Each village had its priest and its church edifice. The priest attended every festivity and amusement. His blessing was invoked before the dance began. On Sunday morning every villager attended mass, after which he discussed social and business matters and closed bargains. Contracts made on Sundays in the presence of the priest were as binding as though in writing and placed on record. In-

deed in all important matters, both spiritual and temporal, the priest was always the first to be consulted.

The French settlers were not noted for their industry, nor were they thrifty husbandmen. Their method of cultivating the soil was simple and primitive, and they themselves have been pronounced lazy and improvident. Yet from these early French sprang some of the most eminent and successful of Missouri's present citizens.

On the 16th of May, 1803, the expedition under Lewis and Clark stopped at St. Charles, a typical French frontier settlement, twenty-one miles above St. Louis. Concerning its inhabitants, the following entry is found in their journal:

"The inhabitants, about 450 in number, are chiefly descendants from the French of Canada. In their manners they unite all the careless gayety and amiable hospitality of the best times of France. Yet, like most of their countrymen in America, they are but little qualified for the rude life of the frontier,—not that they are without talent, for they possess much natural genius and vivacity; not that they are destitute of enterprise, for their hunting excursions are long, laborious and hazardous; but their exertions are all desultory; their industry without system and without perseverance. The surrounding country, therefore, though rich, is not generally well cultivated; the inhabitants chiefly subsist by hunting and trade with the Indians, and confine their culture to gardening, in which they excel."

Flour-mills and saw-mills were erected at an early date, but the only other manufactured articles were the products of the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. The greater part of the cloth from which clothing was made was brought from Philadelphia and Baltimore. Many common implements were unknown. Even so simple an article as a churn was not in use; those who enjoyed the luxury of butter obtained it by shaking the cream in a bottle.

Of course the greater part of the settlers were Catholics, but they were not disposed to interfere with the religious rights of others. They were far more liberal than their laws. It is related that when Abraham Musick, a sturdy Baptist, applied for permission to "hold meeting" at his house. Governor Trudeau answered: "It cannot be granted, as it is a violation of the law. What I mean," he added, "is that you must not put a bell on your house and call it a church, nor suffer any one to christen your children but the parish priest; but if any of your friends choose to meet at your house, sing, pray, and talk about religion, you will not be molested, provided you continue, as I suppose you are, good Catholics." Trudeau well knew that as Baptists they did not believe in infant baptism, nor did they require the ringing of a bell to remind them of the time and place of their religious services.

John Clark, an eccentric preacher residing in Illinois, made monthly excursions into Spanish territory. He was much respected by all, even by Commandant Trudeau himself. Every month the latter, when the end of Clark's itinerary was known to be drawing near, would send a message to the effect that if Monsieur Clark did not leave the Spanish territory within three days he would be imprisoned! This was repeated so often that it became a standing joke of the settlements.

## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## I.

## HOW AMERICA WAS INDUCED TO BUY.



RULY an interesting chapter of the indebtedness of the United States to France for their exploration, their settlement, their development, their origin, and their expansion, might be written.

Says the historian, Thiers, in speaking of the sale of Louisiana by Bonaparte to the young Republic, "The United States are indebted for their birth and for their greatness to the long struggle between France and England." We have already seen how the fearless French *voyageurs* and *courriers du bois* braved the hidden dangers of forest and lake and stream to widen the boundaries of the fur industry; how shoulder to shoulder with them went capoted priest bearing to the fierce natives the gospel of the lowly Nazarene. Together these antipodal companions suffered all the horrible tortures that savage ingenuity can devise.

To the narrow confines of the strip bounded by the Atlantic and the Alleghanies, the sluggish Britons confined their energies; the cupidity and the impotence of the Spaniards limited their search to gold fields rivaling in yield the fabulous riches of the mines of Golconda. To neither of these people are the Mississippi Valley and the Great West indebted. Of the aid rendered the struggling Republic by Rochambeau and de Grasse we are not here concerned except to mention that it was an important factor in the birth of our nation.



It is now our province to take up the story of the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and to look into the causes which brought about this cession so profoundly effecting the destinies of the youthful nation.

With the dawning of the nineteenth century came the ascendancy of Napoleon. This young diplomat, after the brilliant conclusion of the Italian campaign, had been advanced to the Dictatorship and was dreaming of an invincible European empire with himself at its head—a dream that a decade later was all but realized. The treaty of Ildefonso, however bitter its provisions may have been to Spain, had been forced upon that humbled and degenerate kingdom. By it, all the vast American territory known as Louisiana—its undefined boundaries yet a matter of speculation—had been receded to France; and in return the Prince of Parma, a son-in-law of the Spanish sovereign, was to be firmly established in the province of Tuscany. This treaty was concluded upon the first day of October, 1800, but for reasons hereafter to be explained, its terms were kept secret.\*

Two conditions made easier to the proverbial Spanish "honor" the enforced transfer of Louisiana to France. One of these was the steady but irresistible encroachments of the American pioneers—the wilderness hunters and the seekers for new and better homes—upon the Spanish *demesne*. Already there had been two diplomatic tilts with the newly-established Republic. The first of these was over the Northern boundary of Florida, which, strangely enough, on the cession of that colony by England to Spain, had been left wholly undefined. The boundary for which the infant Republic contended was one hundred and ten miles farther South than that to which Spain claimed.

\*Indeed there were two treaties negotiated, The first was by Berthier on October 1, 1800, and the second by Lucien Bonaparte at Ildefonso on March 21, 1801. Of these we shall speak hereafter.

Originally the Northern boundary of Florida was fixed at a line extending from the Mississippi to the Appalachicola along the 31st degree of North latitude. Afterwards, "in order to expedite the administration of justice in the Nachez district," the strip which later became the bone of contention was added to the district. At the treaty closing the Revolutionary War, England had ceded to the United States the territory North of the 31st parallel, but on transferring Florida to Spain the Northern limit was left undefined. Spain, of course, claimed that the Northern boundary was at the new line running due East from the mouth of the Yazoo.

The other conflict was over the free navigation of the Mississippi. The people of the Ohio Valley demanded the privilege of boating their surplus products to New Orleans, a Spanish settlement, and there sell them or store them for shipment to Europe. This became another bone of serious contention. Spain strengthened her garrisons at Baton Rouge and Nachez, built a fort at Vicksburg, and subsequently one at New Madrid, on the Missouri side of the river. The latter was made a port of entry where all vessels were required to land and declare their cargoes. This imposition was galling to the men of the Western waters. Long and bitter was the controversy over it. At length, in 1795, the prospect of a European war in which Spain and England would be arrayed upon opposite sides, and the advantage of the interposition of a neutral power between Louisiana and Canada, caused the first nation to accede to the contentions of the Americans. The boundary was fixed at the 31st parallel, and permission given the United States to use the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit for their products and merchandise and to export the same therefrom free of all duty. With a slight intermission (as we shall see later) this privilege, though at first conceded for the space of three years, was by tacit agreement extended to the close of the Spanish regime.

The interposition of another nation between her South-western territory and the United States, was the second consideration on the part of Spain for the recession of Louisiana to France. That nation realized in the closing years of the eighteenth century that the energy and the aggressiveness of the American people were not to be barred by the Mississippi. Already scores of them had crossed over and were following their respective vocations as hunters or traders among both white and red subjects.

Let us pause a moment and learn the cause of this impingement of the Americans upon the farther bank of the Mississippi. In the settlement of the colonies, several European nations took part. There were the English on the Atlantic coast from Florida to Maine; in the middle of this long line were early settlements by Dutch and Swedes; on the North and West was New France, subjecting all attempts at expansion in either direction to the arbitrament of the sword; to the South and Southeast were vast tracts of land to which Spain, by right of discovery, laid claim. With the downfall of Quebec and the treaty following came the end of French domination in America for the time being. Spain, as we have seen, had acquired the title to an undefined region West of the Mississippi. The English colonies had revolted against the despotic rule of the Georges, and after eight weary years of conflict and suffering and deprivations, had wrested freedom from the haughty Britons. Even before this glad result had been attained, the irrepressible spirit of the Cavalier and of the Puritan had carried numerous companies into the fertile fields beyond the Alleghanies. Thither came Boone and Sevier and Robertson and scores of other hardy pioneers, and long and laboriously had they toiled in wresting the virgin wilds of Kentucky from the red hunter; while others pushed with axe and rifle into Ohio and Indiana.

"Into the wilderness they came,  
The hardy pioneers;  
They wrought with courage brave and true,  
And builded better than they knew  
For coming years."

All these had forged Westward until the broad flood of the Mississippi rolled in sullen majesty at their feet. Beyond was a land smiling in its verdure and inviting in its fertility and in its salubrity, but over it floated the red and yellow ensign of Spain. Little it mattered. To them the farther shore was a promised land. In every man's breast grew a determination to wrest it from the foreign claimants. Spain realized this better than did the Americans themselves. Hence had she not been forced to recede Louisiana to Napoleon, in all probability a transfer directly to the United States would have been effected early in the century. And we may mention here that the astute Napoleon, too, understood this Western trend of civilization and early realized the impossibility of any foreign power holding peaceably for any length of time the vast trans-Mississippi wilderness.

Actuated by these considerations, Spain, again making a virtue of necessity, transferred to the First Consul all of Louisiana, that vast tract hitherto so easy to acquire but so difficult to retain.

In the agreement made in 1795, by which the Americans were given the free navigation of the Mississippi, and by which New Orleans was made a place of deposit for their merchandise pending sale or shipment abroad, the King of Spain "promised either to continue the permission, if he found during that time [three years] that it was not prejudicial to the interests of Spain; or if he should not agree to continue it there, he agreed to assign, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment." We have mentioned above that at the expira-

tion of this term of three years the agreement was tacitly continued, until in October, 1802, the intendant, Morales, without the consent of, and indeed in opposition to the advice of, the Spanish governor, canceled the right of deposit, and, refusing to name any other place, absolutely closed the Mississippi to the United States. This move worked a hardship to both parties, as it shut off the Americans from a market for their surplus products, and caused thereby a scarcity of provisions in New Orleans. A storm of indignation, not only against Spain, but also against France, ensued, for by this time whispers of the retrocession to the latter nation had gone abroad. Governor Salcido promptly disavowed the act, but the intendant was quite independent of him. The people of the Western territories of the Republic became incensed to such a degree that a conflict seemed inevitable.

The matter now became one of diplomacy and statesmanship. It was transferred to the halls of Congress and to the executive department of the nation. Thomas Jefferson, the third president, had been elected by the Republicans (now the Democratic party) in 1800, after the memorable contest in which he defeated Aaron Burr, in the House of Representatives, by just one vote. Jefferson was essentially a man of peace and an intense Republican. He was accused of undue friendship toward Revolutionary France. In 1794, and again in 1796, that nation had been a source of infinite trouble to Washington and Adams, and a declaration of war seemed imminent. Of these matters, it is not our province here to speak. The Republican party was charged with fostering the cause of Genet and other seditionists in the United States; the Federalist was a party of strong government, headed by Alexander Hamilton. In 1796 this party had advocated the free navigation of the Mississippi while the Republicans opposed the scheme. The former won. We shall see presently how, in 1802, these parties exchanged positions on this question.

"On October first, 1802, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain gave back to France that portion of Louisiana which, in 1762, France had given to her. It was long before the existence of the treaty was known; but the moment it was known Jefferson saw most clearly that trouble with France was not at an end. There was, he said, one spot on the face of the earth so important to the United States that, whoever held it, was, for that very reason, naturally and forever our enemy; and that spot was New Orleans. He could not, therefore, see it transferred to France but with deep regret. The day she took possession of the city the ancient friendship between her and the United States ended; alliance with Great Britain became necessary, and the sentence that was to keep France below low-water mark became fixed. The day seemed near at hand, for in November, 1802, word came that an expedition was making all haste to cross the ocean and occupy Louisiana."\*

In the House of Representatives, the Federalists introduced resolutions which in substance were: That the United States were entitled to the free navigation of the Mississippi; that free navigation had been obstructed by the Spanish intendant; and that the duty of the House was to inquire how the right of deposit and navigation could be restored and maintained. This new zeal on the part of the Federalists who, in 1798, were eager to close the Mississippi for twenty-five years, alarmed the Republicans, and the resolutions were voted down. The latter party then voted a mild and peaceful resolution, lamenting the trouble, disclaiming any belief that Spain was an aggressor, and asserting a final determination to maintain the rights of navigation and deposit.

\* McMaster's History, Vol. II.

## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## II.

## JEFFERSON AND EXPANSION.



WHILE Thomas Jefferson had a fair measure of respect for the constitution, he was far from regarding it with a blind homage, "as if it were the sacred principle of the national life." Tradition had not lent to it a sort of consecration, nor had the nation endured beneath it long enough to give it a reputation. Besides, if the constitution proved too much of a fetter upon the people, they might at any time modify or abrogate it. This may partly account for his change of views concerning the acquisition of territory, when it became necessary for him to uphold an act which seemed at variance to his previously expressed opinions.

The earliest expressed views of Jefferson with reference to both expansion and the troubles with the Spaniards, are found in a letter dated at Paris, January 25, 1786. Mr. Jefferson says: "Our confederacy must be viewed as the nest from which all America, North and South, is to be peopled. We should take care, too, not to think it for the interest of that great continent to press too soon on the Spaniards. Those countries cannot be in better hands. My fear is that they are too feeble to hold them till our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them piece by piece. The navigation of the Mississippi we must have. This is all we are as yet ready to receive."



The broadest expansionist of the twentieth century is not liable to have a more radical view than the above.

The threatened outbreak of hostilities between England and Spain caused Jefferson, on July 11, 1790, to write of the first nation: "Other symptoms indicate a general design on all Louisiana and the two Floridas. What a tremendous position would success in these objects place us in! Embraced from the St. Croix to St. Mary's on the one side by their possessions, on the other by their fleet, we need not hesitate to say that they would soon find means to unite to them all the territory covered by the ramifications of the Mississippi."

On August 2d of the same year, the Secretary of State was instructed to write to Carmichael, our minister at the court of Spain: "It is impossible to answer for the forbearance of our Western citizens. We endeavor to quiet them with the expectation of an attainment of their rights by peaceable means. But should they, in a moment of impatience, hazard others, there is no saying how far we may be led; for neither themselves nor their rights will ever be abandoned by us."

From these extracts it will be seen that Jefferson was perfectly cognizant of all the details of the troubles with Spain over the navigation of the Mississippi. In 1795, as we have seen, Pinckney and Godoy negotiated the treaty granting free navigation and deposit to the Americans for the term of three years.

On January 26, 1799, Alexander Hamilton wrote the following significant letter, which seems to place him as the first statesman to suggest the acquisition by America of the whole of Louisiana: "As it is every moment possible that the project of taking possession of the Floridas and Louisiana, long since attributed to France, may be attempted to be put into execution, it is very important that the executive should be clothed with power to meet and defeat so danger-

ous an enterprise. Indeed, if it is the policy of France to leave us in a state of semi-hostility, it is preferable to terminate it, and by taking possession of those countries for ourselves, to obviate the mischief of their falling into the hands of an active foreign power, and at the same time to secure to the United States the advantage of keeping the key to the Western country. I have long been in the habit of considering the acquisition of those countries as essential to the permanency of the Union, which I consider as very important to the welfare of the whole."

On March 4, 1801, Jefferson became president of the United States. Neither in his inaugural address, nor in the first annual message of the 8th of December following, is any reference made to the navigation troubles. During the first year of his term he expressed himself as having an affectionate disposition toward Spain. Yet Louisiana then, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, was the territory of France. The first policy of Bonaparte was to restore to France all her former territorial possessions, and the acquisition of Louisiana was his initial effort in that direction.

Early in 1802 the cession of Louisiana to France became known. President Jefferson awoke to the gravity of the situation, and on April 18th wrote to Robert Livingston, envoy extraordinary to France: "The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the United States. . . . . It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States. . . . . There is on the globe one spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. It is impossible that France and the United States can continue long friends, when they meet in so irritable a position. We must be very improvident if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low watermark. It seals the

union of two nations which in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. *From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.* We must turn all our attentions to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high grounds; and having formed and cemented together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American nations."

This is very remarkable language from one who had always been an ardent Republican and who had been accused of sympathizing with Revolutionary France.

When it became known in this country that France was likely to replace Spain as possessor of the territory about the mouth of the Mississippi, and that the former country was by no means a good friend of the United States, the hot spirit of the Ohio Valley people burst into a wild blaze. These sturdy pioneers, who kept their rifles, loaded and primed, over their fireplaces or behind their doors, ready for instant use upon a bear, a catamount, an Indian, or one another, now talked fiercely of marching to New Orleans and seeking redress with powder and lead.

Jefferson was alarmed at the prospect of this temper bursting into action and deranging all his schemes. Yet he sympathized with these Western men in their wrath and bore them no grudge. Following his bent, he tried to be conciliatory, but at the same time there was considerable show of spirit. If France persisted in taking Louisiana, he wrote to Bonaparte, it would cost her a war, perhaps soon, which would annihilate her maritime strength and place the ocean under the despotism of two nations, "which I am not reconciled to the more because one of them

would be my own." Says James K. Hosmer, "Mr. Adams believes there was a touch of bluster about this, which Jefferson thought in the circumstances might be politic. He was too peace-loving to be sincere in it, But when Bonaparte was the one to be frightened, and Talleyrand the one to be hoodwinked, the *naivete* of the proceeding becomes rather ludicrous."\*

Then it was that the Federalists thought they saw a chance to be borne again into power by hostilities, and it was with these that the President was really vexed. The following written by him on January 13, 1803, well describes the situation: "The agitation of the public mind is extreme. In the Western country it is natural, and grounded on honest motives. In the seaports it proceeds from a desire for war, which increases the mercantile lottery; in the Federalists generally, and especially those of Congress, the object is to force us into war if possible, in order to derange our finances; or, if this cannot be done, to attach the Western country to them, as their best friends, and thus get again into power. Remonstrances, memorials, etc., are now circulating through the whole of the Western country, and signed by the body of the people."

John Randolph, a staunch friend of the President, was the leader of the Democratic side of the House, and his party had a strong working majority. The substance of the work done by that branch during the session of 1802-3, publicly and in secret session, was thoroughly satisfactory to the executive. The many resolutions offered by the Federalists, designed to obstruct a peaceable settlement of the grievances and to win to themselves the allegiance of the West, were voted down by loyal majorities. Finally, the management of the whole affair was tacitly relegated to the President, and the sum of two million dollars provided, to be used as he saw fit. His plan was by this time to pur-

\* Hosmer's History of the Louisiana Purchase.

chase New Orleans and perhaps something more on the East side of the Mississippi. Initial steps towards such a bargain had already been taken by Mr. Livingston, the American minister at Paris.

To pave the way for such overtures, Jefferson wrote to Dupont de Nemours: "Our circumstances are so imperious as to admit of no delay as to our course; and the use of the Mississippi is so indispensable that we cannot hesitate one moment to hazard our existence for its maintenance. It may be said, if this object is so all-important to us, why do we not offer such a sum as to insure its purchase? The answer is simple. We are an agricultural people, poor in money and owing great debts. These will be falling due by instalments for fifteen years to come, and require from us the practice of a rigorous economy to accomplish their payment; and it is our principle to pay to a moment whatsoever we have engaged, and never to engage what we cannot and mean not faithfully to pay. We have calculated our resources, and find the sum to be moderate which they would enable us to pay, and we know from late trials that little can be added to it by borrowing. The country, too, which we wish to purchase is a barren sand. . . . . We cannot, then, make anything by a sale of the land to individuals. So that it is peace alone which makes it an object to us, and which ought to make the cession of it desirable to France."

It would seem from the above quotation that Jefferson possessed the ability to drive a bargain skillfully. "A willing but very poor purchaser, absolutely sure to pay his notes at maturity, shunning discord rather than seeking profit."

In this chapter the writer has preferred to present the views of Jefferson by quotations from his letters and dispatches rather than merely to give the substance of them. The excerpts given clearly show that only two things were desired by the administration, the purchase of the Island of New Orleans, and the free navigation of the Mississippi.

How the purchase of the whole of Louisiana was brought about will appear in following chapters. We shall close our presentation of the views of Mr. Jefferson by an extract from a dispatch of May 11, 1802, by Secretary Madison to Pinckney, at Madrid, when it seemed that the cession of Louisiana to France might fall through—a very significant document, showing clearly the desires of Jefferson: “Should the cession actually fail, and Spain retain New Orleans and the Floridas, I repeat to you the wish of the President, that every effort and address be employed to obtain the arrangement by which the territory on the East side of the Mississippi, including New Orleans, may be ceded to the United States and the Mississippi made a common boundary, with a common use of its navigation for them and Spain. The inducements to be held out to Spain were intimated in your original instructions on this point. I am charged by the President now to add that you may not only receive and transmit a proposition of guaranty of her territory beyond the Mississippi, as a condition of her ceding to the United States the territory, including New Orleans, on this side, but, in case it be necessary, may make the proposition yourself, in the forms required by our Constitution.”

## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## III.

## HOW NAPOLEON WAS INDUCED TO SELL.



RANCE had not ceased to be sorry that she had ceded Louisiana to Spain. When Napoleon's star was in the ascendancy and it seemed that his dream of a mighty European empire with himself at its head might be realized, he began to look about for colonies. It was his theory that France without colonies would never become mighty. His attention was first directed to the East, but events not essential to this sketch baffled his designs in that direction. Then he cast his eyes upon Louisiana which France had alienated some eight and thirty years before. Possibly, too, the raising once more of the *fleur de lis* over the forest fastnesses of New France came within the range of his mental horoscope. Upon the Spanish throne was Carlos IV, the best perhaps of his name, but not a particularly interesting historical personage. He was morally correct and of abstemious habits, but yoked to a queen whose character was notoriously bad and at whose lapses he winked. To her and the court favorites he relinquished the concerns of his empire, while he busied himself with hunting and other amusements.

The power behind the Spanish throne at this time was Don Manuel Godoy, vicious, crafty and shrewd, prime minister and paramour of the queen. It was he who negotiated



the treaty of 1795, conceding to the Americans all the rights and privileges demanded. This evidently was not because he loved the people of the Ohio Valley, but it may have been because he feared an English attack.

Early in the last year of the eighteenth century, Napoleon, full of his colonization schemes, was negotiating for the retrocession of Louisiana, alienated by the great Louis in 1762. In August, Berthier, minister at the court of Spain, effected a treaty by which, in return for the territory Napoleon sought, the Duke of Parma was to be firmly fixed in Tuscany. The date of this treaty was October 1, 1800. By it the two Floridas also were to become French possessions. Dazzled and awed by the splendor of Napoleon's victories, Spain acquiesced to every demand of the First Consul. When he asked for the recession of Louisiana, intending to utilize its territory as a basis from which to subdue New France and Hayti, and rebuild French colonial power, the Spanish king interposed not the slightest objection. But Carlos did not at once ratify the arrangement, and at the French court the treaty was kept secret.

The victory of Hohenlinden on December 3, 1800, put Napoleon more than ever at the apex. Berthier was succeeded at the Spanish court by Lucien Bonaparte, young, and it appears, not above corruption. Godoy, whose power had been temporarily suspended, was recalled, because, as he himself arrogantly asserts, no one else had been found who could successfully cope with Napoleon. A new treaty was negotiated on the 21st of March, 1801. Its terms were substantially the same as those of the former treaty, excepting that the Floridas were not included. Still was the king's signature withheld. Napoleon angrily demanded the immediate possession of Louisiana, but Godoy, says Henry Adams in his splendid history of this period, cool and adroit as a picador maneuvering before a maddened bull, held back the province on the plea that the stip-

ulation in regard to Tuscany had not been fulfilled. Then it was that Napoleon remarked to the Spanish minister at Paris, "You act toward the French republic as you might act toward San Marino."

It was not until October 15, 1802, that Carlos IV affixed his signature to the document ceding Louisiana to France, and then only after exacting most definite conditions. He demanded that the new kingdom of Etruria (as the Italian province of Tuscany was to be called) should be recognized by Austria, England and the dethroned Duke of Tuscany. France must pledge herself never to alienate Louisiana, but to restore it to Spain in case the King of Etruria (the son-in-law of Carlos) should lose his throne. We shall see presently how little respect Napoleon had for these stipulations signed by his minister, St. Cyr.

To the efforts of Napoleon to colonize the re-ceded territory we shall now give our attention, and in so doing it will be discovered how largely to fate—or Providence—are we indebted for the peaceable acquisition of the splendid domain from which already there have been carved fourteen states.

In the fall of 1801, with the Treaty of Amiens came peace with England and the First Consul was free to pursue his colonization schemes. To beautiful Louisiana he turned his thoughts, but at the threshold of America he was confronted by a problem that had first to be solved. San Domingo, at one time the most important colony of Imperial France, had for some years been in the throes of a revolt. Only the Western end of the island was under the dominion of France. San Domingo at this time contained 600,000 people, five-sixths of whom were negroes of full blood. The number of mulattoes was estimated at 50,000, and the white creoles at about the same number. To the latter belonged all the social privileges and political preferment. But the spirit of freedom was in the air, the time

was ripe for a revolt, and in August, 1791, there had risen into prominence one of the most distinguished persons of the black race, Toussaint L'Ouverture, the son of an African chief. This remarkable individual grew up a slave in the Spanish part of San Domingo, but at the date above, at the head of four thousand blacks, he subdued his old masters and then lent his aid to the negroes of the French portion of the island. These made him general of brigade, and in May, 1797, general in chief.

In August, 1791, the hapless island had been involved in death and ruin; in 1794 the National Assembly of France had granted freedom to the blacks. But it was freedom from French rule that was sought, hence the act of the Assembly failed to pacify the insurgents. In 1798, when war between the United States and France seemed inevitable, Toussaint was practically dictator of the whole island. He sought by the most amicable overtures to ally himself with the Americans. Perhaps a crown, to be gained by the friendship of our nation, was in his thoughts. He was absolute master of the island and his authority was backed by 20,000 disciplined troops. This was the condition of affairs when Napoleon appeared upon the scene.

On October 1, 1801, General Le Clerc was appointed to the command of an expedition which was to be dispatched for the subjugation of the blacks in San Domingo. Le Clerc, the husband of Pauline Bonaparte, was an officer of much skill and experience. He was to be powerfully supported, for the First Consul was determined to subdue the insurgents. On the 18th of November, the latter wrote to Toussaint: "What do you want? the liberty of the blacks? You know that wherever we have been we give it to those who have it not. Tell them if liberty seems the greatest good, they can enjoy it only by becoming French citizens." But the sequel showed that there was not a particle of sincerity in the words of the First Consul. He meant to win

back the island and restore slavery. His dealings with Toussaint is perhaps the blackest incident of Napoleon's notable career. No one in the United States appreciated the condition of affairs, hence the moral support of our Republic was withdrawn.

In January, 1802, Le Clerc appeared upon the scene, supported by a great fleet and army. A fierce campaign, sharp and decisive, ensued. Toussaint, relying upon the honor of his foes, gave himself up, in the hope that good might come of his personal sacrifice. But he met with nothing but treachery and brutal treatment. He was conveyed to France, and there, in a cheerless casemate of the fortress of Joux, in the bleak Jura region, he coughed his life away a year later in the ravages of consumption. The indebtedness of the people of the United States to Toussaint and the other liberty-loving blacks of San Domingo has never been understood nor appreciated. With the deportation of L'Ouverture came the decree that the blacks freed in 1794 should again be reduced to slavery.

But the end was not yet. Able leaders sprang to the place made vacant by the heroic sacrifice of L'Ouverture. An irregular, guerilla campaign was carried on in forest and mountain fastnesses, with disastrous results to Le Clerc. And now there appeared upon the scene a new ally for the blacks—the deadly yellow fever. Side by side stalked this pestilence and the sword until scarcely one-seventh of Le Clerc's command survived. The general himself was among the victims of the plague. His troops, with some additional ones, had been destined for Louisiana, but their fate was a terrible object lesson as to what would be the ultimate result if an attempt were made to occupy that territory. For Napoleon was astute enough to realize that a collision with the aggressive throng ever pushing Westward was inevitable. Le Clerc, too, on arriving at San Domingo, had shown his unfriendliness to the Americans by seiz-

ing their property and stigmatizing them "the scum of the nations." Talleyrand calmly denied the existence of the treaty of Ildefonso until its details became known by the public, and then admitted it with unblushing equanimity. Livingston received cavalier treatment. Pichon, the French minister at Washington, was recalled and reprimanded because he attempted to explain and adjust matters. It was plain that had it not been for the disasters at San Domingo and the prospect of a resumption of hostilities in Europe, a conflict with France, so long threatened, would have crimsoned the American horizon.

In August, 1802, orders were issued for the mobilization at Dunkirk of the troops designed for Louisiana. They were to sail in November, after the equinoctial storms. An unusual proportion of officers indicated that the force was to be largely recruited in America. To its command Napoleon first assigned Bernadotte, but that general made inconvenient conditions. Then the choice fell upon the impetuous Victor, and the latter at once pressed the preparations for departure. Bernadotte was named as minister to the United States. Almost as they were on the point of sailing, intelligence of a coming European war made it necessary to send them elsewhere, and ultimately to royal honors. On such a narrow margin do human destinies hang! Victor's troops had to be sent to San Domingo, else both American colonies would be lost. Says Hosmer: "Whatever agony of mind the First Consul may have felt over this ruin of his projects, he gave little or no sign of suffering. Prompt and buoyant, as if nothing had happened, he abandoned his old path, and, to the surprise of those about him and the world at large, dashed with all his energy into a new course."\*

A significant dispatch from Livingston, dated March 12, 1803, concludes with this story: "I have just attended

\* Hosmer's History of the Louisiana Purchase.

Madame Bonaparte's drawing-room where a circumstance happened of sufficient importance to merit your attention. After the First Consul had gone the circuit of one room . . . . . he passed most of the other members merely with a bow, went up to Lord Whitworth (British ambassador) and after the first civilities, said: 'I find your nation wants war again.'

" 'No, sir, we are very desirous of peace,' replied Lord Whitworth.

" 'You have just finished a war of fifteen years.'

" 'It is true, sir, and that was fifteen years too long.'

" 'But you want another war of fifteen years.'

" 'Pardon me, sir, we are very desirous of peace.'

" 'I must have either Malta or war!'

" 'I am not prepared, sir, to speak on that subject; and I can only assure you, Citizen First Consul, that we wish for peace.'

" 'It is highly probable that a new rupture will take place, since it is hardly possible that the First Consul would commit himself so publicly unless his determination had been taken.'†

† Annals of Congress, 1802-1803.

## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## IV.

## NAPOLEON'S QUARREL WITH HIS BROTHERS.



AFTER Napoleon, the ablest of the Bonaparte brothers was Lucien. While Joseph became King of Spain, Louis King of Holland, and Jerome King of Westphalia, Lucien, because he dared to marry in opposition to the will of Napoleon, never wore the gilded chains. In his *Memoires* he has left us a curious and dramatic account of the quarrel between Napoleon on the one hand and Joseph and himself on the other, concerning the alienation of Louisiana.\*

While negotiating the treaty of San Ildefonso, in 1801, the First Consul, possessed of his iridescent dream of universal empire, had told Lucien, "Above all, don't let Louisiana go." Lucien goes on to relate an interview he had with his brother Joseph on April 6, 1803. The former came in from the country place of Plessis and found Joseph, very much excited and pacing the floor, awaiting him. Lucien was met with the exclamation: "Here you are at last! I was afraid you would not come. You are thinking of going to the play. I will tell you news which will take away your desire to amuse yourself. You'll not believe it, but it is true. The General means to give up Louisiana."

\* For a translation of these passages of Lucien's *Memoires* we are indebted to James K. Hosmer, in his "History of the Louisiana Purchase." Our account of the quarrel is condensed from Mr. Hosmer's excellent book.



"Bah! who'll buy it of him?" "The Americans." Lucien stood for a moment stupefied. "Come, now," he said, "suppose this were his plan, the Chambers will never consent." "He means to get along without their consent. That is what he said when I declared as you now do that the Chambers would not consent." "What! did he really say that? That's rather strong. No; it's impossible. It is only a bit of brag for your benefit." "No, no, he was talking very seriously. And, what is more, he added that this sale would furnish him with money for a war."

Lucien and Joseph talked for some time about this *coup d'etat*. Said Lucien, "If the First Consul really has this incredible fancy about selling Louisiana after all he has done to get it, and the necessity of our having it that he has always talked about, for our colonial interests and even our national dignity, how will he be able to dispense with the authorization of the Chambers?" After much more talk on the subject, it was arranged that the two brothers should visit the First Consul the following morning. Lucien was to break the ice, after Napoleon himself had led the way to it. On the next morning, April 7th, Lucien went to the Tuileries and found the General in his bath. But Lucien was admitted at once and the brothers talked for some time without leading up to the matter uppermost in Lucien's thoughts. As Napoleon was about to leave the bath, Joseph was announced. "Let him come in," said the First Consul, "I shall stay in the bath a quarter of an hour longer." Lucien had time to make known to Joseph that Louisiana had not yet been mentioned.

After some little conversation, Napoleon asked of Joseph, "Well, brother, have you spoken to Lucien?" "What about?" "Of our plan as to Louisiana, don't you know?" "Of *your* plan, you mean, my dear brother. You cannot have forgotten that far from being mine—" "Well, well, preacher," broke in Napoleon, "I don't need to discuss that

with you; you are so obstinate, I like better to talk about serious things with Lucien." Then followed some talk not relevant to this narrative. Presently Joseph, who seemed to be bored, broke in quite brusquely, "Well, you say nothing more about your famous plan." "Yes, but it is late, and if Lucien is willing to wait with you in my cabinet, Mr. Faultfinder, I will join you soon. Only take note, Lucien, I have made up my mind to sell Louisiana to the Americans." Lucien thought best to show only moderate surprise at this announcement, which he pretended was news. This apparent indifference caused Napoleon to say, "Well, Joseph, you see Lucien does not utter loud cries about this thing. Yet he almost has a right to, seeing that Louisiana is, so to speak, his own conquest." "I assure you if Lucien says nothing, he thinks none the less," replied Joseph. "Indeed! and why should he be diplomatic with me?" Thus cornered, Lucien hastened to explain, declaring that he really thought of this matter as Joseph did, and added that he undertook to say the Chambers would not assent." "You undertake to say! A pretty piece of business!" "And I undertake to say that it will be so. That is what I told the First Consul before," said Joseph. "And what did I say?" asked Napoleon, his wrath rising and looking by turns at the brothers, as if not to lose any changes in their countenances. Said Joseph, "You declared you would get along without the assent of the Chambers, did you not?" "Exactly. That is what I took the liberty to say to Monsieur Joseph, and what I repeat here to Citizen Lucien, begging him to give me his opinion about it, derived from his paternal tenderness for that mighty diplomatic conquest of his."

In his Memoires, Lucien continues:

"The matter seemed about to be dropped, and Joseph and I were turning toward the door, while the valet was spreading open the sheet to wrap up his master, when the latter suddenly cried out in a tone that made us all start:

‘Well, sirs, think what you please about the sale of Louisiana; but you may both of you put on mourning over this thing—you, Lucien over the sale of your province; you, Joseph, because I purpose to dispense with the consent of all persons whomsoever. Do you hear?’ I confess that I fairly shivered at such an outbreak, on a topic so delicate, in the presence of a servant. I kept still, however, but Joseph made a remark which caused a tremendous tempest, not in a teapot, as the saying is, but in the bath-tub of the man who was beginning to make all the sovereigns of Europe tremble. Stung by the scornful words and manner, especially by the contemptuous ‘Do you hear?’ which had been the cutting snapper to our brother’s lashing wrath, Joseph rushed back, exclaiming: ‘You do well, my dear brother, not to lay your plans before the Chambers, for I swear to you I will myself, the first, put myself, if necessary, at the head of the opposition which will certainly be made.’

“I was preparing to support Joseph, but in a somewhat less vehement tone, when I was stopped by an outburst from Napoleon of loud and sarcastic laughter, at the end of which Joseph, flushed and, almost beside himself, stooping over the figure that lay immersed, screamed out: ‘Laugh, laugh, laugh, then! All the same I shall do what I say; and though I do not like to mount the tribune, this time you’ll find me there.’ At these words Napoleon, rising so as to show half his body out of the water opaque and frothy with cologne, cried sternly: ‘You will not need to play the orator, for I repeat to you this debate will not take place; because the plan so unlucky as to be disapproved by you, conceived by me, negotiated by me, will be ratified and executed by me—by me alone, do you understand?—by me, who scorn your opposition.’ The speaker then immersed himself once more to the neck; but Joseph, whose self-control was quite gone, his face all aflame, roared: ‘Well, General, on my side I tell you that you, I, and all of the family, if you

do what you say you will, may get ready to join shortly those poor innocent devils whom you so legally, so humanely—above all, with so much *justice*—have transported to Cayenne.’ ”\*

When Joseph uttered this home thrust, Napoleon rose suddenly from the water and then plunged violently back, causing an aquatic flood. At the same time he thundered, “You insolent fellow, I ought—” Lucien did not hear any more. Joseph, who was bending over the bath tub, received the full force of the deluge. His face grew red with fury, while the pallor of Napoleon’s became more marked. Lucien, thinking he ought to play the part of conciliator, bethought himself of a passage from the first book of *Æneid* (where Neptune chides the wind for raising a storm) which he recited with dramatic effect and appropriate gestures:

“Are you so possessed with confidence in yourselves that you now dare without my sanction, O Winds, to confound heaven and earth and to pile up such masses? Whom I——but first I must quiet the disturbed waves.”

This recital had the desired effect. The angry combatants sobered down; the electricity was discharged. Joseph, who had received the splash full in the face, was sponged off by the valet. Napoleon remarked to Lucien, “You always have something that hits the occasion.” Just then the valet, who had once been in the service of Joseph, gave the brothers a shock by falling to the floor in a fainting fit. Help was summoned, and the servant carried from the room. Napoleon, asking Lucien if he got a splashing, too, and receiving a reply in the negative, said, “Do me the favor, then, of waiting for me with Bourriene. I want to talk with you.”

A half hour after leaving Napoleon in his bath-tub, Lucien was with him again in his cabinet. For awhile the

\* This reference was to certain alleged conspirators whom many believed had been unjustly punished.

two talked on very amicable terms, the First Consul using the terms "thee" and "thou," as he always did with his brothers when showing a fraternal spirit. Napoleon gave his reasons for selling Louisiana, which we quote from Lucien's book:

" 'It is certainly worth while to sell when you can what you are certain to lose, for the English, who have seen the colony given back to us with great displeasure, are aching for a chance to capture it and it will be their first *coup de main* in case of war.' To this I replied that as regards selling what one fears to lose some day, it might do sometimes in private affairs, but not in public. As I looked at the honor of France, it was more disgraceful to sell Louisiana for \$18,000,000 than to let it be taken in war. Frankly, I did not believe England then desired it. If the First Consul were not of my opinion, I did not see why, instead of giving up on such base conditions a colony of such importance, he did not profit by the peace and send troops there, as he had sent them to San Domingo. 'But you did not believe in my San Domingo expedition.' I replied that I had not been satisfied with the treatment given to Toussaint. 'Well, let me tell you,' said Napoleon, 'I am more ready to acknowledge than I like to confess to-day my regret at the San Domingo expedition. Our navy, so inferior to that of our neighbors across the Channel, will always cause our colonies to be exposed to great risks. Our national glory will never come from our navy. You see our land forces have fought, and will fight victoriously against all Europe. But as to the sea, you must know that there we have to lower our flag—we and all the powers of the continent. America perhaps some day—but I'll not talk of that. The English navy is and long will be too dominant; we shall not equal it.' "

Discoursing still further what he called his Louisianicide, the First Consul gave a reason for selling which Lu-

Lucien believes to have been the chief one—the pretended necessity of getting funds ready for the war which he foresaw. This was very repulsive to Lucien, who declares that a war of conquest was meditated. When the latter did not recede from his position regarding the sale, Napoleon broke out with: "As you please. Cease the miserable caviling which you and Joseph are at work on night and day, ridiculous for him and still less appropriate for you. It is not from you that I expect lessons in government. I shall contrive to dispense with you. A precious, well-disposed pair of brothers you are!"

After more talk bearing on the subject, Lucien remarked: "If I believed this sale of Louisiana would be fatal to me alone, I would consent to it. But it is too unconstitutional." This follows in Lucien's account:

"Napoleon broke here into a fit of the rasping, sarcastic, almost convulsive laughter to which he sometimes gave way in moments of excitement. It did not come from the open throat, but as if forced from the depths of his chest, cutting off his utterances as he had cut me off. 'Ha-ha-ha! You are drawing it fine. For example.' [Lucien began to fear the roughest possible explosion as his brother's words struggled out in the intervals of his cachinatory spasm.] 'Ha-ha-ha! For example!' repeated he, catching his breath. 'Unconstitutional! That's droll from you—a good joke—ha-ha!' And the outbursts went on less forced, but more natural. I sat mute, quite stupefied at the irritation which I had unwittingly produced. An expression of ironical and contemptuous rage passed over Napoleon's face following this nervous and uncanny gaiety. Conscious that I deserved his esteem more than his contempt, I was determined not to be driven from my word 'unconstitutional,' by which I had only meant to justify myself, or at least to soften my resistance to his will. I coolly said, therefore, I was astonished that he could treat so



mockingly so great a subject. 'Do let that rest. How have I touched your constitution? Answer.' 'I know well,' I said, 'you have not done so; but you know well that to alienate any possession of the Republic without the consent of the Chambers is unconstitutional. The expression of such a thought by the august representative of the national sovereignty, who until now has been its most glorious defender, is a subject for astonishment. In a word the constitution——'

"'Clear out! Constitution! Unconstitutional! Republic! National sovereignty! Great words! Fine phrases! Do you think you are still at the club of St. Maximin? We are past that, you had better believe, *Parbleu!* You phrase it nobly. Unconstitutional! It becomes you well, Sir Knight of the Constitution, to talk that way to me. You did n't have the same respect for the Chambers on the eighteenth *Brumaire*.'\*" Here I broke in in a tone as high as Napoleon's: 'You well know, my dear brother, that your entry into the Five Hundred had no warmer opponent than I. No, I was not your accomplice, but the repairer of the evil you had done to yourself; and that at my own peril, and

\* "On the pretense of a Jacobin plot both Councils were transferred to St. Cloud, so as to be removed from the sympathy and aid of the capital. Bonaparte was given command of the army in Paris. Sieyes and Ducos broke up the government by resigning their office. The next day [18th *Brumaire*, November 9, 1799], Bonaparte appeared before the Council of Five Hundred. His explanations were received with indignation. The President, his brother Lucien, was unable to restrain the tumult. The crowd rushed forward with threatening gestures. Bonaparte turned pale and was borne away by his grenadiers who rushed in to save their chief. . . . He sent in a platoon of grenadiers to bring out his brother, who pronounced the Council dissolved. The roll of the drums drowned the last cry of *Vive la Republique*. The revolution was achieved. As Bonaparte boasted, it had cost not a drop of blood. Liberty only was strangled."—Steele's Brief History of France.



with some generosity on my part because we did not then agree. I may add that no one more than I in Europe has disapproved of the sacrilege against the national representation. Yes, unconstitutional attempt upon the national sovereignty.' 'Go on—go on; that's quite too fine a thing to be cut short, Sir Orator of the Clubs! But at the same time take note of this, you and Monsieur Joseph, that I shall do just as I please; that I detest without fearing them, your friends the Jacobins, not one of whom shall remain in France if, as I hope, things continue to rest in my hands—and that, in fine, I snap my fingers at you and your national representation!'

"Greatly scandalized at this outburst, for I was still in all the *naivete* of my republicanism, I replied as coolly as I could: 'On my side, Citizen Consul, I do not snap my fingers at you, but I well know what I think about you.' 'What you think about me, Citizen Lucien? *Parbleu!* I am curious to know. Out with it.' 'I think, Citizen Consul, that having sworn to the constitution on the eighteenth *Brumaire*, as president of the Council of Five Hundred, and seeing you despise it thus, if I were not your brother I would be your enemy.' 'My enemy!' thundered Napoleon. 'Try it once. That's rather strong,' and he made a movement toward me as if to strike a blow. He paused, however, before the coolness with which I faced him. 'Thou my enemy!' he screamed. 'Look, I would dash you to the earth as I do this box.' He had in his hand his snuff-box, in the lid of which was Isabey's miniature of Josephine. This he flung violently to the floor. It did not break, but the portrait fell out of the cover. I hastened to pick it up and presenting it to Napoleon in a manner which I forced myself to make respectful, said: 'It's too bad. It's your wife's picture, not your brother, that you have broken.' "

Lucien now left the room, keeping his eye on his brother, however. But the latter picked up the box and

tried to put the picture back in the lid, which caused Lucien to think that his brother was not so angry as he wished to appear.

Lucien says that what else took place as regards the sale of Louisiana had no more personal relation to him. There was another scene between the First Consul and Joseph—the latter evidently not considering himself routed at the engagement of the bath-tub. Joseph drove at his brother with such vehemence that the latter was forced from the field, seeking refuge in the apartments of his wife. But out of these hot discussions came no ameliorations for the fate of the colony; no change except, perhaps, a little greater haste in the sale.

Lucien, writing a long time after these events, says: "In spite of all the harm done me by this brother of mine, who became all-powerful, and in spite of the tyrannical acts with which his glorious memory has too justly been reproached, I believe that far from having a tyrant's heart his nature was fundamentally good. Pushed to an extreme of power which he did not desire himself, he might with impunity have done much more than he did, encouraged and approved by flatterers. I firmly believe he deserves thanks as much, and more even, for the evil which he did not do, having all power to do it, as for the good which can really be ascribed to him in many of the startling cases of his career."

## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## V.

## THE NEGOTIATIONS.



ARMED WITH the authority of Congress to expend two million dollars in the adjustment of the troubles that threatened a rupture between the officials at New Orleans and the Americans of the Ohio and the Mississippi Valleys, Thomas Jefferson dispatched Robert R. Livingston to Paris, with instructions to begin negotiations, and to protest vigorously against the closing of the Mississippi to the citizens of the United States. The cause of the Western pioneers, hunters, traders and agriculturists was in most excellent hands. Mr. Livingston had had ample experience, both in the halls of legislation and in foreign diplomacy. In 1775 he had been elected to the Continental Congress, and was one of that committee of five which made possible the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. In 1781 he was selected as Secretary of Foreign affairs and in the discharge of the most delicate diplomatic duties, demonstrated that he possessed a superior aptitude for such arduous tasks. In naming Mr. Livingston as minister plenipotentiary to France at this critical juncture, Jefferson made what is usually regarded as the best appointment of his life. The only disability Mr. Livingston possessed, mental or physical, was his serious deafness. Otherwise he was an ideal diplomatic agent—the peer of any in Europe.

In due time Mr. Livingston reaches Paris and enters

upon his duties. He soon discovered that the First Consul was practically the whole government, and that few persons had the privilege of a near approach to him. On February 26, 1802, Livingston writes: "On the subject of Louisiana, I have nothing new. The establishment is disapproved by every statesman here as one that will occasion a great waste of men and money, excite enmities with us, and produce no possible advantage to the nation. But it is a scheme to which the First Consul is extremely attached, and must, of course, be supported. I have it, however, through a friend, from the First Consul, that it is by no means their intention to obstruct the navigation of the Mississippi or violate our treaty with Spain."

The relative state of affairs existing between France and this country is well outlined in a letter from the Secretary of State to Livingston, under date of the first of May following: "The conduct of the French government in paying so little attention to its obligations under the treaty, in neglecting its debts to our citizens, in giving no answers to your complaints and expostulations, which you say is the case with those of other foreign ministers also, and particularly in its reserve as to Louisiana, which tacitly contradicts the language first held to you by the Minister of Foreign Relations, gives tokens as little auspicious to the true interests of France itself as to the rights and just objects of the United States. The cession of Louisiana becomes daily more and more a source of painful apprehension. . . . You will also pursue, by prudent means, the inquiry into the extent of the cession, particularly whether it includes the Floridas as well as New Orleans, and endeavor to ascertain the price at which these, if included in the cession, would be yielded to the United States."

About the last of November, 1802, the news of the interdiction of Godoy's treaty of 1795 reaches Washington. On December 23rd Madison writes to Paris that "should it

be revoked before the time for the descent of the boats in the spring, both the injury and the irritation proceeding from it will be greatly increased." On the same date Livingston writes home: "The armament has not yet sailed; Florida not ceded; more hesitation and doubt on the subject than I have yet heard." These were the last official messages of the year.

About the first of the new year the resolutions passed by Congress were forwarded to Livingston. The Secretary of State wrote: "There is but one sentiment throughout the Union with respect to the duty of maintaining our rights of navigation and boundary. The only existing differences relate to the degree of patience which ought to be exercised during the appeal to friendly modes of redress."

The outlook for the success of Livingston's efforts at this time was far from encouraging. The French government had admitted the American spoliation claims, but payment was withheld; the impetuous Victor had succeeded Bernadotte as the chief of the expedition designed for Louisiana; Talleyrand still pleaded ignorance in regard to the terms of the treaty of San Ildefonso and the cession of the colony to France. The best that Livingston could write was, "Do not absolutely despair."

At this juncture James Monroe was dispatched to Paris as special envoy. To him were entrusted more specific instructions regarding the effort to purchase the territory East of the Mississippi. But the sequel will show that the great treaty was practically concluded prior to his arrival upon the scene.

Monroe's instructions were definitely laid down. (1) He was to purchase, if possible, New Orleans and the Floridas, and for these he was authorized to expend up to two\* million dollars. (2) Should France refuse to sell even the

\* Hosmer says ten millions, but we are unable to find any corroborative authority for his statement.

site of a town, the old right of deposit was to be tried for. In case a sale was effected, certain commercial privileges were to be given France. No one dreamed of a purchase of the magnitude of that eventually brought about. During the summer of 1802 Livingston had written a series of papers—"Memoires" he called them—setting forth in unanswerable logic the inexpediency of France's making an effort to seize and colonize Louisiana. At least one of these fell under the eye of Napoleon, and it may have had some weight in the bringing about of an abandonment of his first determination.

Still Livingston seemed to make no progress. Talleyrand assured him that no arrangement with the United States was possible. Yet our envoy very deliberately gave it as his opinion that "the whole will end in a relinquishment of the country, and transfer of the capital to the United States." Once or twice Livingston had suggested the purchase of that portion of Louisiana lying North of the mouth of the Arkansas, but this point was not seriously pressed, nor did any other statesman propose it.

In common with many other prominent Frenchmen, it was not the desire of Talleyrand to part with Louisiana. He would see France once more in the possession of her old domain in America. Throughout France was this hope long cherished. To see the tricolor firmly planted in the Mississippi Valley, setting bounds to the United States, controlling the great river, threatening Canada, and, it might be, restoring the *fleur-de-lis* to that great fortress from the walls of which Wolfe had torn it,—so ran the dream of Talleyrand and his followers.

On April 7th occurred the memorable scenes between the First Consul and his brothers, as we have narrated. After these quarrels, Napoleon had consulted his ministers. To them he had said that "to free the world from the commercial tyranny of England, it is necessary to oppose to her

a maritime power which will one day become her rival. It must be the United States. The English aspire to dispose of all the riches of the world. I shall be useful to the entire universe if I can prevent them from dominating America as they dominate Asia."

On Easter Sunday, April 10th, Napoleon summoned Barbe-Marbois and Decres, the Minister of the Marine, and addressed them as follows: "I know the worth of Louisiana and I have wished to repair the error of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1762. I have recovered it on paper through some lines in a treaty; but I have hardly done so when I am about to lose it again. . . . The English shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. They have already twenty vessels in the Gulf of Mexico. They swagger over these seas as sovereigns; and in San Domingo, since the death of Le Clerc, our affairs are growing from bad to worse. The conquest of Louisiana will be easy if they will only take the trouble to descend upon it, I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their power. I wish to take away from them even the idea that they will ever be able to own this colony. I contemplate turning it over to the United States. They are asking me for a single city in Louisiana, but I already regard the whole colony as lost, and it seems to me that in the hands of this rising power it will be more useful to the politics and even to the commerce of France than to attempt to keep it."

On the 11th Talleyrand asked whether the Americans wished to have the whole of Louisiana. Livingston writes: "I told him no; that our wishes extended only to New Orleans and the Floridas. He said that if they gave New Orleans the rest would be of little value." Besides, if the United States possessed the great Northwest (the greatest limit of the purchase Livingston deemed possible), it would place a barrier between the French possessions and Canada. But Talleyrand startled him by asking what price the Uni-



ted States would pay for the whole of Louisiana. The reader knows what caused this change of attitude on the part of the minister. Livingston believed that the French representative trifled, and remarked that he was fearful his (Livingston's) government would consider its envoy a very indolent negotiator. Talleyrand laughed and assured the American that he should be given a certificate as evidence that he was the most importunate with whom the Frenchman had ever met. With this interview, Talleyrand steps off the stage. Napoleon had at hand a helper whom he deemed more trustworthy,—Barbe-Marbois, who, before the Revolution, had been Consul General in the United States, marrying there an American wife. Some years after these portentous events (that is, in 1837) Marbois published a history of Louisiana, and it is largely to this work that subsequent historians are indebted for the details of the negotiations.

At daybreak on the 11th, Barbe-Marbois, being summoned, found Napoleon busy with despatches, giving news of the warlike preparations of England. Presently the First Consul broke out: "It is not only New Orleans I will cede; it is the whole colony without any reservation. I know the value of what I abandon; I renounce it with the greatest regret. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoy of the United States. Do not await the arrival of Mr. Monroe. I require a great deal of money for this war. . . . I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making this sale. I want 50,000,000 francs, and for less than that sum I will not treat. I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries. Mr. Monroe is on the point of arriving. Neither this minister nor his colleague is prepared for a decision which goes infinitely beyond that they are about to ask of us. Begin by making them the overture without any subterfuge. You will acquaint me day by day, hour by hour,

of your progress." Napoleon enjoined the greatest secrecy, and asked that it be recommended to the American envoys as well.

On page 65 of a work by Le Comte de Garden is recorded this utterance by Napoleon: "Objection may be made that the Americans will prove to be too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries, but my plans do not take into account these remote contingencies. The Americans will have to give attention in the future to conflicts among the States of the Union. Confederations which call themselves perpetual last only so long as the contracting parties find it to their interest not to break them, and it is to other present dangers to which we are exposed from the colossal power of England that I propose to apply a remedy."\* This extract demonstrates that beside being a remarkable soldier, Napoleon was also no mean statesman.

Livingston had several conferences with Barbe-Marbois. Knowing the French methods of diplomacy, the envoy suspected that the new proposition was merely a move to gain time. He thought that to pay more than 30,000,000 francs would be excessive. Napoleon had at first named 50,000,000 francs, but afterwards he doubled this sum. On the 12th, Monroe arrived. To him Livingston expressed the wish that an armed force had occupied New Orleans—he had no faith in the representations of Marbois.

On April 13th began the serious work of the negotiations. Livingston writes that while the two Americans were at dinner, Marbois, who had been on friendly terms with both in the United States, was descried through the window, walking in the garden, and at once invited in. The negotiations were resumed, and gradually it dawned upon the astonished Americans that Napoleon had really determined to alienate the whole colony. Some company being present, Marbois departed, intimating that Livingston had

\* Howard's "History of the Louisiana Purchase."

better call upon him that night at any time before eleven. Fully aroused to the importance of the work at hand, this the envoy hastened to do. The negotiations now related to three points: the cession; the price; the spoliation claims. Of course the Americans were embarrassed by the fact that their instructions contemplated a transaction of no such magnitude, but they rose grandly to the occasion, and left to the future the justification of their actions. The exigency of the case admitted of no delay.

In his dispatch written the same night after his conference with Marbois, Livingston made the following astonishing suggestion: "If the price is too high, the outlay may be reimbursed by the sale of the territory West of the Mississippi, with the right of sovereignty, to some power in Europe whose vicinity we should not fear." This is not precisely in accordance with what is now known as the Monroe Doctrine, and is strange reading in these twentieth century days.

The price named by Marbois was one hundred million francs, but Livingston remarked, "We would be ready to purchase, provided the sum was reduced to reasonable limits." Marbois then named sixty millions, if the Americans would assume the spoliation claims to the amount of twenty millions. Livingston declared the sum greatly beyond our means, and added that the field opened was infinitely larger than his instructions, but he would consult Monroe. On the 15th, Livingston offered fifty millions and to assume the debts, but Napoleon is said to have received this offer coldly. The uncertainty of the boundary was a source of trouble, but Napoleon declared that if obscurity did not exist, it would be well to put one there. The First Consul went off to Flanders and left the negotiations at a standstill, when our ministers wisely concluded to accept his terms.

The pledge given to Spain at San Ildefonso that Louisiana should never be alienated by France was wholly disre-

garded. Napoleon himself proposed a stipulation that the people of Louisiana should straightway be incorporated into the Union, with all the rights and immunities of American citizens. The three agreements were arranged to the satisfaction of all, and were ready for signing on April 30th. Three days later, the copies in English and in French having been prepared, the signatures of the negotiators were affixed thereto.

When the treaty had been signed, Napoleon declared, "I have given England a rival which, sooner or later, will humble her pride." Said Livingston, "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives. The instruments which we have signed will cause no tears to be shed; they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures."

Thus was the great treaty concluded. The idea of such a transaction originated with Napoleon. To Livingston is due the honor of the negotiations on the part of the United States. Monroe was not presented until after the matter was closed. Napoleon on the part of France—Livingston on the part of the United States.

## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## VI.

## THE PARTY WRANGLE OVER THE PURCHASE.

**O**N THE 12th of May, 1803, a copy of the great treaty was forwarded to Washington by a safe messenger—Mr. Hughes,—together with other papers and dispatches. Two other copies were also transmitted by other agencies, but that entrusted to Mr. Hughes was the first to reach the President, being delivered on July 14th. Who can picture the astonishment of the administration when the magnitude of the transaction was realized? Jefferson had asked for a single city, and a province as large as the United States itself was thrust upon him. He had been authorized to expend two millions of dollars; the sum demanded in the stipulations was fifteen millions. His first move was to write a letter to Monroe, declaring that he could not approve of the treaty, because, if he did, he would make waste paper of the constitution. As a strict constructionist, he could not, and for a while, did not, consider the purchase of foreign territory a constitutional act. But his great common sense prevailed. He thought of the evil that would ensue should France take possession of Louisiana, and of the blessings certain to follow its incorporation into the territory of the Union. These considerations, and the senseless opposition of the Federalists, enabled Jefferson to surmount the seemingly impassible barrier.

Two urgent letters from Livingston contributed much

toward bringing about Jefferson's change of base. The envoy wrote that the First Consul was already beginning to rue his bargain and had instructed Marbois to take advantage of any loopholes or technicalities in the line of ratification or prompt payment to get rid of an unfortunate agreement,—now that an era of friendly feeling between France and England had been restored. Livingston begged the President, for the love of his country, to hasten ratification without the change of a word or a stipulation; to literally and immediately comply with the financial conditions, so that Bonaparte should not have a shadow of an excuse for evading his pledges and obligations.

According to the second of the agreements, a convention, it was called, sixty millions of francs, then estimated at eleven million, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, were to be put into a stock with interest at six per cent, payable semi-annually at London, Amsterdam, or Paris. Fifteen years after the ratification of the treaty, the payment of the principal was to begin in yearly instalments of not less than three million dollars each. The value of the dollar was fixed at five and one-third francs. The third agreement, likewise designated a convention, treated of the debts or claims. None were to be paid except to creditors of France, for supplies, for losses by embargoes, for losses sustained at sea prior to the thirtieth of September, 1800; nor were those paid to amount, with interest, to more than twenty millions of francs. Up to June 30, 1880, the total cost of the purchase, principal, interest and debts assumed, amounted to \$27,267,621.98.

In addition to the terms of the treaty heretofore mentioned, Article 7 read in part as follows: "In the country ceded by the present treaty, it has been agreed between the contracting parties that the French ships coming directly from France or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce or manufactures of France or her said colonies,

and the ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or any of her colonies, shall be admitted during the space of twelve years in the port of New Orleans, and in all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory, in the same manner as the ships of the United States coming directly from France or Spain, or any of their colonies, without being subject to any other or greater duty on merchandise, or other or greater tonnage than those paid by the citizens of the United States."

In 1803 only a remnant of the great Federalist party remained, and these had degenerated into mere obstructionists. The success of Jefferson, the enactment and the institution of promised reforms, the reduction of the public debt by five millions in two years when the Federalists had increased it by eight millions in five years, had caused tens of thousands of independent thinkers to sever their allegiance to the party of Hamilton and go over to the Republicans. "They had seen the Federalists go to the very limit of constitutional taxation in the laying of a direct tax. They had seen the Republicans dry every source of internal revenue, and still have money to spare. Never had the government been so smoothly, so savingly, carried on. With such an administration they could find no fault."\* To the narrow partisans remaining in the Federalist ranks, nothing which Thomas Jefferson did was right. His administration was a political Gomorrah out of which no good could possibly come. Mere obstructionists—the political sect to be the most despised,—they contended that not until the reins of government should again be entrusted to their hands would the country be safe, and received news of the best and wisest act of the administration with a roar of execration.

This was the character of the men who opposed the purchase of Louisiana, and they were largely instrumental

\* McMaster's History of the People of the United States.



in forcing Jefferson to change his strict views in regard to the constitution. To epitomize from McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," they worried lest the Eastern States should become depopulated by the new acquisition of territory; lest a great emigration should set in and a new republic be founded beyond the Mississippi; that no common ties of interest could bind together men who fought Indians and trapped bears on the upper Missouri, and men who built ships and caught fish in the harbors of Maine; that the national debt would be enormously increased by the purchase. Indeed Federalist writers and printers all over the land vied with one another in their attempts to impress upon the people what an enormous sum was fifteen million dollars.

"Fifteen millions of dollars! they would exclaim. The sale of a wilderness has not usually commanded a price so high. Ferdinand Gorges received but £1250 for the Province of Maine. William Penn gave for the wilderness that now bears his name but a trifle over £5,000. Fifteen millions of dollars! A breath will suffice to pronounce the words. A few strokes of the pen will express the sum on paper. But not one man in a thousand has any conception of the magnitude of the amount. Weigh it, and there will be 433 tons of solid silver. Load it into wagons, and there will be 866 of them. Place the wagons in a line, giving two rods to each, and they will cover a distance of five and one-third miles. Hire a laborer to shovel it into the carts, and, though he load sixteen each day, he will not finish the work in two months. Stack it up dollar on dollar, and the pile will be more than three miles high. It will load twenty-five sloops; it would pay an army of 25,000 men forty shillings a week each for twenty-five years; it would, divided among the population of the country, give three dollars to each man, woman and child. All the gold and all the silver coin in the Union would, if collected, fall

vastly short of such a sum. We must, therefore, create a stock, and for fifteen years to come, pay \$2,465 interest each day. Invest the principal as a school fund, and the interest will support, forever, eighteen hundred free schools, allowing fifty scholars and five hundred dollars to each school. For whose benefit is this purchase made? The South and West. Will they pay a share of the debt? No, for the tax on whiskey has been removed."

But the labors of the Federalists came to nought. Excepting in New England (where, it is said, in old families to this day the tradition remains of the rancor with which Jefferson was regarded), the people generally looked upon the purchase as an immense bargain, and eagerly demanded its ratification. Jefferson and his advisers rose grandly to the necessities of the occasion. The President advocated an amendment to the constitution, legalizing such acquisitions of foreign territory, but on this point he and his cabinet could not reach an agreement. At length a friend persuaded the President that the treaty-making power of the constitution covers the case,—an interpretation since generally accepted. The terms of the treaty required that it should be ratified within six months. This limit expired on October 30th. Congress was convened on October 17th, and two days later, after strenuous, but ineffectual opposition by the Federalists, the House, being in Committee of the Whole, adopted three resolutions by a vote of 90 to 25, to the effect that, (1) provision should be made to carry the treaty into operation; (2) the matter of provisional government should be referred to a special committee; (3) the Committee on Ways and Means should be charged with raising the purchase money. In the House, Gaynor Griswold, of New York, was the leader of the opposition.

When the matter came up in the Senate, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, led the opposition, but no new arguments were advanced by his side. He contended that

the treaty was unconstitutional, because no provision was made for carrying it out. No acquisition of foreign territory, he declared, was contemplated or provided for, and ought therefore to be regarded as impossible. But the vote in the Senate stood 26 to 5 in favor of ratification.

Another wrangle over the question of government in the new purchase then arose. The proposition having been made that the President should administer the territory provisionally until Congress should arrange for its government, the Federalists declared that Jefferson was to step into the shoes of Carlos IV, for a time, to administer a tyranny, thus legalizing Spanish despotism on American soil; that he was to be equipped with three powers—executive, judicial and legislative. But these objections—which read much like those urged by minorities in Congress these days—availed nothing. The measure became a law on October 31st, and shortly afterwards a bill authorizing the creation of a stock of eleven million, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was passed. These acts of Congress left New England very much discontented and nearly ready for secession. The balance of power, it was contended, was inclining quite too strongly toward the South and West.

In his life of Monroe, in the "American Statesmen" series, Daniel C. Gilman remarks that in this extraordinary chapter of history, there appear the ambition of Napoleon, the sagacity of Jefferson, the diplomacy of Talleyrand and Marbois, the caution of Livingston, and the enthusiasm of Monroe. Yet back of these were the English determination to put down the rising dominion of Napoleon; the willingness of Spain to give up New Orleans; the resolution of America to secure the Mississippi outlet; the readiness of France to build up in the new world a powerful rival to Great Britain. France needed ready money; the United States, by a wise financial policy, was in good standing at Amsterdam—at that period the leading financial center.

On the 24th of June, Monroe took formal leave of Bonaparte, as President Jefferson had directed him to act as *charge* at London. To Napoleon he gave an expression of American good will, and the First Consul replied that no one wished more than himself the preservation of a good understanding; that the cession he had made was not so much on account of the price given as from motives of policy; and that he wished for friendship between the republics.

A recent writer has this to say regarding the significance of the Louisiana Purchase: "The international effects were even more significant than the political effects. From it dates the end of the struggle for the possession of the Mississippi Valley and the beginning of the transfer of the ascendancy in both Americas to the United States. Even the English veterans of the Napoleonic battles were unable to wrest New Orleans from Andrew Jackson in the war of 1812. The acquisition of Florida, Texas, California and the possessions won by the United States in the recent Spanish-American war are, in a sense, the corollaries of this great event. France, England and Spain, removed from the strategic points on our border, were prevented from occupying the controlling position in determining the destiny of the American provinces which so soon revolted from the empire of Spain. It was the logical outcome of that acquisition. Having taken her decisive stride across the Mississippi, the United States enlarged the horizon of her views and marched steadily forward to the possession of the Pacific Ocean. From this event dates the rise of the United States into the position of a world power."

## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## VII.

## TAKING POSSESSION.

**I**N MARCH, 1803, the French Prefect Laussat arrived in New Orleans to take possession of Louisiana in the name of France. To be sure he had no idea that Napoleon contemplated ceding the territory to the United States. On the contrary, he was particularly hostile to the Americans, and openly regretted that the Spanish government had reversed the decree of the Intendant Morales, taking away from the pioneers of the Ohio Valley the right of deposit, and began his preparations on the belief that the Crescent City was to become the base for important aggressive military movements.

In Maurice Thompson's excellent "Story of Louisiana" occurs this passage concerning the city at this period: "New Orleans had begun to look like a city with its quaint and beautiful, if rambling and primitive houses, its tree-shaded streets, its clumps of palmettos and its wilderness of roses. Twelve thousand people were within its walls, and although they were, in most regards and taken as a body, a reckless, gambling, duelling, immoral people, they were restrained by the hand of a strong government and by the high example and gentle influence of a few excellent and cultured families."

Laussat was not kindly received by the French inhabitants. They had heard the rumor that it was the intention of Napoleon to emancipate the slaves of the territory, hence

the joy given by the first thought of returning to their former allegiance was quickly dispelled. Their prosperity depended upon the continued existence of slavery.

It was not until the thirtieth of November, 1803, that Laussat formally received the territory from Governor Salcedo and Casso Calvo, the latter having been deputed by Carlos IV to assist in the transfer. It was a ceremony of much pomp and display. The representatives of the two Latin nations, both given to ceremony, vied with one another, in those Western wilds, in the splendors of their courtly rivalry. But sixteen Ursuline nuns, terrorized at the prospect of passing under the rule of a nation that a few years previously had driven out religion, sought and obtained permission to retire to Cuba. "On Whitsunday they came forth hooded and veiled. Their old pupils thronged the garden as they passed through; their slaves knelt at the gateway; the dignitaries and the humbler people followed them tearfully to the waterside."

Victor was expected to arrive at any day, and the populace made ready the tricolored cockades which were to be assumed after the lowering of the Spanish flag. But before that event, a vessel from Bordeaux brought the astounding intelligence that the province was to be transferred to the United States; and presently Laussat received his credentials, appointing him to conduct the ceremony. Seventeen days after the descent of the Spanish banner, the American commissioners, with their escort of troops, went into camp two miles outside the city.

The United States, after the ratification of the treaty, lost no time in taking possession of the new purchase. It made haste for at least two reasons: (1) The Spanish minister at Washington made several protests against the cession, alleging that Bonaparte had never carried out the terms of the treaty of San Ildefonso; (2) there was danger that either the Spanish troops, still in New Orleans, or the



Spanish or the French inhabitants, or both, would resist the transfer.

There stands to-day in New Orleans a building which, one hundred years ago, surpassed in elegance every other civic structure in America. Then it was called the Cabildo; now, it is the supreme court building,—still picturesque and imposing. In the council chamber thereof and on the balcony adjacent were enacted those ceremonies which transferred the ownership of Louisiana from France to the United States. Brief was the reign of the tricolor over the territory. Twenty days from the lowering of the red and yellow ensign of Spain saw flung to the breeze the starry emblem of the American Republic. With this ceremony ended forever the French struggle for empire in the New World. In vain had been the enterprise of Champlain, the tribulations of La Salle, the zeal of Marquette, the intrepidity of Montcalm, the sacrifices of Jesuit and Sulpitian and Recollet fanatics, the labors of Frontenac and scores of other brilliant Frenchmen. Two volcanic specks—St. Pierre and Miquelon—were the only rewards for all those years of intrigue and peculation and deprivation and bloodshed and financial burdens under the snowy lilies of France. Of such is the uncertainty of human effort.

At nine o'clock on the forenoon of December 20th, Clement Laussat, the representative of the First Consul, awaited on the central balcony of the Cabildo the arrival of the American commissioners. The city was decorated *en fete*. In the river were moored many vessels, gaily dressed with parti-colored flags. On every balcony and other point of vantage were gathered throngs of people to witness the ceremonies. Shortly before noon was heard the signal-gun which the Americans agreed to fire when they started from camp. A second gun announced that they had passed through the Tchoupitoulas Gate and were nearing the Cabildo. The French batteries, manned by Spanish artiller-



ists, thundered a salute of twenty-four guns. On the stroke of twelve the Americans filed into the Place d'Armes—now Jackson Square. At their head rode Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States (corrupt and a traitor to his flag, it was discovered later), and William Charles Cole Claiborne, the first governor of the new purchase. These two were the commissioners designated by Jefferson to represent the United States. Their troops formed opposite the Cabildo while the commissioners were conducted to the council-chamber, where a throng of dignitaries received them with impressive gravity. Presently Laussat led the way to the balcony where he took his position in the chair of state, seating Claiborne at his right. After a statement of the object of the assembly and the reading of the respective credentials, the prefect formally announced the alienation of Louisiana and all its dependencies, under the same limits and conditions that France had received them by the treaty of San Ildefonso. The keys of the city Laussat then delivered into the hands of Claiborne, saying in a loud voice: "I proclaim, in virtue of the powers with which I am vested, and the commission with which I am charged by the First Consul, that all citizens and inhabitants of Louisiana are from this moment absolved from their oath of fidelity to the French Republic." He then seated Claiborne in the chair of state. The latter responded in English, after which the *proces-verbal* of the transfer was signed and sealed by the commissioners and then read, in French and in English, to the assembled multitude.

Says McMaster: "To the crowd that stood that day on the Place d'Armes, the promise of Claiborne that this transfer should be the last meant nothing, for, within the lifetime of men then living, Louisiana had changed her rulers six times. Ninety-one years before, when scarcely a thousand white men dwelt on her soil, Louis XIV had

farmed Louisiana to Antoine Crozat, the merchant monopolist of his day. Crozat, unable to use it, made it over in 1717 to John Law, Director-General of the Mississippi Company, which surrendered it in 1731 to Louis XV, who gave it in 1762 to the King of Spain, who made it over to Napoleon, who sold it to the United States."

At the conclusion of the reading, the tricolor of the French Republic began slowly to descend from the tall flag-staff over the Cabildo, while at the same time the stars and stripes as slowly rose. Midway of the staff the two banners paused a moment and entwined their folds in a friendly salutation. Presently the colors of the American Union waved in triumph from the top of the staff, while salvos of artillery and the shouts of the onlookers rent the air. The ladies from the gracefully wrought balconies joined enthusiastically in the applause. A French officer received the tricolor, wrapped it around his body and strode away to the barracks.

With the events at New Orleans we are not further concerned; but later, at St. Louis, in what was known as Upper Louisiana, occurred a ceremony which now demands our attention.

At the time of the retrocession of Louisiana to France and its subsequent cession to the United States, the governor of Upper Louisiana was Charles Dehault Delassus, a Frenchman in the service of Spain. It is reasonably clear that the first intimation the citizens of St. Louis (the capital of Upper Louisiana) had of the sale of the territory was in a letter received by Governor Delassus from William Henry Harrison, governor of the Northwest Territory, with headquarters at "Old Vincennes."\*

\*Under date of August 2, 1803, Governor Harrison wrote to Governor Delassus: "Since I wrote you last, I have received very important intelligence. It is no other than the entire cession of New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana to the United States."

Within the brief space of twenty-four hours, the territory now included in the State of Missouri was under the dominion of three nations—Spain, France and the United States. But two men took part, as principals, in this triple transfer,—two men speaking in different tongues and legally representing three nations. The first of these men, Delassus, has been mentioned. The second, Amos Stoddard, was a captain in the American army. These transfers were bloodless ones. Thunders of cannon there were, and the clank of swords and the shouts of command; but the cannon sounded only in salutes, the swords clanked only in parade, while the commands were those of officers marching their troops in review.

The first official notice the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana had of the approaching change of rulers was in an order issued by Governor Delassus on February 19th, 1804, though for some months rumors of the cession had been current. The news of the treaty of San Ildefonso had been doubted, and the rumors of the sale to the United States wholly discredited; but in time both were confirmed. In order to avoid any technicality, or any quibble, as to the amount of territory transferred, it was deemed expedient to have a separate and additional surrender of the upper province. To accomplish this, it was necessary to invest some one with authority to act for France, that he might officially accept the title from Spain and transfer the same to the American purchaser. Laussat declined to act in this capacity, there was found no other Frenchman who could serve; so, objections to the irregularity being waived, Captain Stoddard was duly commissioned "agent and commissioner for the French Republic."

Captain Stoddard and the American troops to garrison the post reached St. Louis early in March, the latter going into camp at Cahokia. On the 8th the following order was posted about the village:

"We notify the public that to-morrow, the ninth of the present month, between eleven and twelve o'clock, we will surrender this Upper Louisiana to Captain Amos Stoddard, agent and commissioner of the French Republic, as we have already announced by our proclamation dated the 19th of February last.

"St. Louis of the Illinois, the eighth of March, 1804.

"By order of CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS.

"Posted by the public writer, JH. HORTIR."\*

The capitol building at St. Louis was a one-story stone and wood structure, situated at the Southeast corner of Main and Walnut Streets—then known as La Rue de Principale and La Rue de la Tour. Across the street to the North was the Place d'Armes or public square and parade ground; beyond were the houses of Madame Chouteau and her two sons, Auguste and Pierre. In the distance to the North rose a great stone tower and near by stood a mill, while the big mound formed a background for them. To the West of the government building, on a slight elevation, stood the fort, a double stockade of logs set vertically, the space between being filled with soil and clay. At one point a stone tower rose to the height of sixty feet. The walls of fort and tower were pierced with loopholes of different sizes, out of the larger of which frowned the muzzles of brass cannon. This fort was a formidable structure, with ample space within to shelter every one of the thousand inhabitants of the village. To the East flowed the Mississippi, yellow-stained as to-day with the dark floods of the turbid Missouri.

The morning of the ninth came. There was no work by the villagers that day. Silent were the forge and the looms; left undone were the labors of the husbandmen. The town was athrong with visitors. There were syndics and commandants and subjects from Carondelet, Ste. Gen-

\* There was no printing press in St. Louis at the time. The notice posted was written in Spanish.

evieve, St. Charles, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid; there were visitors from Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres, on the American side of the great river; there were Indians from both sides, hideous in vermilion and ochre; and there were the inhabitants of the village itself, dressed in their holiday apparel.

Shortly after dawn the American troops, under command of Lieutenant Worrall, crossed over from Cahokia and marched into town. With them was Captain Meriweather Lewis, soon to become a prominent figure in the development of the new territory. Captains Stoddard and Lewis made a formal call at the government house, where they were received by Delassus and the other dignitaries of the post.

Presently the officials came out on the low piazza and Delassus addressed the people, telling them that by the command of King Carlos he was about to deliver the post and its dependencies into the hands of France. They were released from their oaths of allegiance to the Spanish flag, under the folds of which they had lived for almost forty years. He then placed Captain Stoddard in possession of the government house and the post. The captain replied briefly and conventionally—and the official transfer became a matter of history. Delassus made a sign to a soldier standing near, and the latter, springing upon the railing, waved his hand toward the fort on the hill, from which a cannon shot rang out, and at the same time the Spanish flags above the fort and the government building began to descend, while the tricolor of France was flung to the breeze.

There was nothing spectacular about the ceremonies, little cheering and no demonstrations. The French inhabitants were chagrined because for so brief a time was their banner to wave over the domain; while all the citizens were frightened by the reports circulated by unprincipled land speculators that the new rulers of the territory would not respect the titles of the owners to their little homes. But

when they saw the flag of France waving over the town, the French creoles begged that it be permitted to fly all night. Their prayer was granted. It had been forty years since that banner had waved over St. Louis, and at the sight of it many of the older creoles wept for joy.

And how did these creoles spend that night of March 9th, 1804? Says the old national proverb, "La France — danse!" And so it was the French of St. Louis, under their beloved lilies, sang and danced all that night—even until the rising sun dispelled the mists over in the Cahokia bottoms. With them, that was the very idealism of enjoyment. And others, of a more sober temperament, crowded the little church on Second Street, which resounded with prayers until morning.

At early dawn the tricolored flag was lowered and in its stead floated the stars and stripes. For more than ninety and nine years has this emblem kept its place over St. Louis and the entire purchase. Never in all those years has it been trailed in defeat, while more signal than its victories on the field of carnage have been those of peace and progressiveness and commercial supremacy.

Thus it was that the residents of St. Louis and of Missouri were under the Spanish flag on the morn of March 9th, 1804; saw over them by the fading light of that day the tricolor of France; and by the dawn's early light on the tenth the starry emblem of the United States met their gaze.\*

\*For the material used in the sketch of this second transfer, the author is indebted to some articles that appeared during 1902 in the St. Louis Republic. Their author is unknown, but they were prepared from the archives preserved by the Missouri Historical Society.



## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## VIII.

## THE TERRITORY AT THE TIME OF THE PURCHASE.



JEFFERSON, while the purchase treaty was pending in the Senate, caused to be prepared, from the meager accounts of the territory that had reached the officials, what is the most remarkable document ever transmitted to Congress by any President. A few extracts will suffice to show its remarkableness:

"There is no other settlement on the Mississippi except the small one called Concord until you come to the Arkansas River. Here there are but a few families, who are more attached to the Indian trade than to cultivation. There is no settlement from this place to New Madrid, which is itself inconsiderable. Ascending the river, you come to Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, where they raise little for transportation and content themselves with trading with the Indians and working a few lead mines. This country is very fertile, especially on the banks of the Missouri, where there have been formed two settlements called St. Charles and St. Andrew, mostly by emigrants from Kentucky. The peltry procured in the Illinois is the best sent to the Atlantic market, and the quantity is very considerable. Lead is to be had with ease, and in such quantities as to supply all Europe, if the population were sufficient to work the numerous mines to be found within two or three feet of the surface in various parts of the country. The settlements about the Illinois were first



made by the Canadians, and the inhabitants still resemble them in their aversion to labor and love of a wandering life.

"When compared with the Indiana territory, the face of the country in Upper Louisiana is rather more broken, though the soil is equally fertile. It is a fact not generally contested that the West side of the river possesses some advantages not generally incident to those regions. It is elevated and healthy, and well watered with a variety of large, rapid streams, calculated for mills and other water works. From Cape Girardeau to the Missouri, the land on the East side of the Mississippi is low and flat and occasionally exposed to inundations; that on the Louisiana side, contiguous to the river, is generally much higher, and in many places very rocky on the shore. Some of the heights exhibit a scene truly picturesque. They rise to a height of at least three hundred feet, faced with perpendicular lime and freestone, carved into various shapes and figures by the hand of nature, and afford the appearance of a multitude of antique towers. It may be said with truth that for fertility of soil no part of the world exceeds the borders of the Mississippi; the land yields an abundance of the necessities of life, and almost spontaneously, very little labor being required in the cultivation of the earth. That part of Upper Louisiana which borders on North Mexico is one immense prairie; it produces nothing but grass; it is filled with deer, buffalo and other game; the land is represented to be too rich for the growth of forest trees.

"It is pretended that Upper Louisiana contains many silver and copper mines, and various specimens of both are exhibited. Several trials have been made to ascertain the fact, but the want of skill in the artists have hitherto left the subject undecided.

"The salt works are also pretty numerous; some belong to individuals, others to the public. They already yield an abundant supply for the consumption of the country, and

might become an article of more general exportation. The usual price per bushel is 150 cents in cash at the works. One extraordinary fact relative to salt must not be omitted. There exists about 1,000 miles up the Missouri, and not far from that river, *a Salt Mountain!* The existence of such a mountain might well be questioned, were it not for the testimony of several respectable and enterprising traders who have visited it, and who have exhibited several bushels of the salt to the curiosity of the people of St. Louis, where some of it still remains. A specimen of the same salt has been sent to Marietta. This mountain is said to be 180 miles long and 45 in width, composed of solid rock salt, without any trees or even shrubs on it. Salt springs are numerous beneath the surface of the mountain, and they flow through the fissures and cavities of it."

.....

"On the river St. Francis, in the neighborhood of New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Riviere a la Pomme, and the environs, are settled a number of vagabond Indians, emigrants from the Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Piorias, and supposed to consist in all of five hundred families: they are at times troublesome to the boats descending the river, and have even plundered some of them, and committed a few murders. They are attached to liquor, seldom remain long in any place, many of them speak English, all understand it, and there are some who even read and write it.

"At Ste. Genevieve, in the settlements among the whites, are about thirty Piorias, Kaskaskias and Illinois, who seldom hunt for fear of the other Indians; they are the remains of a nation which, fifty years ago, could bring into the field one thousand, two hundred warriors.

"On the Missouri and its waters are many and numerous nations, the best known of which are: the Osages, situated on the river of the same name; they consist of one

thousand warriors, who live in two settlements at no great distance from each other. They are of a *gigantic stature* and well proportioned, and commit depredations from the Illinois to the Arkansas. They are a cruel and ferocious race, and are hated and feared by all the other Indians.

"Sixty leagues higher up the Missouri is the river Kansas, and on it the nation of the same name, but at about seventy or eighty leagues from its mouth. It consists of about two hundred and fifty warriors, who are as fierce and cruel as the Osages, and often molest and ill-treat those who go to trade among them."

"Until within a few years the governor of Upper Louisiana was authorized to make surveys of any extent. In the exercise of this discretionary power, some abuse was committed; a few small monopolies were created. About three years ago he was restricted in this branch of his duty, since which he has been authorized to make surveys to emigrants in the following manner: two hundred acres for each man and wife, fifty acres for each child, and twenty acres for each slave. Hence the quantity of land allowed to settlers depended on the number in each family; and for this quantity of land they paid no more than the expense of survey. These surveys were necessary to entitle the settlers to grants; and the governor, and after him the intendant at New Orleans, was alone authorized to execute grants on the receipt of the surveys from the settlers."

Of the story of the salt mountain, McMaster says (Vol. II, page 631): "Everywhere the Federalists read the story with the scoffs and jeers it so richly deserved. Can the mountain, one journal asked, be Lot's wife? Has the President, asked another, been reading the 'Mysteries of Udolpho'? What a dreadful glare it must make on a sunshiny day! exclaimed a third. No trees on it? How strange! There ought surely to be a salt eagle to perch on its sum-

mit and a salt mammoth to clamber up its side. The President, being a cautious philosopher, has surely been afraid to tell us all. He must have kept much back, else we should have seen some samples from that vale of hasty pudding and that lake of real old Irish usquebaugh that lies at the mountain's base. The stories told fourteen years since about the Ohio country are now surpassed. The pumpkin-vines, the hoop-snakes, the shoe-and-stockings tree of the Muskingum, are but 'pepper-corns' beside the mountain of salt."

In a former article a sketch of life under the French and the Spanish regimes was presented.\* Some progress had been made by 1804, but the customs of the settlers were still quite primitive. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the pioneers of Louisiana made little advancement in their mode of living.

A varied assortment of goods composed the stock of the territorial merchants. Even as late as 1851, a house with headquarters at St. Louis advertised molasses, hams, corn, coffee, cod fish, tobacco, soap, candles, whiskey, gin, beer, wine, powder, shot, caps, gun wadding, indigo, nails, and window glass.

The Indians were good customers of these pioneer merchants, and, like their white neighbors, often purchased supplies on credit, giving notes therefor. But when an Indian signed a note for goods, he insisted on keeping such note himself, as a reminder, he argued, when it came time to pay. Not until a note was paid would an Indian surrender it to a storekeeper; and to their credit be it said that the red men were much more prompt in paying debts than were their white neighbors.

/ The dwellings were built of logs held together by notches at the corners—that is, a notch in each log fit the roof-

\* See *ante*, page 87.

shaped cut of the one next below. They were one-story structures, and the gables were fashioned by making each succeeding log shorter at each end than the one preceding, with the ends beveled to the required slope. At the sides small logs or poles were built in with these shortened end-logs, forming supports for the roof of "clap-boards." These were split or riven from short sections of logs with a tool called a froe. At first the logs were left as they grew, but later cabins were built of logs hewn on two sides, so that the wall, within and without, would be comparatively smooth. The openings between the logs were "chinked" with pieces of wood and then plastered with clay. The floor in many cases was composed of dirt, though often split logs, forming puncheons, the flat side uppermost and neatly fitted together, were used. Little or no iron was used in the erection of these primitive dwellings. The door was hung with wooden hinges, while a wooden latch kept it closed. One end of a buckskin string fastened to this latch, and the other passing through a hole above, served to open the door from without. To fasten the door, it was only necessary to pull the string within the room. From this device originates the saying, "The latch-string is always out." The boards forming the roof were held in place by heavy timbers.

Over the door, within the room, was the inevitable rifle, powder horn and bullet pouch. A huge fireplace at one end served for both heating and cooking purposes. A Dutch oven, an iron pot, and perhaps a coffeepot, completed the culinary economy. Corn meal and wild game supplied the bulk of the food. "Corn pone" or "corn dodgers," lye hominy, bread made of corn meal and pumpkin, and pork and bacon were common. Oiled paper served for glass. The great chimney, on the outside of the house, was built of sticks and clay, the fireplace, perhaps, being lined with stone.

The sod of the prairies was first turned with huge plows, cutting a shallow furrow twenty inches or two feet in width,

and drawn by four, five, or six yoke of oxen. The decaying vegetation in the freshly-plowed prairie caused malaria, "chills and fever," or "the shakes," to sweep the country every fall season. Scarcely a family escaped.

The corn was "pestled" in a stump or a section of a log, the end hollowed out into a bowl-shaped cavity by burning and chopping; or it was drawn by the slowly-plodding ox teams for miles to a mill. Sometimes on these trips the husband would be absent for more than a week.

Meager in the extreme was the housekeeping "outfit" of a newly-married couple. It is related that a visitor once found such a couple seated on the dirt floor of their little cabin, eating mush from an iron pot, with but one spoon between them. This pot and spoon, and a rude bed in one corner, constituted their household effects.

House-raising and weddings were events of paramount importance in the social life of the early settlers. A dance or some other kind of entertainment followed each. Chairs were scarce, so the girls sat on the laps of one another, or on the knees of the young men. Kissing games were in great favor. The men made free use of whiskey, and brute strength was the test of manhood. The neighborhood hero was he who could vanquish all comers. These fights did not often result seriously, as it was unusual to resort to other weapons than the fist.

"Gander-pulling" was a common sport. One of these unlucky fowls would be suspended, head down, at a suitable height from a branch of a tree, and the participants in the sport, mounted on horseback, would ride at full speed under the squawking bird and make a grab at its head. A prize awaited him who succeeded in jerking the gander's head from its body. People came for miles to witness this sport.

It is related that at one time a genuine Missourian was loitering about the headquarters of a negro dealer in St. Louis. Presently the dealer, a Kentuckian, asked the Mis-

sourian, "Can I do anything for you?" The man replied that he would like to purchase a negro, and was invited to walk in and inspect those for sale. Having made a choice, he inquired the price. "Five hundred dollars," replied the trader; "but, according to custom, you may have a year's credit on the purchase." But the thought of having such a debt hanging over him for a year staggered the Missourian. "No, no," he exclaimed, "I would rather pay six hundred at once and be done with it." "Very well," replied the trader, "anything to accommodate;" and the sale was consummated for six hundred in cash.

In April, 1804, the next month after the cession to the United States, William C. Carr arrived in St. Louis, having been twenty-five days coming by boat from Louisville. At that date there were two other American families in the village—those of William Sullivan and Calvin Adams.\* Life in St. Louis was so dull that a month later Mr. Carr located in the more thrifty village of Ste. Genevieve, but subsequently returned to St. Louis.

\* Davis and Durrie's History of Missouri, page 36.



## THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

## IX.

## THE BOUNDARY DISPUTES.

**I**T WILL BE remembered that when Marbois spoke to Napoleon concerning the indefiniteness of the boundaries of Louisiana, the First Consul replied, "If obscurity did not exist, it would be well to put one there." In the six transfers of Louisiana, not once had any attempt been made to state definitely the limits of the territory. By the treaty ceding the province to the United States, Louisiana was to be of "the same extent it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it." The Gulf on the South, and the Mississippi on the East were the limits; but on the North and the West no man knew the extent of the purchase. And on the Southeast the boundary between Louisiana and Florida was equally indefinite. "What are the Eastern boundaries of Louisiana?" asked Livingston of Talleyrand when the treaty was being arranged. "I do not know," was the reply. "But what do you mean to take?" asked Livingston,—meaning from Spain by the treaty of San Ildefonso. "I do not know," replied Talleyrand. "Then you mean that we shall construe it in our own way?" asked Livingston. "I can give you no direction. You have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you must make the most of it."

"In none of the many transfers of Louisiana was anything approaching a complete and accurate boundary ever made. When Claiborne received it on behalf of the United

States the Eastern boundary was the Mississippi River from its source to the parallel of thirty-one degrees. But where the source of the Mississippi was no man knew, and what became of the Eastern boundary below the parallel of thirty-one degrees was long unsettled. Americans claimed at least as far as the Perdido River; but Spain would acknowledge no claim East of the Mississippi and below thirty-one degrees, save the island of New Orleans. The South boundary was, of course, the Gulf; but whether it went to the Sabine or the Rio Bravo was still unknown. The mountains, wherever they might be, were believed to bound it on the West, and the possessions of Great Britain, wherever they might be, bounded it on the North."\*

These several controversies, and the final outcome of each, will now claim our attention. It is not the purpose of the writer, however, to enter at length into a discussion of details, but merely to present the salient points of each, that the causes of the conflicting claims between the United States and the Iberian monarchy may be understood.

On page 633 of Vol. II of his History, McMaster says: "That part of Oregon within the boundary of the United States has, since the publication of the Ninth Census, been often included in the Louisiana purchase. This is wholly wrong. Never at any time did Oregon form part of Louisiana. Marbois denied it. Jefferson denied it. There is not a fragment of evidence in its behalf. Our claim to Oregon was derived, and derived solely, from the Florida treaty of 1819, the settlement at Astoria, the explorations of Lewis and Clark, and the discovery of the Columbia by Robert Gray."

It is the contention of Land Commissioner Hermann, who, a few years ago, made an exhaustive research as to the extent of the Louisiana purchase, that Oregon became

\* McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Vol. III, page 14.

a part of the United States, not by virtue of the treaty with Napoleon in 1803, but by reason of discovery in 1792, exploration in 1805, the Astoria settlement in 1811, and the Florida treaty in 1819.\* On page 72 Mr. Hermann sums up as follows:

"A claim West of the Rockies through our purchase of Louisiana by reason of contiguity is especially untenable, because the Western limit of Louisiana was sufficiently definite, it being known that the highlands at the head of the Mississippi and its tributary waters constituted the boundary. The claim of contiguity most often arises where there is uncertainty as to limit. In the case of the discovery and exploration of a river, it extends to the country drained by that river. This being determined as the accepted rule, what reasoning can justify a claim for an excess of territory on the ground of contiguity? Especially is it difficult to reconcile such a claim with justice where such excess is adversely claimed, as in the case of Spain to the country West of the Rockies, based on quite a good showing of long prior discovery and partial settlement."

Thomas Jefferson, under date of December 31, 1816, wrote to Mellish, the English geographer: "On the waters of the Pacific we can found no claim in right of Louisiana. If we claim that country at all, it must be on Astor's settlement near the mouth of the Columbia, and the principle of the *jus gentium* of America, that when a civilized nation takes possession of the mouth of a river in a new country, that possession is considered as including all its waters."

James O. Broadhead, of St. Louis, a distinguished statesman and scholar, says. "All these sources of information establish beyond a reasonable doubt the fact that by the treaty of 1803 the territory ceded by France to the

\*In 1900 this report was published by the Department of the Interior. It bears the title, "The Louisiana Purchase and Our Title West of the Rocky Mountains, by Binger Hermann."

United States embraced only the territory watered by the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and their tributaries."\*

In the crude maps of the close of the seventeenth century, Louisiana extended from the Rio Grande to the Mobile, from the Gulf to the headwaters of the Mississippi, and from the Smoky Mountains to the unknown regions of the West.† This claim rested on the right of discovery and of exploration; but a third basis, that of settlement, was added. Before the first quarter of the succeeding century was ended, the ensign of France waved over Biloxi, Mobile, Rosalie, Toulouse, Tombigbee, Natchitoches, Assumption, Cahokia and Chartres.

The boundary of Louisiana on the Southeast, bordering on the Spanish possession of Florida, became at once a source of trouble. It came about in this way: By the treaty of November 3, 1762, France gave up to England that part of Louisiana East of the Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville, thence through the Iberville to Lake Maurepas, and along the North shores of that lake and Pontchartrain to the Gulf. But England drew a line from the junction of the Yazoo and the Mississippi due East to the Appalachicola and down that river to the Gulf. This tract thus set off England called Florida West; the present State of Florida constituted Florida East. For twenty years this boundary was undisturbed, but in 1783, at the close of the Revolutionary War, England made the North boundary the thirty-first parallel and gave both Floridas to Spain.

\* Lecture before the Missouri Historical Society, "Extent of Territory Acquired by the Louisiana Purchase."

† The earliest of these maps is known as Franquelin's Great Map of 1684, a reproduction of which is before the writer. At about the South boundary of Missouri, it bends the Mississippi sharply to the West and marks it off down through what are now Oklahoma and New Mexico, and empties it into the Gulf on the West side thereof. Otherwise the map is remarkably accurate.

Spain thus received the two Floridas from England, and not from France. But West Florida had once formed part of Louisiana. By the treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain gave to France what she received from France in 1762, and not what she received from England in 1783,—“the same extent that it had when France possessed it.” But she did not receive Florida West from France in 1762, therefore by the terms of the cession she did not convey it to France in 1800. That seems plain and reasonable, and shows that the claim of the United States to the territory in dispute rested on very untenable grounds. But Jefferson and Madison contended that the purchase of 1803 included West Florida, because, forsooth, that tract had formed part of Louisiana prior to 1762, and Spain owned it in 1800! This was the situation on the Southeast, but we shall pursue the question no farther except to note that in 1810 the Spaniards yielded the strip between the Mississippi and the Pearl, “because it became too hot for them to hold,” and that the controversy was finally ended in 1819 by the cession of both Floridas to the United States.

The boundary on the Southwest was another prolific source of trouble. The dispute was not finally adjudicated until the treaty of 1844, closing the War with Mexico.

Louis XIV, in 1712, described Louisiana as extending to the Rio Grande (Del Norte), and a map published by Moll, the English geographer, thus locates it. In a later map published by Thomas Bowen, the Rio del Norte and the Rocky Mountains are made the Western boundary.

Says Thomas Jefferson in his letter to Mellish, to which reference is made above: “The Western boundary of Louisiana is, rightfully, the Rio Bravo (its main stream) from its mouth to its source, and thence along the highlands and mountains dividing the waters of the Mississippi from those of the Pacific.”

Justin Windsor, in his “Narrative and Critical History

of America," says: "The French claim was bounded by the Gulf of Mexico Westward to the Rio Grande, thence Northward to the rather vague watershed known as the Rocky Mountains."

We shall not burden our pages with a recital of the several efforts made between 1803 and 1819, to settle this vexatious question. Propositions and counter propositions, suggesting the reservation of certain strips along the border of the debatable ground as neutral territory, were made by this country and by Spain, but without attaining the desired end. Until 1819, the United States claimed the territory now embraced in Texas, but with the purchase of the Floridas it relinquished such claim. Subsequently it was revived by the settlers of this debatable territory themselves in their effort to establish an independent government, and by the annexation of the Lone Star Republic the United States again became a factor in the controversy, culminating in the War with Mexico and the acquisition not only of the territory in dispute prior to 1819, but also of a vast province extending Westward to the shores of the Pacific and Northward to the confines of Oregon.

Over the Northern boundary of Louisiana arose a fourth controversy. In 1818 a treaty was negotiated with Great Britain whereby it was agreed that the line between the United States and the English possessions should be drawn from the Northwestern extremity of the Lake of the Woods, North or South, as the case might require, to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, a line mentioned by President Monroe in 1804 as the boundary, and thence along that parallel Westward to the highest portion of the Rocky Mountains. How originated the impression that the commission appointed after the treaty of Utrecht (1713) settled upon this parallel, is a mystery. Subsequent researches disclose the fact that no mention was made of this or any other parallel. Indeed the commission agreed upon no

boundary whatever. But in 1818 there was little disagreement over this portion of the boundary. England was astonished that America asked so little. From the mountains to the Pacific, however, the controversy was long and bitter. The American contention formed the slogan of the presidential campaign of 1844—"Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" while England conceded nothing North of the Columbia River. Then, after it was finally agreed to continue the boundary along the forty-ninth parallel to the ocean, another controversy arose as to the "main channel" through the islands lying between the United States and Vancouver's Island. It was not until 1871 that the matter was finally settled, the Emperor of Germany, to whom the question was submitted "without appeal," giving to the United States everything our nation claimed.

From our investigation of the authorities at hand, we reach the following conclusions in regard to the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase:

(1) On the Southeast its bounds were the river Iberville and the North shores of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf.

(2) To the Southwest the territory extended to the Rio Grande del Norte.

(3) Its extent on the West was bounded by the Rocky Mountains.

(4) On the North the United States received all for which they asked, but was singularly modest in not asking for all to which they were entitled and which England would doubtless have relinquished.

Step by step have we traced the tedious course of diplomacy by which the great region known as Louisiana was ceded to our nation. Of all distinguishing events, barring those triumphs won by the arbitrament of the sword, none adds more luster to the Union than this bloodless acqui-



tion of a matchless empire, unexcelled in fertility of soil, unequaled in salubrity of climate, unsurpassed in the wealth of its mineral deposits, unparalleled in the diversity of its scenic beauties. Out of its broad acres have been carved fourteen states and territories, the wealth of any one of which is many times the sum paid Napoleon for the entire domain. The value of the purchase cannot be computed. Its possibilities cannot be estimated. Justly may the Sage of Monticello have been charged of being a dreamer of dreams, but could he return to earth in this year of grace which rounds out the first century to elapse since the consummation of the crowning act of his life, eclipsed would he find the wildest fancy of his Aladdin's lamp. When the ratification of the treaty was pending, the exigencies of the occasion brooked no delay. Already repenting of the hasty act whereby for a song he bartered away a princely domain, the First Consul was seeking a loophole by which the treaty could be abrogated. Spain, even then floundering in the bog of senility, registered protest after protest, not daring to go farther. Then it was that the President, keeping in abeyance his convictions in regard to the powers guaranteed by the constitution, braved the wrath of the Federalist party (which, like so many other parties in defeat, had degenerated into a party of obstructionists—the most contemptible of political conditions), rose grandly to the emergency, even though he had to “stretch the constitution until it cracked.” To his courageous hand alone is due the ratification of the treaty. In that noble galaxy of statesmen emblazoned high upon the escutcheon of national fame, will the names of Jefferson and Livingston and Monroe ever shine with a luster bedimmed by none. Let posterity ever reverence their memory. Let writer and orator weary not in eulogizing their genius and in keeping their deeds before the people—

“Lest we forget! Lest we forget!”

## THE EXPEDITION OF LEWIS AND CLARK.

**I**T HAS BEEN SAID that for almost twenty years prior to the purchase of Louisiana, Thomas Jefferson had nourished a plan to send an expedition to explore the unknown regions to the West of the Mississippi River. This plan was put into operation immediately after the ratification of the treaty, and even before the final transfer of the purchase to the United States the leaders had been selected, the plans perfected, and the necessary outfit procured. During the winter of 1803-4, the party designed for the expedition went into quarters at Cahokia, the Spanish commander at St. Louis, Delassus, refusing those in charge thereof permission to cross the Mississippi until the raising of the stars and stripes over the territory.

For this arduous task, President Jefferson selected Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The former was Jefferson's private secretary, while the latter was a brother of George Rogers Clark, some of whose exploits have been mentioned in these chapters.\* Both men had seen some military service, both came from families in which patriotism and ambition for renown in military duties were paramount, both were inured to the hardships of pioneer life. Subsequently, both served as governor of Missouri during her territorial period; and one of them (Lewis) came to an

\* See *ante*, page 79.

untimely, mysterious and violent death, generally believed to have been self-inflicted.

The work that devolved upon the leaders of this exploring party was by no means a trivial matter. It was primarily to blaze a path four thousand miles long through an unknown wilderness. Of the difficulties and dangers to be encountered, nothing was definitely known. Traders had ventured a few hundred miles up the Missouri, but Lewis and Clark were to follow that river to its source, cross over the divide and work their way as best they could to the shores of the Pacific. The task was by no means a light one, but the two young men sprang to it with commendable zeal.

Not only was the expedition to explore the unknown regions of the Upper Missouri, but a multitude of other duties were enjoined. The leaders were to take observations of latitude and longitude of all points of particular interest, the native tribes encountered were to be studied, the relations of these tribes with one another, the conditions of trade upon the Pacific coast, the contour of the land, the character and course of the streams, the conditions of the soil, the water-supply, the climatic conditions, the fauna and flora, and the natural resources were all to be noted and recorded.

"The headwaters of the Missouri were absolutely unknown; nobody had penetrated the great plains, the vast seas of grass through which the Platte, the Little Missouri, and the Yellowstone ran. What lay beyond them, and between them and the Pacific, was not even guessed at. The Rocky Mountains were not known to exist, so far as the territory newly acquired by the United States was concerned, although under the name of "Stonies" their Northern extremities in British America were already drawn on some maps."\*

\* Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," VI, Chap. 5.

The party that set out from St. Louis consisted of forty-five persons, including soldiers detailed, watermen, interpreters, volunteers, hunters, and one negro servant. All the men were enlisted in the regular army, that they might be under governmental protection and military discipline, and at least five of them kept journals. It is not our intention to follow them through the two years they spent in going to the Pacific coast and in returning, but only to note what their journals record during their passage through the territory included in the present State of Missouri.

The stores gathered for the expedition consisted of clothing, locks, flints, powder, ball, and fourteen bales and one box of articles intended for Indian presents. The party embarked in three boats, one being fifty-five feet long, propelled by a large sail and twenty-two oars. The others were small boats of six and seven oars respectively. Two horses, for use in bringing in game, were led along the banks of the river.

It was on the fourteenth of May, 1804, that the command broke camp and set out on its journey. On the 16th St. Charles was reached. Here there was a wait of several days. The village contained about one hundred houses of wood. In a previous chapter we have quoted a paragraph showing the conclusions of the voyagers in regard to the French inhabitants of St. Charles.\* Being joined by Captain Lewis whom business had detained at St. Louis, the party re-embarked on the 21st. On the 22nd they passed the American settlement on Bonhomme or Goodman's River, and on the next day reached the settlement at the mouth of Osage Woman River. On the night of the 25th the party encamped at the settlement called La Charette, and on the following day reached the mouth of the Gasconade, where a halt was made until the 29th for the purpose of hunting and drying the provisions, part of which had got-

\* See *ante*, page 97.

ten wet in passing some rapids. On the 31st, "a boat came down from the Grand Osage River, bringing a letter from a person sent to the Osage nation on the Arkansaw River, which mentioned that the letter announcing the cession of Louisiana was committed to the flames—that the Indians would not believe that the Americans were owners of the territory."

On June 1st the explorers reached the mouth of the Osage, one hundred and thirty-three miles from the Mississippi. It is mentioned that the Osage Indians who dwell upon this stream number between twelve and thirteen hundred warriors, and consist of three tribes—the Great Osages, the Little Osages, and the Arkansas band. It is also recorded in the journals of the party that a nightingale sang for them on the night of the third. On the next day search was made for a reputed lead mine, but no appearance of that mineral was discovered. Canoes and rafts from the upper waters of the territory, laden with furs, were met almost daily. On June 6th Saline River was reached, the water of which the explorers found quite brackish.

On the 7th the party landed at the mouth of Big Manitou Creek to examine a rock covered with uncouth paintings and inscriptions, but a den of rattlesnakes was stumbled upon, and three of the reptiles were killed. Licks and springs of salt abounded in this locality. The mouth of the Mine River was passed on the 8th. The water of this stream also was strongly impregnated with salt. Arrow Rock was passed on the following day, and on the 10th "two rivers called by the French the two Charatons, a corruption of Thieraton, the first of which is thirty, and the second seventy yards wide, and enter the Missouri together." Five miles above, the party went into camp, where they remained on the 11th on account of a heavy head wind. On the 12th, but nine miles were made, and on the 13th, after going some five miles (or a total of nineteen

miles from the mouths of the Charitons), two small streams called Round Bend Creeks, emptying on the North side, were reached. "Between these two creeks is the prairie in which once stood the ancient village of the Missouris. Of this village there remains no vestige, nor is there anything to recall this great and numerous nation, except a feeble remnant of about thirty families. They were driven from their original seats by the invasions of the Sauks and other Indians from the Mississippi, who destroyed at this village two hundred of them in one contest, and sought refuge near the Little Osage, on the other side of the river. The encroachments of these same enemies forced, about thirty years ago, both these nations from the banks of the Osage, and the remainder found an asylum on the river Platte, among the Ottoes, who are themselves declining. Opposite the plain there was an island and a French fort, but there is now no appearance of either, the successive inundations having probably washed them away, as the willow island which is in the situation described by Du Pratz, is small and of recent formation. Five miles from this place is the mouth of Grand River, where we encamped."

Before following further the steps of the Lewis and Clark exploring party, we shall notice briefly the matter of the location of Fort Orleans, about which writers on the history of Louisiana do not agree,—giving first the statements of some of these writers.

Parkman says (*A Half-Century of Conflict*, II, p. 15): "Bourgamont built a fort which he named Fort Orleans, and which stood on the Missouri not far above the mouth of Grand River."

Carr's "Missouri," p. 25: "There is reason to believe that it may have stood on the South side of the river, fifteen or twenty miles above the mouth of Grand River."

Peck's "Annals of the West," p. 671: "Accordingly,

M. de Bourgmont was dispatched with a considerable force to take possession of an island in the Missouri River, some distance above the mouth of the Osage, on which he built Fort Orleans."

Le Page du Pratz, in his "*Historie de la Louisiane*," says that Fort Orleans was situated on an island in the Missouri River, opposite a village of the nation of the same name.

Stoddard in his "Historical Sketches," says the fort was on an island in the Missouri, some distance above the mouth of the Osage.

It was about 1722 that Bourgmont was ordered to establish a fort on the Missouri. He left New Orleans with three boat loads of stores, thirty soldiers and several Canadians. He built a fort on an island opposite the village of the Missouris and established peace among the various tribes, but traders who came up the river in 1725 found the fort destroyed. The Iowa Indians are supposed to have attacked the fort and massacred the garrison (G. C. Broadhead, of St. Louis).

According to the measurements of the government engineers, the bend to which the Lewis and Clark journals refer is 255 miles above the mouth of the Missouri. The 240-mile point is one mile above the mouths of the Charitons. Bossu, in his "Travels in Louisiana," speaks of the fort's being near the town of the Missouris. Dutisne, who visited this nation in 1719, states that their village was eighty leagues up the Missouri. Charlevoix, in October, 1721, conversed with an Indian woman of this tribe who told him that her nation was the first to be met in going up the Missouri, and that its town was eighty leagues from the Mississippi. John Bradbury's Travels (1811) says: "We passed the site of a village on the Northeast side of the river once belonging to the Missouri tribe. Four miles above it are the remains of Fort Orleans. It is 240 miles above



the mouth of the Missouri." H. M. Brackenridge, 1811: "At 236 miles [above the mouth of the Missouri] there had been an ancient village of the Missouris, and near by formerly stood Fort Orleans."

The location of this village of the Missouris seems to be definitely ascertained, as all the authorities practically agree; while the weight of evidence places Fort Orleans on an island near by. The ancient fortification believed by some of the above writers to be the site of Fort Orleans, is up the river nineteen miles from Round Bend, though distant only ten miles as the bee flies, owing to a great bend in the stream.

We have dwelt at some length upon the question of the location of this fort. The boyhood home of the writer was between this bend mentioned by the Lewis and Clark journals and the ruins nineteen miles farther up the river—three miles from the first and seven from the latter. Now, Lewis and Clark to the contrary, there *is* an island at this precise location, covered fifty years ago with trees fully as large as those in the bottoms contiguous. Its appearance has been practically unchanged since the advent of the first settlers in that locality, which was not many years after the explorations by Lewis and Clark. It is true that the channel cutting this island from the main land is dry except when the water in the river approaches a high stage, but the writer has often seen a strong and deep current racing through said channel. The island is large,—some four or five miles in length. While the writer has often been on this island, he was never at its Eastern or lower extremity. No old settler familiar with the surroundings can believe otherwise than that this island (we never heard a specific name for it—as "The Island" it was known in that portion of Saline Co. n y) existed in 1804, and it is possible that at the time the explorers passed up the Missouri the river was at an ordinary stage, and that neither end of this channel

(the "old bed," it is designated locally) was noticed, as no water was flowing through it. As sandbars have formed across both the inlet and the outlet of the channel, it is probable that in 1722 the flow of water through it was constant, and not at intervals as it has been for the last century. Without doubt this channel at some remote period was the main bed of the river and the island was formed by a "cut-off."

The foregoing is the writer's explanation of the statement by Lewis and Clark that no island existed in 1804 at this bend in the Missouri.

We shall now resume the thread of our story, and notice briefly the record left by Lewis and Clark of their journey from the site of Fort Orleans to the Northwestern corner of Missouri. Eight miles above the mouth of Grand River, "Snake Bluffs" were reached, probably just above the present town of DeWitt. It is mentioned that the banks along this part of the stream were constantly falling in. That night the party encamped opposite a beautiful plain [Petitesas], which extended as far back as the Osage. In front of their camp were the remains of the village of the Little Osage [near the present town of Malta Bend], and three miles above was the situation of the old village of the Missouris after they had fled from the Sauks. The river here was about one mile wide. Tiger creek was passed on June 17th, and also panther island and a creek called Tabo. That night the party encamped near a lake two miles from the river and several in circumference. It is recorded that at this place mosquitoes were quite troublesome. The next morning Sauk prairie was reached, and several islands were passed. Clear Water creek next appeared, and a very remarkable bend on the North where a high rocky point projects into the Missouri. On the 23rd a high point on the South, where, in 1808, a fort and a fac-

tory were built, was passed. On the night of the 25th the party encamped opposite some high bluffs on the South bank that rose to the height of one hundred and sixty or more feet. On the next morning the explorers reached Blue Water creek, up which a few miles quarries of plaster of paris were afterwards opened. On that evening the mouth of the Kansas or Kaw was reached. Here the party remained several days.

On June 30th, the mouth of Petite Platte was passed. A number of islands were found in this portion of the Missouri. A vast amount of drift wood was encountered on July 2nd; also a place where the current was unusually swift. A large island called by the Indians Wau-car-da-war-card-da was also passed, just above which were the ruins of an old village of the Kansas, and near by the site of a small French fort, the chimneys of which were standing. The national holiday was spent in the vicinity of St. Joseph and Lake Contrary. It is recorded that the river was getting quite low, while the weather was hot and sultry. The Nodaway River was reached on July 8th; also a large island of the same name. Wolf River was passed on the 9th. Wild rye and wild potatoes were abundant in this vicinity. Tarkio creek was reached on the 11th; also a small river called the Nemahaw.

Indian mounds were noticed in this vicinity. The plains or river bottoms were covered with grass five feet high. An abundance of plums and grapes were found. A cliff covered with Indian inscriptions was noticed. Early on the 13th Big Tarkio was passed. On the next day a squall was encountered, and the boats barely escaped being swamped. An abandoned trading house was seen on this day. Shortly afterwards a stream called Nishnabotana was reached. Wild timothy, lambsquarter, cuckleberries, plums, grapes and gooseberries grew on its banks. The Little Nemahaw was passed on July 15th. Wild cherries and hazelnuts were noticed during this day.

Nothing else of interest within the present limits of Missouri was seen. It is on record that the general health of the party was good, though for a month past the men had been "greatly troubled with biles" (boils), which, however, invariably disappeared after a few days, with no other treatment than a poultice of elm or Indian meal. With the incidents of the journey after passing out of the present bounds of the state we are not here concerned, though every page of the journals is crowded with material of intense interest to the student of this period. After reaching the mountains our explorers met with many exciting adventures. Two years later the party returned to St. Louis with the loss of but a single man. Thus ended the most important exploring trip ever undertaken by our government, and the information the party gained was of inestimable value.\*

In August, 1805, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike set out from St. Louis to explore the upper Mississippi. He, also, kept a very full journal of the incidents of each day; but there is recorded therein very little of interest concerning his journey along the present Northeastern margin of Missouri. He writes of the tributary streams, the settlers, the timber, the soil, and the condition of the Mississippi. Of a Frenchman who had settled about seven miles below the river Jauflione (later called the Jefferion, and now the Fabius), and who had married a woman of the Sac Nation, Pike says: "His cattle were in fine order, but his corn was in a bad state of cultivation. About a mile above his house, on the West shore, is a very handsome hill, which he informed me is level on top, with a gradual descent on either side, and a fountain of fine water."

In 1806, Pike had charge of a second exploring ex-

\* In the foregoing synopsis of the travels of Lewis and Clark through Missouri, we have followed the journals of the explorers in the matter of names and the spelling thereof.

pedition, leaving Belle Fontaine, near St. Louis, on July 15th and going by boats up the Missouri, arriving at the mouth of the Osage on the 28th. Thence the party followed this stream as far as navigable. In charge of Pike were fifty-one Osage and Pawnee Indians who were being returned to their tribes. The journal describes in detail the meeting between these Indians and their friends. At the town of the Osages the explorers were treated to a sleight-of-hand performance, the account of which we quote, as it illustrates a phase of Indian characteristics but little known:

"They commenced the tragedy-comedy by putting a large butcher knife down their throats; the blood appearing to run during the operation very naturally; the scene was continued by putting sticks through the nose, swallowing bones and taking them out at the nostrils, etc. At length one fellow demanded of me what would I give him if he would run a stick through his tongue and let another person cut off the piece. I replied, 'a shirt.' He then apparently performed his promise, with great pain, forcing a stick through his tongue, and then giving a knife to a bystander, who appeared to cut off the piece, which he held to the light, for the satisfaction of the audience, and then joined it to his tongue and by a magical charm healed the wound immediately. On demanding of me what I thought of the performance, I replied that I would give him twenty shirts if he would let me cut a piece from his tongue. This disconcerted him a great deal, and I was sorry I made the observation."

The journey was continued Westward to Pike's Peak (discovered by this expedition and named in honor of its leader), thence South into New Mexico.

On the 26th of March, 1804 (only sixteen days after the transfer of Upper Louisiana to Captain Stoddard), President Jefferson approved the act of Congress dividing the

purchase into two parts, That portion North of the thirty-third parallel of latitude constituted the District of Louisiana and was attached to the Territory of Indiana, of which William Henry Harrison was governor. Captain Stoddard, in October following, was relieved of his duties as civil commandant under the appointment of Governor Claiborne, at New Orleans, with all the powers of a Spanish lieutenant-governor.

One section of the above-mentioned act of Congress was conducive of much dissatisfaction among the inhabitants. It was, in substance, that the United States would recognize no grant of land in the purchase, made subsequent to the treaty of San Ildefonso. A remonstrance to Congress was signed on the 29th of September, over half of the petitioners being unquestionably of French extraction—demonstrating how quickly they exercised their new prerogatives as citizens of a Republic. No action upon this remonstrance was ever taken, but on the 3rd of March, 1805, Jefferson attached his signature to a bill erecting the district into a territory of the first or lowest grade, giving it the title of Territory of Louisiana. No mention was made of the Spanish grants, and it was not until April, 1814, that Congress enacted a measure, confirming all the grants made by the Spanish governors between October 1, 1800, and March 10, 1804. The aversion of the government to confirming these grants seems to have arisen from the fact that many of them were fraudulently issued, but the great clamor thereat convinced the officials that it was better to lose the lands thus granted and allay the feeling of distrust.

The first governor of the new territory was General James Wilkinson. Associated with him as chief justice was J. B. C. Lucas, and as secretary Dr. Joseph Browne, a brother-in-law of Aaron Burr.

“In 1805 Wilkinson was made governor of Louisiana, and it was in that year that Burr came West. Burr had



just served a term as Vice President of the United States, having been defeated for the presidency by a very narrow majority vote of the House of Representatives. Burr came West to revolutionize Mexico, make himself its ruler and attach all the territory West of the Alleghenies to his new dominion. Burr visited Wilkinson and it was charged that the governor had secretly acquiesced to Burr's plan. The scheme failed, and Burr was, in 1807, put on trial for conspiracy and treason. Wilkinson was one of the principal witnesses against Burr. In 1808 Wilkinson was tried as accessory to Burr, but no case could be proven against him. Wilkinson, besides his relations with Burr, was disliked by the people on account of his speculations in land and was removed after officiating in the executive capacity for about two years."

Colonel Hammond served *ad interim* in the capacity of governor. Shortly afterward Lewis and Clark returned from their successful exploring trip, and their achievement created such admiration for these two young men that in the spring of 1807 Captain Lewis was appointed governor of the territory.

Immigration into the purchase greatly increased. At every ferry was a constant stream of people seeking homes beyond the Father of Waters. By 1810 the population was double the number given at the beginning of the new century. As this tide encroached upon the lands held by the Indians, there were negotiated with the red men several treaties by which all the lands held by them within the present limits of the state, excepting certain territory in the Northwest corner thereof, were ceded to the government. In some cases a part of the Indians effected protested against the transfer, but no serious results followed these treaties. In 1809 occurred the tragic death of Meriwether Lewis. Benjamin Howard was his successor, filling the office with honor to himself and advantage to the territory



until his resignation in 1810 to accept an appointment as Brigadier General of Rangers. Captain William Clark, as associate of Meriwether Lewis, succeeded Howard as governor. This brings us to the "Territory of Missouri."

## THE NEW MADRID EARTHQUAKE.



SINCE THE DAY Columbus first set foot on the North American continent, no other seismic disturbance has equaled in disastrous results the great New Madrid earthquake of 1811-12. Its greatest force was manifested at the settlement of Little Prairie, some twenty-five miles below the town from which the great upheaval takes its title. New Madrid was originally one of the old Spanish forts, established about the time that Laclede blazed the trees for the site of St. Louis. In 1787, one Colonel George Morgan, an American officer, obtained a grant for the land about the Spanish fort and laid out a town on a scale that rivaled its old-world namesake. But Morgan fell into disfavor with the Spanish officials, the grant was revoked, and governors were sent to New Madrid, one of whom was our friend, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus. After the purchase of Louisiana, Americans flocked into the territory and other settlements sprang up rapidly. New Madrid, by 1811, had become a town of considerable importance, much frequented by boatmen in their voyages up and down the Mississippi, and many was the time its streets resounded with their Bacchanalian orgies and carousals. The inhabitants were made up of English, French, Spanish, Indians and negroes; while the visitors were boatmen, hunters, trappers, traders and gamblers.

The first shock of the earthquake startled the inhabitants from their slumbers about two o'clock on the morning of December 16th—though some writers put the occurrence during the night following the 16th—and was repeated with decreasing violence for several weeks. On January 23rd—or February 4th some say—occurred another shock equal in violence to the first and characterized by the same frightful effects.

It is related that a certain murkiness was noticed in the atmosphere on the day preceding the first great shock, and some even claimed that an odor of sulphur was perceptible, but that statement cannot be verified. On the night of the first shock, a flotilla of flatboats (by means of which craft the transportation of commodities between St. Louis and New Orleans and the intervening settlements was effected) was moored near New Madrid. The boatmen described the shock as most terrific and of a nature to appall the hearts of the stoutest.

The undulations of the earth and the turmoil of the waters of the river filled every living creature with indescribable terror. "The ducks, geese, swans and other aquatic fowls that were quietly resting in the eddies of the Mississippi gave evidences of the wildest tumult in screams of alarm. A loud roaring sound, which has been likened to subterranean thunder, was accompanied by a hissing as of steam escaping from a pipe, and attended by a violent agitation of the adjacent shore. Sandbars and points of islands were swallowed in the bosom of the deep, while the tall cottonwoods, crashing against each other and tossing their giant arms to and fro, disappeared in the voracious abyss."

One of the boatmen describes the incidents in the following picturesque language, as recorded by Dr. Hildreth: "Directly loud roaring and hissing were heard, accompanied by the most violent agitation of the shores and boiling

up of the waters of the Mississippi in huge swells, and rolling the waters below back on the descending stream, and tossing the boats about so violently that the men with difficulty could keep their feet. The water of the river was changed to a reddish hue and became thick with mud thrown up from the bottom, while the surface was covered with foam which gathered in masses the size of a barrel and floated about on the trembling waters. The earth on the shores opened in wide fissures and closing again, threw the water and sand and mud, in huge jets, higher than the trees. The atmosphere was filled with thick vapor, to which the light imparted a purplish tinge. The river rose in a few minutes five or six feet, and then rushed forward with redoubled impetuosity, hurrying along the boats now let loose by the horror-struck boatmen. Many boats were overwhelmed by the falling earth and trees, and the crews perished with them. The sulphurated gases discharged during the shocks tainted the air with their noxious effluvia, and so strongly impregnated the water of the river to the distance of one hundred and fifty miles below that it could not be used for any purpose for a number of days."

Perhaps the most graphic and trustworthy description of these disturbances is that written on March 22, 1816, by Mrs. Eliza Bryan, of New Madrid, to the famous pioneer preacher, Lorenzo Dow, and published in his works in 1850, at page 344. We quote a portion of her letter:

"On the 16th of December, 1811, about two o'clock A. M., we were visited by a violent shock of an earthquake, accompanied by a very awful noise resembling loud but distant thunder, but more hoarse and vibrating, which was followed in a few minutes with a complete saturation of the atmosphere with sulphurous vapor, causing total darkness. The screams of the affrighted inhabitants running to and fro, not knowing where to go or what to do, the cries of the fowls and beasts of every species, the cracking of the trees

falling and the roaring of the Mississippi—the current of which was retrograde for a few minutes, owing, as is supposed, to an interruption in its bed—formed a scene truly horrible. From that time until about sunrise a number of lighter shocks occurred, at which time one still more violent than the first took place, with the same accompaniments as the first; and the terror which had been excited in everyone, and, indeed, in all animal nature, was now, if possible, doubled. The inhabitants fled in every direction to the country, supposing (if it can be admitted that their minds were exercised at all) that there was less danger at a distance from than near to the river. In one person, a female, the alarm was so great that she fainted and could not be recovered. There were several shocks each day, but lighter than those already mentioned, until January 23, 1812, when one occurred as violent as the severest of the former ones, accompanied by the same phenomena of the former. From this time until the 4th of February, the earth was in continual agitation, visibly waving as a gentle sea. On that day there was another shock nearly as hard as the preceding ones. Next day four such, and on the 7th, about four o'clock A. M., a concussion took place so much more violent than those which had preceded it that it was denominated the hard shock. The awful darkness of the atmosphere, which, as formerly, was saturated with sulphurous vapor, and the violence of the tempestuous thundering noise that accompanied it, together with all the other phenomena mentioned as attending the former ones, formed a scene the description of which would require the most sublimely fanciful imagination. At first the Mississippi seemed to recede from its banks, leaving for a moment many boats, which were here on their way to New Orleans, on the bare sand, in which time the poor sailors made their escape from them. It rose fifteen or twenty feet perpendicularly, and expanding, as it were, at the same moment,

the banks overflowed with a retrograde current, rapid as a torrent, the boats which before had been left on the sand were now torn from their moorings and suddenly driven up a little creek, at the mouth of which they laid, to the distance, in some instances, of nearly a quarter or a mile. The river, falling immediately as rapidly as it had risen, receded within its banks again with such violence that it took with it whole groves of young cottonwood trees which edged its borders. They were broken off with such regularity in some instances that persons who had not witnessed the fact would be with difficulty persuaded that it had not been the work of man.

"A great many fish were left upon the banks, being unable to keep pace with the waters. The river was literally covered with the wrecks of boats. In all the hard shocks mentioned, the earth was horribly torn to pieces—the surface of hundreds of acres was from time to time covered over at various depths by sand which issued from the fissures that were made in great numbers all over this country, some of which closed up immediately after they had vomited forth their sand and water, which, it must be remarked, was the matter generally thrown up. In some places, however, there was a substance somewhat resembling coal or impure stone coal, thrown up with the sand. It is impossible to say what the depth of the fissures or irregular breaks was. We have reason to believe that some of them were very deep. The site of this town was violently settled down at least fifteen feet, and not more than half a mile below the town there does not appear to be any alteration in the bank of the river, but back from the river a small distance the numerous ponds, or lakes as they were called, which covered a great part of the country, are nearly dried up. The beds of some of them are elevated above their former banks several feet, producing an alteration of ten, fifteen or twenty feet from their original state.

"Lately it has been discovered that a lake was formed on the opposite side of the Mississippi, in the Indian country, upward of one hundred miles in length and from one to six miles in width, of the depth of from fifteen to fifty feet. We were constrained, for fear of our houses falling, to live twelve or eighteen months after the first shocks in little camps made of boards, but we gradually became callous and returned to our homes again. Most of those who fled from the country in the time of the hard shocks have since returned home. We have felt, since their commencement in 1811, and still continue to feel, slight shocks occasionally. It is seldom indeed that we are more than a week without feeling one, and sometimes three or four in a day. Since they appear to be lighter now than they have ever been, we begin to hope that ere long they will entirely cease."

Scientific investigators say that the New Madrid earthquake was the longest disturbance of the kind on record as occurring remote from a volcano. Another strange coincidence is the fact that the last severe shock occurred on the same day that Caraccas, in South America, was destroyed—March 26, 1812.

The catastrophe invaded the country on both banks of the Mississippi. The most remarkable result was that after the convulsions, hills had disappeared and lakes were found in their location; and many lakes became elevated ground that has since been cultivated. It is proper, however, to remark in passing that the scene of these seismic disturbances is a comparatively level region, principally in the Mississippi bottoms.

In 1836, Senator Lewis F. Linn, of Missouri, in a letter to the Senate Committee on Commerce, says in part: "The earth rocked to and fro, vast chasms opened, from whence issued columns of water, sand and coal, accompanied by hissing sounds, caused, perhaps, by the escape of pent-up steam, while ever and anon flashes of electricity



gleamed through the troubled clouds of night, rendering the darkness doubly horrible. . . . The day that succeeded this night of terror brought no solace in its dawn. Shock followed shock; a dense black cloud of vapor overshadowed the land, through which no struggling ray of sunlight found its way to cheer the desponding heart of man. Hills had disappeared, and lakes were found in their stead. One of these lakes formed on this occasion is sixty or seventy miles in length, and from three to twenty in breadth. It is in some places very shallow; in others from fifty to one hundred feet deep, which is much more than the depth of the Mississippi River in that quarter. In sailing over its surface in a light canoe, the voyager is struck with astonishment at beholding the giant trees of the forest standing partially exposed amid a waste of waters, branchless and leafless. But the wonder is still further increased on casting the eye on the dark blue profound, to observe canebreaks covering the bottom, over which a mammoth species of testudo is seen dragging its slow length along, while countless myriads of fish are sporting through the aquatic thickets."

John Bradbury, from whose book we have quoted in the preceding chapter, was near Little Prairie on the night of December 15th, and his account of the earthquake agrees substantially with those quoted above. At Cape Girardeau brick and stone houses were badly cracked, while at St. Louis fowls fell from trees as if dead, crockery fell from shelves, and many families rushed from their cabins which they feared would fall. The damaged and upturned part of the country was some one hundred and fifty miles in circumference, with Little Prairie (now Caruthersville) as the center. The total amount of land submerged by the disturbance is estimated at 2,150 square miles. It is related that in Pemiscot county there lived a farmer not far from the river of the same name. Just back of his dwell-

ing stood his smokehouse. On the morning after the first great shock, the farmer and his family were amazed at the sight of their smokehouse standing at some distance away and the little river peacefully flowing between it and their cabin, through a great fissure that had been formed. Audubon, the famous ornithologist, was traveling on horseback on the Kentucky side of the Mississippi, and has placed on record his experiences during one of the shocks. His steed refused to move, and spread out its legs to brace itself. "All the trees and shrubs began to move from their very roots, the ground rose and fell in successive furrows, like the ruffled waters of a lake. Who can tell the sensations I experienced when I found myself rocking, as it were, upon my horse, and moving to and fro like a child in its cradle?"

Godfrey LeSieur was a resident of New Madrid at the time, and years afterwards (in 1871), in a letter to State Geologist Hagar, he writes: "Wide and long fissures were left, running North and South, parallel with each other for miles. I have seen some four or five miles in length, four and a half feet deep on an average, and about ten feet wide. After December 16th, slight shocks were felt until January 7th, 1812, when the country was again visited by an earthquake equal to the first in violence, and characterized by the same frightful results. Then it was that the cry of '*saue qui peut!*' [save himself who can] arose among the people, and all but two families left the country, abandoning their property, consisting of cattle, hogs, horses, and portions of their household effects."

Amid all these convulsions, but two casualties occurred. One was Mrs. Lafont, whose death from fright is mentioned by Mrs. Bryan. Mrs. Jarvis was fatally injured by the fall of her cabin. The dwellings were one-story structures, and the most of them were built of logs. The boatmen claimed that some of their comrades were drowned in the wild tumult of waters. It is known that one

clung for several hours to the branches of a tree lodged in the river, while a mad current of muddy water whirled beneath him.

Congress attempted to reimburse the unfortunate settlers in the loss of land they had sustained, and gave them permission to re-locate on any of the then unclaimed public lands of the State, no location, however, to embrace more than one section. Land pirates and speculators took advantage of the catastrophe and speculated on the "claims," manufacturing many by fraud and perjury. This gave rise to almost endless litigation. The greater part of the earthquake sufferers took claims in the Boone's Lick country, North of the Missouri River.

Near Union City and Hickman, partly in Kentucky and partly in Tennessee, is Reelfoot Lake, so called, according to William F. Switzler, from a reel-footed Frenchman who lived on its borders. Here it is supposed the roof of a mighty cavern was shaken down by the earthquake, "forming a lake broader and deeper than the Sea of Galilee." The lofty forest trees disappeared, and now a modern lake of crystal clearness appears where before were marshy lowlands. A recent letter to Mr. Switzler from a resident of the vicinity states that this lake is thirty-one miles long, and twelve miles wide, the normal depth being ten feet, though in places the depth is fifty or sixty.

It will be noticed that in the above extracts from eyewitnesses and others, there is, in regard to the severe shocks subsequent to that of December 16, 1811, some confusion of dates. This may be accounted for by the fact that these accounts were written some years after the great disturbance, and also by the fact that there seems to have been several severe shocks, with possibly a difference of opinion as to which was the most appalling.

## DANIEL BOONE IN MISSOURI.



FROM the great New Madrid earthquake to Daniel Boone may be a far cry, but it serves to illustrate the diversity of subjects involved in the history of our commonwealth. Furthermore, the rugged pioneer, hunter and Indian fighter deserves a passing notice in these pages. He it was who blazed a path for emigrants from North Carolina, through the fastnesses of the Cumberland Mountains, a barrier previously deemed impassible, into the rich verdant plains and productive sylvan solitudes beyond, even as the Argonauts sailed between the Pillars of Hercules to reach the Golden Fleece. Boone was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, probably in 1735, though some writers place the date of his birth as early as 1732; had married and several children had come to his home ere he led that first party of homeseekers into that paradise afterward fittingly named "The Dark and Bloody Ground." Thither, too, came other indomitable spirits who carved for themselves niches in the American Temple of Fame,—Sevier and Robertson and Shelby and Campbell, whose homes were farther toward the Magnolia-perfumed land, on the banks of the historic Watauga; heroes all, the luster of whose names will never be dimmed by the brilliancy of any future achievements by those who owe allegiance to the Stars and Stripes. To bring about this repellant appellation to this favored region, Boone, of necessity, contributed

no mean part. On the bastions at Boonesboro he stood through flaming sun or kept the lonely vigils of midnight, anon exchanging shots with treacherous savages when never once did his bullets fail to reach the mark; thrice was he a prisoner in the hands of red foes; his favorite daughter was carried away into captivity, to be speedily rescued by Boone and a few others as fearless and as proficient in woodcraft and in Indian cunning as himself; one son, while leading a party of pioneers through the trackless forests over the mountain barrier, fell under the pitiless fire of ambushed savages, while another was left lifeless on the bloody field at Blue Licks; through his ignorance of law and contempt for legal forms, the subject of this sketch lost vast tracts of land in Kentucky, and again, later, in Missouri: yet through all these vicissitudes he "preserved his honest simplicity, his unswerving integrity, and his unfaltering faith in himself, the future of his country, and his God."

Through a dislike for, and a disregard of, legal forms, Boone had failed to perpetuate his title to the lands upon which he had located in Kentucky, and in his old age found himself deprived of his possessions, the right to which he never dreamed would be questioned. He removed to Point Pleasant, on the Kanawha, in Virginia, but after several years, the accounts given by a party of friends of the wondrous fertility of the soil and the abundance of game in the territory out of which Missouri was afterward carved, fired anew the heart of the aged pioneer as it had been forty years before. Accordingly, about 1797, he turned his back upon the scene of his early triumphs and sufferings and crossed the broad Mississippi into the Spanish domain, governed at that time by Carlos Dehault Delassus.

In the Femme Osage settlement, some forty-five miles West of St. Louis, Boone built his cabin. His fame had preceded him to that remote region. Having renounced his allegiance to the United States and taken the oath of

fidelity to the red and yellow ensign that floated over his new home, he was, in 1800, made Commandant or Syndic of the new Femme Osage District, an office which included both civil and military duties. This office he filled with credit until the transference of the territory to the United States. After that time it appears that the aged backwoodsman made his home first with his son, Daniel M., then with another son, Nathan, and finally with a son-in-law, Flanders Callaway.

Boone was now too old to join in the excitement of the chase, but game was plentiful in the woods about his cabin homes and many a day found him abroad with his trusty rifle, attended by a negro boy. Once or twice he discovered Indians in his vicinity, but as his mind retained all its activity, he easily eluded them. In the exercise of his functions as Syndic, he was governed more by honesty and common sense than by a knowledge of law. And he was as fearless as in those days when no danger was of sufficient magnitude to intimidate him. Once he had occasion to publicly reprimand a desperado. When the latter intimated that only the age of the Syndic saved him from punishment, Boone exclaimed, "You coward; let not my gray hairs stand in the way. Old as I am, I am young enough to whip the like of you." And the ruffian slunk away. It is also told that when a miserly fellow seized a cow belonging to a poor widow to satisfy a claim, Boone rendered his decision thus: "The widow owes you, Tim Turley; yet you are a scoundrel to take her only cow. The law says you shall have it. Take it and go, but never look an honest man in the face again." Turning to the widow he said, "Let him have it; I'll give you a better one," and he did that very day.

When Boone settled on the Femme Osage, the Spanish governor made him a grant of a thousand arpents of land (about 850 acres), and later, for bringing a hundred



families from Kentucky and Virginia into the new territory, he was the recipient of an additional grant of ten thousand arpents. To perfect the grants, it was necessary that they be confirmed by the representative of the crown at New Orleans. Boone was assured by the officials at St. Louis that this matter should receive their careful attention, but after the purchase by Jefferson it was discovered that the renowned pioneer, like hundreds of other settlers, had not the shadow of a title to his claims. Subsequently, by a special act of congress, adopted on February 10th, 1814, his title to the first grant was confirmed.

During the time that Boone made his home with his son-in-law, Flanders Callaway, Audubon, the great naturalist, spent a night with him. Audubon left on record this statement: "Daniel Boone, or as he was usually called in the Western country, Colonel Boone, happened to spend a night with me under the same roof, more than twenty years ago. We had returned from a shooting excursion, in the course of which his extraordinary skill in the use of the rifle had been fully displayed. On retiring to the room appropriated to that remarkable individual and myself, I felt anxious to know more of his exploits and adventures than I did, and according took the liberty of proposing numerous questions to him. The stature and general appearance of this wanderer of the Western forests approaches the gigantic. His chest was broad and prominent; his muscular powers displayed themselves in every limb; his countenance gave indication of his great courage, enterprise and perseverance, and when he spoke, the very motion of his lips brought the impression that whatever he uttered could not be otherwise than strictly true. I undressed, whilst he merely took off his hunting shirt, and arranged a few folds of blankets on the floor, choosing rather to be there, as he observed, than on the softest bed."

The closing years of Boone's life were devoted to his



children and grandchildren, of whom he was extremely fond. Frequent visits were made to the homes of his sons Daniel and Nathan, and his coming was always made the occasion of an ovation to "Grandfather Boone," as he was affectionately termed by those relatives and neighbors who held him in such high esteem. His days, in this period of his declining years, were occupied in making powderhorns and other articles for his grandchildren and neighbors, and in repairing rifles.

On the 18th of March, 1813, the aged pioneer was deprived by death of his wife and companion of many years—Rebecca Bryan—at the age of seventy-six. Her remains were interred on the summit of a hill commanding a splendid view of the Missouri River, and situated a mile from the town of Marthasville, in Warren County. From this time, it is said, Boone took little interest in his surroundings and the affairs of his companions.

In the latter part of the summer of 1820, Boone was seized with a severe attack of fever, but he rallied therefrom, and was able to make his accustomed visit to his son Nathan, on the Femme Osage. After a few days a dish of baked sweet potatoes (of which he was passionately fond) was prepared for him. He ate heartily of them, and shortly afterward had a serious attack of stomach trouble, from which he never recovered. After a few days' illness, he expired on September 26th, 1820, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. The house in which he died was a substantial stone structure (said to have been the first erected of this material in the State), two stories in height, and is still standing.

The remains of the famous frontiersman were placed in a cherry coffin which he himself had made some years anterior, and conveyed to the home of Flanders Callaway, to be laid to rest beside those of his beloved wife on the hill near by. The funeral sermon was delivered by Rev.

James Craig, the husband of a niece of the deceased, and the house being too small to accommodate the concourse of people who had assembled to pay a last tribute to their distinguished neighbor, the corse was taken to a large barn close at hand and the services there held. At the time of Boone's death, the constitutional convention of Missouri was in session in St. Louis, and on receipt of the news, adjournment was had for one day.

In 1845, a new cemetery was dedicated by the citizens of Frankfort, Kentucky, and it was proposed to consecrate the ground by interring therein the ashes of Daniel Boone and his wife. The Kentucky legislature appointed a committee to superintend the removal of the remains. At first Harvey Griswold, on whose premises were the graves of the pioneers, objected to their removal from the hill selected by Boone himself as their final resting place, but after much importunity he yielded. On July 17th, 1845, the bodies were disinterred, and on the 20th of the following month were reinterred in the new cemetery, with imposing ceremonies and in the presence of a vast assemblage of people. Addresses were delivered by Hon. John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, and Joseph B. Wells, of Missouri. An imposing monument now marks the graves of the famous pioneer and his wife.

## INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS AND ATTACKS.



WHILE no engagement of historical importance took place between the pioneer settlers of Missouri and the aborigines of their vicinity, there were many personal encounters and Indian attacks in which it was demonstrated that the whites were of the same clay as their ancestors in Kentucky and Virginia. Even the sluggish French, in desperate emergencies, aroused from their characteristic lethargy and performed prodigies of personal valor as became the descendants of those valliant knights who followed to victory the white plume of Navarre. In carving the way for the peaceable and prosperous career of the multitude that came after, the gentler sex, too, came in for a generous meed of praise. Many of these stories of early trials and triumphs are lost, or exist only as traditions; but a few are preserved in print for the edification of the present and future generations. To present the most noted and picturesque of these is now our purpose.

At the time of which we write, Cedar creek, which now separates the counties of Callaway and Boone, was considered the Western boundary of St. Charles District. The country above this stream constituted the "Boone's Lick" settlements, from the fact that, in 1807, the sons of Daniel Boone had manufactured salt in the vicinity. As early as 1808 Cote Sans Dessein was a French hamlet in this

locality. Two years later many enterprising persons had pushed into the wilderness and begun settlements within the present limits of Howard County. The large salt springs or licks in this neighborhood offered unparalleled inducements to settlers. The Boone's Lick settlement, in 1812, contained about one hundred and fifty families. They were beyond the limits of organized government, but several ministers of the gospel were among them, and they seem to have been a quiet and orderly people.

This settlement was at all times subject more or less to Indian depredations. On the Moniteau, North of the Missouri, lived the Sauks, who, while professing friendship, stole horses and committed other depredations. On the Petitesas plains, in what is now Saline County, was a village of the Miamis, who were accused of thieving and sometimes of murder. But the source of the greatest depredations was the Pottawatomies, Foxes, Iowas and Kickapoos. It is said that the first of these tribes stole about three hundred horses from the white settlers. For two years the gallant pioneers, unaided, defended their families from the red men. Every man, and every boy large enough to load a rifle, was a soldier; and not infrequently the women aided in the defense of their hearthstones. From the unwritten lives of the heroes of these settlements, there have come down to us the names of Colonel Benjamin Cooper and Sarshall Cooper (his son), William Head, and Stephen Cole. For their defense the people erected five forts,—Hemstead, near the present site of New Franklin; Cooper's, near the old Boone's Lick; Kincaid's, above the site of old Franklin; Head's, on the Moniteau; and Cole's, South of the Missouri. There were also several smaller stockades in the territory. Near these forts were large cornfields, and often sentinels stood guard while the tillers cultivated the fields. If danger threatened, the winding of a horn warned all abroad to hasten to the fort.

The lives of a number of settlers were sacrificed in these sanguinary conflicts with the Indians, while many persons were shot down or tomahawked by the unseen foe, skulking in ambush. The most tragic death was that of Sarshall Cooper, killed at his own fireside at Cooper's Fort. It was on a dark and stormy night, the winds howled dismally as they swept through the adjacent forests, and in no breast rested a suspicion that danger was near. But a lone warrior, skulking abroad in quest of scalps, crept silently to the wall of Captain Cooper's cabin, which formed one side of the fort. Stealthily he picked at a space between the logs until he made an opening large enough to admit the muzzle of his rifle, which the savage discharged with deadly effect. Mr. Cooper was sitting by the fire, holding in his arms his youngest child, several other children were playing about the room, while his wife was engaged in domestic duties. At the crash of the rifle, Cooper fell lifeless to the floor. He was a man of rare virtues, fearless in the Indian skirmish, tireless on the trail, and equaled by few in his knowledge of Indian cunning.

At the village of Cote Sans Dessein (Hill Without Design) the French settlers had built a fort or stockade. The leading man of the settlement was Batiste Louis Roy. Once the fort was assailed by a large party of Indians, but Roy and two other men made a gallant defense. Madame Roy and another woman in the fort moulded bullets, loaded rifles, and prepared refreshments for the men, one of whom, so it is written, showed the white feather. Failing to carry the stockade by assault, the red men attempted to set it on fire. Several times was the roof ablaze, but Madame Roy and her companion, shouting to the men to stick to their posts, climbed a ladder to a trap-door in the roof and extinguished the flames again and again, exhausting the supply of water, the milk in the kitchen, and, according to some chroniclers, when the gallant defenders were about to give

up in despair, utilized the contents of another household vessel. Be that as it may, the Indians, after repeated efforts, failed to fire the stockade, and were held in check until the arrival of reinforcements, attracted by the sound of the firing. Afterwards the young men of St. Louis, in recognition of his gallant defense of Cote Sans Dessein, presented to Roy a splendid silver-mounted rifle, but the fiery Frenchman, taking umbrage at a thoughtless jest in which his wife was mentioned, spurned the gift with indignation and contempt.

In July, 1810, a party of Indians, probably Pottawatomies, came into the settlement at the upper part of Loutre Island, nearly opposite the mouth of the Gasconade River, and stole a number of horses. A party consisting of Stephen Cooper, William T. Cole, Messrs. Brown, Gooch, Patton and one other (name unknown) followed the savages to the vicinity of Boone's Lick, on a branch of Salt River. Here the Indians were discovered, but they threw away their packs and plunder and scattered in the woods. Night coming on, the pursuers struck camp and lay down to sleep. Stephen Cole remonstrated against such carelessness and proposed a guard, but the others hooted at his suggestion as an evidence of cowardice. In the silence of the night there burst over the slumbering camp an Indian yell, followed by the crash of deadly rifles. But the frontiersmen were not panic-stricken. Those unhurt sprang to their weapons. Stephen Cole, though himself severely wounded, killed four Indians and wounded a fifth. His brother William, and two others of the pursuers were killed. Those who escaped reached the settlements next morning, bearing the dreadful tidings. A party returned to the scene of the surprise and buried the dead, but no Indians were seen.

In 1812, the Indians were incited by British agents to hostilities against the settlers. An express came down the Mississippi from Fort Madison, traveling on the ice in a

sleigh, reaching St. Louis on February 13th. Frequently the men were fired on by war parties, and just above Salt River they were chased some distance by a number of red warriors. A family named O'Neal, in the St. Charles District, were killed about the same time.

The following item appeared in the Louisiana Gazette (now the St. Louis Republic) on March 21st, 1812: "Since Christmas last, the following murders have been committed by the Indians in this country: Two persons near the mines on the Mississippi, nine in the District of St. Charles, within the settlements, one man at Fort Madison. There were several men who left Fort Madison for this part of the territory, about the 17th of February, who are supposed to have fallen into the hands of the enemy, as they have not been heard of. Travelers and spies who have been among them all concur in the same story, that the Indians have no desire to make peace with us; that red wampum is passing through the upper villages, from the Sioux of St. Peters to the head of the Wabash; that at every council fire the Americans are devoted and proscribed; and, in short, that a general combination is ripening fast."

The files of the Missouri Gazette for this period contain many items of Indian depredations and atrocities. It is stated that between February 8th and March 20th, 1813, "sixteen men, women and children fell victims to savage ferocity in Missouri and Illinois." It was in these troublous times that Benjamin Howard, Governor of the territory, resigned to take command of the rangers recruited in Missouri and Illinois, with the rank of Brigadier General.

In 1813, Rev. David McLain and a Mr. Young started on horseback from the Boone's Lick settlement to Kentucky. While in Illinois, they were fired on by a party of Indians. Young was killed and scalped, and the minister's horse shot. The rider, unhurt, escaped to the woods, but was pursued by an athletic savage, who fired at the fleeing



man eight times, only one shot taking effect—in his arm. McLain would make signs of surrender, and as the Indian approached within a few feet, would assume an attitude of defiance, closely watching the motions of the wily red man, and at the instant the latter pressed the trigger, would spring aside, and then bend all his energies to escape. These tactics were continued until the Kaskaskia River was reached, into which the fugitive plunged. Thereupon the Indian abandoned the chase.

During the summer of 1813, a regiment of Missouri rangers, under command of General Howard, participated in a raid against the Indian settlements in Illinois. Several villages were destroyed, but, on the whole, the expedition proved barren of direct results.

On the 15th of August, a scouting party of sixteen rangers, in charge of Captain Nathan Boone, was attacked late at night, while encamped between the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers. Captain Boone formed his men back of the camp fires, and the Indians, as was expected, rushed on the camping grounds. The night had been rainy, hence the guns of the rangers were wet and but little execution was done. The party retreated in safety, with no casualties.

Among those killed in our state during the territorial period, a writer records the names of Sarshall Cooper, Jonathan Todd, William Campbell, Thomas Smith, Samuel McMahan, William Gregg, John Smith, James Busby and Joseph W. Still.

In 1814, a detachment of rangers commanded by Captain James Callaway, overtook a marauding party of Sauks and Foxes that had stolen a number of horses from the settlers. The savages fled on the approach of the rangers, and the latter retook the horses and proceeded toward the settlements. On reaching the crossing of Prairie Fork, in the neighborhood of Loutre's Island, the rangers were fired upon from an ambushade. Three of the men, in advance

with the horses, fell beneath the fire, and Captain Callaway, who, with the others of the company, had spurred forward at the first indication of an attack, had his horse killed and he himself was slightly wounded while crossing the creek. He sprang to the bank, threw his gun into the water, ran down the stream a short distance and plunged into the current again, the savages firing at him all the while. A ball struck the back of his head, passing quite through. The red men failed to secure his scalp. Several days later his body was found at some distance below the crossing. The remainder of the command escaped.

In the pantheon of Missouri heroes, the names of none shine with a luster more brilliant than those of Sarshall Cooper and James Callaway, the memory of each of whom is perpetuated in the name of a county in the vicinity of the scenes of their brave deeds.

Rumors at one time of the approach of Indians very much alarmed the settlers at Big Spring, in St. Louis County. A detachment of soldiers was sent from St. Louis to guard the blockhouse at the Spring. The fears of the people were allayed somewhat by the presence of the armed force, but there was among the settlers a Miss Fugate, of a type very different from the ordinary frontier girl. Approaching a sentinel, she timidly enquired if he thought there was any danger. In a spirit of mischief, the soldier replied, "Should n't be surprised, madam, if we were n't all dead before morning." Imagine his astonishment when Miss Fugate fell to the ground in a death-like swoon. A few days later the expected attack came. While the most of the women present moulded bullets, loaded guns and encouraged the men, Miss Fugate went from one swoon into another. The Indians, failing in their design of surprising the fort, presently withdrew, having inflicted no damage.

A party of savages, in the spring of 1818, cautiously crept up to the house of a settler named Ramsey, in the

Boone's Lick country. Mrs. Ramsey was engaged in milking her cows, when suddenly she was fired on by the unseen foe. She ran toward the house, but again was fired upon, one shot taking effect. She succeeded, however, in reaching the cabin. Three of the children, playing in the yard, were murdered and scalped before the eyes of their parents who were unable to protect them. Mr. Ramsey was wounded, but kept the savages at bay until two of his sons gave the alarm and brought assistance. The Indians fled, but were overtaken and four of them killed. Mrs. Ramsey died from the wound received.

Of the early pioneer tales, none is more thrilling than that of Helen Patterson, a pious maiden of eighteen, whose parents had settled in the St. Charles District, a few miles from the cabin home of Daniel Boone. One day it was necessary for all the family excepting Helen to be absent from home. While busy with her spinning wheel, the visage of a painted savage suddenly appeared at the door. Behind him were eight other red men. Helen did not cry out or make any signs of fear. Taking from the cabin such things as they wanted or fancied, the savages shortly set out toward the Northwest, taking Helen with them. The girl had carried a ball of yarn with her. From this she, at intervals, broke a short piece and let it fall, in order that the Indians could readily be followed. After awhile her scheme was detected, and one of the savages, in his mad fury, raised his tomahawk to dash out the maiden's brains, but his companions interceded and her life was spared. The yarn was taken from her, and she was given no opportunity to resort to any other device to mark their trail.

It was in the early morning that Helen was captured, and as her father was to return by noon, the girl knew that white men would soon be pressing in pursuit. The Indians were afoot, and as the rangers always utilized horses in the pursuit, the savages, too, realized that the enemy would

soon be on their track. Near nightfall a stream was reached, and after consultation, the red men decided to ambush the rescuers at this point. Helen was taken some distance from the ford, her hands bound with a buckskin thong and then, extended above her head, tied to a swinging branch of a tree. Then the Indians returned to the ford. All day long Helen had fervently prayed for deliverance, and she devoutly believed that it would come in some way. The afternoon had been cloudy, and about the time that Helen was bound to the branch, a steady rainfall began. Soon the thong loosened, and in a few more minutes the prisoner was free. With fleeing steps she made her way around the ambuscade and to the road along which she believed her rescuers would come. Not long had she to wait. Presently she heard the sound of horses' hoofs, and in a few more minutes the maiden was in the arms of her distracted father. Accompanying him were two of her brothers, and Nathan and Daniel M. Boone, also a neighbor named Shultz. On being informed of the ambuscade, the party crossed the stream at another point and tried to surprise the red men, but they had taken alarm and fled.

About the time of the declaration of war between the United States and England, in 1812, there were about five hundred Miami Indians encamped near the present site of Miami, in Saline County. They had come out from Ohio and Indiana a year or two previously, and were supposed to be friendly. But when the war broke out, many of the tribe embraced the opportunity to steal from and rob their white neighbors at the forts whenever they could. At last, in July, 1813, a band of them slipped down into the Howard settlements, and four miles Northwest of Booneville, killed a settler named Campbell Bowlin (or Bolen), of Fort Kincaid. Bowlin and Adam McCord had gone from the fort to Bowlin's cabin and field to care for some flax that had long been neglected. The treacherous Miamis, in am-

bush, fired on them in the field and Bowlin was killed. Their moccasin tracks in the field were followed to near the Miami village, thirty miles away.

Colonel Ben Cooper wrote a letter to Governor Clark, at St. Louis, informing him of the circumstance, and of the general conduct of the Miamis, asking that proper action be taken against them. On receipt of Colonel Cooper's letter, Governor Clark sent a force of rangers to the Miami village. The Indians surrendered and were escorted out of the country, after the stolen property had been restored to the settlers.

## SOCIAL AND BUSINESS LIFE.



EV. TIMOTHY FLINT, a New England clergyman, lived in the territory from 1816 to 1820, and afterwards published a book of "Recollections," in which he writes entertainingly of the inhabitants and their customs. He protests against the injustice of ascribing to a whole people the crimes of a few ungovernable or vicious persons. Says he: "It is true there are worthless people here, and the more so, it must be confessed, are from New England. It is true there are gamblers and gougers and outlaws; but there are fewer of them than, from the nature of things and the character of the age and the world, we ought to expect. I have traveled in these regions thousands of miles under all circumstances of exposure and danger, and this, too, in many instances where I was not known as a minister, or where such knowledge would have no influence in protecting me. I have never carried the slightest weapon of defense. I scarcely remember to have experienced anything that resembled insult, or to have felt myself in danger from the people. I have often seen men that had lost an eye. Instances of murder, numerous and horrible in their circumstances, have occurred in my vicinity. But they were such lawless rencontres as terminate in murder everywhere, and in which the drunkenness, brutality and violence were mutual. They were catastrophes, in which quiet and sober men would be in no danger of being involved."

Of the pioneer in Missouri Territory, Flint says: "He is generally an amiable and virtuous man. He has vices and barbarisms peculiar to his situation. His manners are rough. He wears, it may be, a long beard. He has a great quantity of bear or deer skins wrought into his household establishment, his furniture and dress. He carries a knife or a dirk in his bosom, and when in the woods has a rifle at his back and a pack of dogs at his heels. An Atlantic stranger, transferred directly from one of our cities to his door, would recoil from a rencounter with him. But remember, that his rifle and his dogs are among his chief means of support and profit. Remember, that all his first days here were passed in dread of the savages. Remember, that he still encounters them, still meets bears and panthers. Enter his door and tell him you are benighted, and wish the shelter of his cabin for the night. The welcome is indeed seeming ungracious: 'I reckon you may stay,' or 'I suppose we must let you stay.' But this apparent ungraciousness is the harbinger of every kindness that he can bestow, and every comfort that his cabin can afford. Good coffee, corn bread and butter, venison, pork, wild and tame fowls, are set before you. His wife, timid, silent, reserved, but constantly attentive to your comfort, does not sit at the table with you, but like the wives of the patriarchs stands and attends to you. You are shown the best bed which the house can offer. When the kind hospitality has been afforded you as long as you choose to stay, and when you depart and speak about your bill, you are most commonly told with some slight mark of resentment that they do not keep tavern. Even the flaxen-haired children will turn away from your money. If we were to try them by the standard of New England customs and opinions, there would be many that would strike us offensively. They care little about ministers, and think less about paying them. They are averse to all, even the most necessa-



ry, restraints. They are destitute of the forms and observances of society and religion; but they are sincere and kind without professions, and have a coarse but substantial morality."

With the return of peace with England, in 1815, there came a great tide of immigrants from Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee and the Carolinas. Says the Missouri Gazette of October 26th, 1816, "A stranger witnessing the scene would imagine that those States had made an agreement to introduce the territory as soon as possible into the bosom of the American family." As many as one hundred families, bound for Boone's Lick or some other point on the frontier, are said to have passed through St. Charles in one day. Many of these families brought with them horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep, and from three to a score of slaves. Flint pictures a long train of these emigrants as they move slowly along the beaten track. The wagons drawn by four or six horses, are loaded with the "plunder" of the household; the negroes, who, Flint remarks, seem fond of their masters, are much delighted and interested in the migration; the females and the children, strolling leisurely along, "often stretch for three quarters of a mile along the road and present a scene which is at once pleasing and patriarchal." As nightfall approaches, a camping place near some spring or stream where there is also wood to be had, is selected. "The pack of dogs sets up a cheerful barking. The cattle lie down and ruminate. The huge wagons are covered so that the roof completely excludes the rain. The cooking utensils are brought out. The blacks prepare a supper which the toils of the day render delicious." The land to which they are going is "inexhaustibly fertile and where there is nothing but buffalos and deer to limit the range even to the Western sea."

The French had settled in villages, being a convivial folk, and the families cultivated a field in common, but the

American immigrants each sought large tracts of land, hence they passed by the villages and pushed into the wilderness. Each wished "never to live near enough a neighbor to hear the bark of his dog," but the possibility of danger from the red men obliged them to build their cabins within easy reach of a fort or stockade. Of these forts, in addition to those heretofore mentioned, there were Boone's, in St. Charles County; Howell's, on Howell's Prairie; Pond, near the present town of Wentzville; White's, on Dog Prairie; Kountz's, eight miles West of St. Charles; Zumwalt's, near O'Fallon; Castilio's, near Howell's Prairie; Kennedy's, near present town of Wright City; Callaway's, near Marthasville; Wood's, near Troy; Clark's, four miles North of Troy; Clemison, on Loutre Island (Switzler's History).

About 1811, two unique characters settled in St. Charles County—General Amos Burdine and John Baldrige. One of Burdine's eccentricities was to name the trees about his home, in order that his servants, when sent out after the game that he had killed, could easily locate the same. He was a ventriloquist and utilized his accomplishment in a practical manner. He would imitate the call of wild animals so as to frighten the deer from their haunts, that they would come within range of his rifle. Baldrige, it is related, loaned a man three hundred dollars in quarters, taking the same out of a calico bag. When the borrower came to repay the money, Baldrige would accept no interest, saying, "If you had n't borrowed it, some rascal would have stolen it."

The trials of the gentler sex in those days are tersely told in a letter written by one of them to her sister in Kentucky. She writes: "The men and dogs have a fine time, but we poor women have to suffer. We pack water from one-half to one mile for cooking and washing. My advice is, stay where you are. But if you see any one coming to this country, send a plank cradle for poor little Patrick.

His poor little back is full of hard bumps, lying in a cradle George made out of a hollow log with a piece of wood on one end for a pillow. George and I attended a wedding last week. The preacher, a hard-shell Baptist, had on a long buckskin overcoat. The groom was in his shirt sleeves, with white cotton pants that came just below his knees, and white cotton socks and buckskin-slippers on his feet. The girl was dressed in a low-necked, short-waisted, short-sleeved white cotton dress that was monstrous short for a girl like her. She had on buckskin slippers and her hair was tied with a buckskin string which is all the go here. And when the preacher was spelling and reading the ceremony from the book, the girl commenced sneezing and the buckskin string slipped off her hair, which fell all over her face, and everybody laughed."\*

Mrs. Dr. Young, of Warren County, owned the first piano brought to Northern Missouri. Women, carrying their babies and shoes, walked from all the adjacent counties to see the wonderful instrument and to hear Mrs. Young's rendition of "The Campbells Are Coming," which she played with one hand. Another family of Youngs was prominent in Audrain County. When one of the daughters was married, the wheat for the cake and bread for the wedding supper was ground in a hand mill and bolted through her mother's muslin cape.

Illustrative of the aversion of these early settlers to a resort to litigation and the tendency to submit matters of difference to the arbitrament of firearms, the following incident is told: Mr. P. and Colonel S. had a dispute about a mining claim. Said the latter, "Mr. P., we have been friends for a long time, and I regret that any misunderstanding should have arisen between us. Here we are entirely alone, and there is no one to interrupt us—let us settle this matter in an amicable way. You know my aversion to law

\* Pioneer Families of Missouri.

and lawyers, and their quibbles. I have here a couple of friends that have no mistake in them. Take your choice; they are both loaded and equally true." But Mr. P. thanked him and declined the proffered civility on account of having at hand important business which could not be transacted by a ghost, whereupon the conversation was resumed as though there had been no interruption by what Colonel S. considered a friendly offer.

The Catholics, as early as 1792, erected a church at St. Charles. In 1816, the Presbyterian Church was organized, and several years later the Methodists built a house of worship in Northern Missouri. In 1807, it is said, Rev. Jesse Walker administered the first Methodist sacrament at Jacob Zumwalt's home, the first hewn log house erected on the North side of the Missouri River. The wine used on the occasion was made from pokeberries, sweetened with maple sugar; while the crusts of corn bread represented the broken body of the Savior.\*

The first steamboat to shove out a gang plank at St. Louis was the *General Pike*, Captain Jacob Reid, which landed at the foot of Market Street on August 2nd, 1817. The second was the *Constitution*, which arrived on the 2nd of October following. The first steam vessel to stem the muddy current of the Missouri was the *Independence*, Captain John Nelson, which, in 1819, steamed up that river as far as the town of Chariton, near the mouths of the streams of that name. Said the "St. Louis Enquirer" of June 9th, 1819: "The passage of the steamboat *Independence* up the Missouri to Franklin and Chariton is an era in the history of that noble river, and has called forth the most lively feeling of joy and triumph all over the country."

On July 12th, 1808, there appeared upon the scene a new factor—one that marked a long stride toward civilization. It was the establishment of a newspaper—the Mis-

\* Pioneer Families of Missouri.

souri Gazette—the first issue of which, on a sheet no larger than a royal octavo page (8 by 12 inches). appeared on the above date, with Joseph Charless, official printer for the territory, as editor and owner. The office of publication was at St. Louis. The name was shortly changed to "The Louisiana Gazette," but on the organization of the Missouri Territory, the original name was restored. Later it became the "Missouri Republican," then the "St. Louis Republican," and to-day it is known as "The Republic."\*

The first newspaper to be established West of St. Louis was the "Missouri Intelligencer," first issued from Franklin, Howard County, in 1819, by Nathaniel Patton. Subsequently it was moved to Columbia, and is now known as the "Missouri Statesman."

The first book printed in Missouri was a compilation of the laws of the Territory, which came from the press of

\* The first number of the "Missouri Gazette" appeared on July 12th, 1808. The paper was issued weekly. On November 30th, the name was changed to "Louisiana Gazette," as more appropriate. Then on July 18th, 1812, the first name, "Missouri Gazette," was restored. On September 30th, 1820, Joseph Charless sold the "Gazette" to James C. Cummins, who, in 1822, transferred it to Edward Charless, son of its founder. With the issue of March 20th, 1822, the name of the journal was changed to "Missouri Republican" and it advocated the principles of that political party—now known as the Democratic. When the Whigs became one of the leading political parties, the "Republican" cast its lot with them, but when that party ceased to exist, in 1856, the paper espoused the cause of the Democrats, with which party it has since affiliated. In 1833, the "Republican" was changed to a semi-weekly; in April, 1835, it appeared as a tri-weekly; and since September, 1836, it has been issued daily. About 1891, the present name—"The Republic"—was adopted. In May, 1815, appeared the first number of an opposition paper in St. Louis—the "Western Journal." Having proven a financial failure, on May 17th, 1817, it was issued under a new management and a new name—"Western Emigrant,"—but with no better success. Thomas Hart Benton became its editor in 1819 and the name was again changed to "St. Louis Enquirer."

Mr. Charless in 1808, shortly after he had established his printing plant in St. Louis. It contained three hundred and seventy-two pages, embracing all the laws enacted in and for the Territory prior to the date of printing, and was certified to by Frederick Bates, Secretary.

The first post office at St. Louis was established in 1808, with Colonel Rufus Easton, postmaster. Mails came from Vincennes, Indiana, to Cahokia, thence to St. Louis. From New York and Philadelphia, the mails required about six weeks, and from Europe, three months. On January 25th, 1809, the Gazette complains bitterly because no mails had come from the East for more than two months. "Excessively cold, and no thermometer in the place to record the degree." Mails came from Cahokia once each week, from Mine la Burton and Ste. Genevieve once in two weeks, and from St. Charles once each week.

The first bank in Missouri, the "Bank of St. Louis," was incorporated on August 21st, 1813, but did not open for business until December 12th, 1816. Capital stock, \$100,000. This bank suspended in 1818, reopened March 3rd, 1819, and went out of business on July 24th following. The "Bank of Missouri" began business on September 30th, 1816, with a capital of \$250,000.

In the Louisiana Gazette dated May 1st, 1809, appeared the following: "What citizen is there, who is in the smallest degree alive to the prosperity of our happy country, who does not feel indignant at the gross falsehoods and ignorant philippics published against the Jefferson administration, concerning the purchase of Louisiana? We would recommend these incendiary editors to the study of geography, and they will discover that Louisiana possesses a soil equal to any other State or Territory in the Union; rich in minerals, numerous navigable rivers and many other advantages, place this desirable country far above the calumny of the miserable scribblers. Give us industrious planters,



and in a short period Louisiana will become the bright star in the Federal constellation." Prophetic words, these—and loyal!

The following incident, pregnant of the poverty and the primitiveness of the settlers during the territorial days, is given on the authority of Judge Fagg, a prominent citizen of Pike county:

One of the earliest settlers in Pike County was John Mackey, who erected his cabin near the line of bluffs which mark the Western boundary of Calumet Creek Valley. It was of the usual pioneer style—unhewn logs and puncheon floor. There was one room below, and a loft above where the older children slept. On the afternoon of a bitterly cold day in 1821, an itinerant preacher rode into the little settlement that had sprung up about the Mackey cabin. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the evening, Aunt Nancy Mackey, devout and hospitable, induced the itinerant to preach at her cabin that night. Couriers went through the snowstorm to the neighbors, and a goodly number trailed through the drifts to the appointed place. The storm had driven a score or more of hogs beneath the cabin for shelter, and when the preacher arose to announce his text, the porkers, in their individual efforts to secure a warm berth near the great fireplace, set up such a squealing that the efforts of the preacher to make himself heard were unavailing. Presently some degree of quiet obtained and the services began. But a little later, however, a gust of wind blew open the door which some late comer had not securely fastened, and in strode an old sow with a nonchalance that indicated perfect familiarity with the room. The small boy of the family gave her a welcoming shout, and, jumping astride her back, with one of her ears grasped in each hand, rode the squealing animal round the room, much to the consternation of the female portion of the audience. After several circuits of the room, the boy and his steed



passed out the door, But not yet were the interruptions over. A flock of geese had, in the meantime, walked in at the open door, and, keeping up a loud hissing and chattering, refused to withdraw. But Aunt Nancy was equal to the occasion. Taking an ear of corn from the jamb, she walked backwards through the open door, shelling the corn and coaxing the fowls in her most persuasive tones. The flock once outside, the door was closed, and the interrupted discourse concluded. It is said that these occurrences were accepted as a matter unavoidable. The audience was patient and the equanimity of the preacher undisturbed, while Aunt Nancy folded her arms as complacently as if such annoyances were not out of the usual routine.

## POLITICAL AFFAIRS.



AN ACT of Congress, approved on June 4th, 1812, changed the name of the Territory of Louisiana to "Territory of Missouri," and advanced it to the second grade of government. On the first of October, five districts or counties were organized, viz., St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. The district of Arkansas formed a portion of New Madrid County. During the same month Edward Hempstead was elected delegate to Congress. The first House of Representatives for the Territory convened on December 7th, 1812, with thirteen members. William C. Carr was elected Speaker. As members of the Territorial Council, President Jefferson selected nine men out of eighteen nominated by the Legislature.

In 1813, a portion of Ste. Genevieve County was set off as a new county, to which the name of Washington was given. An enumeration of the white male inhabitants of the Territory was taken the next year, with the following result: Arkansas, 827; New Madrid, 1548; Cape Girardeau, 2062; Ste. Genevieve, 1701; Washington, 1010; St. Louis, 3149; St. Charles, 1096,—total, 11,393. The population at this time was estimated at 25,000. By the census of 1810, it was found to be 20,845.

At the second session of the General Assembly, held in 1814, the County of Lawrence was formed from the

Western part of New Madrid. In 1816 and 1817, several lotteries were chartered, the school system of St. Louis instituted, two banks chartered, and the counties of Jefferson, Franklin, Wayne, Lincoln, Madison, Montgomery, Cooper, Pike, and three in the Southern part of Arkansas were organized. Arkansas, in 1819, was formed into a separate territory. The author of Peck's Annals states that early in 1818 he counted seven stores and houses of brick in St. Louis. The first brick dwelling-house erected in that city was one built by William C. Carr in 1813. The population of the town in 1815 was found to be 2000.

In 1820, the census taken by the United States government found the population of Missouri Territory to be 66,586. In that and the ensuing year, the following counties were organized: Lillard (now Lafayette), Ralls, Boone, Chariton, Ray, Cole, Saline, Gasconade, Callaway, Scott, St. Francois, Perry, and Clay. The organization of these new counties is an index to the rapid increase in the population of the Territory.

The incoming tide of immigration soon encroached upon the Indian preserves. As the white and the red man could not live in peace in the same locality, it became necessary to remove the latter farther Westward. Hence in 1808, Pierre Chouteau negotiated a treaty with the Osages by which it was agreed that the boundary between their lands and those of the pale faces should begin at Fort Clark, a post upon the Missouri, thirty-five miles below the mouth of the Kaw, and extend due South to the Arkansas, thence down that stream to the Mississippi. The Osages relinquished all claims to the lands East of this line. By similar treaties, the Sacs and Foxes, after considerable delay and trouble, were induced to cede the lands they held North of the Missouri River. The last of these treaties was concluded at Portage des Sioux, a village situated a few miles North of the mouth of the Missouri, in 1815.

Thereafter Indian depredations in the Territory of Missouri practically ceased.

Following the influx of settlers from the Atlantic states, speculation became rife. Lands and town lots were bought on credit; live stock and merchandise were settled for by notes of hand; and every settler expected to amass a small fortune from those who came after. But the stringency of the Eastern money market about 1819 greatly retarded liquidation, money became scarce, and many were forced into hopeless bankruptcy. Farm products were abundant, but were unsalable; so, too, was real estate. There was practically no circulating medium. The general government and the territorial legislature came to the relief of the people. Some of the lands held by the settlers were relinquished to the government, and two hundred thousand dollars' worth of certificates, predicated upon the credit of the State, were issued. These passed in lieu of bank notes.

The following persons were governors of Missouri during the territorial period. The date when each assumed the duties of the office is also given:

Amos Stoddard—March 10th, 1804.

William Henry Harrison—March 26th, 1804.


James Wilkinson—March 3rd, 1805.

Meriwether Lewis—1807.

Benjamin Howard—October 11th, 1809.

William Clark—October —, 1810.

## THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

T THE TIME of the purchase of Louisiana, the population of Missouri was confined to a few thousand souls who lived in the old French settlements close to the West bank of the Mississippi. They were Creoles from Louisiana; Frenchmen and Spaniards from the Old World; half-breed Frenchmen from Canada; *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois*, and negroes brought from every kraal on the coast of Congo and of Guinea. But in the Westward march of population down the Eastern slope of the Mississippi Valley, a small contingent began to enter Missouri at an early day. . . . These people then occupied a strip of country twenty miles wide along the Mississippi, from the Arkansas to a point some miles North of the mouth of the Missouri. A few hundred were engaged at "the diggings," or lead mines, and had scattered their cabins along the Big River, Terre Bleu, and the Mineral branch, in the heart of the county of Ste. Genevieve. Some lived by agriculture, and were already pushing their farms and settlements up the Missouri. Others—and they were chiefly in St. Louis—carried on an extensive trade with the Indians; while still others—as the inhabitants of St. Charles—were renowned as Mississippi boatmen. With the opening of the war with England the tide of emigration diminished in volume. But when the hard times,

which came with the return of peace, began to drive people Westward by hundreds of thousands, the stream that poured into Missouri was enormous. As a Territory where slavery was permitted, it became a promised land for every slave-owning emigrant from Virginia and North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee, and thither they went."

The foregoing paragraph from McMaster's History (IV, 570-571) admirably epitomizes the conditions in Missouri about the close of the Territorial period. It is estimated that in three years' time, the population of the Territory had doubled. Nothing less than the kind of local government under which they had lived in their old homes beyond the Mississippi would satisfy the people. The admission into the Union of Indiana in 1816, and of Illinois in 1818, emphasized and strengthened this desire. In the latter part of 1817, petitions were presented to Congress, asking leave to form a State government and come into the Union. In 1818, there came a petition from the Territorial Legislature, and it was referred to a select committee of which John Scott, the Missouri delegate, was chairman. A bill embodying the substance of the petition was framed, read twice, and sent to the Committee of the Whole, where it was on adjournment for the summer. In November, a second petition came from the Legislature. After the usual routine, a bill to enable the people of Missouri to form a State constitution was, on February 13th, 1819, taken up in the Committee of the Whole. Scarcely had the discussion opened when James Tallmadge, of New York, moved an amendment asking (1) that the further introduction of slaves into Missouri be forbidden, and (2) that all children born after the admission of Missouri should be free in the proposed State, but might be held to service until twenty-five years of age. This motion precipitated one of the most acrimonious discussions in the annals of our Congress. The issue between the free-soil party and the advo-

cates of slavery was joined. Both in and out of Congress, party leaders, newspapers, and voters were drawn into the Maelstrom until the entire citizenship became aligned in the contending factions. It was the beginning of that Titanic struggle for political supremacy which, forty-three years later, culminated in one of the mightiest and most sanguinary conflicts of modern times.

Those who opposed the amendment said that such a restriction is unconstitutional, unwise, and not possible to carry out. Congress has no power to lay such a restriction on any State as a condition of its admission. Then the treaty of purchase pledged the formation of Louisiana into States and the admission of them on the same footing as other States. This would not be the case should Missouri be forced to abolish slavery before admission. Besides, the citizens of each State are entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States. These and many other objections were urged in opposition to the Tallmadge amendment (McMaster).

But such arguments were of little weight. In the Committee the amendment was agreed to by a vote of seventy-nine to sixty-seven. The amended bill was reported to the House, and that body, by a decisive vote of ninety-seven to forty-six, ordered it to be engrossed and read a third time. Six of the nays came from States North of the Mason and Dixon line. In the Senate, the Tallmadge amendment was promptly stricken out and the bill passed on the first day of March. The House refused to concur, and sent the bill back. But the Senate voted to adhere to the original form and returned the measure, but the House again refused to concur, hence the bill was lost. So ended the first battle in Congress.

In the meantime, exactly similar tactics had been employed in an effort to defeat a bill creating the Territory of Arkansas, but in this contest the pro-slavery advocates were



finally successful, and the Territory was organized without restrictions in the matter of slave-holding.

The agitation over the admission of Missouri aroused the anti-slavery cohorts throughout the Northern States. Prior to this time the question lay dormant. Only one anti-slavery newspaper existed, and everywhere languished the organizations antagonistic to the extension of slavery. But now the question became the dominant and burning issue in both the North and the South. Everywhere public meetings were held, and Senators and Representatives in Congress were overwhelmed with resolutions and requests from their constituents. The question of the admission of Missouri overshadowed all others.

When Congress reassembled in the fall of 1819, among the first bills introduced was one providing for the admission of Maine as a State. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House, took the floor in opposition to this bill. Said he: "A State in the quarter of the country from which I come, asks to be admitted into the Union. What say the gentlemen who ask for the admission of Maine? Why, they will not admit Missouri without a condition which strips her of one essential attribute of sovereignty. What, then, do I say to them? That justice is due to all parts of the Union. Equality is equality, and if it is right to make the restriction of slavery the condition for the admission of Missouri, it is equally just to make the admission of Missouri the condition for that of Maine."

But the House passed the bill admitting Maine, and in the Senate it was amended by simply affixing to it (by means of wafers), as an amendment, the bill for the admission of Missouri. The debate there was long and bitter. The Senate, by a vote of twenty-five to eighteen, refused to separate the bills. Then the amendment prohibiting the farther introduction of slavery into Missouri was proposed, and again the matter was argued. There is no need to re-

produce here even a synopsis of the arguments, pro and con. Nothing new was injected into the debate. The great speeches for and against the measure were made, respectively, by William Pinckney, of Maryland, and Rufus King, of New York. The amendment was defeated. Then Senator Thomas, of Illinois, proposed that in the tract of country known as Louisiana, excepting that part thereof included in the proposed State of Missouri, there should be no slavery. This amendment he subsequently withdrew, but after a number of others had been rejected, he again introduced it. In this shape the bill, on February 17th, 1820, was passed by the decisive vote of thirty-four to ten.

The House, having in the meantime passed the Maine bill, and taken up a Missouri bill of its own, refused to concur. Finally the matter was sent to conference.\* Before the latter reported, the House passed the Missouri bill with an amendment prohibiting slavery, but the Senate promptly returned it with the Thomas amendment tacked on. Then the conference reported, recommending three things: (1) that the Senate should separate the Maine and the Missouri bills, and that the first should be admitted; (2) that the House should no longer insist upon the exclusion of slavery from Missouri; and (3) that the House should agree to adopt the Senate bill which admitted slavery in Missouri, but excluded it from the remainder of the Purchase North of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. Three Representatives stayed away, four changed their votes, and the result was (March 2nd, 1820,) ninety to eighty-seven in favor of the compromise report.

On the following morning, while the bill was yet in the possession of the Speaker, John Randolph arose and ex-

\* On February 8th, 1820, Henry Clay spoke for four hours against the right and expediency of the proposed restriction, making, it is claimed, one of the most eloquent and masterful deliveries of his career. Unfortunately, it was not reported.

pressed a wish to move for a reconsideration of the measure. The Speaker, greatly alarmed, resorted to dilatory tactics, declared the gentleman out of order, permitted him to appeal to the House—which sustained the Speaker,—and, in the meantime, hurriedly affixed his signature to the bill and sent it to the Senate. Then, when the proper time for such motions came, Clay announced that the bill was no longer in the possession of the House. For this bit of trickery, Randolph never forgave him. Thenceforth they were mortal foes.

On the passage of the Missouri compromise bill, a wave of rage and disappointment swept over the Northern States. Those Congressmen from that section who voted for the bill on its final passage, were burned in effigy and suffered other indignities. President Monroe, before signing the measure, submitted the question of its constitutionality to his cabinet. What he wanted to know was whether or not, in their opinion, the restriction applied only to the territories, or to such States as might be framed therefrom. Three of them held that it applied only to the territorial condition, while Adams (J. Q.) held that it applied to the State as well. Thereupon the bill was signed, and thus ended the second great battle.

It was believed that with the approval by the President of the Maine and the Missouri bills would end the long and bitter controversy, but a third struggle, more acrimonious than either of its predecessors, was yet to convulse the nation.

This long contention over the admission of Missouri was a struggle for political supremacy. Both factions were striving to hold the balance of power in the National Legislature. It has been seen that the free-soil party was the stronger in the House, while the advocates of slavery had control of the Senate. Alabama, in 1819, came in as a slave state, hence the free-soilers opposed the immediate admission of a second slave state. Fortunately, the appli-

cation of Maine for admission to statehood gave the opportunity for a compromise, thus happily ending the struggle which convulsed the whole nation and even threatened the stability of the Union itself. It should be borne in mind that the contention was not over the introduction of slavery into the territory, but the abolition of that which already existed.

These proceedings constitute the "Missouri Compromise." By it the representatives of the North succeeded virtually in abolishing slavery from that portion of the Louisiana Purchase North of the South boundary of Missouri—excepting that commonwealth itself. But their victory came to naught. In 1836, it was violated without protest by the addition of the Platte Purchase to Missouri; in 1854, it was formally abrogated; and in 1857, it was declared unconstitutional by the highest legal tribunal in the Union.

## MISSOURI BECOMES A STATE.



THE VOTERS of the fifteen counties comprising the Territory of Missouri held an election on the first Monday, and the two succeeding days of May, 1820, to choose representatives to a State Convention, which convened at St. Louis, then the seat of government, on Monday, June 12th. On the day set, forty-one delegates met at the Mansion House, corner of Third and Vine Streets, in St. Louis. David Barton was elected President of the Convention. Among the members were several whose name are eminent in the annals of our State—Alexander Buckner, William Lillard, Nathan Boone, John Scott, Edward Bates, Alexander McNair, William Rector, and Thomas F. Riddick. On the 19th of July, the representatives concluded their labors by signing the constitution which they had formed. The said constitution took effect from the authority of the body that framed it, without any submission to the voters; and it is worthy of record that this instrument stood without material amendment until the adoption of the Drake Constitution in 1865. But the framers of the new constitution had inserted a clause which forbade the Legislature passing a law emancipating the slaves in the State without the consent of their masters; and another which read thus:

“It shall be their duty, as soon as may be, to pass such laws as may be necessary to prevent free negroes and mu-

lattoes from coming to, and settling in, this State, under any pretext whatever."

In view of the narrow margin on which the "Missouri Compromise" had passed the two branches of Congress, it would have seemed the part of wisdom had the Convention been content with the mere establishing of slavery; but its members saw fit to insert these two clauses, which, when a copy of the Constitution was presented in Congress, precipitated the third great battle over the admission of Missouri. Attention was called to the fact that the Federal Constitution guarantees to all citizens equal privileges and immunities in all the States; that in many States negroes were free and citizens; that to exclude them from Missouri was a violation of such Constitution. A demand that Missouri should not be admitted until this discrimination was struck from her Constitution was made. In reply, it was pointed out that in several States there were certain restrictions. In Maryland no Jew could vote; in Massachusetts no black could marry a white; in Connecticut no free negro could travel without a pass from the select-men or the justices. By a vote of ninety-three to seventy-nine, the House rejected the resolution declaring Missouri a State. Memorials from Missouri were presented to the House, and a great uproar was caused by an effort to insert the words, "the State of," before "Missouri" in the record. Then it was moved that the words, "the Territory of," be inserted, then, "the late Territory of," but each failed, and the House adjourned in confusion.

After a lull of two weeks, the Senate sent in a proposition to admit Missouri as a State, "provided nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to give the assent of Congress to any provision in the Constitution of the State of Missouri (if any such there be) which contravenes that clause of the Constitution of the United States which declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all

the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States." By a vote of seventy-nine to eighty-eight, the House rejected this resolution. Then Clay succeeded in carrying a motion that the question be referred to a committee of thirteen (February 2nd, 1821). This committee agreed upon a compromise, but it was defeated in the House by three votes.

Anon came the day for counting the electoral votes. Was Missouri a State? Should her electoral votes be counted? These questions were far from settlement, but as the result would be the same whether or not they were counted, it was agreed that the President of the Senate should announce that were these votes counted, A. B. would have —— votes for President; if not counted, A. B. would have —— votes for President; in either case A. B. is elected President. But as the President of the Senate was about to do this, some member called out. "I object to receiving any votes for President and Vice President from Missouri, because Missouri is not a State in this Union." Amid great confusion, the Senate withdrew, leaving the House to wrangle as it pleased. Later, word was sent to the Senate to return, when about the same scene was re-enacted, but after much confusion, the program as agreed upon was carried out, and Monroe and Tompkins were thereupon declared elected President and Vice President, respectively.

On the next day (February 15th), another ineffectual attempt was made by the House to admit Missouri on condition that the objectionable clause be expunged from her constitution. A week later an attempt was made to repeal the enabling act—the compromise by which it was agreed that Missouri should be admitted. This alarmed Clay, who came forward with a proposition to lay the matter before a committee of twenty-three. This was on February 22nd, and two days later the Senate appointed a committee of



seven to confer with the House committee. On the 26<sup>th</sup>, this committee reported the following resolution:

"That Missouri shall be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever, upon the fundamental condition that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the Constitution submitted on the part of the said State to Congress, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the States of this Union shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States: Provided, that the Legislature of the said State, *by a solemn public act*, shall declare the assent of the said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of this said act; whereupon, and without any further proceedings on the part of Congress, the admission of the said State into the Union shall be considered as complete."

After a brief debate, the House adopted this resolution—yeas eighty-six, nays eighty-two. In the Senate, after several unsuccessful attempts to amend it, the resolution passed on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February by a vote of twenty-eight to fourteen. Thus ended the third great forensic battle over the admission of Missouri.

Several writers have called attention to the curious fact that as printed in the Missouri laws, the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the State Constitution does not coincide with the clause quoted above. This apparent discrepancy is explained by the fact that the proposed constitution was transmitted to Congress, in manuscript, and as printed for the use of the members, was paragraphed altogether differently from the printing by the State,

and that as printed by the government for the use of Congress, the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article read as quoted above. As printed in Missouri, it is the first clause of the third division of the said twenty-sixth section. This explanation of the seeming discrepancy is simple and plausible.

On the 4th of June, 1821, the Missouri Legislature was convened in special session, and on the 26th of the same month adopted a solemn act, in conformity to the requirements of Congress. In the preamble of this act it most solemnly declared that the Congress of the United States has no constitutional right or power to affix any condition to the admission of Missouri into the Federal Union, and that the Legislature had no power to change the operation of the Constitution of Missouri. Yet following this remarkable and defiant preamble (in which the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1857, substantially concurred) was the solemn resolution required by Congress as a completion of the admission of the State. Without delay a copy of the act was transmitted to President Monroe, who, on the 10th day of August, 1821, declared the process of admission to be complete, and from that day our commonwealth took rank as the twenty-fourth member of the American Union.

The boundaries of the new State, as prescribed by Congress, were as follows: "Beginning in the middle of the Mississippi River, on the parallel of thirty-six degrees of North latitude; thence West along that parallel of latitude to the St. Francois River; thence up and following the course of that river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the parallel of latitude of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; thence West along the same to a point where said parallel is intersected by a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas River, where the same empties into the Missouri River; thence

from the point aforesaid, North, along the said meridian line, to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines, making the same line to correspond with the Indian boundary line; thence East from the point of intersection last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude, to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the said river Des Moines, to the mouth of the same, where it empties into the Mississippi River; thence down and following the course of said river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the place of beginning."

A dispute at once arose with the Territory of Iowa as to whether was meant certain rapids in the Des Moines River, some distance above its mouth, or the rapids in the Mississippi, some twenty or thirty miles farther South, called by the French, *La Rapides la Riviere Des Moines*. The Supreme Court of the United States decided in favor of the French application of the term and the old boundary.

It has been a matter of speculation as to why Pemiscot County, and those portions of Dunklin and New Madrid which extend South of the general boundary of the State, into Arkansas, were included in Missouri. The usual facetious reply is that the people in these counties "did n't want to live in Arkansas because it is unhealthful." A writer who has made some investigation in the matter says that in 1804 Louisiana was divided into two territories by a line running along the thirty-third parallel of latitude. Then in 1812, the Territory of Missouri was organized, and in 1819, that of Arkansas. At the time of the organization of the latter Territory, the people in the section now comprising these three counties were bound to their up-river neighbors by ties both social and commercial, and an appeal was made for inclusion with them in the Territory of Missouri. Prominent among those who conducted the negotiations was Colonel John Hardman Walker, who owned

extensive tracts of lands in these counties. He "wined and dined the surveyors," and afterward, in company with Godfrey Lesieur and several other prominent citizens of that vicinity, visited Washington and laid the matter before Congress. Their efforts met with success, and this cotton-growing district down to the thirty-sixth parallel and as far West as the St. Francois River, was included in Missouri.

THE END.





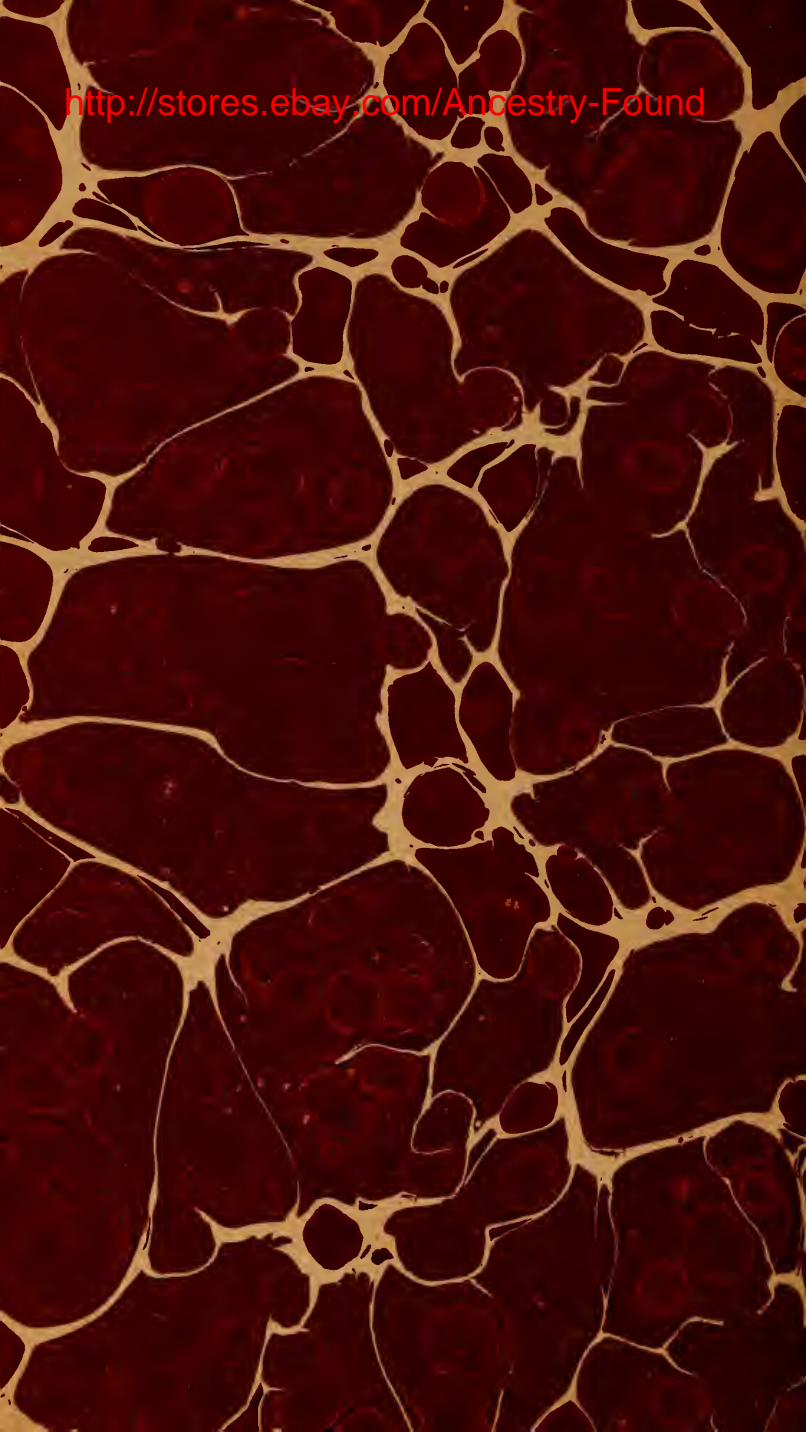




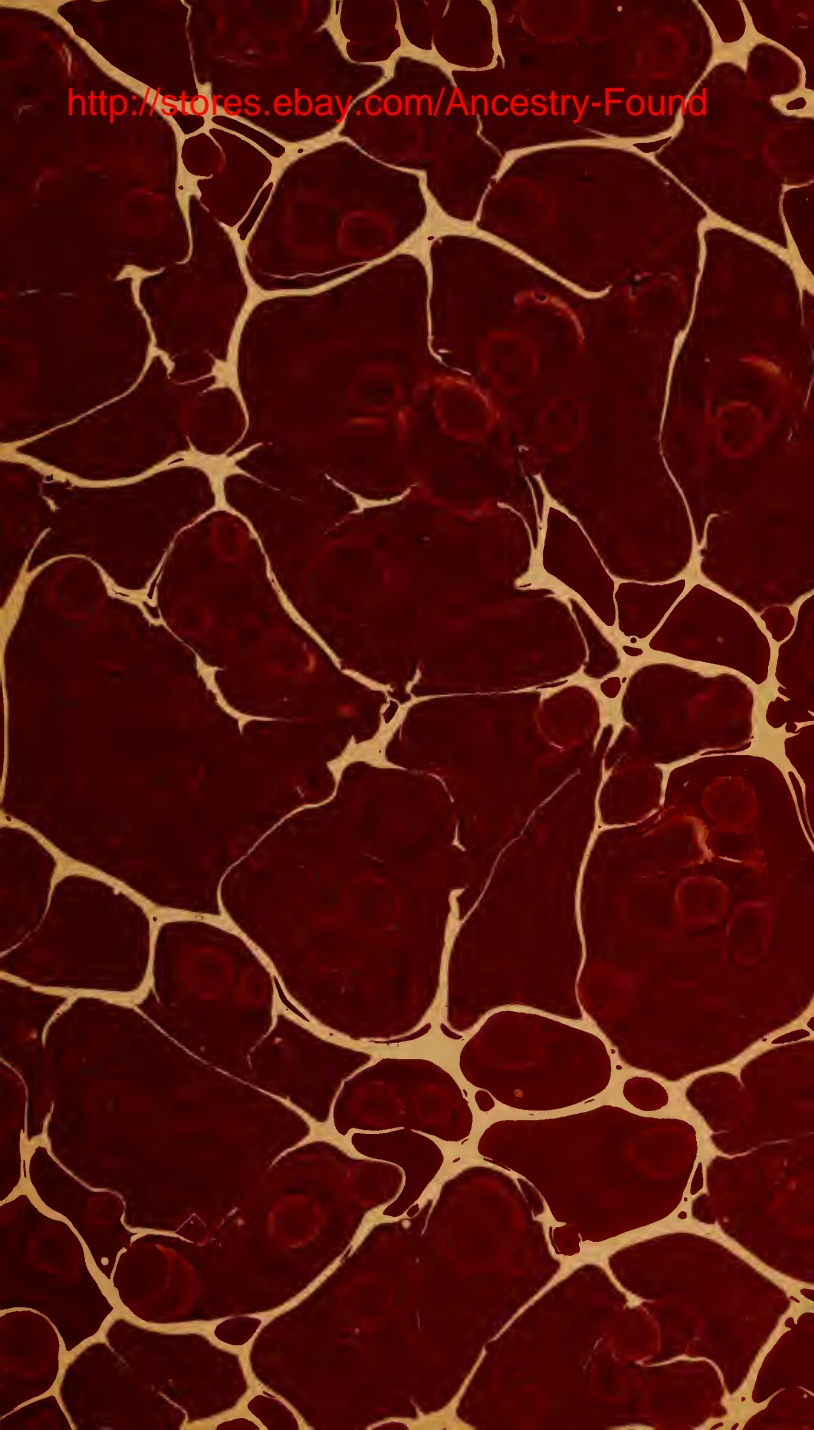




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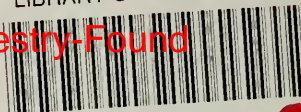


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