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*Jacques Sieyès*



ST. LOUIS  
The Fourth City  
1764-1911

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By WALTER B. STEVENS

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“He said he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement which might become one of the finest cities of America.”—Laclede’s prophecy, from the narrative of the settlement of St. Louis by Auguste Chouteau.

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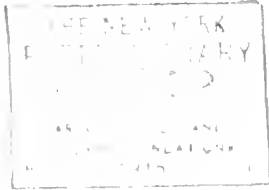
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VOL. I

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*To the men and women who made  
St. Louis the Fourth City*



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## THE MOTIVE

This is not a book of dates. It does not abound in statistics. It avoids controversies of the past and prophecies of the future. The motive is to present in plain, newspaper style a narrative of the rise and progress of St. Louis to the fourth place among American cities. To personal factors rather than to general causes is credited the high position which the community has attained. Men and women, more than location and events, have made St. Louis the Fourth City.

The site chosen was fortunate. Of much greater import was the character of those who came to settle. American history, as told from the Atlantic seaboard points of view, classed St. Louis as "a little trading post." The settlement of Laeclde was planned for permanence. It established stable government by consent of the governed. It embodied the homestead principle in a land system. It developed the American spirit while "good old colony times" prevailed along the Atlantic coast. Home rule found in St. Louis its first habitat on this continent.

Living under Spanish sovereignty in mildest form, these republican Frenchmen supplied lead for Washington's armies. They extended sympathy and substantial aid to George Rogers Clark. They performed no inconsiderable part in the saving of the Mississippi Valley, east of the river, to the American republic. They helped materially to make the Great Lakes the British boundary. They were ready for the peaceful transfer of authority at St. Louis to the United States, March 10, 1804. They responded with patriotic enthusiasm and with courageous effect when the second break with England came in 1812, campaigning with William Henry Harrison.

In the winning of the west there is no more stirring story than that which follows the growing column of immigration across the Mississippi, at St. Louis, after Amos Stoddard raised the flag of the United States. St. Louis had a population of about 1,000 when the acquisition went into effect. Beyond were wilds in undisputed possession of Indians and "varmints" except for the fur traders' posts along the Missouri. But such was the incoming of settlers that in eight years the government at Washington recognized Upper Louisiana as a political territory, established a capital at St. Louis and organized five counties with a legislature. And six years later this territory, growing as have few other subdivisions of the United States, was asking the statehood, which was granted in 1821 to 70,647 people.

In the forty years preceding the Civil war, St. Louis was the gateway to the west; was on the debatable border between the north and the south. The city grew in population, in trade relations, in wealth, while the irrepressible issue of slavery hung, a darkening cloud, overhead. Strong individualities

matured in that period—St. Louisans who are to be taken into account in national as well as in local history.

Flood, fire and pestilence together failed to check the progress of this indomitable community. During the decade when the city passed through these visitations the phenomenal percentage of growth was made.

In 1861 St. Louis put the seal of disapproval upon disunion. Out of a few days of political chaos, in which the pavements were spattered with the blood of citizens, the community emerged with law and order asserted and with civil government fully restored, not by outside force, but through the inherent, instinctive regard of the people. The record of St. Louis for 1861-5 is a monument. Here centered the ghastly horrors of war. Here was carried through by St. Louisans, on their own initiative and by their own efforts, the work of mitigation of those horrors.

The last third of the century brought the supreme test of the fibre of St. Louisans. The city had waxed great and opulent on waterway transportation. The *in hoc signo* on the municipal seal was a steamboat. The age of the locomotive matured. In two decades rails took the place of rivers. No other American city has been called upon to adapt itself so quickly to such radical changes in business, in industrial life. St. Louis marked time, caught the cadence of the shriller whistle and moved on with added prestige.

From the beginning the settlement developed distinctive character. St. Louis came to possess traits which helped it to outstrip other cities. Here, through the generations, elements of population have been blending. They have produced a people who have exerted far reaching influence and who have performed no insignificant part in the making of the American nation. In the commingling of these elements has been wrought the evolution of the Fourth City.

Most American of American communities,—a people drawn from all parts of the world,—St. Louis is still making history. The first decade of the new century has added twenty per centum to the population. Within that period St. Louisans created and conducted the greatest of World's Fairs—a Universal Exposition in the comprehensive meaning of the words. Metropolitan progress has been more rapid and more important for this city in the past ten years than in thrice that time preceding. Growth in business and values has been prodigious. Advancement along educational, architectural, artistic lines has been notable. New forces for higher civilization have become powerful. The time is fitting to look backward.

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## THE PORTRAIT OF LACLEDE

The portrait of Laclede, which is given the place of honor in St. Louis, the Fourth City, is an engraved copy of the original in the family chateau at Bedous. Until recently the existence of this original portrait of the founder was not known to St. Louisans. Before the World's Fair, a commission was given to Jonathan Scott Hartley, one of the best, if not the best of American





PIERRE LACLEDE, THE FOUNDER OF ST. LOUIS  
World's Fair Statue by Hartley

portrait sculptors of this generation, to produce a statue of Laclède. Mr. Hartley became deeply interested in his subject. He devoted much time to the collection of all of the information then obtainable about the personality of Laclède. From descendants, from family traditions, from descriptions given by those who had known the founder and who had given their recollections to early historians, Mr. Hartley gathered his impressions. He embodied them in the statue of Laclède, which was placed on the World's Fair grounds and which is now preserved in the art museum. A picture of Mr. Hartley's statue is given herewith. The idealization as to form is undoubtedly accurate. The sculptor presented the founder in the dress of a captain-commandant of the period. He portrayed Laclède as wearing a sword and holding in his right hand a scroll conveying the exclusive trading privilege which prompted the settlement of St. Louis.

Discovery of the original portrait of Laclède followed the World's Fair. In a measure this discovery may be attributed to the stimulus which the World's Fair gave to historic research along local lines. Very little was known, even by the St. Louis descendants of Laclède, about his origin or early life until within the past two or three years.

In 1877 Hon. Elisha B. Washburne, then United States minister to France, obtained, officially, information of the antecedents of Pierre Laclède. He was prompted to make the inquiry because of his family relationship to the founder of St. Louis. Mrs. Washburne was a descendant of Laclède. She was a Gratiot. Her father was Henry Gratiot, a grandson of Laclède.

The inquiry was conducted by Minister Washburne through Pierre Margry, who consulted the records in the Ministry of the Marine of the Colonies. "Mr. Margry was able," he wrote, "to indicate the connections of the founder of St. Louis, which are not such as stated in a newspaper of that city in 1845, according to the report of Mr. Nicollet."

From the official records of France, Mr. Margry gave the following information respecting the Laclède family:

"Pierre Laclède Liguist was a native of the parish of Bedous, Valle d'Aspe, diocese d'Oloron en Bearn, about fifteen leagues from Pau (Basses-Pyrennes). He was the younger brother of a Mr. Laclède, maitre particulier des Eaux et Forêts of the province of Bearn pays de Soule et Basse Navarre. (I don't think this has ever been published.) Pierre Laclède went to Louisiana in 1755, and founded a commercial establishment in New Orleans."

In 1905 and 1906, Theophile Papin, Jr., a descendant of Laclède, was traveling in Europe. He had become very much interested in the life and character of Laclède as known in connection with the founding and early history of St. Louis. Accompanied by his mother, Mrs. Theophile Papin, Sr., Mr. Papin made a pilgrimage to the family home of the Laclèdes in the Valley of Aspe. There was no difficulty in finding the Laclède chateau. The family had been prominent and influential for generations. Mr. Papin learned that the father of Pierre Laclède was syndic and mayor-lieutenant of the Valley of the Aspe; that he was identified with the history of that part of France, near the border of Spain; that his name was Jean de Laclède.

No descendants in France now bear the family name. The male line has not been perpetuated. Mr. Papin found a lineal descendant of the brother of Pierre Laclède in the person of the wife of Dr. Alfred Madamet; the mother of Madame Madamet was born Laclède. As the representative of the American branch of the family, Mr. Papin was made welcome and was given every assistance to add to his information about the early years of Pierre Laclède. He was shown, in the chateau, the portrait of Pierre Laclède, painted about the age of thirty, when he was preparing to leave France to establish himself in the Mississippi Valley. Even then Laclède had in mind the forming of a settlement. He organized a small company of young men from the immediate vicinity of Bedous and intended to lead them. One of these young men was Ortes, who remained with Laclède and came with him to St. Louis. Every facility was afforded by Dr. and Madame Madamet to Mr. Papin to obtain a perfect copy of the portrait, which is reproduced in this work. The portrait was painted 154 years ago. It was in a state of perfect preservation, as the engraving would indicate. In accordance with the custom of that period, the artist gave to the background the sentimental suggestion of the occasion for the painting of the portrait. Laclède was about to leave for the New World. In the distance was painted a ship with sails set for the voyage. The artist added his idea of the destination in the form of a rugged shore line and a tropical tree. Bordeaux was then the seaport for the part of France in which the Laclèdes lived. Pierre Laclède, according to the family history, sailed from Bordeaux, with his little colony, for New Orleans.

The elder brother of Pierre Laclède was, as Margry reported to Minister Washburne, master of streams and forests for a province, an official position of importance. Upon the family estate of the Laclèdes was an old mill, which was operated, according to family history, in connection with the farming when Pierre Laclède was a young man. When the founder of St. Louis left his ancestral home, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of agriculture and of milling; he was well versed in civil engineering as understood and practiced a century and a half ago; he was, in a general way, well educated. The family of the Laclèdes were sufficiently prosperous to give this younger son the capital with which to establish himself in the New World.

Pierre Laclède was a man of striking physique. According to the family traditions, he was of erect, commanding presence. In stature, he was above the average in the community. He is said to have been about five feet and eight and a half or nine inches in height. He had a dark complexion, olive rather than swarthy. His forehead was broad, the nose was prominent. Laclède's black eyes, which seemed to penetrate, are remembered as constituting one of the most impressive of his physical traits.

Pierre Laclède, as the traditions hold, was a man of restless energy. He made frequent trips, arduous as the mode of transportation was in those days, between St. Louis and New Orleans. In winter time he made the journey on horseback, through the Indian country. He gave his personal attention to the fur trading affairs of his house. He was the outside active director, leaving to Auguste Chouteau, who was methodical and painstaking, the care of the books, of the stocks and of the office business generally.



When Richard Edwards wrote his *Great West*, about 1855, he consulted with Madame Elizabeth Ortes. He said she was at that time "the only woman living who recollects the founder of St. Louis." Mr. Edwards gave from the recollection of Madame Ortes, this description of Laclède:

"He was little above the medium size, of very dark complexion, with a large nose, expansive brow, and piercing and expressive eyes."

Madame Ortes was born at Vincennes the year that St. Louis was founded, 1764, and came in her childhood to St. Louis. She was fourteen years of age when Laclède died. Her opportunity to know the founder was excellent. Jean B. Ortes, the husband of Elizabeth Ortes, was one of the companions of Laclède who came with him from the old home on the southern border of France. Jean B. Ortes built the first church in St. Louis. He was a carpenter, a cabinet-maker and was living in the town when the first newspaper was started. Madame Ortes survived him many years and according to Edwards, was in good health with an astonishing memory at the age of ninety-six. The Philibert family descended from her, a daughter having married Joseph Philibert, who was one of the early fur traders.

The traditions handed down in St. Louis confirm the information which Mr. Papin obtained from family sources in France, that Laclède had in mind, from the time he left home, the founding of a colony of his own somewhere in the Mississippi Valley. By years of planning he prepared himself for the establishment of St. Louis.

The transfer of sovereignty from France to Spain did not at all change Laclède's ambition. The founder had been reared at the foot of the Pyrenees almost on the border of Spain and had acquired a knowledge of the language of Spain, as well as of the laws and customs of the Spanish people.

Pierre Laclède adopted an American, democratic style of writing his name when he became a resident of the Mississippi Valley. He dropped the "De Laclède." No signature of his which bears that form can be found. His favorite way of signing his name was "Laclède" or "Laclède Liguist."

When he died in 1778, Laclède was fifty-four years of age. He had been in this country twenty-three years. He left France when he was about thirty-one years old.

In the possession of this generation of the Laclède family in France is the silver plate used by the father and the brother of the founder of St. Louis. The pieces bear the family coat of arms. The reproduction, in black and white, does not do justice to the beautiful coloring of the heraldic design. The coat of arms of the Laclèdes is described, technically, as, "blue with face of gold, accompanied in chief with three towers of silver; in the point, a woodcock in silver with two roses of same color. On the sides are two eagles with spreading wings supporting the crest. The escutcheon is surmounted with a crown in the impression of the full coat of arms upon the plate. Used as a seal the escutcheon was surmounted by a helmet." The Laclèdes were authorized to use the crown or the helmet at will above the escutcheon.

To Mr. Papin, whom he addressed as "my dear cousin," Dr. Madamet not long ago sent copies of the coat of arms taken from silver plate of the family. He also sent, as a souvenir, a book from the library in the chateau, concluding

his letter, "The old home of the Lacledes is open cordially to you." Dr. Madamet is a surgeon of high rank in the French army. Madame Madamet was born Garneau. Her mother was born Laclède, the last to bear the name of the immediate family.

Interesting, in connection with this recent discovery by a Laclède descendant, of the family coat-of-arms, was the statement which the venerable Cerre Chouteau made in his latter days. Cerre Chouteau was a grandson of Pierre Laclède. He described to younger members of the family a seal bearing this same design which had belonged to Laclède Liguist and which at one time had been in his possession but had been lost. The historian Margry, in correspondence with descendants of Laclède described the family coat-of-arms as presented.

# St. Louis, the Fourth City

## CHAPTER I.

### THE FOUNDING

*A Man and Two Treaties—Maxent, Laclède and Company—“Exclusive Trade with the Savages”—Organizing the Expedition—“A Considerable Armament”—Three Months from New Orleans to Ste. Genevieve—Eight Miles a Day with the Cordelle—Winter Quarters Found at Fort Chartres—Strongest Fortification in America—A Crisis Converted into an Opportunity—Threatened Exodus Stayed by Laclède—Commandant Neyon de Villiers’ Policy Antagonized—Permanent Settlement Quickly Planned—Search in December for a Townsite—West Bank Explored to the Mouth of the Missouri—The Rocky Bluff—“Delighted to See the Situation”—Laclède “Marked with His Own Hands Some Trees”—Auguste Chouteau’s Vivid Recollection of Discovery Day—Return to Fort Chartres—Recruiting for “Laclède’s Settlement”—The First Thirty Organized—“Nearly All Mechanics”—The Landing, February 15, 1764—Plan of the Founder Which Became the Map of Old St. Louis—Building of the First House—The Chouteaus at Cahokia—De Villiers’ Departure from Fort Chartres—Most of the Habitants Accept Laclède’s Advice—The Name “St. Louis” Chosen—“In Honor of Louis XV. and of the King’s Patron Saint, Louis IX.”*

He was delighted to see the situation. He did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment that he proposed. Besides the beauty of the site, he found there all of the advantages that one could desire to found a settlement that might become very considerable hereafter.—*Auguste Chouteau’s Narrative.*

A man and two treaties made St. Louis.

The man was the founder. The treaties were the opportunity.

The man was Laclède. His judgment determined the site in December, 1763.

In November, 1762, Louis XV. of France gave, on paper, Louisiana to the King of Spain. The undelivered gift was kept an international secret.

In February, 1763, Louis purchased peace by giving England what had been French possessions east of the Mississippi.

These were the two treaties. They afforded Laclède his opportunity to found a settlement instead of a trading post. They influenced the French villagers to leave the east side and to join Laclède at St. Louis.

The fifteenth Louis was weak in war. He was crafty in diplomacy. Affection for his “dear cousin,” the King of Spain, had nothing to do with the gift of territory. By that gift England was kept east of the Mississippi.

While France, England, Spain and Portugal were changing the map of America, Pierre Laclède and Antoine Maxent and a few others who stood high with French authority at New Orleans were planning the enterprise out of which came the creation of St. Louis.

Laclede was thirty-one years old when he arrived in New Orleans. His older brother was an official of importance in one of the southern provinces of France. The ancestral acres of the Laclede family were in the valley of the Aspe. Laclede was a well-educated man. He had learned agriculture and milling in his youth. He left France in 1755 to seek his fortune in the New World.

Planting was tried. Hurricane and high water discouraged. With some capital brought from France, Laclede invested in business in New Orleans. The mercantile and shipping interests suffered severely from the war between England and France. Laclede volunteered for service in the inter-colonial war. He was assigned to duty on the staff of Colonel Antoine Maxent. Between the colonel and his staff officer developed esteem which led to life-long friendship and confidence. Maxent was much older. He had means and influence. Laclede's services strongly commended him to the colonial authorities.

In 1762 Maxent and Laclede were in position to ask favor of the government. Laclede, ambitious and hopeful, hungered for an opportunity. Maxent, with an older man's admiration for the younger's enthusiasm, was ready to risk. The colonel and the staff officer went to the acting governor-general with their proposition. They were received favorably. A grant was issued to them conferring the privilege of "exclusive trade with the savages of the Missouri and with all of the nations residing west of the Mississippi for the term of eight years."

A company was organized to operate the grant. The syndicate was called "Maxent, Laclede and Company." Occasional references in the archives mention "Antoine Maxent, Pierre Liguist Laclede and Company." Colonel Maxent was the financial manager. He raised most of the capital. Merchandise in quantities and suitable for the trade was ordered from abroad. The stock was such as the partners deemed "necessary to sustain on a large scale their commerce which they proposed to extend as much as possible." Upon Laclede devolved the practical work of organizing the expedition. By him the boats were secured and the force was recruited. The merchandise did not arrive as soon as expected. Winter and spring passed. When the boats were loaded the summer of 1763 had come. Laclede had hoped to start up the river in the spring. He got away from New Orleans the 3rd of August.

By one who traveled with it, the flotilla of Laclede was called "a considerable armament." Eight miles a day was the limit of progress. The boats were low hulls. They resembled somewhat the more rudely constructed barges of the present day. There were no cabins. The boats were without accommodations for the crew. Bales and barrels of goods for the trade, materials and tools for the post filled the hulls. About the center of each boat was a stubby, strong mast, well braced. Tied to the mast was a rope several hundred feet long. This was the cordelle. The loose end of the rope was ashore, in the hands of the cordellers. In single file the cordellers moved at a slow walk dragging the boat after them. The bank was the tow path. The river was the canal. The fifteen to thirty men were the motive power. In shallows, poles were used. When the wind blew up-stream, sails were spread.

Stops were frequent. In advance of the cordellers were men with axes. The path must be cleared of fallen trees, of vines. The chasseurs de bois were

part of Laclède's organization. They left the boats in the morning and hunted in the woods for game to supply the commissary. When one bank of the river was found to be utterly impassable for the cordellers, the boats were tied to the bank until the ropes could be carried across to the other side. Thus the armament was shifted from side to side. When darkness came on, the boats were tied to the bank. A shelter tent was pitched for the family of Laclède. The men slept on the ground or on the cargoes. In later years, as commerce on the river increased, before the day of steamboats, the path of the cordellers became beaten. When Laclède came up to the river, the cordellers traveled a trail upon which were countless obstructions.

Through August, September and October, the expedition toiled along the river banks. November came before Ste. Genevieve was sighted. Full three months the journey had required. While Laclède was laboriously making his eight miles a day, news having vital bearing on his plans had reached the Illinois country. Laclède heard it at Ste. Genevieve. He faced a situation before which one less resolute would have faltered. France had ceded to England the country east of the Mississippi. That was the news. The war was over. The cession was the price which bought peace.

Laclède acted quickly. Ste. Genevieve had the growing lead industry behind it. Storage rooms for the goods with which the "armament" was loaded could not be found. Moreover, Laclède looked at the flat upon which the Ste. Genevieve of that day was built. Another and higher site was chosen a few years later. Laclède remembered his experience with high water near the lower coast. He "deemed the location insalubrious" for his business. So he said to Auguste Chouteau, the stepson not yet fourteen years old, upon whom he looked even then as his lieutenant. An officer came down from Fort Chartres. The expedition of Laclède had been heralded. Courtesies were due from one officer to another. The commandant at the fort sent his greeting to Laclède. He offered a storage place within the fort. At the same time he explained that he was expecting to evacuate upon the arrival of an English garrison. While he waited the facilities of the fort were offered to the expedition. Services that Maxent and Laclède had rendered the colonial government warranted this tender.

Laclède pushed on. Fort Chartres was six miles above Kaskaskia. The massive stone walls, eighteen feet high, were near to the landing. They enclosed four acres of ground. The storehouse, into which Laclède's boatmen carried the goods, was a stone building ninety feet long. Government house, barracks, coach house, guard house, bakery—all of the structures were of stone with doors of wood and iron. Cannon were in the embrasures covering approach from every direction. Fort Chartres had stood a third of a century. It was considered the strongest fortification in America. Seven years after Laclède made the fort his temporary stopping place, the wall nearest the river was undermined and slipped into the water. In 1772 Fort Chartres was abandoned.

Neyon de Villiers was the commandant of the Illinois, stationed at Fort Chartres. He was calling in the garrisons of outlying posts when Laclède arrived. Preparations to depart for New Orleans were under way. Commandant de Villiers contemplated more than a military movement. He considered it proper to advise the settlers to follow the French flag down the river. He thought to leave only the stone fort and the soil to the new authority.

Under the shadow and protection of Fort Chartres was a considerable settlement—St. Anne de Fort Chartres. A few miles away was Kaskaskia. To the north was Notre Dame de Kahokias. Villages and hamlets on the east side of the river had been growing slowly while the French flag floated over Fort Chartres from 1720 to 1763. And now Neyon de Villiers proposed a general exodus. He was the representative of France in the Illinois. His advice was impressive. Many French settlers were preparing to follow it. On the Missouri side there was no settlement north of Ste. Genevieve. Up to that time the east side had been favored by the pioneer immigration. But now, if Neyon de Villiers had his way, the skirmish line of civilization was to fall back from the country of the Illinois.

Laclede had learned patience as he waited costly months for his goods to come from abroad. He had faced hardships, such as he had never known previously, in his three months' voyage up the river. The crisis of his enterprise confronted him at Fort Chartres. The goods were stored. Some presents were made ready for the Indian tribes with whom Laclede intended to trade. Friendly relations were established with the officers at the fort. Acquaintance was cultivated with the habitants. Much information Laclede sought about the surrounding country. The goods were shown. The prospects of trade were discussed. The local sentiment was extremely discouraging. It was December. Ice was running in the river. Laclede declared himself. He would found "an establishment suitable to his commerce." No turning back for him! Ste. Genevieve would not do. When he stopped there he did not find storage room sufficient for one-fourth of his cargoes. Furthermore, he rejected it "because of its distance from the Missouri."

Of his courage and decision of character, Laclede gave the wondering habitants immediate illustration. With Auguste Chouteau he crossed to the west side of the Mississippi. Very thoroughly Laclede explored the country northward, all of the way to the mouth of the Missouri. It was not a due course. Topography was studied. Two natural conditions were taken into careful account,—the west bank of the river and the country some distance back from the bank.

Turning southward from the limestone bluffs near the mouth of the Missouri, Laclede and Auguste Chouteau passed through groves of oaks and across small prairies. They went some distance west of the river front. On the way northward Laclede looked for water power. The little river flowing through what is now Mill Creek Valley attracted his attention. He noted that it was fed by large springs. Coming southward, on the return, as he neared the slope leading downward to the ravine through which ran the little river, Laclede led the way to a considerable elevation. From that vantage point he looked over the tree tops to the river. This elevation became "the Hill" of St. Louis for a third of a century. Upon it, but graded down somewhat, stands today the courthouse. From this hill Laclede surveyed the locality in detail. He went down through the trees to the river. The distance from the hill to the water was about one thousand feet. It included two gentle descents and two plateaus about three hundred feet wide. Laclede saw with satisfaction that the plateaus,



AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU



LACLEDE'S HOUSE



BOAT WITH CORDELLE, SAIL AND POLES

By This Means of Transportation Laclede Ascended the Mississippi  
to Found St. Louis





or terraces they might be termed, were heavily wooded. Here was building material at hand for the first house construction. At the eastern edge of the lower plateau, the explorers came to a sharp, rocky bluff. Precipice might better describe the topography. But the drop to the sandy beach was a short one. At most this precipice or bluff was thirty-five feet high. In places the distance was only twenty feet down to the sandy beach. Both to the north and to the south, as Laeledge traversed the water front, he discovered that the rocky bluff sloped down gradually until it was lost in the alluvial low land.

In the rocky river bluff, which he examined arpent by arpent, Laeledge found breaks or gullies through which the water line was easily reached from the first plateau or terrace. One of the depressions was at the foot of Walnut street as now located. The other, the most rugged of the two, was some distance north. From the edge of the rock-bound front, Laeledge closely scanned the river movement. He saw that the current ran strong in shore; that the water deepened rapidly just off the strip of wet sand.

"He was delighted to see the situation," the boy Auguste remembered to write years afterwards of that eventful December day; "he did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment that he proposed. Besides the beauty of the site, he found there all the advantages that one could desire, to found a settlement which might become very considerable hereafter."

As long as he lived, Auguste Chouteau recalled vividly the doings of that December day which determined the location of St. Louis. He told how Laeledge, "after having examined all thoroughly, fixed upon the place where he wished to form his settlement."

The two approaches to the river's edge were compared. The one north of what is now the foot of Washington avenue had been worn by the steady flow of water from a spring. The depression at Walnut street was wider. Laeledge followed the gully down to the water. He pointed out to Auguste Chouteau that this afforded the easiest route from the river to the plateau. He determined that there should be the boat landing. Then the founder went back through the gully to the first plateau and examined the ground. Trees of considerable size were growing on the terraces and slopes westward to a short distance beyond the hill. Thence, from the timber line, stretched "a grand prairie." This open, rolling ground Laeledge commented upon with satisfaction. It offered the "common fields" waiting for the farmer.

Stopping on the lower plateau, near the head of the gully, Laeledge "marked with his own hands some trees."

Where those trees were marked became the center of the trade and commerce of St. Louis, to continue more than one hundred years. With the expansion of the city this center moved slowly westward and northward. Today the financial and commercial heart of the Fourth City is within rifle shot of the place where Laeledge marked the trees in December, 1763.

As he thus determined the site, the founder said to the all-observant boy beside him:

"You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form a settlement after the plan that I shall give you."

Immediately following his decision on the site, Laclede returned as quickly as the journey would permit to Fort Chartres.

"He said, with enthusiasm, to Neyon de Villiers and to the officers, that he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement which might become, hereafter, one of the finest cities of America—so many advantages were embraced in this site, by its locality and its central position, for forming settlements."

But more than he told to Neyon de Villiers, he said to the settlers. His courage in that critical period was splendid. His enthusiasm was infectious. Gradually it neutralized the spirit of exodus which at the time of Laclede's arrival was in a way to become a panic.

Neyon de Villiers was much more than commandant at Fort Chartres. His authority extended over the garrisons of Fort des Pees on the Illinois river, Fort Massiaque on the Ohio, and Fort Vincennes on the Wabash. From these posts, de Villiers ordered the soldiers to come to Fort Chartres. That was to be the rendezvous preparatory to the departure for New Orleans. The commandant even called in the little force at Fort des Causes, although it was west of the Mississippi. He summoned back the officer he had sent some time before to build a fort on the Osage. His orders called for evacuation of the east side and delivery to the English when they came. De Villiers was taking from the west side the protection of the lead mining industry against the Indians. His policy jeopardized all of the trading plans of Laclede.

As the troops assembled at Fort Chartres, Commandant de Villiers became more insistent that the settlers should abandon their homes and go with him.

With tact Laclede opposed the influence of the commandant over the French settlers. During the midwinter weeks he pushed preparations for his own settlement. He assembled tools and provisions. He recruited a picked force of thirty men, "nearly all mechanics." Among them were joiners, millers, blacksmiths and farmers, most of them young and unmarried—men who were inspired with the founder's hopefulness and who turned their backs upon de Villiers' warnings. While he prepared for the forming of his settlement Laclede talked with the French habitants at every opportunity. He advised them not to leave the country where many of them had lived for years. If they were unwilling to be under British authority, he offered to provide them with homes in his settlement.

A mild winter favored the founder. Early in February the channel partly cleared of ice. Navigation was possible. Into a boat were hastily loaded tools and provisions and some goods for barter. With the cordelle over their shoulders the thirty men bravely started along the river bank. To a boy of thirteen years and six months as he gave him charge of the thirty men and of "the first boat," Laclede said:

"You will proceed and land at the place where we marked the trees. You will commence to have the place cleared. Build a large shed to contain the provisions and the tools, and some small cabins to lodge the men. I give you two men on whom you can depend, who will aid you very much. I will rejoin you before long."

The start was made on the 10th of February. The distance was over sixty miles. Jagged edges of ice fringed the shore. Not so much as the trail of a tow path existed. Late on the 14th of February the toiling cordellers reached the mouth of the gully at the head of which Laclède had marked the trees. They pulled the rope to the nearest tree and made fast. They did no more that day.

"The morning of the next day," wrote Auguste Chouteau, "I put the men to work. They commenced the shed which was built in a short time. The little cabins for the men were built in the vicinity."

Good reason Laclède had for sending Auguste Chouteau to the site as early as possible. The same reason prompted him to remain at Fort Chartres. All winter the founder stimulated interest in his settlement. He extolled the advantages of the location he had chosen. Neyon de Villiers saw his proposed depopulation checked. The pliant and the weak were disposed to go with the commandant and the soldiers. The determined and the adventurous showed increasing confidence in Laclède. De Villiers was resentful. Relations between the commandant and the founder became uncomfortable. Laclède maintained a courteous front but he lost no opportunity to firmly express his opinion counter to the commandant on the exodus policy. He did not leave Fort Chartres until spring was well advanced. Even then the trip he made to his settlement was a flying one. The conditions at the Fort and in the French villages still demanded his watchfulness. But some of the habitants on the east side were now ready to move to "Laclède's Settlement," as they called it. They wished to locate on the west side before the English came and de Villiers departed. To his settlement Laclède hastened. Further instructions were to be given to the boy leader and the thirty pioneers.

"In the early part of April Laclède arrived among us," wrote Auguste Chouteau. "He occupied himself with his settlement, fixed the place where he wished to build his house, laid a plan of the village which he wished to found and ordered me to follow the plan exactly, because he could not remain any longer with us. He was obliged to proceed to Fort Chartres to remove the goods that he had in the fort before the arrival of the English, who were expected every day to take possession of it. I followed to the best of my ability his plan, and used the utmost diligence to accelerate the building of the house."

The "plan" which was given to Auguste Chouteau is the basis of the map of St. Louis today. The Rue Principale of 1764 is the Main street of 1911. It was on the first plateau above the river. It paralleled the edge of the rocky bluff back some three hundred feet. On the west side of that street, near the approach through the gully to the river, Laclède located his house and the business headquarters of Maxent, Laclède and Company. He gave the directions for the cellar and for the assembling of material of which the house was to be built. And then he hurried back to the east side of the river.

About this time Madame Chouteau and the children were moved from Fort Chartres to Cahokia. The oldest of the children was Pierre, who was seven. The family remained at Cahokia until fall, awaiting the completion of the stone house.

Midsummer came before the critical situation at Fort Chartres was cleared up. Laclède had made two hurried trips to St. Louis. With great tact he avoided open antagonism. In June the commandant and the troops departed for New Orleans. The English had not arrived. St. Ange de Bellerive had come from Vincennes with his garrison. He was selected by de Villiers to remain at Fort Chartres to make the formal delivery of the post to the British who were expected daily. Here fortune favored Laclède, although he did not realize it at the time. To St. Ange, the commandant gave forty men, one captain and two lieutenants. A considerable number of the inhabitants of the two villages, Fort Chartres and Prairie du Rocher, followed the commandant. Neyon de Villiers promised to obtain for them free grants of land near New Orleans to compensate them for the sacrifice they were making. Ostensibly the commandant did all this persuading and promising to enable these people to settle in Lower Louisiana under the French government rather than to pass under the dominion of the English whom he called heretics.

Years afterwards Auguste Chouteau wrote the story of those last eventful weeks at Fort Chartres, as Laclède told it to him. He pointed out the reasons which had prompted the commandant. He showed how much the efforts of Laclède to counteract the course of de Villiers meant to the settlement of St. Louis. This is what Chouteau set down in his Narrative:

“The real motive of M. de Neyon was to take with him a numerous train and to descend the Mississippi in triumph, to make the government believe that all of these people followed him for the great esteem which they had for his person; thereby to gain the confidence of the authorities in order to obtain a place that he had in view. But when he learned on arriving in New Orleans that the country was ceded to Spain, he determined to return to Europe. He forgot all of the promises that he had made to these poor credulous people, who remained upon the strand without knowing where to lay their heads, and the government officials troubled themselves but little about them because they knew that the colony would soon change masters. So that these unfortunate people, who had abandoned the little property which they possessed in Illinois to go and live under the French government found themselves completely disappointed in their hopes. Some of them, in order to live, went with their families to Opelousas, others to Attakapas, where, however, they could not carry, on account of the want of facilities for transportation, the materials which they had brought down with them, and they were obliged to give them for almost nothing in order to procure a little maize and rice. Those, who having some means returned to Illinois, were very happy to find there M. de Laclède, who aided them in a great many ways, and observed to them that if they had been willing to follow his advice, as others had done, who had not wished to follow their evil destiny, they would not now be in the unpleasant situation in which they found themselves.

“M. de Laclède, penetrating the motive of M. de Neyon, did all in his power to hinder them from going down. He did it without any interested view, but through humanity, telling them that the English government was not so terrible, that for his part he had a much more favorable opinion of it. However, if, in consequence of false prejudice, they did not wish to remain under this government, he would recommend them to go up to his new settlement. He would facilitate for them the means of getting there. As for their animals, it was very easy to conduct them by land, since the journey was only nineteen leagues by a good road. Several families accepted these offers and obtained immediately the wagons and the necessary harness to proceed to St. Louis. And there he aided them in settling and ordered me to assign them lands, according to the plan which he had made, which I did as exactly as possible.”

Those who followed de Villiers in his fleet of twenty-one boats numbered eighty. They were for the most part from the immediate vicinity of the Fort.



ST. LOUIS IN 1770, AT THE END OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT



HOME OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, SR  
Main and Market Streets, on Lot Given to Him by His Mother

Perhaps the most significant thing about Auguste Chouteau's reference to Louis XV. in the naming of St. Louis is the evidence it affords that the settlement was formed and obtained its first impetus on the mistaken belief that it was on French soil. Not until the 18th of April, 1764, did d'Abbadie, the French commander at New Orleans, write in his journal, "the rumors of the cession of this colony to Spain have the appearance of truth."

This is a song of the axmen who cleared the way for the future,  
 Sung for the glory of them who live not in song or story!  
 Glory of seer and of prophet, glory of dream and of vision  
 Live though we know not of it, potent in lives of all men,  
 Strong with the strength of the axmen who cleared the way for the future,  
 Seeking not praise for their labor, forgetting the deed in the doing;  
 Strong for their way's whole length, achieving and still pursuing,  
 Leaving each deed for the future, leaving the meed and the guerdon;  
 Dying, forgotten and fameless, rewarded with rest after labor,  
 Living in work well done, immortal but evermore nameless!

Stroke after stroke of the axmen, clearing the way for the future,  
 Fell on the oak till it trembled and crashed to the ground by the river;  
 So with a sound that echoed around the world of the future  
 Fell the first oak of the vast wild that stretched to the Western ocean;  
 So as the lot was cast from the lap of the whirling planet  
 Vanished the ages past in the future's dim commotion!  
 True was the stroke of the steel blade, true was the axman who held it,  
 Making a way as the oak fell for the new age following after;  
 Seeking for roof-tree and rafter to build for his children their cabin,  
 Builder he of a city, mother of states and of cities,  
 Mighty of stalwart grace of the myriad nameless builders,  
 Bred to the trade of the steel blade, bred to the grace that fails not,  
 Mighty where all else fails, availing where strength avails not—  
 Grace of the stroke repeated with the axman's sure precision,  
 Falling again on the place where the first stroke failed of its purpose;  
 Falling again and again with a patience never defeated!

—*The Axmen of St. Louis, by William Vincent Byars.*

## CHAPTER II.

### PERMANENCE 1764-1770

*The Crises From 1764 to 1770—Fur Trade Profits—Relations with New Orleans—Laclede's House the Seat of Government—Coming of St. Ange and the French Soldiers—An Historical Controversy—Opinions of Waterhouse, Edwards and Other Writers—Delay in the Delivery of Fort Chartres—Second Great Day of St. Louis—Judge Lefebvre and Notary Labusciere—Organization of Government—Third Great Day of the St. Louis Calendar—First American Declaration of Independence—Lafreniere, the Protector—Republic of Louisiana Proclaimed—Ulloa Banished—Arrival of Count O'Reilly—Aranda's Estimate of the Revolution—Execution of the Patriots—Earliest St. Louis Records—Expedition of Rui—A Rival Settlement Planned—Spanish Forts at the Mouth of the Missouri—A British Officer's Visit in 1767—Ste. Genevieve's Test of Laclede's Authority—The Founder's Mill—Cathedral Records on the "Paincourt" Tradition—Assignments of Homesteads—Common Fields and Commons—Titles Issued by St. Ange—St. Louis More Than a Trading Post—Townsite, Property Rights, and Government.*

Probably no people were ever blessed with a more suitable and worthy person for governing chief than St. Ange de Belleve was for them; and their sound judgment and necessity at once assigned him to the place.—*Ethel H. Shepard.*

Conditions in the autumn of 1764, Auguste Chouteau wrote, "commenced to give some permanence to St. Louis." Neyon de Villiers and the soldiers had gone south from Fort Chartres. The settlement was growing. Laclede had taken possession of the stone house. The fur trade promised to yield at least 200 per cent. profit. But in the years from 1764 to 1770 the resources, the tact and the courage of the founder were taxed to carry the settlement through a succession of crises.

The first season fully redeemed expectations of the fur trade. The percentage of profit was realized. This prosperity had its complications. The whole community was fascinated with the fur trade. Too many merchants! Too few farmers! From Ste. Genevieve and from other settlements the food supply was drawn. Within three years, Laclede's settlement became known from Montreal to New Orleans as Paincourt which, tradition has it, meant "short loaf." The settlement was short of bread of its own making. Laclede remedied the situation, but the nickname was in use for many years. The English made it Pencur and Pancur. Even in their official reports of the period they so designated the settlement.

Situations more serious than bread shortage presented themselves. Revolution was breeding in New Orleans. Rather than accept Spanish authority, the French habitants there proposed to declare a republic. With Laclede had joined their fortunes the Papins and the Chauvins from Fort Chartres. These were near kinsfolk of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in Lower Louisiana. While commercial fortune smiled on the founder, political uncertainty involved the future of St. Louis. Upon Laclede's mind had grown stronger, as the months went by, the ambition to establish firmly "a settlement which might become very considerable hereafter." The founder of St. Louis

came of a creative family. His father and his brother held offices in their province in Southern France which called for constructive talents. They had charge of the forests. They looked after the pastoral interests of their section. They conducted engineering works. Pierre Laclede of Bedous came well by the public spirit which inspired him during the period in which St. Louis was obtaining permanence—1764-70. With that inspiration the secret treaty giving Louisiana to Spain was vitally related.

The first attempt to enforce Spanish authority at New Orleans was made. At the same time a considerable expedition was undertaken to build forts at the mouth of the Missouri river, above St. Louis. More than that, the instructions to the Spanish government provided for establishing around these forts a colony to absorb St. Louis. Forts and colony were to be the seat of military power, the center of population and of trade for the possessions of Spain from the Mississippi westward.

The cradle of St. Louis was "Laclede's house." In the original plan which he handed to Auguste Chouteau, the founder laid out a public square. He called it Place d'Armes. This square was on the river front, at the first landing. It was bounded on the south, the west and the north by three narrow streets. These streets are today Walnut, Main and Market. Immediately west of the Place d'Armes, upon a square of like dimensions, the founder located the headquarters of Maxent, Laclede and Company. There he built the warehouse for the goods and for the furs. There he constructed the stone building with the high basement and full front gallery which for years was called "Laclede's house." The building was used for office purposes. It served as home for the family of Laclede until another house a block north was built for a dwelling. The square west of Laclede's house was set apart for the church and the burying ground. It is today the site of the old cathedral.

The three squares, extending from the river front westward to Third street composed the nucleus. The settlement grew northward and southward slowly along the narrow streets, somewhat narrower than they are now, paralleling the river.

In Laclede's house St. Louis was nursed. Government was established, not too elaborate, not theoretical, but sufficient to the needs of a community which did not know whether it was under a colonial flag or was to be part of a new nation. When, in 1770, conditions became settled there was nothing that Laclede and his associates had done which required undoing. The community had faced and overcome successive crises.

This narrative does not deal with events at Fort Chartres or New Orleans except in so far as they have direct and important bearing upon St. Louis. Conditions under which St. Ange remained at Fort Chartres, circumstances under which he "established himself" at St. Louis have essential relation to what followed. Civil government was inaugurated. Upon what authority? Land titles of the Fourth City trace back to that beginning. Was it self government? Was consent of the governed, plain and simple, the basis of the law and order established in this community? If so, a chapter in American history is to be written. The principle of Americanism was born in St. Louis.



The man from Bedous in the Pyrennees is entitled to recognition which has not been accorded him.

Many years ago the late Sylvester Waterhouse, of the faculty of Washington University, gave no little study to the establishment of government at St. Louis. Documents of importance to the question, which have since come to light, were not then available. Nevertheless Professor Waterhouse reached definite conclusions. He said:

Under the stress of a felt necessity, and without the sanction of Spanish authority, the people unanimously vested in St. Ange the powers of self government until the arrival of his legally appointed successor. It was reasonably presumed that Spain would promptly imitate the example of England in taking possession of its newly acquired territory. It was not at all anticipated that years would elapse before the assertion of the Spanish right of sovereignty.

It is a singular incident in the history of St. Louis, that its first form of government, though instituted in a period of rigid imperialism, was distinctly republican in character. The authority under which de Bellerive ruled was conferred by popular action. In its methods of creation this self-constituted government was purely democratic. The King of France could not legally appoint the lieutenant-governor of a province that had ceased to be a part of the French empire. Still less could the viceregent in New Orleans do an act which his sovereign was not empowered to perform. But though the governor-general could not confirm the action of the St. Louis colonists with the full sanction of law, he yet sustained the popular choice by his personal approval—the appointment of officers whose purely ministerial functions did not involve the grant of lands vested in the director-general of Louisiana, until Spain assumed control of its possessions. In the exercise of this right, Governor Aubry completed the organization of the civil government of St. Louis by the appointment of two judges, an attorney general and a notary.

Richard Edwards, painstaking in his searching for historical truth about St. Louis, was in doubt about the conditions under which St. Ange removed to St. Louis. In 1859, after a careful examination of all records accessible to him, Mr. Edwards wrote:

Whether this advent of Louis St. Ange de Bellerive was authorized by M. Aubry, the commandant-general at New Orleans, or whether it is to be attributed to a voluntary act on his part can never, with certainty, be decided; we have only the light of surrounding circumstances from which to form an opinion, and we are inclined to the belief that he had received orders from his superior in New Orleans to remove to St. Louis; for the inhabitants at that time, both of Upper and Lower Louisiana, had come to the firm conclusion of resisting, to the last extremity any attempt of the Spaniards to enforce their authority in New Orleans or on the west banks of the Mississippi. These hostile intentions, so manifest at the time, probably induced the commandant-general to give St. Ange de Bellerive instructions to remove to St. Louis with the few troops remaining in his charge after the evacuation of Fort de Chartres. This, of course is only a conjecture, but we would think it was inconsistent with the character of a royal officer's fame, on his own authority to remove to any post with the troops under his command. He was an officer under the king, and had no room to act, except in obedience to the dictates of his superiors.

But Mr. Edwards concluded that consent of the governed entered into the new government which was established at St. Louis. He wrote: "St. Ange de Bellerive was most popular, both as an officer and a man, and according to the general wish of the inhabitants, he was placed at the head of affairs, and exercised all the functions of a commandant-general."

Two judges, a procurer-general and a notary were appointed to complete the organization of government at St. Louis. Edwards said: "This was done most probably by the commandant-general of New Orleans." He added: "All

that Aubry, the commandant-general, of New Orleans could do, he probably did by the appointment of these officers. That it was by his approbation that St. Ange de Bellerive accepted of the authority which the people vested in him, there is no doubt."

John Canon O'Hanlon, who came to St. Louis in 1843 and studied at the Lazarist seminary for the priesthood, devoted no little attention to the early history of the settlement. His conclusion about the status of St. Ange de Bellerive was this:

"By the acclaim of the inhabitants, he was then appointed governor of Upper Louisiana, of which that town (St. Louis) was then regarded as the capital."

"Very liberal arrangements," this writer said, "were made by Captain St. Ange de Bellerive for dividing the lands about St. Louis in favor of the settlers. Allotments with title were inscribed in the 'Livre Terrien,' while choice of quantity and location seemed to have been fairly apportioned. New colonists began to arrive and St. Louis grew apace. Under a mild and patriarchal form of government, simplicity of habits, and happy social relations seemed to warrant a peaceful existence, and a prosperous future for the thrifty settlers."

Elihu H. Shepard, in his early history of St. Louis, described the installation of government, with St. Ange de Bellerive as executive, in these words:

"By their unanimous desire he was vested with the authority of commandant-general, with full power to grant lands and to do all other acts consistent with that office as though he held it by royal authority."

Scharff, the historian, said that St. Ange, in January, 1766, "assumed by general consent the position of lieutenant-governor."

In Reavis' "History of the Future Great City of the World," published in 1876, the chapter on the settlement of St. Louis, said to have been the work of David H. MacAdam, a student of St. Louis history, contained the following:

St. Ange, on arriving in St. Louis, at once assumed supreme control of affairs, contrary to the Treaty of Paris. There was indeed no person who could have conferred upon him this authority, but there was none to dispute it. Nearly all of the settlers of St. Louis and other posts in the Valley of the Mississippi were of French nationality or accustomed to the rule of France. In Lower Louisiana the promulgation of the terms of the treaty was received with intense dissatisfaction, which was also the case at St. Louis, when the intelligence was subsequently announced there. The authority of Spain could not at that time be practically enforced and the inhabitants of St. Louis not only submitted to the authority of St. Ange, but appear to have welcomed his arrival with satisfaction. He proved a mild and politic governor, fostering the growth and development of the new settlement and ingratiating himself with the people.

Wilson Primm, a descendant of one of the "first thirty" who came with Auguste Chouteau, wrote as early as 1831 on the settlement of St. Louis. He delivered a lecture before the St. Louis Lyceum which was printed in the Illinois Monthly Magazine in 1832. Therein he wrote that the inhabitants, "submitted to the authority of St. Ange without murmur for they had always been accustomed to the mild and liberal policy of the French power." He shed no light upon the controversy as to the character of government at St. Louis from 1764 to 1770.

# PLAN of ST. LEWIS

With the Project of  
an entrenched Camp French

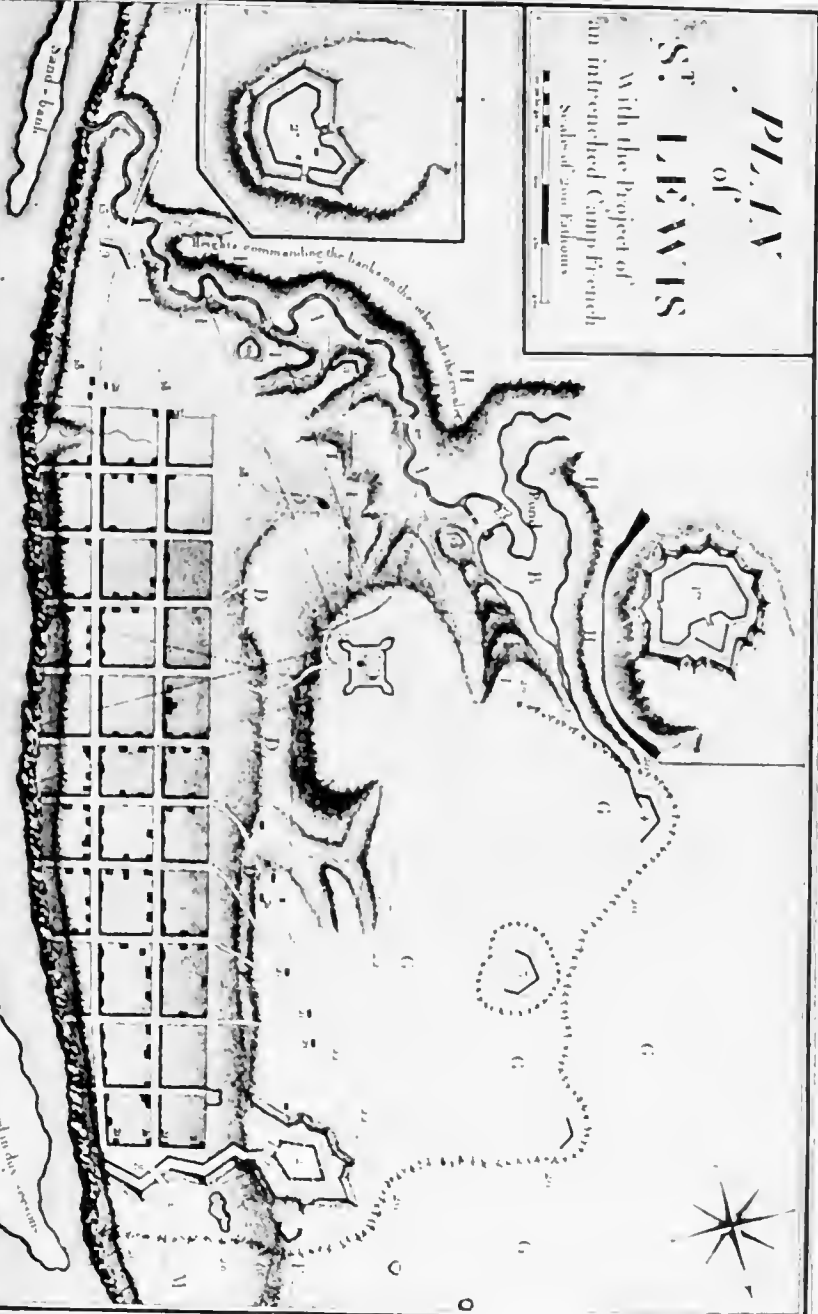
Scale of 2000 Paces



MISSISSIPPI



River



THE COLONIAL MAP OF ST. LOUIS IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD  
Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society



William F. Switzler, in his "History of Missouri," published in 1876, held to the tradition of some form of popular government at St. Louis before the coming of the Spanish. He said:

After the surrender, in 1765, of Fort Chartres to Captain Sterling by Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, the latter moved his small garrison of troops to St. Louis, the recognized capital of Upper Louisiana. Regarding him as a gentleman of great personal worth, and an officer of sound discretion and justice, the people of St. Louis, in some form of expression, designated him as their governing head. Whence the authority thus to distinguish him, his tenure of office, and duties are unknown; certain it is, however, their confidence was not misplaced, for he administered the responsible trust with wisdom and success. There can also be no doubt that he acted with the approbation of M. Aubry, commandant-general of New Orleans, and that officer delegated to him the authority to make grants of the royal domain, hoping for the retrocession of the country to France, when the grants would be legalized by confirmation.

In an historical review which appeared in the Missouri Republican January 10, 1854, the statement was made that St. Ange "came here in 1765, and was immediately invested with civil and military power over Upper Louisiana, though, of course, without a shadow of right—beyond the acclaim of the inhabitants. To such an extent did he exercise the authority thus assumed by him, that he made numerous grants of land, which were suffered to stand by his Spanish successor and have since been confirmed by the United States."

Billon, the indefatigable collector of data, says in his "Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days under the French and Spanish Dominations:":

Captain St. Ange, with the unanimous approbation of the inhabitants, was vested with the functions of temporary governor, but not choosing to assume the sole responsibility of making concessions to individuals of lots and lands, now the possession of their new sovereign, Lefebvre, who had been judge on the other side, was associated with him for that purpose in the temporary civil government of the place, and Joseph Labuscierre, a man of legal knowledge, who had filled the position of King's attorney was assigned to the position of acting secretary and executed all the official writings of the temporary government.

General Firmin Rozier, of Ste. Genevieve, in his history of the Mississippi Valley, says:

The French officers who took charge of Upper Louisiana from 1765 to 1779, were regular officers then of the Illinois country under the French allies; hence their authority was recognized willingly by the inhabitants of the west side of the Mississippi.

From Ste. Genevieve also came one of the most interesting contributions on the character of the St. Ange government. It appeared in a biography of Dr. Lewis Fields Linn issued in 1857. Mrs. E. A. Linn and N. Sargent were the authors. Dr. Linn was a half brother of General Henry Dodge, afterwards senator from Wisconsin. He settled in his youth at Ste. Genevieve, about 1815. He was one of the three commissioners selected by President Jackson to settle the French claims which had come down from colonial times. In 1833 Dr. Linn became a United States senator from Missouri by appointment to the vacancy caused by the death of Colonel Alexander Buckner. He was elected senator by the Missouri legislature three times and died shortly after the third election. Mrs. Linn was a talented woman, a sister of James Relfe, of Washington county, Missouri, who was a member of congress. Dr. and Mrs. Linn were married in 1818. Except for the period when his duties as commissioner to settle the claims of the early French settlers required his residence in St. Louis, Dr. Linn lived in Ste. Genevieve. He was in his

day considered the best informed man on Missouri history. Mrs. Linn prefaced her book with the statement that it had been "prepared in obedience to what seemed a call from those, 'the pioneers of the great valley of the Mississippi and their descendants,' between whom and Dr. Linn there was during his lifetime, a long subsisting association, a mutual interchange of good offices, which from the beginning became more and more intimate and cordial, until the ties that thus bound them together were severed by the hand of death." Reviewing the explorations and the first settlements of the Mississippi Valley, Mrs. Linn told of the coming of Laclède and of the founding of St. Louis. She emphasized the relation of those events to the transfer of the country east of the Mississippi by the treaty of Paris to the British. She described how the French habitants "evinced great repugnance to dwell under the rule of the arrogant islanders" and "crossed the river in great numbers, joining their relatives on the western bank." She continued her narrative:

They did more; with their western brethren they set up a government of their own, the spontaneous act of all, and St. Ange de Bellerive was the first governor in America elevated by the living voice of the people, under no commission or charter from any foreign king or government, and without aid or hindrance from any previously contrived machinery. He had been the commandant of the French at Fort Chartres; he crossed the river in 1765; whereupon he was invested with civil and military command over the "Upper Louisiana," and this power he most beneficently exercised and held with a firm and able hand, though legally he had no right to its sway, save the acclaim of the people. He was "every inch a governor," and no act of his will ever militate against the advocates of popular sovereignty. His name is in benediction; his very name,—if one who has scarce a pretension to the most imperfect knowledge of the elegant language in which it is written can be permitted to say,—"St. Ange de Bellerive" may be rendered as having been the Blessed Angel of the beautiful waterside. He, supported by the unanimous voice of his constituents, did and performed every act and deed deemed necessary and proper for the common weal of all without fear, favor or affection. His numerous grants of land, to their honor be it spoken, were afterwards confirmed by the Spaniards and again reconfirmed by United States commissioners, notwithstanding the efforts of the speculating landsharks who sought to impugn their validity.

The late Pierre Chouteau and Judge Walter B. Douglas made exhaustive investigation of the St. Ange government. Both had access to the most recent discoveries among the archives. They arrived at radically different conclusions and only a few months before Mr. Chouteau's death in 1910, engaged in a good-humored controversy to convince each other. Mr. Chouteau, arguing from records as he interpreted them and from traditions with which, as a descendant of Laclède he was familiar, held to the view that Laclède was the master mind in the government as he had been in the founding of St. Louis. He believed that when St. Ange went beyond the exercise of military authority to protect the habitants and to insure good order, he did so by virtue of the desire of the community expressed through the leading spirits of whom Laclède was chief. Mr. Chouteau summed up his argument, in which he quoted from the treaty, from the order of evacuation, from the diary of Aubry and from various other sources, with these words:

St. Ange was cordially welcomed at St. Louis; he organized the little settlement as a military post, but refused to assume civil authority for fully three months, as the scanty instructions creating the detail in no way provided for the unexpected events which occurred, and the general orders of the evacuation carrying out the stipulation of the Treaty of Paris would have forbidden, had such an act been thought possible. St. Ange hesitated, but after seeing the

perplexed state of uncertainty prevailing, with the unanimous call of the inhabitants, proclaimed himself acting governor. Not doubting the wisdom of this act, but wishing to avoid any appearance of rebellion he at once reported to Aubry. If not by commission, at least by written communication, St. Ange's acts were approved, and authority was granted by Ulloa to continue the civil government he had formed on Spanish soil under the banner of France. In 1768 Ulloa made provision for the maintenance and pay of the troops and St. Louis was relieved of this burden.

It was the conviction of Mr. Chouteau that the civil government of St. Louis, previous to the coming of the first Spanish governor in 1770, was republican in spirit, if crude in form. The records of the period, as Mr. Chouteau read them, conveyed the impression that while reports were made by the St. Ange government to Aubry at New Orleans, St. Louis was left to manage its own affairs with little or no exercise of authority from New Orleans.

Judge Douglas, on the contrary, believed that St. Ange moved from Fort Chartres bringing with him the officers of the government there and continued to exercise in St. Louis the same functions with the same authority that he did east of the Mississippi previous to the delivery of Fort Chartres to the British. He thought that Louis Houck, in his "History of Missouri," had "reached the only tenable conclusion, which is that the story of St. Ange's election to the governorship had its origin in somebody's imagination and is the baseless fabric of a vision." Judge Douglas said that "a very thorough search has revealed no earlier statement of St. Ange's election by the people than that made in the Missouri Republican on the 10th of January, 1854. Though this newspaper statement cites no authority, and, although no authority has ever been found to support what is there said, the story has been followed with qualification or elaboration by nearly every writer on Missouri history since its publication."

Mr. Houck sums up his estimate of Laclede's character and reviews his activities in these words:

That he was a man of enterprise, of courage, of resolution and tenacity of purpose is certain; that he was far-seeing and not devoid of imagination is shown in the selection he made of the site where is now located his great city, and whose glory and magnificence he could even then see in the dim future. The fact alone that he, of all the Frenchmen locating trading posts at that early day in the Mississippi Valley, did select, not by chance but evidently upon mature consideration, location for a great city, which has been ratified by all men since as eminently wise, impresses upon us his great intellectual forethought. That he was full of energy is shown by his frequent journeys to New Orleans; for it was then no easy task for travelers to go a thousand miles up and down a great lonely river, enduring every privation, beset by every danger. That he also traveled through the interior of our state; that the paddles of his canoe dipped the waters of the Missouri, the Osage, the Gasconade, and even the Platte, we feel certain. That he was a man of liberal spirit is shown by the fact that, without hesitation, he invited his countrymen to his own trading post, when they became agitated about the cession east of the Mississippi to England, thus bringing competitors to his own door. That when an emergency arose he was capable of decided original action, is shown by the fact that, although his firm only had a concession to trade with the Indians, and no land grant, he nevertheless assigned to all new immigrants landed locations, exercising a power not delegated or granted, and at that period, both under French and Spanish rule, requiring more than ordinary self-reliance. That he was wise is shown by the fact that he induced St. Ange to remove the seat of his government from Fort de Chartres to his trading post rather than to Ste. Genevieve, the nearest, oldest and most important settlement on the west side of the river, and then caused St. Ange to expressly grant the lots assigned by him to the first settlers, opening a record of

land grants, and in this way placing upon a firm basis his work. All these characteristics we can infer from what he did, but no more.

The chain of events, the official record, can be given in brief but complete form.

On the 30th of January, 1764, D'Abbadie, the representative of France in Louisiana, forwarded orders to Neyon de Villiers, commandant of the Illinois, to evacuate the posts and the territory and to report at New Orleans with his troops and with as many of the settlers as chose to come with him. The order was comprehensive. It applied to the west side as well as to the east side of the Mississippi. While concentrating the troops from the several posts on both sides of the river, and as far as Vincennes, Neyon received a second order telling him to leave a garrison of forty men under St. Ange at Fort Chartres to remain until the arrival of the English garrison. The second order was sent at the request of Robert Farmer, British commandant, to whom the French had shortly before turned over Mobile under the treaty of cession to England.

Farmer had intended to have British garrisons take possession of the posts in the Illinois as Neyon de Villiers evacuated them. He started Major Loftus with an expedition up the Mississippi in 1764. The British were fired on by the Tunica Indians in ambush not far above New Orleans and returned down the river. To Farmer was brought the disquieting news that Pontiac was organizing the Indian tribes to prevent British occupation of the posts in the Illinois country. Then it was that Farmer asked that a detail be left at Fort Chartres to hold the place until the British could get there. To this the representative of France assented. The order to Neyon to leave St. Ange with a garrison of forty men was forwarded. St. Ange became temporary commandant of Fort Chartres. Neyon de Villiers completed his arrangements and sailed from Fort Chartres for New Orleans June 15th, 1764.

The second British movement to occupy Fort Chartres was from Canada. Again an expedition turned back. Pontiac's force was deemed too strong to venture hostilities. The third attempt to send troops to Fort Chartres was made by way of Pittsburg and the Ohio river. A force of Highlanders, one hundred strong, reached the fort. St. Ange made delivery on October 10th, 1765. He had remained fifteen months after the departure of Neyon de Villiers. In the meantime the death of D'Abbadie had occurred. Aubry, next in command, was the French representative at New Orleans. He was waiting only to receive the Spanish and to put Spain formally in possession of the isle of Orleans and of the territory west of the Mississippi. France had ceded; Spain had accepted the territory, but had not occupied it.

Aubry kept a journal. He recorded in minute detail the progress of events in the chaotic period between the receipt of the letter directing that Spain be put in possession of Louisiana and the consummation of the delivery—a period of five years, from 1764 to 1769. The tenor of Aubry's journal seems to show that France formally retired from the Illinois with the withdrawal of Neyon de Villiers and that St. Ange remained only to garrison the fort until the British arrived.

Friction attended the delivery of Fort Chartres. Aubry mentions this. "The same difficulty as at Mobile," he wrote in his journal, "occurred at the



Illinois. The English claimed the cannon and implements of the fort, but they secured only seven little cannon of which four were damaged, precaution having been taken to remove the rest to the other side of the river. After having protested, St. Ange passed to the other side with two officers and thirty-five men."

At this point, in his journal, Aubry makes the only mention of the action taken by St. Ange which proved of such importance to St. Louis.

"He established himself at Painscourt, near Ste. Genevieve, and returned to me fifteen men because of lack of flour left him by the English."

Aubry comments on the ingratitude of the English as shown at Fort Chartres:

"It was only on the incessant prayers of Mr. Farmer that Mr. D'Abbadie left in Fort Chartres a garrison and cannon instead of evacuating it. It does not seem just that the English in taking possession of the fort which we had guarded for them only from kindness should oppose us in taking the effects of the king."

From the journal it seems that there can be no misunderstanding of the status of St. Ange and of the garrison of forty following the withdrawal from the Illinois of Neyon de Villiers, the soldiers and the settlers. A reason existed for the choice of St. Ange to guard the fort until the English came. Of all the officers who were evacuating French posts in the Illinois, St. Ange had the most influence with Pontiac. He was a very brave soldier. As soon as it was known to the Indians that France had ceded the Illinois to England the warriors began to assemble in the vicinity of Fort Chartres and to threaten that the English should never be allowed to occupy it. All of St. Ange's influence and power of persuasion were required to prevent actual hostilities.

St. Ange marched up the river, fifty miles, to St. Louis. He was received in Laclède's house. His soldiers were quartered near by. The garrison remained year after year. As he had done from Fort Chartres, St. Ange continued to send reports from St. Louis to Aubry, upon conditions, especially as to the Indians. It does not appear that he received specific orders from Aubry. It does appear that Aubry knew what was going on at St. Louis and that he did not disapprove. Was St. Ange given latitude to act upon a general understanding that he might be useful in the Illinois for the "security of the habitants who remained?" Had he come under the spell of Laclède's personality as had so many of the settlers on the east side of the river? St. Ange never left St. Louis. When he retired from active service, on the coming of the first Spanish lieutenant-governor, he continued to reside in Laclède's family. When he died, he intrusted the disposition of his estate to Laclède.

Until the coming of St. Ange and the soldiers, Laclède had governed St. Louis by the force of his personality. Up to this time he had been supreme in all matters. The settlement was growing rapidly. It was reaching out for the fur trade of the Missouri country. It was assuming important relations with the Indian nations.

The first great day in the history of St. Louis was when the boy, Auguste Chouteau, arrived "with the first thirty" and felled the first tree. The second great day was when St. Ange de Bellerive marched in at the head of his

soldiers. Gladly Laclède welcomed the garrison. Military authority was established, so far as seemed necessary to insure tranquility. French settlers on the east side, who had delayed departure so long as the French flag floated over Fort Chartres, followed the garrison to St. Louis.

St. Ange assumed no civil functions upon his arrival. When he delivered Fort Chartres to the English he referred to himself as "captain of infantry commanding for the king." Had he succeeded Neyon de Villiers he would have added, probably, to the designation of himself, "commandant of the Illinois." Sterling, the English officer, receipted to St. Ange for the fort. He made no mention of anything beyond that.

Three months St. Ange continued in military authority at St. Louis before he began to exercise civil functions. He was a soldier. He expected orders. He stood ready to obey them. No orders came. St. Ange was willing to act in some minor matters not strictly military, but he was not willing to perform duties which partook of judicial character. Not until January, 1766, did St. Ange begin to yield to the public pressure and to the arguments of the strong men of the community.

The civil government for St. Louis was planned in Laclède's house. To the new settlement came from the east side of the river Joseph Labuscieri and Joseph Lefebvre. Perhaps the names should be reversed. At the time of coming Lefebvre was the most important person. But Labuscieri soon became the most prominent of the two in St. Louis. Both were educated, shrewd men. They had been strongly attracted by Laclède's personality. They caught his confidence in the future of St. Louis. They were among the foremost to accept Laclède's leadership rather than Neyon's advice.

"Judge" Lefebvre, he was at Fort Chartres. In 1743 he came from France bringing his wife and son to Louisiana. He must have had influential friends. A year after his arrival in New Orleans Lefebvre was given a grant of the exclusive privilege to trade with the Indians of the Illinois district for five years. He settled at Fort Chartres and remained after his privilege expired. He became the judge of the district.

Labuscieri came from Canada to Fort Chartres before Laclède founded St. Louis. He was a lawyer, skilled in the drawing of official papers. He married in the village of St. Phillippe, four miles above Fort Chartres and became the leading citizen of that community. St. Phillippe was the settlement from which the entire population, with the exception of the miller, moved to St. Louis. It is not difficult to infer that Labuscieri was the leader in the migration. That he was regarded as a person of importance by the founder is seen in the fact that Labuscieri was allotted an entire block of ground in St. Louis. He received the verbal assignment of the block bounded by Main and the river, Vine and Washington avenue. At Fort Chartres, Labuscieri had performed notarial functions. He had been called deputy for the king's attorney. When the form of grant or title to real estate was agreed upon at Laclède's house, Labuscieri's lot was one of the earliest, if not the first to be entered in the register or livre terrien.

On his arrival in 1765, about the time of St. Ange's coming with the troops, Lefebvre was given by Laclède a half block of ground. He built a

house of posts at the corner of Main and Locust. Their course indicated a complete understanding on the part of Lefebvre and Labuscieri with Laclède arrived at before the coming of Captain Sterling and the Highlanders to Fort Chartres. The judge and the notary had decided not to follow Neyon down the river. They had agreed together to join their fortunes with Laclède. The year 1765 found them permanently settled in St. Louis.

Judge Lefebvre strongly supported Laclède's views in favor of the establishment of civil government. Labuscieri contended that, without systematic recording of public events and official acts, in time all matters would become confused. Many things would be forgotten. There would ensue much trouble. The weeks went by with the almost daily conferences until at last St. Ange yielded. The plan of government was agreed upon. Lefebvre and Labuscieri were to assist. Both of these men, as already stated, had been prominent in affairs of government on the east side of the river before the cession. Their willingness to act with the old soldier doubtless had its influence to bring about his reluctant consent. The settlers in St. Louis were summoned to Laclède's house. Announcement was made that St. Ange, assisted by Lefebvre, would administer public affairs. The announcement met with the approval of the settlers. And thus, what might be called acting independent government was established and became effective at St. Louis. A tablet, erected by the Wednesday Club, on Main street just north of Walnut, bears this inscription:

On this site  
January 21, 1766,  
in the house of  
Maxent, Laclède & Co.  
civil government was first  
established in St. Louis,  
by  
Capt. Louis St. Ange de Bellerive.  
Died Dec. 27, 1774.  
Military Commandant  
and Acting Governor of  
Upper Louisiana.

Thus a third great day was entered upon the calendar of St. Louis. True to his character as a soldier, St. Ange made a full report of the conditions which had led to the establishment of government extraordinary in form for those times. Promptly the report was sent to New Orleans. At St. Louis it was known that the land was Spain's; that had been formerly announced at New Orleans in October, 1764. d'Abbadie had died in February, 1765, Aubry was in command only until the Spanish arrived to take possession. It was known that a condition of great uncertainty prevailed at New Orleans, with a movement gathering head to proclaim a republic rather than to accept Spanish domination.

To Aubry was conveyed the report of the radical steps taken at St. Louis. The records are silent as to the identity of the person who carried

the report of St. Ange, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that Laclède made the horseback journey in midwinter and presented in person the account of what had taken place. Aubry was expecting Ulloa, the Spanish governor, by every sailing. A revolution was impending. It bore such close relation to St. Louis that the story of it, briefly told, is not out of place.

"Without liberty there are few virtues. Despotism breeds pusillanimity and deepens the abyss of vices."

So read the first American Declaration of Independence. It was proclaimed against the King of Spain, not the King of England. The initial stand of this hemisphere for republican principles was made on the bank of the Mississippi.

For freedom of conscience men laid down their lives in the Province of Louisiana before they did in the Colony of Massachusetts. The protest against monarchy blazed from the musket's mouth at New Orleans earlier than it did at Lexington. Years before the taxed tea was thrown overboard in Boston harbor, the revolution in Louisiana had sent about his business the Spanish Governor who came to rule over the people of that Province. In the decree of expulsion it was declared:

Without population there can be no commerce and without commerce no population. Both are fed by liberty and competition which are the nursing mother of the State; of which the spirit of monopoly is the tyrant and stepmother. Where is the liberty of our planters, of our merchants, of all our inhabitants? Protection and benevolence have given way to despotism. A single authority seeks to absorb and annihilate everything. Without running the risk of being taxed with guilt, no man of any class can longer do anything but tremble; bow his neck and kiss the ground.

These were bold words. They were pronounced with all of the authority of an organized movement at New Orleans nearly ten years before Thomas Jefferson put pen on paper to write "When in the course of human events"—They were uttered with all the formality by the superior council of Louisiana, a body which had taken the place of royal authority to govern.

In the histories of the United States there is but brief mention of the first revolution on American soil against absolutism. And yet the 28th of October, 1768, is entitled to a red letter place in the American calendar of patriotic days. The name of Lefreniere deserves rank with those of foremost American patriots.

This movement for independence in America began when Louis XV. in 1764 sent a letter to d'Abbadie in New Orleans, telling him that France had withdrawn her sovereignty from all parts of North America and had divided her colonies there between England and Spain. The King of France commanded d'Abbadie to deliver the Province to Spanish authority. d'Abbadie communicated the letter to the superior council which shared with him the administration of government in the Province. At the head of the council, with the title of King's Attorney, was Nicholas Chauvin de Lafreniere. He became the head of the movement to found a Republic on American soil. George Washington was then in his early twenties, passing through some interesting love-making experiences. Patrick Henry was a student and had not thought of "Give me Liberty, or give me Death."

Lafreniere was a native of the Province of Louisiana, the son of a Canadian woodsman. His father had followed Bienville, the explorer, to Louisiana. He had acquired sufficient means to send Nicholas to France to be educated. Returning to the Province the young man had risen until he had become the orator and lawyer of the Colony. He had received the appointment of King's Attorney in the superior council and was the recognized popular leader of Louisiana. His talents and following fitted him to be the head of the revolutionary movement.

In the house of Madame Pradel, retired from the street and surrounded by a large garden, where magnolias of luxurious foliage defended them from observation, Lafreniere, the King's Attorney, and his associates, met night after night to plan the Republic of Louisiana. Among these patriots were Chevalier Masan, Captain and Lieutenant Bienville, nephews of the great explorer; Jean and Joseph Milhet, Commander Villare, Hardy de Boisblanc, Marquis, Cariss, Petit, and several others.

The influential merchants and planters were in sympathy with the movement. Lafreniere retained his place in the superior council, which body the patriots controlled. There was no disposition to move rapidly or prematurely.

In the midsummer of 1765 a letter received at New Orleans prompted the first public act of the revolutionary movement. It was from Don Antonio de Ulloa, who wrote from Havana that he had been appointed by the King of Spain to take possession of Louisiana Province and was on the way to do so.

Following the publication of this letter from Ulloa, a popular convention of the Province of Louisiana was called. It was the first of its kind on American soil. It was composed of delegates from the parishes. In that convention the leaders of the movement came into public view. Lafreniere was the dominant spirit. This convention appointed Jean Milhet, the richest business man in the colony, to go to France and to urge that Government to recede from the treaty with Spain and to retain possession of Louisiana.

Just at the time the Acadians, expelled by England from Nova Scotia upon the cession of that province by France, were arriving in Louisiana. The sufferings of the exiles served to intensify the feeling of hostility at New Orleans toward Spain. Milhet went upon his mission.

Ulloa arrived in New Orleans in the spring of 1766. He had two companies of Spanish regulars. He learned quickly that it would be useless to attempt to take control. He induced Aubry, the French officer, who had succeeded d'Abbadie, to remain temporarily to administer government in the name of France. He postponed the raising of the Spanish flag. In September of that year Ulloa sent a squad of his soldiers through the streets and, with the beating of a drum to command attention, announced a decree. This proclamation ordered all ship owners, on arrival in New Orleans, to appear before Ulloa that he might fix the prices at which their cargoes must be sold. The penalty of refusal was that they would not be allowed to sell in the colony. The decree further ordered that the depreciated paper money must be accepted. It sought to regulate outgoing cargoes so that the government could control the exports.

The shipping interests at once allied themselves with the people on the side of Lafreniere and the patriot leaders. Ulloa left the city and went down to the mouth of the river to spend the winter.

Milhet came back from France. He had been unable to accomplish the thing desired. The King of France considered Spain already in possession of Louisiana.

Milhet reported the failure of his mission. The revolutionists agreed that the time had come. They were in control of the superior council, which, by the failure of Spain to assume sovereignty, was the highest authority in the Province.

In the dead of night, October 28, 1768, preceding the day on which a meeting of the superior council had been called, a band of patriots gathered about the cannon at the Tchoupitoulas gate of the city and spiked them. At daybreak Captain Noyan, who had held a commission with the French regulars, marched in at the head of a body of Acadian exiles. About the same time the German colonists came in from the east, under command of Villare. The planters from the south forced their way through the gates on that side. New Orleans was in possession of the revolutionary army of the Republic of Louisiana. The description of the forces recalls the conditions at Lexington a few years later. The revolutionists were armed with all manner of improvised weapons, but they were enthusiastic. Aubry, the French representative, protested, but offered no resistance. A few persons loyal to the Spanish authority went to Ulloa's house, barricaded and prepared for siege. There was no assault. Sentiment was all one way, but not disposed to violence. The superior council was in session the 28th and 29th of October. It adopted the Declaration of Independence, the sentiments of which have been given. It decreed that Ulloa, as the representative of Spain, must leave and gave him three days in which to take his departure. Before the decree was made public, Ulloa had betaken himself to a frigate in the river. On the 31st day of October, without waiting for his days of grace, he sailed away. Aubry again protested in the name of the King of France. The superior council proceeded to govern the province and to prepare papers for the establishment of the Republic of Louisiana with Lafreniere as "Protector." The patriot leaders worked upon a republican constitution and they sent throughout the province republican documents.

At Madrid, the Spanish capital, the character of this movement in the Province of Louisiana was not misunderstood; the importance was not mistaken. After Ulloa, the Spanish Governor, had been expelled by the revolution, the King of Spain called on his ministers to advise. Aranda was then the leading statesman of Spain. He counseled the prompt suppression of the revolution no matter at what cost. His reason was given in plain words. Spain could not afford to have an American Republic on the Gulf of Mexico and in the Mississippi Valley, endangering her other possessions on the east and on the west. For it must be remembered that at this time Spain claimed sovereignty over the Floridas, parts of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. State papers of Spain tell of the serious estimate put upon this revolution at New

Orleans and its possible consequences. Aranda submitted to the Royal Council at Madrid March 22nd, 1769, this statement:

The insurrection at New Orleans seems to be an object of the greatest importance, not only for the reasons which have been expressed above but on account of its consequences. Its situation on the Gulf of Mexico,—it being already as it were, a European town, by its population, and it being converted into a free port which no doubt would be the case,—would attract thither large numbers from Europe. A republic in Louisiana would be independent of all European powers. It would then become the interest of all to keep on terms of amity with her, and to support her existence. The favorable position in which Louisiana would then be placed, would not only increase her population, but also enlarge her limits, and transform her into a rich, flourishing and free State in sight of our provinces which would present the melancholy contrast of exhaustion and want of cultivation. From the example under their eyes the inhabitants of our vast Mexican domains would be led to consider their utter want of commerce, the extortions of their different governors, the little esteem in which they are held, the few offices which they are permitted to fill. These things will weight the great inducements which they have to hate still more the Spanish domination and to think they can brave it with more security, when they shall see that a province, weak when compared with their extensive and populous country, can make good her position with impunity and secure her prosperity.

From October, 1768 to July, 1769, the condition continued in Louisiana while in the Thirteen Colonies the discontent with English rule was growing apparent. When General Gage at Boston was calling in the British red coats from outlying western posts and getting ready to suppress revolt against the stamp taxes of King George the Third, the Count O'Reilly sailed up the Mississippi with a powerful Spanish fleet to suppress the Republic of Louisiana. O'Reilly had been given by King Charles a fleet of twenty-four vessels and 2,600 men to put down the revolution and to establish Spanish dominion. There were 1,398 men able to bear arms on the part of the republic. But they were not all willing. There were royalists who, if they could not have France, preferred Spain to the dangers of an infant republic. There were others who urged the uselessness of a struggle in which it was evident Spain, France and England would be arrayed against them.

Marquis, the Commander-in-Chief of the Republican forces, made a final appeal to his troops to rally and resist the Spanish army. The number that responded was insufficient to justify defense. The odds were pitiful.

The leaders of the revolution conferred with Aubry, the retiring French official. Aubry undertook to act as the medium of communication with O'Reilly. He encouraged the belief that terms might be arranged and suggested general amnesty. As the result of negotiations Lafreniere, Marquis, Milhet and other leaders were induced to go aboard the flagship and meet O'Reilly. They were invited to dine and were treated with great apparent consideration. The Spanish troops landed without any show of resistance. O'Reilly immediately ordered the arrest of all the leading patriots. Villare, the commander of the German colonists in the army of the republic, was bayoneted by the Spanish soldiers who went to take him and died in prison. Nevertheless his memory was tried by military court and condemned with the others to infamous death.

The sentence was pronounced by Count O'Reilly in these words:

I have to condemn and I do condemn the aforesaid Nicholas Chauvin de Lafreniere, Jean Baptiste Noyan, Pierre Carisse, Pierre Marquis and Joseph Milhet as chiefs and principal

movers of the conspiracy aforesaid to the ordinary pain of the gallows which they have deserved by the infamy of their conduct and ipso jure by their participation in so horrible a crime; and to be led to the place of execution, mounted on asses and each one with a rope around his neck, to be then and there hanged until death ensues and to remain suspended on the gallows until further orders, it being hereby understood that any one having the temerity to carry away their bodies without leave, or contravening in whole or in part the execution of the said sentence shall suffer death. And as it results from the said trial and from the declarations of the aforesaid attorney general, that the late Joseph Villare stands convicted likewise of having been one of the most obstinate promoters of the aforesaid conspiracy, I condemn in the like manner his memory to be held forever infamous; and doing equal justice to the other accused after having taken into consideration the enormity of their crime as proved at the trial, I condemn the said Petit to perpetual imprisonment in such castle or fortress as it may please his Majesty to designate; the aforesaid Balthasar Masau and Julien Jerome Doucet to ten years' imprisonment; and Pierre Hardy de Boisblanc, Jean Milhet and Pierre Poupet to six years' imprisonment with the understanding that none of them shall ever be permitted to live in any dominions of His Catholic Majesty, reserving to myself the care to have every one of these sentences provisionally executed and to cause to be gathered up together and burnt by the hand of the common hangman all the printed copies of the document entitled "Memorial of the Planters, Merchants and other Inhabitants of Louisiana on the event of the 28th of October, 1868," and all other publications relative to said conspiracy to be dealt with in the same manner; and I have further to declare and I do decree in conformity with the same laws that the property of every one of the accused be confiscated to the profit of the King's Treasury.

The common hangman refused to carry out the sentence. The united voice of the people of Louisiana Province cried out in protest. No one could be found to conduct the execution. O'Reilly changed the sentence to death by shooting. Noyan was young and just married. Friends planned for him an escape, to which O'Reilly consented. The young patriot refused it and declared he would die with his friends.

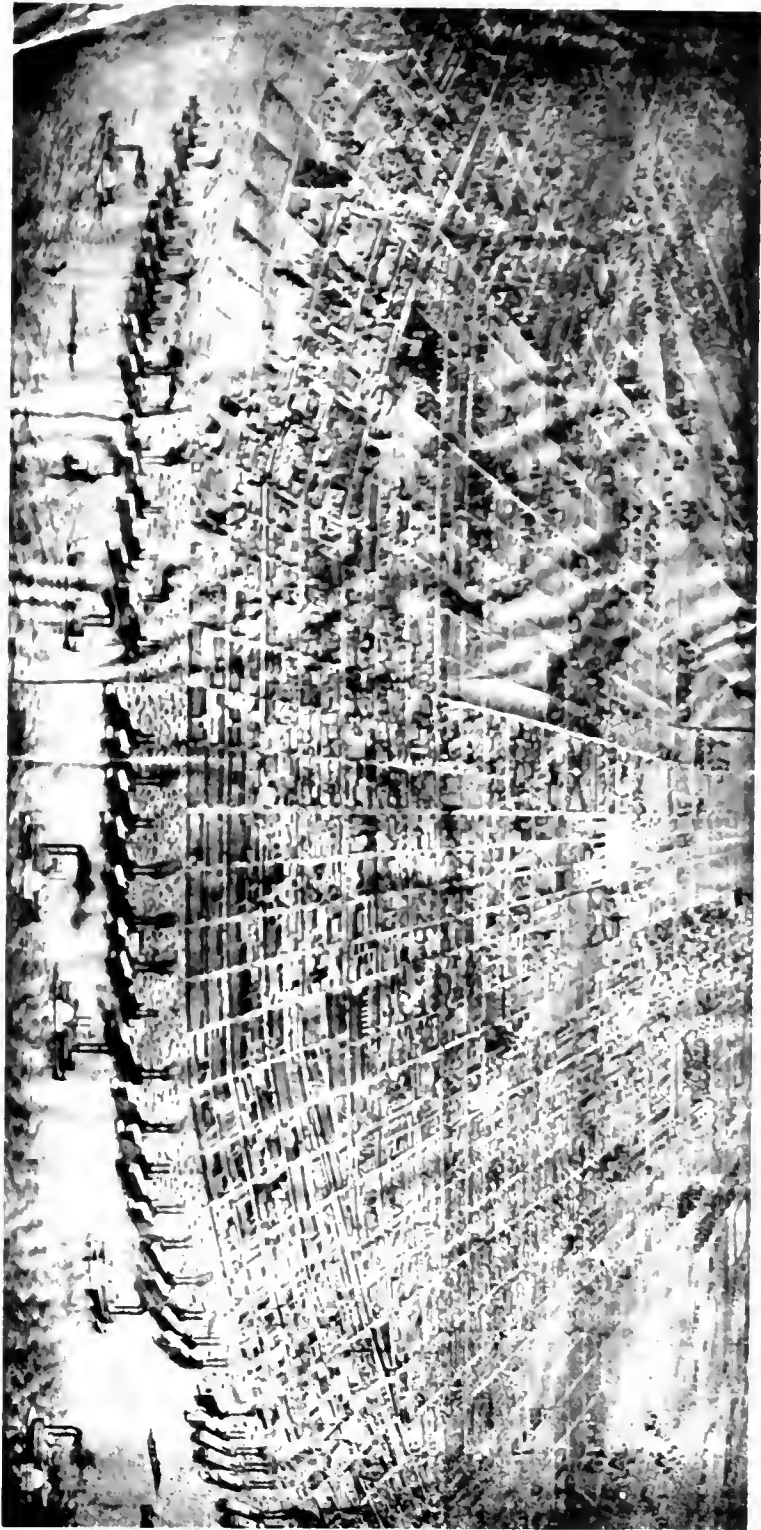
On the 25th of October, 1769, Lafreniere, Noyan and Milhet were led out to the Place d'Armes and shot to death by a file of Spanish soldiers. The others were sent to prison. On the day following the execution the Spanish troops were drawn up on the Market Place. The Declaration of Independence and all documents relating to the Republic of Louisiana were burned by the common hangman. But the words of Lafreniere still lived—"Without liberty there are few virtues—Despotism breeds pusillanimity and deepens the abyss of vices."

While revolution ran its unsuccessful course at New Orleans, the government established at St. Louis still lived. Lefebvre, as assistant to the commandant, relieved him of much of the detail of civil affairs, for which St. Ange had no liking. Labuscieri, the scrivener, was secretary to the government. He kept the records. He wrote marriage contracts, deeds, inventories, wills, leases, affidavits. He signed papers as "Labuscieri, notary."

In the summer of 1766, Lefebvre was appointed by St. Ange keeper of the king's warehouse. Before the removal from Fort Chartres took place, a variety of military stores not included in the cession was taken to St. Louis. Of these Lefebvre remained the custodian until his death. The inventory then taken, 1767, showed guns, tomahawks, powder, ball, uniforms, tools, trinkets for Indians and a miscellaneous lot of not very valuable junk which might have accumulated in a military storehouse through a long series of years.



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When Lefebvre became keeper of the king's warehouse, Labuscieri succeeded him as assistant to St. Ange in the exercise of the civil functions. He continued to keep the records. He wrote the titles which St. Ange signed. He did all that a notary might do. The community wanted government. Laclède, St. Ange, Lefebvre and Labuscieri filled the want. The community accepted. Among the successful experiments in organization and maintenance of government of pioneer communities on the American continent there is none better than that offered by Laclède's settlement.

When he took the inventory of property in the King's warehouse after Lefebvre's death in 1767, Labuscieri signed it as "deputy of the attorney general of the king in Illinois, acting as judge in the place of Judge Lefebvre, deceased." This designated official position about as well as anything else could. The government was "acting." To this might have been added "with the consent of the governed" but universal acquiescence made that unnecessary.

Labuscieri was a model secretary. He was painstaking. He wrote legibly. He preserved with scrupulous fidelity every document. When the first Spanish governor came to St. Louis in 1770 Labuscieri delivered to him a collection of papers neatly arranged with a summary showing the number and character under this caption:

"Statements of the deeds, contracts and other papers executed before Joseph Labuscieri, former attorney for the king and notary public under the French government in the Illinois, from April 21, 1766, to 20th May, 1770."

This collection of papers was the beginning of records of St. Louis. It was accepted as official. It was handed down by one Spanish governor to another. Each governor added his own records. At the time of American occupation, in 1804, there had accumulated 3,000 of these documents. An American official had the sheets stitched and deposited them with the recorder. Many of the documents were not strictly public records. They were agreements between persons, acknowledged before government officials. Apparently they were left with the government for safe keeping; that custom seems to have had its beginning in the confidence reposed in Labuscieri.

Laclède's house was the seat of government. It had been so from the day the founder moved into it in the early fall of 1764. It continued to be so after St. Ange came and took up headquarters there. After January 21, 1766, when civil government went into operation with the duties divided among St. Ange, Lefebvre and Labuscieri, Laclède's house was still the government house. The firm of Maxent, Laclède & Company furnished quarters rent free to the officials. The firm must have met the small expenses of government which were not covered by fees. Behind St. Ange and his associates in office was the master spirit of this government, Laclède. And thus in a well-ordered way government was administered at St. Louis, while at New Orleans there was political turmoil, revolution, bloodshed.

At one time it seemed as if the government at St. Louis was in serious danger. Early in 1767 Ulloa sent an expedition to St. Louis. New Orleans had refused to accept Spanish authority. Ulloa, as an act of prudence had gone down to Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi. Spending the winter

there, he planned the movement to St. Louis. Rui, or Rios, as sometimes printed, was chosen to command. Elaborate instructions were drafted by Ulloa. They were in two divisions. One set of instructions was for the guidance of the command on the journey and after arrival at St. Louis. The other was sealed. It was sent to St. Ange to deliver to Rui on his arrival. It had to do with relations between Spain and England. It was to guide the Spanish commandant if trouble arose through British trespass on the west side of the Mississippi. It provided for strong fortifications of the mouth of the Missouri to control that river, both the north and the south side of it, for Spain. The secret instructions showed the Spanish apprehension that the British would push west of the Mississippi.

The histories tell briefly that Rui, with a Spanish force ascended the river to St. Louis in 1767. It is of record that he made considerable progress with a fort on the south side of the Missouri near the mouth. But Rui did not assert Spanish authority at St. Louis. He remained here several months. He went down the river in 1768. Some of the people who came with him remained in St. Louis. The government formed with St. Ange as the executive head, and with French soldiers as the military power, continued as it was before the coming of Rui.

Ulloa's instructions, both sets, remained buried in the archives at Seville. Copies came into possession of the Missouri Historical Society for the first time in 1907. The secret instructions, bearing the signature of Antonio Ulloa, were dated January 7, 1767. They explained that "for the best success of this important matter the intended purpose will not be given publicity before the plan is carried out."

St. Louis was not mentioned in the instructions but was referred to as "Pencur" or Illinois. The commander was told that "it will be advisable to carry from Ste. Genevieve or Pencur in Illinois all that will be needed in the way of supplies."

"At the mouth of the river Missouri two forts must be built, one on one side, the other opposite. The one on the northern side, the upper side, must be the largest."

The instructions even provided the names for the forts, the one on the north side of the river was to be "Fort King Charles III." The one on the south side was to be named "Fort Charles, Prince of Asturias."

The officers put in charge of the two forts were told that they must remember they were defending the dominions of His Majesty, the king of Spain and the frontiers of Mexico.

"The Missouri river belongs entirely to the Dominion of His Majesty as it has been stipulated in the last treaties between France and England. Up to this date the mouth of the Missouri has been without any population or defense. Therefore the English people have introduced themselves through this river. Going farther into the country they have made treaties with the savages. This must be stopped."

The instructions anticipated that as soon as the fort building began the British would become troublesome. At the first attempt of the British traders

to pass up the Missouri, the commandant was to send a sergeant to the British commander at Fort Chartres with the request that he compel his people to remain out of the Missouri. The refusal of the British commander to observe the terms of the treaty provided for in the instructions might follow. In that event the Spanish commandant was to collect testimony showing violation of the treaty in order that protest might be made and the matter might go to the governments at home.

If the controversy came to force, if the British insisted that work stop on the forts at the mouth of the Missouri, "we must fight with all of the zeal and energy that honor demands. To give up territory which has been occupied and which belongs to the king is a very shameful thing."

The French at St. Louis were to be asked to send all of the men and provisions they could spare for the defense against the British if the attack was made against the fortifications at the mouth of the Missouri. One reason given for keeping these instructions secret was the fear that if the possibility of fighting with the British was known there might be strong disinclination on the part of the Spanish force to go up to the mouth of the Missouri.

When Ulloa sent Rui up the Mississippi in 1767 he had in mind much more than the establishment of Spanish authority at the mouth of the Missouri. He intended to build two forts. He intended to form a colony which would be "of the greatest importance." Upon one fort was to be placed five cannon and on the other three. Houses were to be built for colonists. The savages were to be given presents and informed of the intention to fortify the mouth of the Missouri so that they might not be taken by surprise. Then followed a significant paragraph. The people of St. Louis were not to be informed of the purpose of Spain to establish the colony and the government at the mouth of the Missouri. They were to be told only of the purpose to build forts. They were not to learn that it was the plan to make the new settlement at the mouth of the Missouri the principal one in Louisiana Province, overshadowing Laclède's.

"Mr. St. Ange, as an experienced man in handling the savages, will give his advice as to what shall be done with them. As he does not know the object of this establishment, and as there is no need for him to know it, he may suggest that the forts be established in the Illinois (St. Louis) instead of at the mouth of the Missouri. His views in this matter must not be considered or let interfere with this final decision. Therefore the force must stop at the Illinois (St. Louis) only twelve or fifteen days to rest and to take the necessary provisions. If they can shorten this time it will be a great deal better as any delay may prove of great disadvantage to the purpose intended in the erection of these establishments."

To build the forts and to establish the colony at the mouth of the Missouri, which was to overshadow if it did not at once absorb St. Louis, Ulloa sent a military force which exceeded the garrison of St. Ange at St. Louis two to one. He sent a marine composed of ten oarsmen for each boat. Two French officers accompanied the expedition, one of whom was to be the engineer of the colony. A priest, a surgeon, a carpenter, a mason, a stone cutter and

several laborers and apprentices were included. The families of the married soldiers were encouraged to go.

"The workmen brought from Havana must be married and bring their families with them. Steps have been taken so that the marine people will also get married. In order to succeed great care must be taken and everything must be done in favor of the married men. Treat them nicely and prevent them in a prudent way from using much liquor."

To the soldiers unmarried inducements to take wives with them were offered.

"The captain will offer the sergeants and corporals and soldiers a dower if they wish to marry before they go. They can obtain wives among the Acadians. A sergeant will be given fifty dollars, a corporal forty dollars, a soldier thirty dollars to buy whatever furniture is most needed for their homes. They will be allotted some land so they can cultivate it. They will be allowed to work it during the days they are not on duty and when there is nothing urgent for them to do. The married soldier will live with his wife in the house that they build on the land provided he will return on the days when, he is on duty. This dower will be paid upon receipt given by the soldier, signed by the girl. The signature of the priest also must appear."

Even more than the dower, Ulloa's plan to make a city at the mouth of the Missouri provided. Soldiers whose terms expired were to be induced to become settlers:

"They must be persuaded to establish themselves there. Some land will be allotted them. They can take possession of it with the understanding that should they not be married within a year they shall lose the right to the land and will have to leave it."

Merchants, from St. Louis or elsewhere, were to be made welcome in the settlement at the mouth of the Missouri. They were to be given lots on which to establish themselves.

"They must be given to understand that within two years they must marry or else they will have to go away."

Don Antonio was an astute promoter. It occurred to him that such regulations to encourage matrimony might be thwarted by a dearth of the gentler sex. He inserted in his seventy-six rules for the colony at the mouth of the Missouri the following:

"In case people establish themselves there and cannot get married before their terms are over, because there are no women, the government must be advised so that steps will be taken to bring to the colony orphan girls or some Florida girls from Havana where there are plenty of nice girls without means. They are white and of very good morals."

Ulloa held out the hope of almost immediate increase of population. The migration of the Acadians was to be turned to account for the proposed Spanish colonial metropolis at the mouth of the Missouri.

"From news obtained we have learned that families of Acadians are to arrive. As soon as this occurs, these families to the number of thirty or forty, will be sent to increase the population. They are law abiding people

of good morals, meek and religious. At the time of their departure instructions will be given as to the way in which they shall be received. Land will be allotted them in the same manner as to other settlers."

Immediately upon the arrival of the expedition at the mouth of the Missouri the regulations required the planting of a large vegetable garden.

"Corn fields must be sown immediately, large enough for the demands of the place, as everybody must have enough to eat and hunger must not be known there. Later on wheat will be sown."

Ulloa evidently knew something of the region to which he was sending his colony with such elaborate instructions.

"At the beginning of this establishment there is much to be done. But it is a great relief to realize that just by using the gun and powder we can get enough meat to eat; that the lands are fertile and everything can be produced in abundance, the climate is so good and the soil so rich. Also it is a great consolation to know that the climate is healthy and suitable for the people. Measures have been taken so that the largest possible number of families will come in order to have the best results."

Rui came up the river with the troops and colonists of whom Ulloa expected so much. He stopped at St. Louis and then went on to the mouth of the Missouri. Immediately he discovered that the low, flat ground on the north side was no place for a fort. On the south side he selected a site on the rocky bluff some distance above the mouth of the river. There Rui put his force to work building Fort Charles, the Prince. He made no effort to establish a colony. The captain spent most of his time in St. Louis. Valteau, the surgeon of the party, prepared to acquire property and to locate in St. Louis. The Spanish officers were treated courteously by Laclède and St. Ange. They were given quarters. They made no attempt to establish authority in St. Louis but contented themselves with the fort building to the extent that they deemed practicable. They seem to have concluded very soon after their arrival that Laclède had chosen the best location for a settlement and that any attempt to overshadow it with Ulloa's proposed colony at the mouth of the Missouri would fail.

Ulloa sent Don Pedro Piernas from Natchez to St. Louis in August, 1768. Rui, who had headed the Spanish expedition to establish forts and a colony at the mouth of the Missouri was having trouble. A sergeant, twenty soldiers and the storekeeper had deserted and had gone back down the river that summer. The mission of Piernas was to supersede Rui at the fort. Ulloa had departed from New Orleans; O'Reilly with the fleet and the army was there in force to establish Spanish authority, when Piernas returned from St. Louis and made his report under date of October 31, 1769, addressed to General O'Reilly:

Monsieur de St. Ange, an old French captain, is recognized as commandant of this settlement (St. Louis), and of all the district of the Ylinoeses; but not his authority, for lack of military strength, for he has no troops, and his orders and provisions are frustrated by their non-observance by several transient traders who are absorbing the country by dint of loans and are inspiring the other humble and settled inhabitants with their opposition, although the latter are of a different nature and sufficiently easy to manage with regularity and submission.

The civil and military department is governed by a council composed of four useless inhabitants and one attorney, a notorious drunkard called Labuscere, who is the substitute of the

one who was attorney general in the superior council of this colony. Although the common welfare ought to be the concern of all, they only look after their own individual interests. And although the good-for-nothing Monsieur St. Ange is the one who as first judge presides, whatever is determined by the fancy of the counselors is authorized and executed through the good intention of the latter's respectable old age.

Piernas was evidently impressed with the independent spirit of the community. His report tends to support the impression that consent of the governed entered largely into such government as existed. While at St. Louis Piernas had a personal experience with the St. Ange government. The details of it he reported to General O'Reilly, expressing his astonishment that the community should assume such an attitude toward the Spanish king. This affair of Piernas had much to do with the formation of his bad opinion of the local government. It is also illuminating as regards existing public sentiment at St. Louis in 1769.

Although Piernas started from Natchez September 4, 1768, he did not reach "San Luis," as he wrote it until the end of February. He was caught by an early winter and a frozen river between Cape Girardeau and Cairo and had to come the rest of the way overland. On the 6th of March he went to Fort San Carlos at the mouth of the Missouri. On the 10th of March Piernas took charge of the fort, receiving to Rui for the property of Spain. But before he had completed examination of the inventories there came an order from New Orleans to turn over the fort to St. Ange. Having complied with the order Piernas came down to St. Louis. This is what occurred to shock the representative of Spain:

Having remained there a few days for the adjusting of accounts and the preparation of food, there occurred the novelty of the justice or council of that settlement trying to lay an embargo on the effects of the king, and on some of the persons of the Spanish garrison in my charge, at the instance of three or four private resident traders, in order that they might collect the debts contracted by a Spanish storekeeper, who had fled beforehand, for the supplies of food which they had furnished for the sustenance of the fort, and which the above-said storekeeper received on his Majesty's account and had not satisfied. Their demand having been presented by those persons to the council, the latter determined to execute the embargo.

Piernas says that the St. Ange council ignored the protest that the property belonged to the Spanish king and was proceeding to sell it to pay off the claims held by the St. Louis traders.

It would have been effected had I not opposed it and complained of their sentence to Monsieur St. Ange, as first judge of the council and military superior. I alone recognized him and directed myself to him, so that as such he might protect our right, sustain the right of the Spanish nation and have the respect due the interests of the monarch guarded, of which I made him responsible. Thereupon he suspended the recommendation of the council, and the premeditated embargo ceased and the sale of the effects was permitted on the king's account.

Before effecting my departure the debts contracted by the royal treasury among the habitants who were creditors for the supplies of food and other effects for the sustenance of the troops and employes of the fort, both during the time of the command by my predecessor and that of my own residence were paid.

Notwithstanding his opinion of the government and of the lack of respect shown to Spanish authority, Piernas, in his report, gave St. Louisans a good name for industry and enterprise:

The number of citizens is somewhat greater than that of Misere (Ste. Genevieve), but there are less people in it as there are not so many slaves; for as it is the last settlement that



has been formed, they have not yet acquired the means to have slaves. Notwithstanding, its habitants apply themselves industriously to the cultivation of the fields, which are excellent, of vast extent, and produce much wheat. If they continue with the energy that they have hitherto exhibited, they will soon obtain their increase and will make the settlement one of the most populous, extensive, well managed and respectable of all that have been established.

This, it is to be remembered, was written of St. Louis on the 31st of October, 1769. Rui, who had returned to New Orleans and who also made a report to O'Reilly in October, 1769, said:

All the above country is very fertile. It produces with great abundance whatever is planted. In my time (1768) there was a great harvest of wheat and corn, so that if its inhabitants were to bestow all their labor on the soil, I am of the opinion they would have enough flour for the greater part of this place (New Orleans).

Rui, with the help of St. Ange and Lefebvre, reported twenty-eight Indian tribes which as early as 1768 were coming to St. Louis to receive presents and to trade. These Indians were from the Missouri, the Upper Mississippi, the Wabash, the Great Lakes as far north as the Straits of Mackinac, and as far south as the Ohio river. Piernas described the Indian trade as he observed it at St. Louis in the early part of 1769:

The near and distant Indian tribes, both those of the Mississippi and those of the Missouri and its branches, whose names are contained in the enclosed report, gather here. The season for their greatest gathering is during the months of May and June. At that time they descend the rivers in numerous parties with their traders to declare the furs. That is their first object, although it is accompanied with the pretext of visiting the chief and ratifying the friendship that has been established. All the time of their stay provisions are furnished them at the expense of the king, these provisions being reduced to bread and corn, for they provide themselves with meat; and when they depart, one has to make them, as it is the established custom, a present, which is proportional to the number of each tribe. Most of the tribes, with the exception of some remote and distant tribes of the Missouri, are accustomed to the use of brandy and prefer a small portion of it to any other present of merchandise even of four times the value. If the savages are treated with kindness, reasonably, and with consideration, they are reasonable when in their right mind. But when drunk they are importunate, beggars, insatiable, tiresome. Yet the commandant must always be attentive to them, listen to them with patience, compose the differences and discords among the various tribes, sometimes make rulings and mediate in their pences, with persuasions, sometimes with firmness, and most always with presents.

St. Louis was not two years old when the British tried to secure a considerable part of Laclède's Indian trade. About \$50,000 was expended. Mayor Loftus had failed in his expedition up the Mississippi to occupy Fort Chartres in 1764. He had 400 soldiers from Mobile and thought he was strong enough to fight his way through. At Davion's Bluff, the Tunica Indians attacked him, killed five of his men and drove the force back down the river. Major Farmer commanding at Mobile, adopted the trading policy of the French. He assembled at New Orleans a fleet of boats, loaded upon them \$20,000 worth of Indian goods and, in the spring of 1765, started Lieutenant John Ross up the river. Farmer's official accounts showed that in outfitting this expedition to the Illinois about \$40,000 was expended. The venture got the Mobile governor into trouble with his government. In 1766, Farmer was tried by court martial and one of the charges was "misapplication of 10,000 pounds said to be expended on Indian presents, and on the fortifications." Farmer was acquitted after a long trial. The presents may have aided the British to get into Fort

Chartres; they did not prevent the Indian trade from seeking Laclede's settlement.

In October, 1767, Edward Cole, the deputy commissary at Fort Chartres, wrote to his superior at Fort Pitt, now Pittsburg, telling of the arrival of the expedition of Rui at the mouth of the Missouri and his apprehension that the British would lose to St. Louis the entire Indian trade of the Illinois country. He advocated the location of a British post at the mouth of the Illinois river:

"The Arrival of the Spaniards some time past, may make a great turn in affairs in this Quarter as I am convinced no pains or Expeence will be Stuck at to Ingratiate themselves into the favour of the Savages, they have not only taken possession of the French Settlements but leave them to be commanded as before, and have gone to the Missouri river, to Erect two Forts, on the Points, where it emptys into the Mississippi by which means they will command both Rivers. What will the French not be capable of doing through these advantageous Situations aided and assisted by Spanish dollars, they will not only be able to engrose the whole Trade, but Gain the Intire affections of the Indians unless timely prevented by our having a Strong Post at the mouth of the Illinois, a Small distence above them, and until that is done I fear the Indian accounts will be rather higher than Lower."

St. Louis got into print for the first time in 1770. That year Captain Philip Pitman, a British engineer officer, published in London a book on his observations along the Mississippi. He described St. Louis as he saw the settlement in 1767, when it was just three years old. He showed that the judgment Laclede exercised in the location of his settlement was in strong contrast with that of the other town builders. He reported that "Cascasquias is by far the most considerable settlement in the Illinois country." Some of the people of Kaskaskia moved to St. Louis. Others went elsewhere. "The Paris of America," as it was called, and the first capital of Illinois crumbled and went into the river. Cahokia, Pitman described as "the first settlement in the country." In the year of the great waters, "Kaoquias" as Pitman called it, went under to a depth of several feet. Most of the habitants moved to St. Louis. Saint Phillippe was another town upon which the English engineer reported. When Pitman arrived there he found "about sixteen deserted houses and a small church still standing, all having been deserted in 1765, the inhabitants crossing over to the French side (St. Louis), leaving only the captain of the militia, who was compelled to remain, having a grist mill and a saw mill which he could not dispose of." Prairie du Rocher and Fort Chartres village were communities much older than St. Louis, both of them having churches when Pitman reported upon them. The engineer described Fort Chartres as "generally considered the most convenient and best built fort in North America." It slipped into the treacherous river some years later. Even Ste. Genevieve which looked upon St. Louis as in no sense a rival in Laclede's time failed to vindicate the reputation of its founder. There came in 1784 an unlooked for stage of water which compelled the removal of the town to higher land.

Ste. Genevieve disputed the supremacy of St. Louis. In the spring of 1765, the merchants of the older settlement ignored the exclusive privilege of Laclede. They went after the furs of the Missouri country just as they had done before St. Louis was founded. Joseph Calve started up the Missouri with a boat load of goods to trade to the Indians for furs. He was the clerk for two Ste. Genevieve traders, John Duchurut and Louis Viviat. Laclede

sent a posse of his employes after Calve. The boat was seized. The goods were unloaded and stored at St. Louis. Duchurut and Viviat made complaint to the superior council at New Orleans. The council concluded that the seizure of the Ste. Genevieve boat was unjustifiable. Laclède was directed to pay to the merchants the value of the goods but no damages for the detention or loss of the trade. The case was concluded in April, 1767, just two years after the seizure. Appraisers found the value to be 6,485 livres, 8 sols. This was about \$1,297.

Two of the thirty men who "came in the first boat with Chouteau" to St. Louis were millers. Their names were Joseph and Roger Taillon. Afterwards the name was spelled as pronounced and was given to Tayon avenue. The Taillons located on the little river. They built a dam across the valley about where Eighth street is. They erected a small wooden mill near what is today Cupples' Station. The plant was wholly inadequate. Laclède bought out the Taillons, obtaining a grant covering about 1,000 acres. He raised the dam and built a larger mill. All of this was done at a cost the founder could not well afford. The investment was not profitable but the people of St. Louis were in a year or two beyond the reproach of being "short of bread."

The tradition that Paincourt was a nickname of St. Louis, given in reproach, has been handed down through generations with seeming accuracy. It is not altogether consistent with the records of the old cathedral. When the first priest came to take formal charge of church interests at St. Louis he bore credentials naming him to be "cure of the parochial church of St. Louis of the Illinois, post of Paincourt, with all rights and dependencies." There was a Paincourt in France.

Among the earliest acts of Laclède were the locations of the common fields and the commons. The founder did not wait for the first season to pass before he designated the boundaries. By the united efforts of the settlers the two tracts were fenced and were in use the second summer. The common fields were enclosed in one great tract. The fence of the east side of the common fields was about where Fourth street is now. The southern boundary was near the line of Market street. These common fields extended westward to about Jefferson avenue and northward to about Cass avenue. Within the enclosure were apportioned long, narrow lots to be tilled by the farmers of the settlement. Crops were raised in 1765.

The commons' enclosure was south and west of the settlement. This land had more forest growth than the common fields. It was well watered by springs. There the habitants kept cows and ponies in one large pasture.

Beginning with the issue to Labuscieri on April 27, 1766, the St. Ange government issued the title deeds to real estate as circumstances required. That these acts were not forbidden by higher authority at New Orleans seems to have been sufficient for the government of St. Louis. The exercise of this self-constituted right to distribute land went on through the years of 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769 and 1770. In all there were granted by the St. Ange government eighty-one of these titles. They were bestowed upon actual settlers and without price. Therein they form an interesting precedent to the homestead law of the United States which came years afterwards.

In 1770 O'Reilly, who had suppressed the revolution at New Orleans, sent word to St. Louis that the issue of these titles by the St. Ange government must stop until Spanish authority could be established here. These titles issued by the St. Ange government were never disturbed, but were accepted as settling property rights both by Spain and by the United States.

"Under the condition that this land shall be improved within one year and a day," the St. Ange government put into all of the title deeds issued. And thereby the principle of the homestead was further recognized. In each case the title was conceded "upon the demand" of the would be settler. The deed located the land "upon the Spanish part of Illinois." To that extent it recognized the cession of Louisiana to Spain. The French flag, as Aubry reported, was still flying over St. Louis. During the five years of the development and continuance of the land system which Laclède and St. Ange and their associates devised the French flag continued to fly. St. Ange called himself "captain commanding for the king" and Lefebvre identified himself in these deeds as "sub-delegate of the intendant of the governor of Louisiana and justice of the peace." They conceded the land in each instance "by virtue of the power given to us by the governor and intendant of Louisiana." Ulloa, the Spanish governor, arrived in New Orleans, March 5, 1766. He sent Rui to build the forts at the mouth of the Missouri in the summer of 1767 and Rui reached St. Louis August 11, 1767. Ulloa was expelled November 1, 1768. The first deed was issued by the St. Ange government April 27, 1766. Twenty-six of the deeds were issued that year. The others were issued during the years following, the last being dated Feb. 7, 1770. Ulloa did not interfere with St. Louis. Presumably he sanctioned the acts of the St. Ange government but the official record of such approval is wanting.

The issuing of titles by the St. Ange government went on while Rui was in St. Louis. At least one deed was issued to a member of the Rui expedition who decided that he wished to reside in St. Louis. The issuing of the deeds went on after the departure of Ulloa and Rui. It continued to the time O'Reilly gave notice to suspend.

Laclède's course during the years of confusion at New Orleans was wise. He shared the feeling of resentment of the Frenchmen of Lower Louisiana when they found the door of their mother country closed. He did not essay the impossible by armed resistance when Rui came with the first Spanish troops in 1767. He made the Spaniard his guest. He preserved an attitude that obtained for St. Louis later the mildest from of Spanish rule. But Laclède sympathized with the movement to establish an American republic. He inspired in his community a sentiment for liberty from European domination which revealed its strength within less than a decade. When George Rogers Clark came in 1778 with his little band of Virginians to take Kaskaskia he drew from Laclède's settlement many of his recruits and his resources to make the campaign against Vincennes. He found in St. Louis and in the French traders and trappers the support of his plans which his own state denied him.

"A trading post" St. Louis has been called by most of the historians. A trading post was what the syndicate of New Orleans merchants contemplated

when they formed the company, and when Laeclde started up the river with his "considerable armament." But when the flotilla reached Fort Chartres and the situation with respect to change of sovereignty was revealed, Laeclde began the active, aggressive planning for a settlement, not a trading post. He laid out the plan of streets and blocks. He invited settlers. He verbally assigned them property the first summer of the existence of the community. Then came the organization of government as has been explained. Immediately thereafter was developed the land system, with permanent titles and property rights. This is not the history of a trading post.

The platting of a townsite, the assigning of lots to settlers on condition of improvement, the giving of written titles—these were departures from what had been the usual methods. Communities had been established but the colonial government did not grant land to the ordinary settler. Land was for the gentry. The communal system prevailed. Around the post or fort gathered the community. There were set apart common fields for cultivation. Families were given ground to cultivate, were allowed ground on which to live, but not to own as individuals. That was the custom in the country of the Illinois. If a grant was made it was to some official or colonist of high birth. The communities of Canada were formed upon much the same plan, with very few individual owners of real estate. In Louisiana, the lower part of the province, were plantations owned by colonists. St. Louis was of its own class. It began without the usual military garrison and Indian contingent. It had no landholding aristocracy and tenantry. It was no haphazard assembling of squatters about a central point. It started with a site mapped. To every family which came to settle was given a lot and the title was confirmed in writing. The joiner, the miller, the blacksmith, the baker were among the first to secure homes "in fee simple;" those were words of the deeds which St. Ange signed. More than one element of Americanism had its beginning in the founding, the self-government and the land system of St. Louis, before 1770. The battle of Lexington was in 1773.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE SPANISH GOVERNORS

*Arrival of Piernas—A Policy of Conciliation—St. Ange Signally Honored—The Eighty-one Land Titles Recognized—Latourneau's Bold Speech—Ten Years' Banishment for Sedition—Spanish Praise for San Luis Energy and Enterprise—Cradle of the Fourth City—Laclede's Seat of Government Enlarged—The First Jail—Habitants' Testimonial to Governor Piernas—The Several Spanish Administrations, 1770-1801—A Sample of Justice—The Kobidou Bequet Scandal Case—A Decision on "Hubbly Women"—L'Anne du Coup—Battle of May 26, 1780—Chancellor's Thrilling Drive—A Protest Against the Governor—Instinct of Americanism—Trudeau's Yankee Doodle of St. Louis—Fortifications Ordered—"High-fenced Voice of Thunder"—Relations between Settlers and Soldiers—Militia Service Required—Town Meetings for Public Questions—Consent of the Governed—The Liquor Law—Habits of Dress—The Immigration Question—The Harrison-DeLassus Letters—Important Contribution to American History—Connecticut Americans Give Trouble—"Viva Gifferson"—The Dilatory Spanish Evacuation—The Austins and the Texas Project.*

The source and origin of all empires has been the refuge and kind usage which men find in the gentleness of the laws. The evil administration of them is the greatest impediment to the building of a government, for not only are those who are present and who are exposed to them exasperated, but others are prevented from coming. Hence, as our laws are extremely mild, they ought not to be obscured by ambition and self interest as has been the case with some settlements formed by the king.—Royal decree sent to the Spanish Governor. St. Louis, 1778.

With six officers and twenty soldiers, Don Pedro Piernas arrived in St. Louis in 1770. He was the first Spanish lieutenant governor. Making no demonstration of authority, he took his residence, as a guest, at Laclede's house. The government went on as before, except that no land titles were issued. The wife of Piernas was French. Laclede, it is said, spoke Spanish. Piernas made himself agreeable. He did not formally begin the discharge of the duties of his office for some weeks. The first official act of the governor found in the archives bears date of May 20, 1770. Laclede and St. Ange laid before Piernas the details of the de facto administration. Piernas accepted the forms and methods with only slight changes to conform to Spanish laws. He went even farther in his policy of conciliation. He retained in minor positions the appointees of the St. Ange government. He gave St. Ange a Spanish commission, said to have been that of captain of infantry. The old Canadian, however, declined further active service, and retired.

Piernas did one thing which, more than all of the rest, made easy the transition of government. When St. Ange and Labusciere brought to the attention of the governor the eighty-one titles to ground in St. Louis which they had issued to settlers, Piernas accepted them and announced publicly his recognition of them so far as his authority went. In short, the Spanish official took St. Louis as he found it, ratified all that the community had done during the six years previous and proceeded along the lines familiar and acceptable to the seven hundred inhabitants.

With all of his circumspection and mildness of method, Governor Piernas encountered at least one unpleasant proof of the spirit of liberty which the settlers of St. Louis had acquired in their experiment of governing themselves. Before he had been in office six months Don Pedro posted a notice declaring "Amable Latourneau duly attained and convicted of seditious language and a disturber of the public peace." The governor sentenced Latourneau to "ten years' banishment from His Majesty's settlements, with still heavier punishment should he disregard this sentence and reappear."

Latourneau was a Canadian. He had come to St. Louis in 1764. Piernas, to obtain some revenue to pay the expenses of Spanish government, imposed a tax on provisions. The ordinance was posted in a public place. Latourneau saw it and spoke rebelliously. He claimed that all he said was that if the other young men in the community were like him they "would not work for forty sous a day in peltries." The governor took evidence and concluded that the time was opportune to make an example. Latourneau moved across the river. Before the term of Piernas expired the merchants of St. Louis were getting even with Spain for what they deemed excessive duty on imports. They were receiving goods through the British country across the river instead of by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi. Perhaps it was smuggling but it was peaceful evasion of what prompted the throwing overboard of the tea in Boston harbor some time later. The offense of Latourneau was officially described in the records as "derisively commenting on an ordinance laying an excise tax on provisions." Others than Latourneau had the instinct of self government but they were politic. They made no protest against the tax in theory but found ways to defeat it in practice.

In strong contrast with his measures at New Orleans to suppress the movement for independence, was O'Reilly's policy toward St. Louis. In New Orleans the representative of Spain was "Cruel" O'Reilly. When he sent Piernas to set up Spanish authority at St. Louis he told him to cultivate friendly relations with St. Ange, the head of the de facto government. He spoke in his instructions of St. Ange as one whose practical relations with the Indians will be very useful. The lieutenant-governor was told to do whatever he could to gain the good will of St. Ange, to listen to the opinions of St. Ange, and to accept his views as far as possible without prejudice to the service.

The lieutenant governor shall preserve the best of relations with Monsieur de Santo Ange, whose practical knowledge of the Indians will be very useful to him. He shall do whatever he can to gain his friendship and confidence, and shall listen to his opinion attentively in all matters, and shall condescend to him so far as possible without prejudice to the service.

These instructions were given in February, 1770, not quite six months after Piernas returned to New Orleans from his first mission to St. Louis, and expressed himself rather savagely upon the kind of government he found there, reflecting especially upon what he considered the lack of authority exercised by St. Ange.

Laclede's house was built originally with one chimney. The first St. Louis winter showed that more heat was needed. A second chimney was added. This was constructed on the outside of the north wall. An opening for the fireplace was made from the inside. At a later date more patching was applied to meet





TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF ST. LOUIS IN 1796.  
 From the Collection of the Library of the  
 Congress of Missouri Historical Society.



the needs of the seat of government of the growing settlement. An addition was built on the south side. This was intended for a prison when needed. At least one prisoner was confined in the jail. He was a soldier charged with homicide. What became of the case does not appear. That the prisoner regularly left the jail without escort to go to his meals and as regularly returned to confinement is recorded. In the yard of Laclède's house, after it became the property of Auguste Chouteau, was dug the first well. Until that time the river and the springs had been the sources of water supply. The river was within easy reach of all the houses of the period.

With the coming of this first Spanish governor in 1770, Laclède's house lost none of its official significance. It was still government house. There the Spanish governor was quartered. In the high basement the Spanish soldiers on duty were stationed. The Spanish flag took the place of the French flag on the same flag staff. Successive Spanish governors occupied this house until the years of use and weather began to tell upon it. The time came when the governor decided that the house was no longer habitable. He moved his headquarters across the street on the south. When the estate of Laclède was settled and when the affairs of the firm of Maxent, Laclède and Company were adjusted, this house became the property of Auguste Chouteau. After the Spanish government moved out, Auguste Chouteau put the building in thorough repair adding another story. There he lived until his death in 1829. Even after the historic Laclède's house became the mansion of Auguste Chouteau, it was still the nursery of St. Louis. The mantle of the founder fell upon the shoulders of Auguste Chouteau. Although the officers of the government were moved formally over the way, questions of local policy were still settled in the old house. At Auguste Chouteau's the conferences were held. There the conclusions were reached, to be officially published from headquarters. Where the infant Fourth City was born, the cradle was rocked through forty years.

When the first Spanish governor retired from St. Louis he carried this remarkable testimonial signed by fifty French residents, heads of families:

We, the undersigned inhabitants, merchants, tradesmen, hunters and traders of the post of St. Louis, assembled in the government chamber by direction of Governor Don Francisco Cruzat, of the Illinois, certify to all whom it may concern, that we have no subject of complaint to allege against the manner in which we were governed by his excellency, the late Governor Don Pedro Piernas; that he rendered us all the justice to which we were entitled; that neither he nor the company of soldiers he commanded in this post ever committed any excess or extortion, or were guilty of any wrong on any of the inhabitants; that said company occasioned no trouble, nor gave any scandal or bad example; that no one received any violence or bad treatment without cause; that we are not aware that he had any pecuniary agreement or understanding with any one whomsoever, on this or the other side in regard to business. It was never perceived by any one that he had injured the public by restricting trade. He never exacted anything from merchants and traders for licenses or passports necessary for their affairs, either in setting out or on their return. He never excluded any one from this trade, which he distributed alternately each year to the best of his judgment for the public interest and the number of traders. No one received any ill treatment from the Indian tribes for having been badly received by him at this post. They never heard from said Indians any complaint of him, his behavior, or of the Spanish government, and they are peaceable and contented, as well as we ourselves. In short we can only speak well of him and with respect and gratitude.

As the result of considerable research, Pierre Chouteau, the third of that name, has fixed the terms of the Spanish governors at St. Louis. It will be observed that the length of service was from two to seven years:

Piernas, from May 20, 1770 to May 19, 1775.

Cruzat, from May 20, 1775 to June 17, 1778.

De Leyba, from June 18, 1778 to June 28, 1780.

Cruzat, from September 24, 1780 to November 25, 1787.

Perez, from November 25, 1787 to July 24, 1792.

Trudeau, from July 21, 1792 to August 28, 1799.

De Lassus, from August 29, 1799, to March 9, 1804.

De Leyba died and the gap between the end of his administration and the beginning of Cruzat's second term was filled by the lieutenant, Don Silvio de Cartabona. The record shows a loss of three days between the terms of Perez and Trudeau. The St. Louisans had long before shown a capacity for taking care of themselves; the discrepancy in the dates is considered by Mr. Chouteau "not important."

The government which Spain applied to St. Louis was mild. That is the descriptive term the historians apply. The more definite truth is the governors imposed very limited government. Spanish laws were presumably operative. In fact, few of them were in force. Those relating to land and to government organization were invoked by the governors. In business affairs, in court contracts, in the practical essentials, the people of St. Louis went on governing themselves, much as they had done under Laclède and St. Ange. The legal customs of the French colonies continued to prevail. Arbitration was common in business differences. The governor sometimes appointed the arbitrators. He conducted the arbitration. He might enforce the finding of the arbitrators. It was seldom this extremity was needed. The principle of arbitration was recognized by the community. When the decree was given, it was accepted. The governor had a few soldiers. He seldom called on them to enforce Spanish authority over the community. The military presence was looked upon rather as protection against Indian trouble. On a very few occasions in the period of Spanish government, undesirables were escorted by soldiers to the bank of the river, put in boats and sent over to Illinois. In these cases the action was taken on the complaint of the habitants of St. Louis. The governors did not initiate radical reforms or impose oppressive measures. The only shadow of despotism in the Spanish government of St. Louis was that cast by the flag floating in front of Laclède's house.

About the only regulations which the Spanish governors enforced rigidly were those which public sentiment sustained as for the common good. In the case of the banishment of Amable Latourneau, it is said that Don Pedro acted only when the officers of the St. Ange administration furnished the evidence and urged the show of authority as desirable for the good order of the community.

Habitants looked well to their reputations in early St. Louis. A strict code of respectability was enforced by public sentiment. Joseph Robidou came with his father, who was a shoemaker, from Montreal when St. Louis was about half through the first decade. Even then antecedents were scrutinized. Joseph Robidou courted Mademoiselle Becquet, the daughter of the blacksmith. The young lady was responsive. The young man went to the blacksmith and asked



PASCAL L. CERRI



JOSEPH RORIDOU



FORT SAN CARLOS, OR ST. CHARLES  
Fourth and Walnut Streets, Principal Spanish Fortification



for the daughter. The blacksmith, young Robidou said in his complaint to the Spanish governor, "appeared pleased with the proposal and asked for three days to consider it. Your petitioner was very much surprised at the expiration of the time that Mr. Becquet should say to him he would not give his consent to the marriage because he had learned there were some in your petitioner's family who had surrendered their souls to the devil. As there were no wicked ones in the Becquet family, he would not introduce any."

The blacksmith did not go into the particulars when pressed, but Miss Becquet did. An uncle of the young lady had told her sister that he had learned Joseph Robidou had an uncle who had killed his wife. This uncle, according to the report, had also killed the man for whom he had worked.

Robidou became busy with the old habitants and with some recent comers from Canada. They gave him certificates that there was no blemish on the character of his family. One of those who testified was old Mr. Tabeau, a Canadian before he became a St. Louisan.

"Of what are you accused?" asked Mr. Tabeau, according to the statement which Robidou filed with the governor, "There is nothing to repeat about your family. I know them and it is only through mischief that these things are said." Robidou told Mr. Tabeau that the story was "oue Demer, an uncle, had killed his wife and his employer." Tabeau replied he "knew of no stain on the family of Robidou."

Robidou demanded of Becquet the authority for the statements reflecting upon him. Becquet refused to tell but Madame Becquet gave the young man two names. To Governor De Leyba went Robidou for satisfaction. Both of the men whose names had been given to Madame Becquet denied that they had said anything to the detriment of Robidou. The governor's decision was that there had been too much talk and that the case was not one which called for a penalty on anybody. He advised Robidou to obtain from Montreal certificates as to the respectability of his family. Robidou went into the business of fur trading and became wealthy. He ceased to mourn for the blacksmith's daughter. Three years after his first affair he wooed and won Catharine Rollet. When he died in 1809, he left a considerable estate and six sons who were men of affairs. Auguste Chouteau administered upon the estate, which was evidence of the excellent position Robidou had obtained in the community.

The wisdom of Solomon was in some of the decisions of the Spanish governors of St. Louis. Before De Leyba, in 1780, was brought a suit for slander. Estimable ladies living in one of the best neighborhoods of the settlement, Main and Elm streets, only a square away from the government house, within sight of Father Valentin's church, talked about one another. The talk was carried. One of the ladies complained to the governor. De Leyba called all of them before him and took their affidavits. Then he settled the case in this way:

"All attentively considered and examined, it appears that there are no grounds for a suit in this case, it being at most but the idle scandal of babbling women, which took place long since and is now revived by dissensions and broils among themselves. I throw the matter out of court as too trivial, and impose silence in the future on the subject on all implicated therein, strictly forbidding any reflection on each other that might tend to the injury of their

reputations, under the utmost vigor of the law to be imposed upon the first transgressor. I condemn the two parties in the case each to one-half the costs and expenses of the suit."

De Leyba came in state to enter upon the duties of governor at St. Louis. He traveled up the river from New Orleans in a batteau with two swivel guns. He was received, as he described the arrival, "by all the habitants with extraordinary signs of rejoicing." When he had been here a short time he wrote to the governor-general at New Orleans:

"Since this district is commanded by a person chosen by your lordship, they have whatever is necessary for their progress and happiness."

De Leyba made a good record as a judge in such ordinary disputes as were brought to his attention, but in a great emergency he failed utterly. The memorial of protest and repudiation by the people of St. Louis was carried to New Orleans by the first citizen, Auguste Chouteau. Of the six Spanish governors of St. Louis, De Leyba was the only one not well remembered.

O'Hanlon, the Irish historian came to St. Louis while some who were here in 1780, "the year of the blow"—L'Anne du Coup,—were still living. He obtained from eye witnesses and from the family traditions, then fresh, the details for the most definite and graphic recital of that affair which has been written. Father O'Hanlon was for some time stationed at the cathedral about 1848. He saw the records. He sought the recollections from those best qualified to speak. And this is what he wrote:

A few days before the attack was made an old man named Quenelle, who was a resident of St. Louis, had gone over to the mouth of Cahokia creek, on a fishing excursion. While watching his lines on the south side of the creek, he heard a slight noise at the opposite side. On looking up he beheld an acquaintance, who had formerly resided in St. Louis. The man had absconded on account of some crime he had committed. His name was Ducharme. Afterwards it was ascertained that he was one of the chief leaders in the attack. The sudden and strange appearance of Ducharme, the circumstances under which he had left and the rumor of a meditated attack, induced Quenelle to refuse Ducharme's invitation to cross the creek. The wary fisherman was confirmed the more in his refusal by observing the bright eyes of several Indians glaring upon him from out of the bushes.

"Come over," Ducharme said, "I have something very particular to tell you."

"No," said Quenelle, "your request is not intended for my benefit, nor for the gratification of your friendly feelings. Though I am an old man and bald, yet I value my scalp too highly to trust myself with you and your friends."

So saying, the fisherman promptly re-embarked in his canoe. He crossed over to St. Louis, and without delay he informed the commandant of what he had seen and heard. The people became alarmed when such tidings reached them. Instead of commending, De Leyba called his informant an old dotard and ordered him to be put in prison. This strange proceeding had the effect of calming people's minds and banishing apprehension.

The 25th of May that year brought the festival of Corpus Christi. This was a day highly venerated by the inhabitants. Had the assault occurred then, in all probability it must have proved fatal to them; for after Divine worship and procession, all of the townspeople, as they had been accustomed, went to gather strawberries which grew wild on the prairies near. The town could have been taken with ease, while the unsuspecting inhabitants, who were roaming about in search of fruit, could have been massacred. Fortunately few only of the enemy had crossed the river and ambushed themselves on the prairie. The villagers frequently came so near them that, from their places of concealment, the Indians could have reached these strollers with their hands. But they knew not how many whites were still remaining in the town. On





WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON  
At Old Vincennes in 1807.



DON CARLOS DE HAULE DE LASSUS  
First Spanish Governor of St. Louis.



Copyright, 1897, by Pierre Chouteau

GOVERNMENT HOUSE AS REMODELED BY AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU



the 26th the main body crossed and marched directly toward the fields, expecting to find the greater part of the villagers there. They were disappointed, few only among the tillers having gone out to view their crops. These perceived the approach of their savage foes and immediately commenced to retreat toward the town.

One man, named Chancellor, had gone out that day before the attack to get strawberries. His wife, two daughters and an American,—the first that had ever lived in St. Louis,—accompanied him in a cart which was drawn by two horses. When they perceived the Indians, these excursionists fled towards the town. Chancellor was seated in front and driving, while the American was posted behind in order to protect the women. During the flight the American was mortally wounded and as he was falling out of the cart, Chancellor seized him and threw him in the midst of the women, exclaiming:

“Those Indians shall not get the scalp of my American.”

At the same time, Chancellor was struck by two balls which broke his arm in as many places, above the elbow. His wife received a bullet through the middle of her hand. The elder daughter was shot through the shoulder. The younger was struck on the forehead, the ball glancing and only stunning her. The family had a most providential escape, for the moment Chancellor arrived at the town gate, his horses dropped dead, having been pierced with wounds while galloping homewards, impelled by the owner's shouts and whip.

Had those who discovered their foes in the prairie fled to the lower gate, they could have escaped. The greater part of them took that road which led to the upper gate through the very midst of their enemies. About twenty persons, it was computed, met death while endeavoring to get within the entrenchments. A Mr. Belhomme had his thigh broken by a ball fired from an Indian's gun. He managed to crawl toward the great bend of a pond opposite to a mill. In the evening when the Indians had disappeared, he began to call aloud for help. Finding this unavailing, Belhomme fired his gun. He continued this until all of his ammunition was expended. The people in the town heard the report but fearing the Indians were still lurking about, they dared not obey the signal of distress. The unfortunate man was found dead a few days after, having perished through loss of blood and through hunger.

Julian Roy was pursued by an Indian who wished to take him prisoner. Finding that his enemy gained on him at every step, the creole determined to give him battle. He turned, and, taking aim, fired at the Indian's head and shattered his jawbone. The Indian fell. Roy ran up to him and tearing his shirt, bound up the wound. The Indian was grateful and guarded Roy through the ranks into St. Louis.

This rencontre greatly alarmed those who remained in the town and immediately the cry was raised, “To arms! To arms!” From every direction the townsmen rushed towards the works, and threw open the gates to save their brethren. The Indians advanced slowly but steadily towards the ramparts. Taken by surprise, and almost deprived of hope, owing to the superiority of numbers of their assailants, the courageous inhabitants determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. About fifteen men were posted at each gate. The rest were scattered along the line of defense. The Indians began an irregular fire. This was answered with grape shot from the cannon. For awhile the contest was very warm. On account of the intrenchments and deterred by the cannon, the Indians deliberately retired.

The inhabitants proceeded to gather the slain and bury their bodies that lay scattered in all parts of the prairie. Seven were at first found and buried in one grave. Ten or twelve others were discovered in the course of a fortnight in the long grass. The acts of the Indians were accompanied by their characteristic ferocity. Some of the victims were horribly mangled. In the cathedral register of St. Louis Father Bernard, the Capuchin missionary, records as a fact that on the 26th day of May, 1780, he interred in the cemetery of the parish the bodies of Charles Bizet, Amable Guion, Calve and a negro. These men were massacred by the Indians. Their corpses seem to have been the first recovered.

The conduct of the Spanish governor, De Leyba in connection with the British-Indian attack on St. Louis has been one of the subjects of controversy among historians of St. Louis. Father O'Hanlon's researches prompted him to conclusions very discreditable to the Spanish governor. He said that De

Leyba did not make his appearance until the Indians had begun to retire from the attack:

Being an invalid he was rolled in a barrow to the scene of action. It is traditionally stated that immediately he ordered several pieces of cannon, which were posted in front of the government house to be spiked, and to be filled with sand. In a very peremptory tone De Leyba commanded the inhabitants to cease firing and to regain their homes. Those posted at the lower gate did not hear the order and consequently kept their stations. The commandant perceived this and ordered a cannon to be fired at them. They had barely time to throw themselves on the ground when the volley passed over them. The shot struck against the wall and tore down a portion of it. The tenor of De Leyba's conduct gave rise to suspicions of treachery on the part of the governor. Under the pretext of proving that there was no danger of an attack, only a few days before it actually occurred, De Leyba sold the government ammunition to the traders. The townspeople would have been left defenseless had they not found in a private house eight barrels of powder belonging to a trader. This they seized upon the first alarm. These very singular circumstances gave rise to the strongest possible aversion for their commandant, which showed itself in execration of his base character for a long time afterwards.

The action of St. Louis upon the conduct of the Spanish governor, De Leyba, in relation to the attack of 1780, was an illustration of the independent spirit of the community. These bold settlers, after their narrow escape from destruction, did not condone the course of the governor. They sent to New Orleans, by a special representative, a full statement of the actions of De Leyba, with a detailed account of the attack and repulse. Father O'Hanlon says:

There can hardly be a doubt that De Leyba had been seduced into defection from his duty, and that it was only the unflinching heroism of the St. Louis people that saved their infant outpost from utter destruction. Their defense against this attack and that bold spirit manifested on the occasion were in keeping with the deeds of their brethren, the French, who took part in the American Revolution; while their course of action has given them the right to say, that, on the occidental shores of the Mississippi river, they were the first to battle against English oppression and English ambition.

De Leyba made his will on the 10th of June, 1780, two weeks after the battle. Father Bernard entered in the cathedral register that Don Ferdinand De Leyba, having received the sacraments of our Holy Mother the church, had been inhumed immediately in front of the right hand balustrade of the St. Louis Old Church on the 28th of June, 1780. But it appears from the inventory of the governor's property, made with evident care, that he died on the 28th. That he was buried on the day of his death was so unusual as to suggest suspicion. In the families which preserved the traditions, there was transmitted a rumor that De Leyba died of poison administered by himself, as the result of shame and remorse.

The feeling in St. Louis toward the governor did not end with the indignant protest sent to the governor-general at New Orleans. It was not quieted by the death of De Leyba a month after his inexplicable conduct in the battle against the British and the Indians. John B. Trudeau, the village schoolmaster, Canadian by education, wrote a song, abounding in satire directed against the Spanish commandant. The composition was called the "Chanson de l'Anne du Coup." It was set to music and was sung by the St. Louisans of two or three generations. Aside from the historical interest, this song is significant as showing the boldness with which the independent spirit of the community was manifested under Spanish authority. There was a



MOSES AUSTIN



ANTOINE SOULARD

From a Painting made about 1804  
Courtesy of Walter B. Douglas



THE OLD FORT AND STOCKADE WHEN DELASSUS WAS GOVERNOR



good deal of the instinct of Americanism in St. Louis as early as 1780. The chanson of Trudeau was the Yankee Doodle of the St. Louisans. It is tradition that a copy of the song was transmitted to the governor-general at New Orleans to inform him as to the sentiment of the community. On the 17th of February, 1845, the St. Louis Reveille printed the song in the original French and with it an English translation in verse by J. M. Field, the editor of the Reveille and the literary authority of St. Louis in that day. Trudeau gave the song the character of a musical dialogue between the governor-general at New Orleans and the messenger who had arrived from St. Louis with news of the battle and the settlers' charges against De Leyba. The chanson was sung as late as the time of Field's translation which began as follows:

Governor :

Courier, say, what is the news  
That seems thy fancies to confuse?  
What! Have we lost the Illinois?  
Then English—do they the land enjoy?  
Downhearted thus! Speak, courier, say,  
What great misfortune has happened, pray?

Courier :

Oh, General, General, all is lost,  
If not redeemed with speed and cost,  
We've been by savages attacked—  
They threaten us, still, by others backed  
Ever so many, alas! were killed,  
Unable to aid them, with grief we're filled.

When the enemy first appeared,  
To arms we ran, no one feared;  
Townsmen, traders, grave and gay,  
Bravely to battle and win the day;  
But by command we were forbid  
To quit the trench where our ranks were hid.

The defenses of St. Louis in 1780 were temporary. They were constructed hurriedly when the rumor came of an attack being planned by the British. Trunks of small trees were planted in the ground in a double row a few inches apart. The space between was filled in with earth. This protection was five or six feet high. It began at the river bank, where the electric plant is, near the foot of Biddle street. It extended up the hill to about Third street and curved southward with the present court house site as the highest point, reaching the river again some distance north of Chouteau avenue. In this rampart were three gates, one well to the south, the others on the high ground so located as to give exit to and entrance from the tilled fields on the northwest and the great pasture on the southwest. At the gates were posted cannon. These were, according to tradition, some of the pieces St. Ange had brought from Fort Chartres. They were kept loaded and in good condition. It is further tradition that the men of St. Louis built this fortification in the fall of 1779 without encouragement from De Leyba and in the face of repeated assurances from him that the rumors of an attack were false.

The fortifications of St. Louis did not amount to much until long after 1780. Church records at the old cathedral show that on the 17th of April, 1780, Father Bernard blessed the first stone of the fort on the hill. That was Fort St. Charles, named in honor of the king. It stood as late as 1820 very near what is now the southwest corner of Walnut and Fourth streets, where the

Southern hotel corners. "The high-fenced house of thunder" was the name the Indians bestowed upon the fort.

Plans were drawn for elaborate defenses. Auguste Chouteau, at the request of the Spanish governor, made a study of the situation with a view to the construction of substantial fortifications. But more was done on paper than with stone and timber and earth. The fort on the hill was, after many months, completed. At what is now Olive street, was built a circular tower and about Fourth and Poplar was another, with a third stone tower between that and the river. A square stone structure not far from what is the entrance to the Eads bridge was the bastion. Another piece of work in that vicinity was the half-moon. Governor Cruzat built a palisade of posts connecting the stone towers and other structures. Cannon were placed in the towers. The wall of posts was pierced with loopholes for firing. Soldiers went on guard at the fortifications.

When General George Victor Collot visited St. Louis during the Spanish regime, he obtained a plan, showing the streets and principal houses, the existing fort and the proposed additional defenses, some of which were never constructed. The map was drawn by Adjutant Warin.

While on a visit to Paris, George E. Leighton found in a second-hand bookstore what is, probably, the most elaborate map of St. Louis, made during the period of the Spanish governors. This plan was made in 1796 by a former French officer, George de Bois St. Lys. It gave the existing topography of St. Louis quite in detail and showed the plans proposed for the more complete fortification.

Relations between the Spanish soldiers and the habitants of St. Louis were pleasant. They bore out the theory that the military force was for protection, not for enforcement of sovereignty over the people. These soldiers occupied barracks just north of where the Southern hotel stands. A long one-story stone house was built westward from Fourth street. This was divided into rooms. The soldiers cultivated gardens near the barracks. They not only mingled freely with the people of the village but went out into the fields and helped with the planting and harvesting. The relations were so agreeable that some of these soldiers married French girls and became permanent and good residents of St. Louis.

Militia service under the Spanish governors was not a perfunctory performance. Scattered in little garrisons, "the regiment of Louisiana" did not appear formidable. But the regulars from Spain were reinforced by an enrolment of "all persons able to bear arms, from the age of fourteen years to fifty." One of the orders issued by a Spanish governor at St. Louis read:

"Innovation or not, the militia will assemble every fourteen days, on Sundays. Each commandant will exercise his company in marching by file, or in sections of four or eight, according to the number of men, teach them the manual of loading and firing to enable them to execute it promptly and with regularity."

There were penalties for those who shirked military duty. The Spanish governor put into his warning the reproach as well as the threat:



ST. LOUIS IN 1763 WHEN THE SETTLEMENT WAS UNDER THE SPANISH  
FLAG AND BORE THE NAME OF SAN LUIS DE ILLINOY





All enrolled militia men who exhibit an indisposition to comply with the order, by not appearing at the place of assembling when required, thus giving an unequivocal proof of little love of country, will, for the first offense, be reprimanded by eight days' imprisonment and eight dollars fine; for the second time, by double the length of imprisonment and fine; the third time it will be signified to him that he must settle up his affairs and leave the country. Understand that in the oath of allegiance administered to every new comer to the country, before a concession of land is granted to him, he must obligate himself to take arms against the enemies of the state and all malefactors whenever it may be required. As there may be found some of the inhabitants who have not yet taken the oath, the commandant will administer the same to all those he may find on each Sunday of assembling.

A stringent liquor law was promulgated from St. Louis by the Spanish authorities:

At each post there shall be but a certain number of tavern and dramshop keepers that we will appoint, who shall be persons of good conduct and devoted to the government. These, under no pretext, can sell or give liquor to Indians or slaves. They will give immediate notice of the least disturbance at their houses which may lead to disorder, to the commandant or nearest syndic that he may apply the most prompt remedy. All persons other than those who shall be authorized to keep tavern, or dramshop, who shall be found to have sold liquor, shall undergo for the first offense three days' imprisonment and two dollars fine; for the second offense fifty dollars fine and fifteen days' imprisonment; for the third relapse they shall be sent to New Orleans under safe conduct at their own cost and expense.

Every person, either keeper of tavern or dramshop, or any other who shall be found to have given or sold liquor to Indians shall be at once arrested, put in irons and sent under escort of a detachment of militia at his cost and expense to New Orleans, and his effects shall be seized and sequestered until the decision of his lordship, the governor general.

Perhaps in all other Spanish colonial history there was not administered government so far dependent on consent of the governed as that which prevailed at St. Louis. Probably if the authority had been less tolerant, if the rod had been felt, the revolt would have come. The spirit of revolution could not flame out of such go-as-you-please political conditions. The militia and liquor laws were so manifestly in the public interest that they inspired no antagonism toward the government.

The habitants of St. Louis held town meetings to consider public improvements. As business conditions changed they adopted new methods. They carried their conclusions to government house. The governor often accepted the will of the people.

The collection of debts occasionally called for an application of authority. The creditor went to the governor and reported the debtor. A notice was sent from the government house. If this did not bring a settlement, the second notice directed the debtor to appear before the governor. Should this be ignored, a squad of soldiers brought in the prisoner as a debtor. This was not often necessary; it was one of the few occasions for the show of the military.

Before the end of the Spanish regime, the business men of St. Louis were asserting a degree of commercial independence which caused the political authority no little concern but even that did not lead to harsh measures. In January, 1802, Governor-General Morales, at New Orleans, wrote to Governor Delassus:

After comparing the shipments of goods from this market and the arrivals of furs with those of 1781 and 1782 and other years, we find the difference is against this capital and there-

fore also against royal interests, because the duties are not paid as before when goods were shipped. I am well aware that the Indian works do not produce as much as they did earlier. I also know this is not the only reason of the decline in mercantile relations between your region and this capital. The secret importation and exportation that I am informed the Englishmen and the Americans are doing contribute largely to the present condition of affairs. Therefore it is my duty to ask you to exert all your efforts to prevent such acts. Advise me what you think it would be necessary to do. If any expenditure is indispensable, I will consider the matter and try to do what will be in my power.

The consideration shown in the enforcement of authority at St. Louis was illustrated when Delassus reported to Salcedo in March, 1803, that he had been compelled to place Manuel Lisa, the fur trader, under arrest. The governor-general referred the matter to Counselor De Guerra. The latter sustained the action of the governor at St. Louis after this manner:

"It seems to me that you can approve the action he took against Manuel Lisa and his arrest for the insulting and disrespectful expressions he used in his writings, which are the more surprising because they come out as false and without any foundation according to the declarations made by his associates, as seen in the different documents. Therefore it is necessary that the said commander advise Lisa that in future he must behave himself with respect and moderation, as he ought to. Otherwise a different course will be taken for correction and punishment."

Salcedo wrote on the counselor's findings: "As I think this is satisfactory, I transmit it to you for compliance and in answer to your communication." The papers were returned to Delassus, addressed to him as "commander of the Illinois."

Monette, in his *History of the Valley of the Mississippi*, tells of the habit of dress which prevailed in St. Louis in colonial days. The leggins were of coarse linen in summer and of deerskin in winter. The principal garment in cold weather for the men was:

Generally a coarse blanket capote drawn over the shirt and long vest. The capote served the double purpose of cloak and hat; for the hood, attached to the collar behind, hung upon the back and shoulders as a cape, and, when desired, it served to cover the whole head from intense cold. Most commonly in summer and especially among the boatmen, voyageurs and coureurs des bois, the head was enveloped in a blue handkerchief, turban-like, as a protection from solar heat and noxious insects. The same material of lighter quality and fancy colors, wreathed with bright-colored ribbons, and sometimes flowers, formed the fancy headdress of the females on festive occasions; at other times they also used the handkerchief in the more patriarchal style. The dress of the matrons was simple and plain; the old-fashioned short jacket and petticoat, varied to suit the diversities of taste, was the most common over dress of the women. The feet in winter were protected by Indian moccasins, or the more unwieldy clog-shoe; but in summer, and in dry weather the foot was left uncovered and free, except on festive occasions and holidays, when it was adorned with the light moccasin, gorgeously ornamented with brilliants of porcupine quills, shells, beads or lace, ingeniously wrought over the front instead of buckles, and on the side flaps.

Immigration was a living issue at St. Louis in the days of the Spanish governors. Piernas reported to the governor-general at New Orleans the continued movement of settlers "from the English Illinois" to the St. Louis side of the river. Cruzat, the second governor, was given authority to encourage immigration to St. Louis, especially from Canada. The Spanish government set apart 40,000 pesos to be used as an immigration fund. In 1780 Shad-



THE WIFE OF GOVERNOR PEREZ



JOHN MANUEL PEREZ  
The Spanish Governor  
Captured by William B. Dwyer



DANIEL BOONE  
By Emland Yandell



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK  
By Fiske Ward

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each Bond led from Maryland and Virginia a colony of people who settled on the east side of the river between what is now East St. Louis and Kaskaskia. This colony gave to the long, fertile tract the name of the American Bottom. Much correspondence passed between St. Louis and New Orleans upon the policy toward immigration.

When Governor Delassus was appointed to the important position at St. Louis, Gayoso, the governor-general, at New Orleans in March, 1799, gave him these instructions:

"I recommend to you Messrs. Chouteau, Cerre and Soutlard. Please do whatever you can for them without showing any injustice to the rest. You must consider it a policy that, this being a time of general peace, it is not advisable to form or encourage new settlements unless with Canadian people. These are really the people we want. You can try to get information as to how it will be best to bring people from Canada at the smallest expense. You must not let the public notice you have adopted this policy. You understand that in things which cause interest and excitement you have to act with a great deal of tact."

Americans, who came to settle in St. Louis and the vicinity while the Spanish flag still floated, seldom complained of the government. They looked forward to the day when St. Louis would be an American city. But they found nothing oppressive in the Spanish authority. Many gave the governor credit for showing them unexpected consideration.

Spanish authority at St. Louis, or San Luis as it was called in the official correspondence, looked forward to American occupation by force years before the secret treaty retransferred Louisiana to France and paved the way to the cession by Napoleon in 1803. As early as 1797, Governor Delassus was having correspondence marked "confidential" with Carlos Howard at New Madrid as to what should be done if the Americans undertook to seize St. Louis. On the 9th of April, 1797, Don Carlos wrote to Governor Delassus advising him as to the proper course if the attack was made:

You have shown your prudence and care in your letter of this date, in which you mention the situation on account of the weak state of defense. We have now only one fortification in the post of St. Louis, to-wit: one simple stockade, with four cannons, thirty-five soldiers, including two artillery-men. In case anything should come up between our court and the United States, we could not do very much. I must inform you that, although there are some rumors that such a thing will happen, it is improbable. I think, however, it would be advisable to be prepared. In case you feel certain that you will be attacked by the Americans, I am of the opinion that after you throw into the river the cannons, ammunition and powder, you should try to come to me by land. You may advise me in advance so that I may be able to help your march all I can. It is probable that upon the attack of the Americans they will try to call my attention to this side so that they can catch San Luis unprotected.

The aggressiveness of Americans at St. Louis and in that vicinity was giving Spanish authority occasional shocks before the transfer of the Louisiana provinces. In January, 1801, Ramon de Lopez y Angulo, the governor-general at New Orleans, felt constrained to warn Delassus in this manner:

Notwithstanding the advantages which may result from the working of an iron mine in your country, according to the plans presented to you by an American, David Wilcox, which you enclose to me in your communication of the 28th of November last, it will not be advisable to permit any American or foreigner to establish works in our possessions. Therefore you

must decline his proposition, not giving him to understand the reason why. You will do the same with all foreigners that may come, especially when they want concessions of land and establishments in this province.

Jefferson, Livingston and Monroe are accorded the credit of the Louisiana Purchase. History tells how the one as President, the second as Minister to France, and the third as Special Envoy or Commissioner conducted the negotiations with Bonaparte and Marbois. Still another eminent American, destined to become President, bore no insignificant relationship to this greatest of peaceful transfers of territory. Yet his name is seldom mentioned in this historical connection.

When Colonel Charles De Hault Delassus, the Spanish governor, had witnessed the transfer of sovereignty to the United States at St. Louis in 1804, he carried away with him the cannon, munitions and archives. This was under the terms of the treaty of purchase. The instructions to the governor of Upper Louisiana Territory were to leave behind only such papers as related to the private affairs of individuals. These papers included deeds and concessions and the ordinary records, personal in character, of communities. It is tradition in Missouri that, when full of years, Colonel Delassus was gathered to his fathers, he left in a mahogany box a collection of papers with instructions that all be burned after his death. If the tradition is well founded, the injunction was not kept. The contents of the mahogany box were not destroyed. Some of them are of rare historic interest and value, but until recently have not been available for public information.

The first information that Louisiana Territory had passed to the possession of the United States reached St. Louis through American channels. It was communicated to Delassus by William Henry Harrison, then governor of Northwest Territory, with headquarters at "Old Vincennes."

The order which bade him remove and return to Spanish dominion the archives of Upper Louisiana Territory was not construed by Governor Delassus to include correspondence with Governor Harrison, covering several years. These Harrison letters were preserved by the Spanish governor of French name and descent. They were transmitted to his heirs. They shed light of no little importance upon the period of the Louisiana Purchase.

William Henry Harrison's place in American History is that of a soldier, rather than that of a statesman. He was elected to the Presidency on his war record and died before he had opportunity to impress upon the country his qualities as chief magistrate. There was, however, a diplomatic and statesman-like side to the character of "Old Tippecanoe." The letters reveal it. They show that at one of the crises in the life of the American nation this man was performing a diplomatic part with no ordinary shrewdness. President Jefferson was confronted with a condition, along the Mississippi, of the gravest concern. The action of the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans in placing burdensome restrictions upon the river commerce had brought almost open rupture between the American population east and the Spanish authority west of the Mississippi. Jefferson had Livingston at Paris conducting negotiations with the First Consul through Talleyrand and Marbois. He sent Monroe as a special commissioner to assist Livingston. Spain had secretly transferred Louisiana Territory



by the treaty of Ildefonso back to France. France was about to take possession. As between Spain and France the government at Washington hardly knew where American interests lay. While these negotiations were in progress, Jefferson, through William Henry Harrison at Vincennes, was keeping in close touch with affairs in Upper Louisiana Territory; General Harrison was in frequent correspondence with Governor Delassus. The letters he wrote speak for themselves. They show that by way of Vincennes and St. Louis the American government was establishing that relationship with Upper Louisiana which would have been of the greatest significance and importance had the diplomatic negotiations at Paris failed. The histories of that period dwell upon the events at Washington and Paris. They tell nothing of what was transpiring at Vincennes and St. Louis.

A few years ago President Benjamin Harrison learned of the existence of these letters, written by his grandfather in 1803 and 1804. Recognizing their important bearing upon American history, he endeavored to find some trace of the correspondence which passed, as these letters show, between Governor Delassus and William Henry Harrison. He had investigation made among the archives at Washington, but could not find the correspondence. It is a fair supposition that William Henry Harrison regarded this correspondence of such personal and confidential character as not to warrant the incorporation of it in the public official files.

Yellowed by the century which has passed, worn and ragged with handling, but bold and distinct in unfading ink, the original letters from Harrison to Delassus are preserved. They passed into the possession of the late A. J. Tullock of Leavenworth, Kansas, who made a collection of books and manuscripts relating to the history of Louisiana and its acquisition by the United States. From Mr. Tullock, copies were obtained for publication.

My Dear Sir:—

Vincennes, March 6, 1803.

I had the pleasure to receive a few days ago from the hands of Colo. Dumoulin your favor of the 22nd ultimo. I should have written to you before the receipt of that letter but I waited to hear of your return from New Madrid.

The cession of Louisiana to France is confirmed beyond all doubt and nothing but the great misfortunes which have befallen the armament of that power which was sent to St. Domingo and the reduced state of Beunaparte's finances have prevented its being taken possession of before this. More of the circumstances attending the cession are still secret but it is believed, and I think truly, that the Ministry of Spain were much deceived and imposed upon by Beunaparte. It is very evident that the Prince of Peace knew nothing of the transaction. After the treaty was actually signed he was heard to tell Lucien Beunaparte that Spain would never give up Louisiana and that France had nothing to offer which would prove an equivalent for that province.

You have no doubt heard of the port of New Orleans having been shut by the intendant of that place to American vessels—this circumstance has occasioned much agitation amongst the citizens of the United States—but I have great satisfaction in apprising you that it is believed to have been wholly unauthorized by the court of Spain. The measure appears to have proceeded from the *Cabinet of St. Clouds*.

The Cabinet of St. Clouds? you will say. Yes my friend, it is from this chateau of the former royal family of France that the Corsican Beunaparte gives law to an empire. Happy will it be for the world if his ambition is at length satisfied. But there is reason to believe that this native of a small island will not be contented until he has reduced a continent at least, perhaps the whole civilized world, to his dominion.

Our government has sent to Madrid Mr. Monroe (formerly our minister in Paris) as envoy extraordinary to represent the conduct of the intendant of New Orleans. He sailed about the first of the last month. Having accomplished his business in Spain he is then to proceed to France. And I think it is not improbable that the strong remonstrances of the United States backed by those of Great Britain, may prevail upon Beunaparte to give up his designs upon Louisiana and suffer it to be retained by Spain.

If your most respectable father should determine to move to this Government be perfectly assured my dear sir that every exertion on my part shall be made to sooth the evening of his life and make it as comfortable as possible.

I have just received information of my having been continued in the government of this territory for the three years succeeding the 13th of May next.

The bear chose to take up her winter quarters at Kaskaskias, but I expect her soon to arrive together with the other curiosities which you so profusely heaped upon me.

I go to Detroit in about ten days. When I return I will have the pleasure again to write to you.

Present me in the most respectful manner to Madam and Mr. Delassus and believe me to be, truly your friend.

P. S.

(Signed) William Henry Harrison.

I shall certainly attend to your request relative to the Creek Indians.  
The Honbl.

Colo. Delassus,  
etc., etc.

Delassus was a Frenchman in the service of the King of Spain. The government of his adoption had just transferred by secret treaty to the government of his nativity the great province of the upper part of which he was the official head.

In the light of such conditions the freedom with which General Harrison wrote is the more remarkable. It reveals how close and confidential must have been the relationship between these neighboring representatives of the governments at Washington and Madrid. General Harrison condemned Bonaparte, or Beunaparte, as he wrote it, unsparingly. Undoubtedly he had learned from previous intercourse the real sentiments of Delassus. It is probably also true that he reflected the feeling of the Jefferson administration toward the First Consul. Accepting as "confirmed beyond all doubt" the cession of Louisiana to France, General Harrison forecasted what he believed to be the policy of this government to make common cause with Great Britain upon France to undo the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, and to prevail upon Bonaparte to permit Louisiana to be retained by Spain.

The action of the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans in shutting the port to American vessels was the chief cause of irritation on the American side, and the immediate provocation for President Jefferson sending James Monroe abroad as a special envoy. Yet General Harrison, in this letter to Delassus acquitted the Spanish government of responsibility for this hostile act, and charged it upon the "Corsican Beunaparte."

The letter is a revelation of official sentiment and policy at Washington just preceding the Louisiana Purchase. It gives light from a new source upon diplomatic negotiations which have been the subject of controversy.

The treaty transferring the Louisiana Territory to the United States was signed at Paris, April 30th, 1803. By reference to the letter it will be seen that General Harrison wrote in the month preceding.

Vincennes March 6<sup>th</sup> 1853

My dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive  
a few days ago from the hand of Col<sup>l</sup> Jernsides  
your favour of the 21<sup>st</sup> ultimo. I should have  
written to you before the receipt of that  
letter but I wanted to hear of your return from  
New Mexico

The capture of Louisiana to  
France is confirmed beyond all doubt  
& nothing but the great misfortune which  
have befallen the Government of that  
power which was sent to St Domingo  
& the reduced state of Buenos Ayres  
has prevented its being taken possession  
of before the Max of the Commodore  
attending the capture are still secret

but

but it is believ'd & I think truly, that the Ministry of Spain were much deceiv'd and imposed upon by Buonaparte - It is very evident that the Prince of Peace knew nothing of the transaction. After the treaty was actually signed he was heard to tell Louisen Buonaparte that Spain never would give up Louisiana & that France had nothing to offer which would prove an equivalent for that Province

(You have no doubt heard of the party of New Orleans having been sent by the Intendant of that place to American vessels - This Circumstance has occasioned much agitation amongst the Citizens of the United States - but I have great satisfaction in assuring you that it is believ'd to have been wholly unauthoriz'd ~~and~~ by the Court of Spain - The men - you appear to have proceeded from the Cabinet of St Clouds - "The Cabinet of St Clouds you will say"? Yes my friend - it is from this Chateau of the former Royal family of France that the Corsican Buonaparte gives law to an empire

Hap

Happily will it be for the world if his in-  
ordinate ambition is at length satisfied

But there is reason to believe that this Nation  
of a small Island will not be contented with  
he has reduced a Continent at least perhaps  
the whole Civilized World to his Dominion

Our Government has sent to Madrid  
Mr. Monroe formerly our Minister in Spain  
so envoy extraordinary to represent the Continent  
of the Independence of New Orleans - he sailed  
about the 15<sup>th</sup> of the last month having  
accomplished his business in Spain he is  
then to proceed to France, and I think it  
not improbable that the strong resources  
of the United States backed by those of Great  
Britain may prevail upon him not to  
to give up his designs upon Louisiana  
& suffer it to be retained by Spain

If your most respectable  
father should determine to remain to the  
Government he perfectly assured my dear  
Sir that every exertion on my part shall  
be made to soothe the evening of his life &  
make it as comfortable as possible

I have just received information

of my having been appointed in the Government  
of this Territory for the term years beginning  
the 13<sup>th</sup> of May next.

The last Order to take up the  
winter quarters at Kaskas was her design  
for you to come together with the other  
Company which you so properly had  
upon me.

I go to Detroit in about ten  
days. When I return I will have the  
pleasure again to write to you

Present me in the most respectful  
manner to Madame & M<sup>r</sup> De La Pave

& believe me to be truly your

friend

Wm<sup>l</sup> Henry Harrison

P.S. I shall certainly attend to your  
request relative to the Creek Indians

Yours truly

Wm<sup>l</sup> Henry Harrison

The personal suggestion of American residence for "your most respectable father" is not the least interesting feature of the correspondence, made as it was when international relations respecting the Louisiana Territory were approaching a crisis. It is impossible to believe that the American governor of Northwest Territory did not have the full concurrence of his government in the approaches he was making to the Spanish governor of Upper Louisiana.

The last months of the Spanish regime at St. Louis were made uncomfortable by some Americans from Connecticut, the Austins. Moses Austin had obtained from the Spanish a grant to mine at what is now Potosi. He was showing the pioneers how to make sheet lead by crude smelting of ore on flat rocks. About the end of January, 1804, Don Antonio Soulard commissioned Thomas Madden to measure a tract of land in the locality where Austin had located. The tract to be measured, Governor Delassus said in an official communication to Marquis de Casa Calvo had been granted to an inhabitant named Pascual Deschamandy. When the surveyor began his measurements "the inhabitants of the mine presented themselves well armed on a vacant lot of the royal dominion and opposed the functions of Madden. After they had mistreated Deschamandy and Madden they used very harmful phrases against the Spanish government, hallooing 'Viva Gifferson!' As soon as I was informed I began getting ready to act against the guilty parties, but I have just received your orders to surrender Upper Louisiana and of course this order has compelled me to abandon the punishment of these people."

A few months later, as he floated down the river, taking the flag of Spain with him and gathering the munitions at various posts, the sorely tried, old Governor Delassus encountered more of this spirit of American aggression. When he reached Ste. Genevieve, Governor Delassus was told that two small pieces of artillery were in the possession of Austin at the lead mine, having been loaned to him when he was in favor with Spanish authority on the plea that he needed them for protection against the Indians. All that Francisco Valle at Ste. Genevieve could show for the artillery was the receipt of Austin, and with this Governor Delassus was compelled to be content, but he embalmed in his diary of the trip an expression of his sentiments about the American, Austin.

"It must be understood that the said Austin is generally busy; he was the principal one in the riot of the inhabitants of that mine when they opposed the work of the surveyor, as I informed Marquis de Casa Calvo. And yet he has been favored by the Spanish government, having been given a large portion of land. It seems that his ungratefulness toward Spain has not deprived him of any merits with the republican government of the United States as he has been appointed the first judge by Mr. William Henry Harrison."

Moses Austin was to be heard from later in the winning of the southwest. He was one of the first Americans to obtain a grant in what is now Texas, on which to settle a colony. He died before he could carry out his plans, but his son, Stephen Fuller Austin, took up the duty of destiny and headed the colony. His activity in promoting united action among the American pioneers in Texas got him into prison on a charge of treason against

Mexico. But he persisted with the same aggressiveness that made his father a thorn to Spanish authority at St. Louis. When Texas became a state of the American Union Stephen Fuller Austin, who was a boy of twelve when his father at Mine-a-Breton led the hallooing "Viva Gifferson!" was enrolled among the patriots and honored with the name of the capital of the Lone Star state.



## CHAPTER IV.

### WHEN ST. LOUIS WAS A TOWN

*Population in 1804—Land Hungry Americans—The Settlement Under the Hill—Those who Lived West of Barn Street—The Vanished St. Andrews—Mullanphy's Courthouse Proposition—Florissant Favored for the New Seat of Justice—Stoddard's "Notes" on the Habitants—The American Captain and the New Americans—Assimilation Rapid—William Henry Harrison's Tactful Course Toward Upper Louisiana—Laws and Courts Provided—A Pen Picture of St. Louis in 1807—Petition for Incorporation—The First Election—Government by Trustees—Early Ordinances—Licenses and Slaves—Every Resident a Fire-fighter—Business Interests—Barter the Custom in Trade—Death of Mervether Lewis—"The Metropolis of Louisiana"—A Traveler's Tribute to St. Louis Ladies—The Pioneer Orchestra—Professional Amusements in 1812—Marvelous Performances of Colonel Leistendarfer—Sporting News One Hundred Years Ago—Bout Between Pierce and Colonel Chouteau's Kam—The Town as Brackensidge Found It About 1812—Charming Suburbs—The Chouteau Mansion—John F. Darby's Boyhood Impressions in 1818—The First Legislature—Governor McNair on the Self governing Trait—King Tail Painter's Statesmanship—The Old Missouri Hotel—A Slandered Landlord.*

Since the first organization of this government, we have exhibited to the American people a spectacle novel and peculiar—an American republic on the confines of the Federal Union, exercising all the powers of sovereign government, with no actual political connection with the United States and nothing to bind us to them but a reverence for the same principles and an habitual attachment to them and their government.—Governor McNair's First Message.

History which describes the St. Louis of 1804 as a little settlement of French traders, trappers and boatmen is not accurate as to numbers or character. It does not tell the whole truth. Between the hill and the river the population which the American captain found, when he came to raise the flag in March, 1804, was about 1,000. But north to the Missouri and south to the Meramec and west to Creve Coeur and beyond were land-hungry Americans who had been coming for a decade. They were St. Louisians. They were to be considered.

When the last of the Spanish governors, Delassus, took the census, in 1799, he reported 681 white people, fifty free mulattoes, six free negroes, and 268 slaves in the settlement of St. Louis. But, beyond the palisades and the stone towers, within what are now the city limits and St. Louis county, were living 1203 white settlers, nearly twice the white population of the settlement under the hill; many of them were Americans. From that year, for three decades, the population outside increased more rapidly than did the population inside of the confined settlement along the river bank.

Captain Stoddard asked Governor Delassus for a list of the officials under him. He discovered that the syndics of the rural districts about St. Louis were, in several places, neither French nor Spanish but American. As he proceeded with his inquiries, the captain was somewhat surprised at the number of Americans he found residing in the vicinity of St. Louis. He estimated and reported that at least three-fifths of the country population was American and that in the settlement of St. Louis four-fifths was French and Canadian.

The people living beyond Barn street, which is now Third street, were St. Louisans in their political, business, social, and religious relations. They participated in the making of St. Louis. They were influential in the development of St. Louis—settlement, town and city. From the Atlantic states, from Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, from Germany, England and Ireland came, in advance of the flag, these pioneers. In the village of Carondelet were between forty and fifty families, chiefly Canadians. St. Ferdinand, which is now Florissant, was a considerable community of such promise that it was mentioned as a rival of St. Louis for the location of the seat of justice not long after the American flag was raised. John Mullanphy, first millionaire of St. Louis, in good faith proposed to pay the cost of the erection of a suitable court house if the removal was made from St. Louis to St. Ferdinand. The mere suggestion was a revelation of the importance of suburban St. Louis at that time. In the northwestern part of what is now St. Louis county was a community called St. Andrews, which, tradition has it, was once larger than St. Louis. It was an agricultural community of Americans who had come from the states to St. Louis and had been given lands by the Spanish governors. The Missouri river encroached upon St. Andrews. Many of the people who first settled there moved to St. Louis after the American flag was raised. They established themselves in business and in the professions here.

Eminently wise was the American policy in St. Louis. Make little if any change in the forms of government, President Jefferson instructed his American captain. Stoddard was level headed. He remained in St. Louis as acting governor from the 10th of March to the 30th of September of that first year. The weeks and the months of American occupation slipped by without trouble. Stoddard studied the people. A New Englander, he was tactful and observant. About the habitants he formed some impressions which he wrote out in the form of "Notes," for the information of the people of the United States:

They mostly limit their desires to vegetables, soups and coffee. They are great smokers of tobacco, and no doubt this gives a yellow tinge to their skins. Ardent spirits are seldom used except by the most laborious classes of society. They even dislike white wines because they possess too much spirit. Clarets and other light red wines are common among them; and those who can afford it are not sparing of this beverage. Great economy is displayed in their family meals. This is not the effect of a parsimonious disposition, nor always of the want of adequate means. It results from a conviction of what their constitutions require. They readily sacrifice what may be termed luxury for the preservation of health, and it is seldom they contract diseases from intemperate excesses. Naturally volatile in their dispositions, they sometimes precipitate themselves from one extreme to another. Hence it is that in making entertainment for their friends, especially for strangers of distinction, they study to render them sumptuous. Their tables are covered with a great variety of dishes; almost every sort of food, dressed in all manner of ways, is exhibited in profusion. The master of the house, out of respect for his guests, frequently waits on them himself. On such occasions no trouble or expense is spared in procuring the best wines and other liquors the country affords. Their desserts are no less plentiful and there is no want of delicacy in their quality or variety. Many of these entertainments cost from \$250 to \$400.

The American captain did not find St. Louis the "land of steady habits" he had known in his youth. He did, however, discover in the habitants a distinctive character which in his judgment was admirable:

Perhaps the levities displayed and the amusements pursued on Sunday may be considered by some to border on licentiousness. They attend mass in the morning with great devotion, but after the exercises of the church are over they usually collect in parties and pass away their time in social and merry intercourse. They play at billiards and other games, and to balls and assemblies the Sundays are particularly devoted. To those educated in regular and pious protestant habits such parties and amusements appear unseasonable, strange and odious, if not prophetic of some signal curse on the workers of iniquity. It must, however, be confessed that the French people, in these days, avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum. They are of opinion that there is true and undefiled religion in their amusements, much more, indeed, than they can see in certain night conferences and obscure meetings in various parts among the tomls. When questioned relative to their gaiety 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 opinion that a sullen countenance, attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior are more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they say they have often remarked that those who practice these singularities on Sunday will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the remainder of the week. Such are the religious sentiments of a people void of superstition; of a people prone to hospitality, urbanity of manners and innocent recreation, and who present their daily orisons at the throne of Grace with as much confidence of success as the most devout Puritan in Christendom.

The American captain and the new Americans of St. Louis and vicinity were not long in arriving at mutual respect. Representatives of the several districts of Louisiana met in St. Louis to prepare statements to Congress. When they adjourned in September, 1804, they expressed to Captain Stoddard "their unfeigned acknowledgments for your judicious attentive and exemplary dispensation of justice within this Territory during your administration, and the readiness which you have always shown to contribute to the public good." The address, which was signed by Charles Gratiot, president, and P. Provenchere, secretary, concluded quaintly: "May Louisiana ever feel the same Regret in parting from its chief Magistrate—and may genuine Philanthropy, solid Parts unblemished Disinterestedness continue to characterize the Governors of Louisiana."

Assimilation wrought its perfect work in the extension of American authority over the Louisiana Territory. By the stroke of a pen the area of the United States was doubled. By the exercise of a wise policy the allegiance of the people was transferred without the firing of a gun, excepting the salutes of the flags. Many of these newly made Americans west of the Mississippi were of alien descent and of different tongues. Furthermore, many events of the decade preceding the purchase had been such as might be expected to provoke and intensify a spirit of hostility. The sentiment of the settlers east of the Mississippi had been more than once dangerously near actual violence against the Spanish rule west. Not long before negotiations culminated in the treaty of acquisition, a United States senator had been exposed in intrigue to incite war by the Indian Tribes of Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi against the Spanish garrisons and people on the Louisiana Territory side. So flagrant were the facts in the case that the senator had been compelled to resign to escape impeachment. On the floor of Congress speeches were made foreshadowing open conflict along the Father of Waters if some settlement of international relations was not reached speedily. It was a period of unrest

and of resort to arms the world over. Bonaparte sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States by a treaty of April 30, 1803. Less than three weeks later, on the 16th of May, war was declared by Great Britain against France. Russia put a squadron into commission. Other nations made preparations to take part in a world-wide contest for territory and power. Nevertheless the United States proceeded to extend its authority over the new acquisition from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains without the massing of men, or the show of force. Notably prompt and gratifying was the acknowledgement of the new allegiance made by the people of Upper Louisiana, of which St. Louis was the capital.

How was the assimilation accomplished? The letters of William Henry Harrison, recently obtained for publication, illuminate the policy. From Vincennes the governor of the Northwest Territory worked out the problem with the Governor of Upper Louisiana, Charles De Hault Delassus.

News traveled slowly in those days. Although the treaty was signed in Paris on the 30th of April, 1803, the first information of it reached St. Louis through a letter sent by Governor Harrison to Governor Delassus, dated the 2nd of August at Vincennes. The treaty was not ratified at Washington until the 19th of October. Governor Harrison conveyed the intelligence to Governor Delassus in the following letter:

Vincennes, 12th Novr., 1803.

My Dear Sir:—

Since the beginning of September I have been so severely afflicted with an inflammation in the eyes as to be entirely unable to answer the several kind letters which you have written me.

I believe that my trip to your country will be postponed for some time. I have been waiting for final orders which I have not yet received, but it is not impossible that I may receive orders this very day to go on immediately. Enclosed herewith you will receive the message of the President to Congress in which he communicates the purchase of Louisiana to that body. The treaty is now before the Senate whose constitutional power it is to advise the President to ratify it or not. That it will be ratified there is little doubt, but I cannot say when possession will be taken.

There is nothing new from Europe but the probability of a revolt in France—everything seems to prognosticate it, and should it be successful the restoration of Monarchy is thought to be inevitable. Bonaparte, however, still threatens England with an invasion, and the English are straining every nerve to be in readiness to receive them. It is said of late, however, that the First Consul will not command in person because it is supposed that his embarkation will be the signal for the malcontents to rise. Spain has not yet, that we know of, taken part in the war; it is even said that the wishes of the Court are strongly in favor of England. The northern powers (Russia particularly) are very much offended at the operations of the French in Hanover. A strong squadron of Russian ships of war have been put in commission and were daily expected in one of the French Ports. What their ultimate destination may be is not known but it cannot be unfavorable to England as they are to use the ports of that kingdom to refit.

5 o'clock P. M.

The mail has just arrived and has brought us the intelligence of the Treaty with France having been ratified by the President and Senate of the United States. Enclosed herewith you will receive a copy of the Treaty and Conventions.

Some public business demanding my attention, I conclude with requesting you to present me in the most respectful terms to Madam and Mr. Delassus and believe me

The Honble

Sincerely yr. friend

Charles DeHault Delassus

(Signed) Will'm Henry Harrison.

Lt. Governor of Upper Louisiana.



CLOUTEAU'S POND



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TYPES OF RESIDENCES WHEN ST. LOUIS WAS A TOWN



The action of the Senate on October 19 reached Vincennes, it will be observed, on the 12th day of November. The Government at Washington proceeded deliberately in the matter. Not until the 20th of December, 1803, was the authority transferred at New Orleans. Nearly three months more elapsed before the American officer, Captain Stoddard, appeared at St. Louis and, on March 10, 1804, formally raised the American flag.

In the meantime, Governor William Henry Harrison, acting for the administration at Washington, as may be read between the lines, was at work on the plans to make the acceptance of American citizenship easy and profitable to the people of the territory. He had written to Delassus when the first information of the signing of the treaty reached Vincennes:

"I do not know what the United States will do with Upper Louisiana, but think it probable that it will be annexed. Should this be the case, it may give me the opportunity of serving some of your friends. If this opportunity does offer, be assured, my dear sir, that it shall not be neglected."

As the assimilation policy of the administration at Washington developed, Governor Harrison went much farther in his overtures calculated to carry that policy into effect. He extended the assurance that no radical changes were to be made at once in the laws. He informed Governor Delassus that the districts were to remain geographically as constituted, and that commandants were to receive the pay and emoluments of colonels in the American Army. He even suggested the probability that one of these very important commissions might be bestowed upon the father of the Spanish governor. On the 25th of February, 1804, about three weeks before the transfer at St. Louis, Governor Harrison sent this letter to Governor Delassus.

Vincennes, 25th February, 1804.

My Dear Sir:—

I have delayed writing to you for some time under the expectation of being able to inform you of the final arrangement of our Government relative to Louisiana. I am, however, disappointed, for as yet I have seen only the draft of a law on the subject which has not yet been adopted, but I believe that or something very like it will ultimately pass. For Upper Louisiana a governor is to be appointed who is to be vested with all the powers of the late governor-general, and the laws now in force are to prevail. The commandants, however, of the several districts are to be appointed by the President, their duties to be as heretofore, their compensation the pay and emoluments of a Colonel in our service, which is 75 dollars per month, twelve rations per diem and forage to the amount of \$12 per month, making altogether a sum not less than \$2,000 per annum. If your venerable father should determine to remain where he is, assure him, my friend, that every exertion in my power will be made to procure for him one of these appointments. I am not by any means sure that I shall succeed, but my friends have some influence. I mean to write myself immediately to the President on the subject, and I have some reason to believe that he will respect my recommendation.

I would like to know as soon as possible when you propose to take your departure, and if you go to New Orleans or embark at Philadelphia for Spain—in the latter case I would have the pleasure of seeing you here.

I am My Dear Sir Yours Most Sincerely,

(Signed) Will'm Henry Harrison.

The Hon'ble

Charles DeHault Delassus

Colonel in the Service of His Catholic Majesty, etc., etc.

St. Louis.

Even after the formal transfer of sovereignty, when his authority was no more, Governor Delassus was sought and cultivated for the moral effect of his influence. In May, two months after the stars and stripes had been raised at St. Louis, Governor Harrison addressed Delassus as "My Dear Friend," and bespoke his good will and action in the arrangement of details as follows:

Vincennes, 6th May, 1804.

My Dear Friend:—

Since I wrote to you last I have received a letter from you, for which I thank you. The law for the Government of Louisiana has at length been published. The upper part of that province, viz. from the 33 degree of latitude, is placed under my government, but as a separate territory, entirely distinct from Indiana.

By the above mentioned law it becomes my duty to lay out the Province in Suitable Districts and form the Inhabitants of each into a Militia, but as I am entirely unacquainted with the strength and situation of the several settlements I must request your friendly aid in the affair and will thank you to give me as soon as possible a list of the several settlements, their distance from each other, their strength of population, white and black, together with any other facts you may think proper to mention. Each of the above mentioned districts is to have an officer of Militia, who is, besides his commission in the Militia, to have brevet rank from the United States and is to command under the Governor the Regular troops as well as Militia in his District. He is to be under the same pay with an officer of the same rank in the Regular Army. It will be my endeavor to procure for your Respected father one of these appointments.

I am sorry to be under the necessity of troubling you for the information asked for above but I know of no person who possesses so much knowledge on that subject as yourself and as the information is necessary to me I am sure you will give it with cheerfulness. My powers do not extend to Louisiana until the 1st of October but it is necessary that every arrangement should be previously made particularly as I have to communicate with the President on the subject of the Districts.

If I was not very much pressed with business at this moment I would answer by the present conveyance a letter which I received some days ago from your venerable father. I will however soon write to him. In the meantime present me Respectfully both to him and Madam your Mother.

I shall not fail to pay all the attention in my power to the gentlemen you were so good as to mention to me.

As soon as you know your destination let me hear from you. If it is to be Madrid I wish you to take a letter to an intimate friend who is Secretary to the American Ambassador there and will by the time you reach it probably be our Charge d' affaires.

God bless and prosper you.

Your friend

(Signed) Will'm Henry Harrisou.

Col'o Delassus

I recommend the bearer hereof Judge Jones to your notice.

Charles DeHault Delassus, Esq.

Colonel in the service of His Catholic Majesty.

St. Louis.

Thus was paved the way to peaceful acquisition of St. Louis and of all Upper Louisiana by the United States. The result was a transfer of territory and of citizenship which could hardly have taken place more smoothly if it had been annexation sought by the people rather than involuntary sale to serve the ends of a European government.

When congress met it authorized the governor and the judge of Indiana Territory, which extended to the Mississippi, to put into form some laws for the District of Louisiana, as it was called. William Henry Harrison was the new governor of Louisiana. He had been looking forward to this work. He came over to St. Louis for a close view of conditions.



A court of quarter sessions was established for St. Louis. The District of Louisiana was divided into five sub-districts—St. Louis, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. Each sub-district had a sheriff.

One of the earliest acts of the court was the fining of James Rankin, sheriff, \$6.33 "for insolence and contempt of court."

St. Louis, as seen from the Illinois side in 1807, was inspiring. So it seemed to a lady traveler. With artistic vision and facile pen the impression was preserved. It appeared in the "Literary Gazette" of Cincinnati. The name of the writer does not accompany the article. Influx of "the Bostons," as the old French habitants called the newcomers, had begun. It is surmised that the contributor to this pioneer periodical was the wife or daughter of some American who was staking his fortune on the future of St. Louis:

The traveler that pauses upon the eastern bank of the river immediately directs his eye to the opposite side of the river. He there contemplates a bold and rocky eminence, where the primeval materials of nature's strength seem piled in rude and disordered magnificence. The ascent is steep and difficult, and has the aspect at a distance of threatening to exclude you from the town, which it beautifully elevates to a considerable height above the water, at the same time proving an impenetrable rampart to ward off the encroachments of the river. You would almost believe the houses were united and that the roofs upheld and supported one another, so gradually and so beautifully has nature bent her brow for the reception of this village. From the opposite shore it has a majestic appearance, which it borrows from its elevated site and from a range of Spanish towers that crown the summit of the hill and lend their Gothic rudeness to complete a picture which scarcely has a parallel. The principal houses of St. Louis are surrounded by massive walls of stone to serve as defense in time of danger, the port holes with which they are pierced testifying that they were constructed as fortifications to repel the bold and sanguinary savage. Within these rough enclosures are planted trees of various descriptions, which, like infancy smiling in the arms of age, serve to decorate the otherwise sombre aspect of the town.

St. Louis became a town under act of the territorial legislature which "authorized the people of any village in the territory on petition of two-thirds of their taxable inhabitants to be incorporated into a town on application to the proper court." This act became effective on the 18th of June, 1808. Residents of St. Louis lost no time in moving to incorporate. They circulated a petition in this form:

To the Honorable Court of Common Pleas for the District of St. Louis:

By virtue of a law passed by the legislators, which authorizes the inhabitants of the towns and villages of this Territory to incorporate themselves if two-thirds of them should agree to the same, the undersigned citizens of the circuit of St. Louis, forming at least the number required by the said law, and wishing to establish an incorporation, beg of you to put the said law in force, in order that they may procure themselves the good order and a durable police in the inward parts of the circuit of their town and common, according to the plan that has been made of the said common, and following as much as possible the enclosure that served to separate the lands of the inhabitants and those of the common.

The undersigned reposing themselves in your wisdom have the honor to remain,

Gentlemen, your most devoted servants.

St. Louis, the 5th of July.

Then followed the signatures of eighty residents of St. Louis. Below the names was the statement that eighteen were absent from home and that three refused to sign. At the bottom was written:

"The subscribers hereby certify that we were present when all of the above names were signed. Witness whereof we have set our hands and seals this 7th day of July, 1808." The witnesses were P. Lee and L. A. Beavis.

The original of this petition for town incorporation of St. Louis is in the hall of the Missouri Historical Society. It was written in French and in English, the two side by side. The signatures of the French were written underneath the petition in that language.

On the 23rd of July, 1808, the first election in St. Louis for any purpose was held at the court house. The people assembled in response to a call to organize the town. They elected five trustees to set up the new government. These trustees were Auguste Chouteau, Bernard Pratte, Edward Hempstead, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., and Alexander McNair. Elements of the population of that period were well represented. Auguste Chouteau and Pierre Chouteau, Sr., were of the original settlers. Edward Hempstead was from Connecticut. Alexander McNair was a Pennsylvanian. The representative character of Hempstead and McNair was subsequently shown by the election of Hempstead to be the first delegate to Congress and by the election of McNair to be the first governor. Bernard Pratte was a native of Ste. Genevieve. He stood for the element which recognized thus early that St. Louis was to be the center of business for the new American territory. He enjoyed the distinction of being the father of the first child born in St. Louis after the United States Senate ratified the treaty of purchase of Louisiana.

The trustees proceeded to govern the town. In August, 1808, the first town ordinance was enacted. It was elaborate. The ten sections were prompted by the community needs as the trustees viewed them. They required licenses to be taken out for several kinds of business. But the subject which received most attention was the regulation of the conduct of slaves.

In February, 1809, the trustees took action for protection of the town against fire. They issued a proclamation. All citizens were called upon to organize fire companies. One of the provisions of the fire ordinance required each occupant of a house to provide himself with two buckets. These buckets were to be kept in a place convenient for immediate use whenever a fire started. All fire fighting at that early date was by bucket brigade.

Another of the provisions ordered by the trustees was that each owner of a building in the town of St. Louis must have the chimney of his house swept at least once a month. If a fire started in a chimney, the law presumed that the chimney had not been swept properly and it provided for a fine of \$10.00 against the owner, unless he could show by witness that his chimney had been swept within four weeks preceding the fire.

The act of the legislature required that the petition for incorporation receive the approval of court. The record book of the court of common pleas shows this approval dated November 9, 1809, notwithstanding the fact that trustees had been elected and ordinances had been passed nearly a year and a half previously. The judges of the court were Silas Bent, Bernard Pratte and Louis Labeaume. Mr. Pratte was one of the five trustees elected in July, 1808.





The year of 1808 St. Louis had two hundred houses. Of these fifty were built of stone. The houses were scattered. Nearly every one occupied at least a quarter of a block of ground. Walls were whitened. The early inhabitants knew how to make lime; they used whitewash freely. The houses stood in the midst of orchards.

The Place D'Armes was the block between Main, Market, Walnut and the river front. There the farmers came with their cartloads of produce and wood to sell. The Market Place, rather than the Place D'Armes, it was called as the American element in the population increased.

Another center of interest in the community was the old government house, located at Main and Walnut streets. Dr. Saugrain was waiting for the first vaccine matter to come from the east, in order that he might begin free vaccination in St. Louis. His office was on Second street. The only bakery, LeClerc's was on Main street, between Elm and Walnut. There were three blacksmiths. There was one schoolmaster, Trudeau, who lived and taught in the same house. There were two merchants who had the enterprise to put signs over their store fronts. They were "Falconer & Comegys" and "Hunt & Hankinson." There was one butcher and he did not kill until the beef was spoken for in advance. Prairie chickens could be shot almost anywhere west of what is now Seventh street.

The trade of the town of St. Louis in 1808 was largely dependent upon barter. Advertisements in the earlier issues of the Gazette show how generally the merchants depended upon trade rather than cash customers. One of these advertisements reads as follows:

**Cheap Goods.**—The subscriber has just opened a quantity of bleached country linen, cotton cloth, cotton and wool cards, German steel, smoothing irons, ladies' silk bonnets, artificial flowers, linen check, muslins, white thread, wool and cotton; a handsome new gig, with plated harness; cable and cordelle ropes, with a number of articles which suit this country, which he will sell on very low terms.

He will take in pay, furs, hides, whiskey, country made sugar and beeswax.

—John Arthur—

P. S.—A negro girl, eighteen years of age, is also for sale. She is a good house servant. St. Louisans going to eastern cities undertook commissions of almost any character for their neighbors. In the Missouri Gazette of 1809 appeared this announcement which was not an unusual one:

"Joseph Coppinger proposes setting off for New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington on the 1st of February, to return in May. He takes this method of offering his agency to his friends and the public, and expects reasonable compensation for any trust undertaken."

The year the first trustees were elected a regular ferry was established. Jefferson Barracks had not been selected as a site, much less constructed. At Bellefontaine, on the limestone cliff near the mouth of the Missouri, there was a cantonment where General Wilkinson kept a force of troops which contributed \$60,000 a year to the volume of St. Louis trade.

The first assessment for town purposes was in 1811. Auguste Chouteau led the list of tax payers, his tax being \$268.10 on an assessment of \$76,000.

Two years after the Gazette started the editor was able to announce that every house in town was taken and that rents were increasing. During that

season the community was congratulated upon the erection of seven buildings. The editor confidently predicted that during 1811 there would be, probably, twice that number added to the town.

The census was taken in 1810. Mr. Charless, the editor, found good ground for complaint that the figures did not do justice to St. Louis. The count included only those residents on the first Monday of August, 1810.

"Since that period," said the editor of the Gazette, "we have received a handsome increase of immigration, which might be set down at one hundred families of seven persons each. We have many of our citizens absent on hunts or down the river, etc.; for instance, there is with Mr. Henry on the west side of the Rocky Ridge 140 men."

This census of 1810 showed for the whole territory of Louisiana, which included Arkansas and Missouri, 20,840 persons. Of this number the town and county of St. Louis had 5,667; the town of St. Louis had about 1,200.

Five years later the sheriff, John W. Thompson, took a census of the town and county, finding 7,395. The population of the town was about 2,000. The government census of 1820 brought the town population up to 4,000 and St. Louis began to move in the direction of a city organization. The county of St. Louis, at that time, had 9,732. In 1828 the sheriff found 5,000 people in the city and 11,880 in the county. It was not until the thirties that the city passed the county in population.

After the starting of the first newspaper and the election of the first board of trustees, St. Louis began to feel the need of public improvements. Up to that time the square between Market and Walnut streets and Main and the river, had been an open plaza. Citizens had generally adopted the name of Centre Square for the earlier designation given by Laclède. The result of the agitation was that in a little over two years after the incorporation of the town, the board of trustees let a contract for the building of a market house on Centre Square. This market house was not much more than a large shed, under which produce might be exposed for sale. It stood on the same block as that occupied in part for many years by the Merchants' Exchange.

One of the progressive steps taken by the town organization was the passage of an ordinance providing for wharfage dues. Every boat of five tons capacity was required to pay a fee of \$2.00 for landing.

A little more than a year after St. Louis became a town there occurred an event which caused more general sorrow than any other in the history of the settlement, since the death of the founder, Laclède. It is tradition that during 1808 and 1809 Governor Meriwether Lewis had been subject to mental depression. His friends endeavored to arouse his spirits. They could not understand why he should be depressed. There were no apparent causes for these attacks of melancholy. It was true that the governor complained rather bitterly of the tardiness with which the government at Washington met the obligations incurred in connection with the expedition of Lewis and Clark. But such complaints were general in the community. St. Louis was a long way from Washington. There were others in the community who felt that government business did not receive the prompt attention it should. Friends

of Meriwether Lewis looked after him carefully, showing him attention and in many ways endeavoring to cheer him. The governor announced his intention to proceed to Washington. He was encouraged to do so by those about him who thought the change of a journey might be beneficial to his mental condition. Then came the news of the death of the governor by a pistol supposed to have been fired by himself. The town of St. Louis mourned.

Not all of those who flocked here when St. Louis was a town were intending settlers. The observant and inquiring traveler was a frequent arrival. The town began to get into print. Nearly all that was written added to the good fame. Christian Schultz wrote two volumes about "travels on an inland voyage, performed in the years 1807 and 1809, including a tour of nearly 6,000 miles." He arrived in St. Louis on the 22nd of November, 1807. He came by land from Ste. Genevieve, taking the road on the Illinois side of the river, by way of Prairie du Rocher. He said that before arriving opposite St. Louis he rode "fifteen miles over one of the richest and most beautiful tracts I have ever seen. It is called the American bottom and is a prairie of such extent as to weary the eye in tracing its boundaries." Schultz crossed the Mississippi at the Cahokia ferry and rode three miles to "the metropolis of Louisiana." He gave his impressions with evident intention to be accurate. It is to be borne in mind that the time of this visit was only three years after the American flag had been raised. Subsequent to that period, the fur trade was reorganized, extended to the westward and northward and greatly expanded:

St. Louis is beautifully situated on an elevated bank on the west side of the river. It contains about two hundred houses, which, from the whiteness of a considerable number of them, as they are rough-cast and whitewashed, appear to great advantage as you approach the town. It is likewise a French settlement, established in the year 1764; the inhabitants are chiefly Roman Catholics, and have a chapel and a confessor. A small number of American families have of late years settled in this town, and have had so much influence as to give a decided American tone to the fashions of the place; but as their numbers are too few to erect a church of their own, they have, by way of amusement, made arrangement with the father confessor, to give them a little lecture in his chapel every Sunday evening.

I observed two or three big houses in the town, which are said to have cost from twenty to sixty thousand dollars, but they have nothing either of beauty or taste in their appearance to recommend them, being simply big, heavy, and unsightly structures. In this country, however, where fashion and taste differ so materially from fashion and taste with us, they are considered as something not only grand, but even elegant.

St. Louis has for many years past been the center of the fur trade in this country; but this branch of business I am informed, is now rapidly declining, in consequence of the game becoming scarce.

This town has been strongly fortified by the Spanish government, having two forts, two blockhouses, four stone towers, and one half moon. These encircle the whole town on the land side, and are within gunshot of each other. Some little care is still taken of forts and barracks occupied by the garrison which is stationed at this place, but the towers and blockhouses are entirely neglected, and, for want of repairs, already tumbling to pieces.

The comment on the weather would indicate that the traveler encountered a cold snap unusual for the last of November. He had one very uncomfortable experience. Setting out alone to visit the lead mines at Potosi he lost the way in the hills of the Meramec river, shivered all night and came back to St. Louis:

St. Louis is situated in lat. 38.18. N., long. 89.36. W. from which you would be inclined to believe the climate somewhat warmer than that of New York, in lat. 40.40; but I certainly do not think I ever experienced in that city colder weather, at this season of the year, than I have felt in St. Louis for these few days past. I made this remark to some gentlemen who have lived here for four or five years past, but who formerly resided in Philadelphia; and they were of opinion that the winters generally were equally severe, but did not last so long.

The fame of feminine St. Louis had reached Christian Schultz before he saw the town. He investigated and was satisfied; he found the ladies "eminently entitled" to their reputation:

The ladies of St. Louis I had heard generally celebrated through all the lower country for their beauty, modesty, and agreeable manners, as well as for their taste and the splendor of their dress. I was, therefore, very happy in having an opportunity of accepting an invitation to one of their balls, on the first Sunday evening after my arrival, having previously attended the chapel, for the express purpose of being able to form some kind of judgment with respect to their claims; and I must confess, that they appeared to be eminently entitled to all that I had heard in their favor.

St. Louis, the town, was not without its musical organization, although the association was without name and quite limited in number of performers. There were two musicians. They were inseparable. One of them was an old man with white hair. He was about five feet in height and very fat. He took life comfortably and had an inexhaustible fund of humor. He moved about very slowly and for this reason was commonly known as Monsieur Tardiff. The companion of Monsieur Tardiff was a negro, very tall and gaunt. He looked so much like a deer that he was called Chevreuil. The two musicians afforded the most striking contrast possible in physical appearance. They entertained with their instruments and amused with their looks.

The pioneer paid amusement was announced about 1812. This was a series of sleight-of-hand performances by John Eugene Leistendorfer. Among the "tricks"—for that was what the Gazette frankly called them—which the magician promised were these:

Any person of the company may cut off the head of a living chicken and then he will immediately restore it to life with its head on.

He will cause a shawl or handkerchief to be cut in two pieces. One of the halves will be burnt, the other cut into small pieces, and he will return it entire.

A new way of proving good whiskey, by putting a penknife or any other light article in a tumbler; and in pouring the whiskey on it, if there is any water in the whiskey, the penknife will move only; but if the whiskey is good, the penknife will jump itself out of the water.

He will catch between his teeth a ball discharged from a pistol, actually loaded and fired by one of the visitors, and after having performed a great many more tricks, too long to be enumerated, he will conclude by eating live coals of fire.

The Gazette explained that the magician was "the same Colonel Leistendorfer who served under General Eaton in the capacity of guide, adjutant, inspector general and chief engineer in passing the desert of Libia." The Gazette vouched for the colonel with the statement that "certificates from several gentlemen high in office in this government testify to his character and service." From the forecast of these performances it will be inferred properly that the art of advertising was understood by the earliest St. Louis press agent.

Colonel Leistendorfer gave his entertainments once a week for several months. He reaped a harvest. The performances took place at the Robidou house. One evening the magician inspired by a crowded room, and seeing in





ALEXANDER MCNAIR  
First Governor



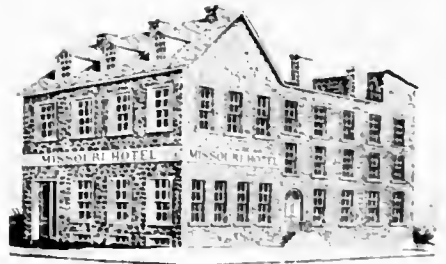
MERIWETHER LEWIS



CHOUTEAU'S POND



THE OLD MARKET  
Near Foot of Market Street



MISSOURI HOTEL  
Where First Legislature Sat, Main and  
Morgan Streets



the gathering some of the most prominent citizens, said he would hatch a chicken from an egg, bring it to full growth, cook it and serve it. There was great applause. Colonel Leistendorfer showed the egg and put it in a box. When the box was closed the chirping of the chicken was heard. When the box was opened there was the chicken. Into and out of several boxes the chicken passed, growing larger with each change, until it was shown full grown. With the spectators following every movement, the colonel cut off the chicken's head. The body was put in a box and when the box was opened a well roasted chicken, with gravy dripping, was lifted out. The colonel called for someone to serve the chicken. William C. Carr, a dignified young lawyer, afterwards circuit judge, was pushed forward. He took the knife and fork, but as he was about to begin by plunging the fork into the breast of the roasted chicken a live chicken flew out of the dish, splashing gravy liberally over his ruffled shirt front.

Colonel Leistendorfer had a very profitable season in the old Robidou house. He liked St. Louis so well that he bought a home in Carondelet, where he raised a large family. The Leistendorfer descendants became quite prominent locally.

Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, an Englishman who traveled in North America and wrote a book, met this strange international character during his visit to St. Louis and Carondelet. He said of him:

His name was given as Leistendorfer. I concluded he must be German but he answered me with such a strange patois in that language that I was soon convinced of my error; upon cross-examination of him I discovered that he was from the Italian side of the Tyrol and that his real name was Santunrio. He boasted of speaking German, French, Spanish, Turkish and English equally well. He was made a sharp-shooter in the Austrian army; he was with Bonaparte; he was some years at Constantinople. Then he went to Egypt and contrived to render the pasha some service in Arabia; after which he was employed by General Eaton to assist in his expedition against the Bey of Tripoli, and was instrumental in the settlement of that trouble. For that he was made a colonel in the United States army; he lives now upon the proceeds of some land which he bought with the money earned by his services. He is a strangely prejudiced man but with a fine face and the remains of an athletic frame.

Because the town of St. Louis was small, it is not to be supposed that the Gazette was without sporting news. A local character was a man named Pierce, who was always ready for a fight or a foot race or any other kind of sport. Pierce was a bully. He had a series of encounters which established his supremacy in the community to such a degree that it was impossible to get up a fight with him, except when some stranger, who did not know his prowess, arrived. Pierce was not only a hard hitter but he had a hard head, upon which no blow seemed to have any effect. He was so confident of his skull that one day he offered to fight a ram which was running at large in the commons and was the terror of all the small boys. Pierce said he could whip the ram butting. He offered to try it on a bet of a gallon of whiskey to be given him, if he was successful. The population of the town turned out to see the fight between Pierce and the ram. After the ram had been teased to the fighting point, which did not take long, Pierce got down on his hands and knees. The ram was turned loose and made a bound toward the man. Pierce waited until the ram was almost upon him, then dropped his head and

jerked it up in time to strike the under jaw of the ram, breaking the animal's neck. Having won this victory, Pierce was not satisfied to rest upon his laurels. He tried the performance again and again with increasing honors. At length a bout was arranged between Pierce and a ram of unusual size, owned by Colonel Chouteau. The usual preliminaries took place. Pierce following his hitherto successful tactics, dropped his head, but his nose struck a sharp pointed stub of a weed which penetrated the nostril. Involuntarily, Pierce threw up his head too soon and received upon his forehead the full force of the ram's bound. His skull was fractured and he died.

Henry M. Brackenridge, a young man from Pittsburg, came to St. Louis in 1810. While trying to choose between journalism and the law he did some writing for publication. His description of St. Louis as he saw it and studied it was graphic. His forecast was the more remarkable because both Ste. Genevieve and St. Charles at that time crowded St. Louis in population, and immigration seemed to be inclined to favor New Madrid. In his "Views of Louisiana" Brackenridge wrote of St. Louis:

This place occupies one of the best situations on the Mississippi, both as to site and geographical position. In this last respect the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi has certainly much greater natural advantages, but the ground is subject to inundation, and St. Louis has taken a start which it will most probably retain. It is probably not saying too much that it bids fair to be second to New Orleans in importance on this river.

St. Louis will probably become one of those great reservoirs of the valley between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, from whence merchandise will be distributed to an extensive country. It unites the advantages of three noble rivers, Mississippi, Illinois and Missouri. When their banks shall become the residence of millions, when flourishing towns shall arise, can we suppose that every vendor of merchandise will look to New Orleans for a supply, or to the Atlantic cities? There must be a place of distribution somewhere between the mouth of the Ohio and Missouri. Besides, a trade to the northern parts of New Spain will be opened, and a direct communication to the East Indies by way of the Missouri may be more than dreamt; in this case St. Louis will become the Memphis of the American Nile.

When Brackenridge made his predictions St. Louis had 1,400 people. This writer said, of the impression he received as he went about St. Louis, first taking the view from the Illinois bank:

In a disjointed and scattered manner, it extends along the river a mile and a half, and we form the idea of a large and elegant town. Two or three large and costly buildings, though not in the modern taste, contribute in producing this effect. On closer examination the town seems to be composed of an equal proportion of stone walls, houses and fruit trees, but the illusion still continues. In ascending the second bank, which is about forty feet above the level of the plain, we have the town below us, and a view of the Mississippi in each direction, and of the fine country through which it passes. When the curtain of wood which conceals the American bottom shall have been withdrawn, or a vista formed by opening farms to the river, there will be a delightful prospect into that rich and elegant tract. There is a line of works on this second bank, erected for defense against the Indians, consisting of several circular towers, twenty feet in diameter and fifteen feet in height, a small stockaded fort and a stone breast-work. These are at present entirely unoccupied and waste, excepting the fort, in one of the buildings of which the courts are held, while the other is used as a prison. Some distance from the termination of this line, up the river, there are a number of Indian mounds and remains of antiquity, which, while they are ornamental to the town, prove that in former times those places had also been chosen as the site, perhaps, of a populous city.

St. Louis contains according to the last census one thousand, four hundred inhabitants, one-fifth Americans, and about four hundred people of color. There are a few Indians and metiffs, in the capacity of servants or wives to boatmen. This town was at no time so agri-

cultural as the other villages; being a place of some trade, the chief town of the province, and the residence of a number of mechanics. It remained nearly stationary for two or three years after the cession; but is now beginning to take a start, and its reputation is growing abroad. Every house is crowded, rents are high, and it is exceedingly difficult to procure a tenement on any terms. Six or seven houses were built in the course of the last season and probably twice the number will be built the next. There is a printing office and twelve mercantile stores. The value of imports to this place in the course of the year may be estimated at \$250,000. The outfits for the different trading establishments on the Mississippi or Missouri are made here. The lead of the Sac mines is brought to this place; the troops at Bellefontaine put \$60,000 in circulation annually. The settlers on both sides of the river repair to this place as the best market for their produce, and to supply themselves with such articles as they may need. The manners of the inhabitants are not different from those in other villages; we distinctly see the character of the ancient inhabitants and of the new residents and of a compound of both. St. Louis, however, was always a place of more refinement and fashion; it is the residence of many genteel families, both French and American.

The suburbs of St. Louis at the time of Judge Brackenridge's coming began where Fourth street is today. A favorite walk, which was westward into the country, was described by him. The springs the writer mentioned were not far from where the Wabash railroad now crosses Manchester avenue:

Looking to the west a most charming country spreads itself before us. It is neither very level nor hilly, but of an agreeable waving surface, and rising for several miles with an ascent almost imperceptible. Except a small belt to the north, there are no trees; the rest is covered with scrubby oak, intermixed with hazels and a few trifling thickets of thorn, crab-apple, or plum-trees. At the first glance we are reminded of the environs of a great city; but there are no country-seats, or even plain farm houses; it is a vast waste, yet by no means a barren soil. Such is the appearance until, turning to the left, the eye again catches the Mississippi. A number of fine springs take their rise here and contribute to the uneven appearance. The greater part drain to the southwest and aid in forming a beautiful rivulet, which, a short distance below the town, gives itself to the river. I have often been delighted, in my solitary walks, to trace the rivulet to its sources. Three miles from town, but within view, among a few tall oaks, it rises in four or five silver fountains, within a short distance of each other, presenting a picture to the fancy of the poet, or the pencil of the painter. I have fancied myself for a moment on classic ground, and beheld the Naiads pouring the stream from their urns. Close to the town there is a fine mill, erected by Mr. Chouteau on this streamlet; the dam forms a beautiful sheet of water, and affords much amusement, in fishing and fowling, to the people of the town. The common field of St. Louis was formerly enclosed on this bank, consisting of several thousand acres; at present there are not more than two thousand under cultivation; the rest of the ground looks like the worn common in the neighborhood of a large town, the grass kept down and short and the loose soil in several places cut open into gaping ravines.

According to John F. Darby, the original boundary of the town of St. Louis began on the Mississippi river near the mouth of Mill creek, called by the French *Petite Riviere*, and ran nearly due west to a point on Fourth street about a block from Chouteau avenue. Thence the line ran northwardly to a point near where the northeast corner of the Southern hotel is located, the corner of Fourth and Walnut streets, where there was a fortification and round tower. In Spanish times it was the jail or prison house of the government, and it was continued as a jail by the American authorities till the year 1818, when the new jail was built where the Laclede hotel now stands. The old round tower was about forty or fifty feet high, and, standing as it did on the brow of the hill with no building to obstruct, was a prominent object seen from a distance. The west line of the town then ran northwardly from this point nearly to the southwest corner of what is now Third street and

Washington avenue, where there was another stone fort. Thence northwardly the line ran to the eastern line of Third street at Cherry, where there was a large fortification called the bastion. That fortification occupied the most ground and was by far the best of the forts, being built strongly of stone; it looked solid and formidable. From that point the line ran nearly due east, a little north, to Roy's tower on the bank of the river. That tower was large and round, of stone, forty or fifty feet high. The southern, western and northern boundaries as thus marked had been enclosed by pickets ten or twelve feet high, firmly planted in the ground and at different points were gates. At night these gates were secured and guarded. In the year 1818 the pickets were gone but the stone fortifications remained.

John F. Darby was a small boy when his father moved from North Carolina in 1818. His recollections of the two fine mansions of the town were vivid:

Colonel Auguste Chouteau had an elegant domicile fronting on Main street. His dwelling and houses for his servants occupied the whole square bounded north by Market street, east by Main street, south by what is now known as Walnut street, and on the west by Second street. The whole square was enclosed by a solid stone wall two feet thick and ten feet high, with port holes about every ten feet apart, through which to shoot Indians in case of attack. The walls of Colonel Chouteau's mansion were two and a half feet thick, of solid stone work; two stories high, and surrounded by a large piazza or portico about fourteen feet wide, supported by pillars in front and at the two ends. The house was elegantly furnished, but at that time not one of the rooms was carpeted. In fact no carpets were then used in St. Louis. The floors of the house were made of black walnut, and were polished so finely that they reflected like a mirror. Colonel Chouteau had a train of servants, and every morning after breakfast some of those inmates of his household were down on their knees for hours, with brushes and wax, keeping the floors polished. The splendid abode with its surrounding had indeed the appearance of a castle.

Major Pierre Chouteau also had an elegant domicile, built after the same manner and of the same materials. He, too, occupied a whole square with his mansion, bounded on the east by Main street, on the south by what is known as Vine street, on the west by Second street, and on the north by what is now known as Washington avenue, the whole square being enclosed with high solid stone walls and having port-holes, in like manner as his brother's.

The town of St. Louis, at that time, contained about two thousand inhabitants, two-thirds of whom were French and one-third Americans. The prevailing language of the white persons on the street was French; the negroes of the town all spoke French. All the inhabitants used French to the negroes, their horses and dogs; and used the same tongue in driving their ox-teams. They used no ox-yokes and bows, as the Americans did, in hitching their oxen to wagons and carts; but instead had a light piece of wood about two or three inches thick and about five feet long, laid on the necks of the oxen, close up to the horns of the animals, and this piece of wood was fastened to the horns by leather straps, making them pull by the head instead of the neck and shoulders. In driving their horses and cattle they used the words "chuck!" and "see!" "marchdeau!" which the animals all perfectly understood.

One of the most notable landmarks of the town of St. Louis disappeared in 1873, when the old Missouri hotel was razed, to give place to a business structure. In its day this was the finest hotel in the west. It was commenced in 1817 and was completed two years later. When the property passed into the hands of Major Biddle an addition was built to increase the accommodations. The major went east and procured a professional hotel keeper, who opened the house with an equipment and appointments which made it the hotel of the Mississippi valley.



H I T A L H I L I S S I S S I N



LEGEND

•	City
○	County
□	Block
■	Lot
—	Street
—	Railroad
—	Water
—	Boundary
—	Other

ST. LOUIS  
 MISSOURI  
 WITH THE RIVERS  
 AND THE MISSISSIPPI





The first legislature under the state's constitution met in this hotel. The first governor, Alexander McNair, and the first lieutenant-governor, Wm. Ashley, were inaugurated there. The first United States senators, David Barton and Thos. H. Benton, were elected there. When the question of Missouri's admission to the United States was pending the new political organization was spoken of frequently by the orators, who addressed their fellow legislators in the old hotel, "as being, by the grace of God, free and independent."

Capacity for self government was shown in Laclède's time. Under the Spanish flag the lieutenant-governors ruled by the consent of and with the support of the habitants rather than by any aggressive form of military authority. When the American flag was raised public affairs went on according to established customs. The squad of soldiers who came with the American captain had no turbulence or revolutionary spirit to deal with. When, after a long interim, Missouri was admitted to the Union, the first governor, McNair, in his opening message could not refrain from comment upon this same self-reliant spirit, this self-governing trait, which had carried the community through every political crisis:

"Since the first organization of this government," said Governor McNair, "we have exhibited to the American people a spectacle novel and peculiar—an American Republic on the confines of the Federal Union, exercising all the powers of sovereign government, with no actual political connection with the United States and nothing to bind us to them but a reverence for the same principles and an habitual attachment to them and their government."

There was a man in the first legislature, which met in the Missouri hotel, who called himself the "Ring Tail Painter." His name was Palmer. To this member from the southwest part of the state the routine procedure of legislation was a great surprise. Palmer could not understand why it was necessary for the bills to pass one house and then the other, and yet not become law until the governor approved. He thought it was undemocratic to place such power in the hands of one man.

During a session of the senate Andrew S. McGirk and Duff Green got into a quarrel. McGirk threw a pewter inkstand at Duff Green. Green and McGirk began to fight. Governor McNair came forward and tried to part them, but as soon as he seized Green to pull him away, "Ring Tail Painter" Palmer grabbed the governor, pushed him aside and shouted:

"Stand back governor, stand back; you are no more in a fight than any other man. I know that much law. I am at home in this business. Give it to him, Duff, give it to him."

When the legislature met at the Missouri hotel it included several members who up to that time had never seen a steamboat. One day when a boat was about to start down the river a motion was made to adjourn in order that the members might go to the bank and see the boat leave. The captain had been fully impressed with the honor about to be shown him. He ran the boat upstream, turned around and came down at full speed past the legislators assembled on the bank. As the boat went by, the cannon, which was part of

the equipment on all steamboats in that day, was fired. The legislators raised their hats and swung them, but "Ring Tail Painter" Palmer let out a series of yells.

The old Missouri hotel was for many years the place chosen for banquets and for balls. There it was his admiring fellow citizens entertained Barton with a grand dinner when he returned from making his great speech in the Senate. St. Patrick's Day was celebrated with banquets in the Missouri hotel. Expeditions were planned there; principals and seconds met to send challenges and to receive acceptances. Gen. William Henry Harrison, afterwards President; and Gen. Zachary Taylor, also afterwards President; and Gen. Winfield Scott, who tried to become but was not President, were guests at the Missouri hotel.

Isaac Walker became the owner of the Missouri hotel by sale from John F. Darby in 1835 and owned it for many years. He had a controversy with a man to whom he rented the hotel for operation—tavern keeper as he was called in that day. Walker complained about the manner in which the tavern keeper was conducting the place; he said this man "was not fit to keep tavern; that his butter was so strong he could hang his hat on it." The tavern keeper sued Mr. Walker for slander and employed Uriel Wright, the orator, to take his case.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE MUNICIPALITY

*St. Louis, the City, in 1823—Seventh Street the Western Limits—William Carr Lane, First Mayor—Only Taxpayers Were Voters—Public and Semi-public Buildings—Earliest Street Improvements—Kene Paul, the First City Engineer—The Waterworks Controversy—Settled by a Pinch of Sam Gaty's Snuff—Suffrage and the Dog Tax—Mayor Darby's Enlightened Park Policy—"Public Parade," Afterwards Lafayette Park—City Charter of 1810—Washington Square Acquired—The Deal at "Billy Williams'"—"Big Gully"—A Wave of Reform—The Gamblers Expelled—Chief McDonough Arrives—Viva Voce Voting Superseded by the Ballot Box—Senator Benton Challenged at the Polls—Mayor Mulvanphy's Oddity and Uprightness—The City Lighted by Gas—Ship Fever Epidemic Among Arriving Immigrants—Proposal to Cede St. Louis for National Capital—Chouteau's Pond Drained to Stop Epidemics—Kennett's Vigorous Administration—Sunday Closing in 1850—Civil War Mayors—Intense Partisanship in Municipal Campaigns—Rise of the Taxpayers' League to Conduct Reforms—Separation of City and County—Business Administrations of Mayors Francis and Walbridge—The Volunteer Firemen—Conflagration of 1819—The World's Fair Mayor—Water Purification Accomplished.*

The fortunes of the inhabitants may fluctuate, you and I may sink into oblivion, and even our families may become extinct. But the progressive rise of our city is morally certain. The causes of its prosperity are inscribed on the very face of the earth, and are as permanent as the foundations of the soil and the sources of the Mississippi. These matters are not brought to your recollection for the mere purpose of eulogy, but that a suitable system of improvements may be always kept in view, that the rearing of the infant city may correspond with the expectations of such a mighty futurity.—Inaugural message of the first mayor, William Carr Lane.

St. Louis became a city in April, 1823. The legislature acted favorably in 1822 on the proposition to incorporate. The charter was not adopted without a struggle. Of the 197 votes cast 90 were against the charter. A property qualification restricted suffrage. Only white citizens, of twenty-one years, who had paid a local tax, were allowed to vote. The limits of the new city were Seventh street on the west, the Mill creek on the south, and a line from Roy's tower to the river on the north.

The municipality of St. Louis began well. The first mayor was a medical man. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth and education. He had lived in St. Louis only four years when his fellow citizens selected him for the head of the city government. Mental and physical attributes favored William Carr Lane. The first mayor was a man of splendid presence. He was genial. He was incorruptible. He served the public zealously. In that early period St. Louis chose the mayor annually. William Carr Lane was elected six times in succession. After nine years he was called back to serve two more terms in addition to several months of an unexpired term.

At the first election for mayor, St. Louis polled 220 votes. The contest was sharp. Mr. Lane received 122 votes; Auguste Chouteau received 70 votes and M. P. Leduc received 28 votes.

The notable structures of public, or semi-public, character which St. Louis possessed at that time numbered fewer than twenty. They were:

Baptist church, southwest corner Market and Third. This building was not entirely finished for religious purposes. It served, during a period, the uses of the courts. After the removal of the original structure of the church the site was occupied by the National Hotel. The building stands today in a condition of good preservation.

Bastion, north of Bennett's hotel.

Cathedral, Roman church, southwest corner Church and Market.

Clerks' offices for the various courts, near the public square.

Constables' office, North Fourth above North C street.

Court Rooms, near the public square.

Episcopal church, South Church, below South A street. The building was of wood. It was used for Episcopal services but was not constructed originally for a church.

Green-Tree Inn, 85 South Church.

Indian Council chamber, or museum of Indian curiosities, belonging to Governor Clark, 101 North Main.

Jones' row, north side of Market street, above Third. Jones' row was of one-story brick buildings. It is said to have been the first row of brick buildings in St. Louis.

Land office, United States, west of and near to Bennett's hotel.

Mansion house, Bennett's, northeast corner of North Third and E streets.

Market house, south side of Market street, near the river.

Market street ran west from the river, between North and South A streets. It was the line which even then divided the northern part of the town from the southern.

Masonic Hall, in which the grand, chapter and master's lodges were held, north side South B street, above Main.

Methodist Meeting house, southwest corner South Third and South D streets.

Missouri Bank, 6 North Main street.

Missouri hotel, southwest corner of North Main and North H streets.

Mound Public garden, a pleasant retreat kept by Mr. Gray, near the Indian mound.

The mayor's appeal for public improvements was not in vain. An engineer prepared a plan to grade and pave Main street. One block was graded and paved that first year. It was the block from Market to Walnut, where Laclède just sixty years before had marked the trees for the center of trade and seat of government of the settlement he was about to found. The first board of aldermen passed an ordinance to grade and pave streets. That was the initial step. In it the brand new government laid down the rule that the city would pave, but the property holders must pay the cost of the curbing and paving. Up to that time residents had indulged in the luxury of quarter, half and even whole blocks for home sites. They had gardens, and even orchards in the business section. They surrounded their grounds with limestone walls. The prospect of heavy assessments for street improvements prompted the subdivision and sale of the large lots. People who wanted home yards moved to the suburbs beyond Seventh street.

In 1826, the grading of the wharf in front of the city was before the council. The question was what elevation should be chosen for Front street. Thornton Grimsley advocated strongly a level three feet above the present grade. If his views had been accepted and followed, only the extraordinary flood could have crossed Front street and filled the cellars.

Dr. Lane had more than the quality of inborn leadership. Although he was only thirty years old when he came to St. Louis, he had seen life in many phases. At thirteen he had attended Jefferson college. After that he was in his brother's office a year, acquiring knowledge of legal matters. He studied medicine in Shelbyville, Ky. Going with the Kentucky volunteers in the

war with Great Britain, he served as surgeon; a part of the time being the chief medical officer at the post of Vincennes. With the return of peace he took a university course in Philadelphia. After graduation he was made a post surgeon in the United States army and was stationed in the west. He came to St. Louis in 1819. It is tradition that after Dr. Lane had served six terms as mayor the people proposed to continue reelecting him and that he had to decline with a good deal of emphasis to break the popular habit, saying that the official duties interfered too much with his professional practice.

"Carr Lane," as he was popularly known, was a man upon whom his fellow citizens were quick to press official honors and duties. He was a member of the legislature part of the time that he was mayor. He was quartermaster general of Missouri. In 1838 and 1839 the citizens of St. Louis insisted upon giving him additional terms as mayor. After that he steadfastly refused office, until in 1852 he accepted from President Fillmore the position of governor of New Mexico. Three brothers of Dr. Lane joined him in St. Louis and became residents. The first mayor left descendants, but they do not bear his name. His daughter Sarah S. Lane became the wife of William Glasgow, Jr., Bishop Kemper performing the ceremony.

To a native of Hayti, St. Louis is indebted for the practical work of the first grading and paving of streets. Rene Paul, father of General Paul, who was desperately wounded at the battle of Gettysburg, was the first city engineer. Mayor William Carr Lane appointed Mr. Paul to the office of city engineer and encouraged him in the making of the earliest street improvements. Mr. Paul held this position until he began to age. He died in his sixty-eighth year, on the 20th of May, 1851. He was a man of unusual accomplishments, having been sent from Hayti to France for the completion of his education. He served in the French navy and was wounded in the battle of Trafalgar. When he came to St. Louis he had no money. He married a daughter of Auguste Chouteau.

The second mayor, Daniel D. Page, was from Maine. At that time, he was conducting a grocery and a bakery. He was given two terms of one year each, during which he pushed the policy of street improvements. The third mayor would have been Dr. Samuel Merry, the professional partner of Dr. William Carr Lane, but for the fact that he held a federal office—receiver of public moneys. This was construed to disqualify, after Dr. Merry had been elected. John W. Johnson, the president of the board of aldermen, was appointed and subsequently elected mayor. Mayor Page had been elected with practically no opposition on a citizens' ticket but Dr. Merry ran as a democrat, holding office under President Jackson. The whigs had a majority in the board of aldermen, which fact cut a figure in the question of Merry's eligibility. Johnson was reelected in 1834.

A rather strange bit of history is, that until 1833 St. Louis had no scales for weighing hay, coal and cattle. That year the city council established public scales at the southeast corner of the market place, which was near the foot of Market street. All heavy weighing was done on those scales for some years afterwards. Coal up to that time had been sold by the bushel and the

measurement was made in the wagon beds by some one qualified. Hay was sold by the load, the buyer and seller agreeing on the price.

In the old records of the municipality is told the story of the narrow escape St. Louis had from a proposed public work which would have been a serious error. In 1835, the city authorities, after much investigation, selected what is now the site of the court house on Fourth street as the most fitting place for water works. It is recorded that "on the written application of John W. Johnson, mayor of the city of St. Louis," commissioners were authorized by the city authorities to select a piece of ground for the reservoir, the mayor stating, among other things, that "in his opinion there is no vacant place more suitable for that purpose than the public square on which the court house is erected." The court appointed Marie Leduc and Rene Paul commissioners. These commissioners were to take up the subject with the city authorities and report on the expense of locating the reservoir where the court house now is. The record gave the first name of Mr. Leduc as "Mary." Mr. Leduc was christened "Marie." A curious publication made by one of the newspapers was that Mr. Leduc "took the name of his deceased wife out of respect to her memory." The investigation satisfied the city authorities that the mound near Ashley street and Fifth street was a better location for the proposed reservoir than the court house site. In that day commissioners were appointed to undertake various public duties. According to the record, Henry S. Geyer, who became later one of the foremost members of the bar and a United States senator, "was appointed a commissioner to erect a lightning rod on the north side of the court house."

The location of the waterworks was not settled without a stubborn contest in the board of aldermen. David Hill was on one side, in favor of conservative action. Sam Gaty took the other view, that the city was growing and that provision should be made on a liberal scale for a much larger population. In that day, men who worked about the foundries were accustomed to take very strong snuff to clear the bronchial tubes and lungs of the small particles of iron in the dust. On the night when the waterworks issue was to reach the crisis Gaty carried to the meeting a package of this foundry snuff. As Hill was about to make a speech on the Big Mound proposition Gaty passed along his snuff box with the invitation:

"Mr. Hill, take a pinch of snuff?"

"Yes, I will," replied Mr. Hill, putting his thumb and forefinger into the box and taking a big dose. Unaccustomed to the foundrymen's brand Hill sneezed and sneezed until he was obliged to leave the room, the shouts of laughter following him to the door. Gaty won the fight, and the larger plan was adopted.

One of the earliest municipal reforms of St. Louis was the dog law. In the thirties an ordinance required "that all dogs kept in the city shall be registered on the books of the city register and wear brass collars with their owner's names engraved upon them; that each family in the city shall be allowed to keep one dog, thus registered, free of tax, and for every extra dog a tax of two dollars shall be paid." The penalty for allowing an unregis-

tered dog to remain on the premises was ten dollars. The city charter was revised in 1835. Municipal politics had been somewhat exciting, but now suffrage became a privilege even more highly coveted. The dog tax was construed to be a city tax. The man who had a receipt for a dog tax claimed the right to vote and got it. St. Louisans who had never owned a dog went to the town hall on election day, paid a dog tax, got a receipt and voted. Clubs were formed to take out dog tax certificates so that all of the members could vote for mayor and other elective city officers. A candidate for mayor attempted to qualify under the charter as an owner of real estate by having a piece of ground seven feet wide and fourteen feet long conveyed to him. Upon further consideration he concluded not to run for mayor, but at a subsequent election offered himself for Congress in the St. Louis district and was successful.

A classical scholar, perhaps the best of his day in St. Louis, was John Fletcher Darby, who was elected mayor in 1835. He was the son of a North Carolina planter who came to St. Louis in 1818. While the boy was working on the farm at home, he carried a Latin grammar with him. Holding the plow he utilized the moments when the horses did not need guiding to take hasty glances at the book. Before he was grown young Darby was as familiar with Latin authors as most boys are with books in English.

Mayor John F. Darby was a whole civic league in himself. He forced upon the city a park system. He knew better than the St. Louis of 1835 did what was wanted. He bought two down town parks in localities where they would today add greatly to the city's attractiveness. In each case the board of aldermen rejected the mayor's bargain. One of the parks proposed by Mayor Darby was the block bounded by Broadway, Fourth, Locust and St. Charles streets. For this block the mayor took an option at fifteen thousand dollars. The ground is now occupied by the Mechanics-American bank, the St. Louis-Union Trust company and numerous business houses. It is worth more than one hundred times what Mayor Darby was to pay for it. Another tract for which the mayor bargained, only to have the aldermen repudiate it, was on South Broadway; it was the strip between Chouteau avenue and Cerre street, west of Fourth street. On this ground, for park purposes, the mayor was given a price of two thousand dollars. The objection the aldermen used against the Locust and Broadway park was that it was "too far up town." At that time the city had \$100,000 cash in the treasury.

Mayor Darby was persistent. The legislature had given the city authority to subdivide and sell the great tract of several thousand acres southwest of the city set apart by the founder Laclède for "Commons." Charles De Ward the engineer had completed the survey. The committee on Commons in the board of aldermen was headed by Thornton Grimsley. Mayor Darby sent for Grimsley and suggested that they go out to the Commons and select some ground to be set apart for a park. Colonel Grimsley fell in with the proposition. The mayor and the chairman took horses and, not acquainting anybody else with their plans, made a thorough examination of the ground, then grown up with young trees, hazel brush and sumac bushes. They chose what is now Lafayette park. Thornton was enthusiastic. He commanded a company of

volunteer cavalry. He said that the ground was just what the city needed for drilling purposes and proposed to call the place the "Public Parade Ground." The mayor acquiesced, and that was the name Lafayette park went by for many years. The aldermen protested. Some of them were interested in seeing the land sold. But there was no appropriation to be made. Grimsley rallied the militiamen who were strong in St. Louis those days. The ordinance went through. It created Mississippi and Missouri avenues one hundred and twenty feet wide. It reserved the ground between them for a "public square."

Mayor Darby did not rest with this. The year 1840 found him again at the head of the municipality and determined to have a park for that generation. Laclede's grant of 1766 for a mill site had been handed down to Auguste Chouteau's descendants. Recently it had been subdivided. One tract of six acres had been bid in at the partition sale for Major Thomas F. Smith of the United States army, who had married Emilie, the youngest daughter of Auguste Chouteau. The spring of 1840 a new city charter went into effect. It provided for a city council with two branches—the aldermen and the delegates. Mayor Darby in his message again pointed out that that was the time to secure land for parks. The recommendation went to the board of delegates and was given to a select committee, of which George K. Budd was chairman. Mr. Budd was favorable to the park policy, but the difficulty was to find land suitable in location and price. Mayor Darby took up negotiations with Major Smith for the six acres of the "Mill Tract." Major Smith was willing to sell because, he said, he wanted to put the money into a fine residence he was building on Seventh street. The mayor's office at that time was in the city hall, which was the market house on Walnut and the Levee. Near by was a genteel place known as "Billy Williams'." As the result of the conferences at the mayor's office and in Billy Williams' back room, conclusions were reached. It was agreed to pass an ordinance paying Major Smith for his six acres twenty-five one-thousand-dollar bonds bearing five per cent and running fifty years. The ordinance which was passed declared the six acres "to be forever a public square, for the use of the citizens of St. Louis, and on no plea or pretext whatsoever shall it be diverted from the purposes for which it is intended."

The six acres thus acquired from Major Smith are bounded by Market street, Clark avenue, Twelfth and Thirteenth street, now occupied by the city hall. The name Washington Square was bestowed. But in the next municipal campaign this park purchase was a leading issue. It was called the "Big Gully" and "Budd's Folly." The fight upon the Darby administration, which was whig, was led by the Democratic Argus, the editor of which was Abel Rathbone Corbin. Years afterwards Corbin became the brother-in-law of General Grant, marrying his sister. Among the members of the council at the time of the purchase of Washington Square were Edward Brooks, Thomas H. West and Samuel Gaty.

While John F. Darby was mayor, a wave of reform swept over the Mississippi valley. Apparently it had its beginning in Vicksburg. Gamblers and the lawless generally had made the Bluff City their place of abode to such a number that they openly defied moral sentiment. Citizens came together in





RENÉ PAUL  
The First City Engineer



MICHEL LESIEUR  
First City Architect



THE MARKET HOUSE AND LEVÉE ABOUT 1840



an uprising against the undesirables. At a public meeting they adopted a resolution that every gambler must leave Vicksburg in twenty-four hours. This was about 1835. The gamblers scoffed at the citizens' action. They not only did not leave, but they armed themselves and prepared to resist. A young man, a doctor, who represented the citizens' movement was killed. Those gamblers who did not immediately leave the city were seized, taken to the suburbs and executed. Meetings were held in all of the larger cities along the rivers. The action of the Vicksburg people was indorsed, and notices were served upon gamblers that they must go. St. Louis participated in the reform movement. The council passed an ordinance providing for the trial and punishment of all persons who could not show honorable means of livelihood. Mayor Darby served notice upon the gamblers that this ordinance applied to them. He caused the arrest of several of the most notorious; had them brought before him and sentenced them to terms of imprisonment. This action was followed quickly by the exodus of gamblers from the city. An ordinance required the night watchmen to stop all persons found on the street after ten o'clock and ask their business, "and, if necessary, to escort them to their homes."

Mr. Darby was one of the most active and public spirited citizens of his time. He not only founded the park system of St. Louis, but he led in the movement for the proposed great National Road across the continent at a time when that project was before Congress. He went to Congress in 1850 and secured an appropriation of \$115,000 for a custom house and post office on Third and Olive streets. It was largely through his efforts as a congressman that the land grants were issued to the Pacific Railroad company and to the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad company.

In 1840 Mr. Darby came in for a second period of service. He was mayor one year. Up to that time St. Louis had had but four different persons in the position of mayor during nearly twenty years. The fifth mayor was John D. Daggett, a Massachusetts man who had come to St. Louis in 1817 to take charge of a store. Daggett was a lockmaker by trade. He was a merchant and also followed steamboating with considerable success. The Whigs persuaded Mr. Daggett to run, but one term was as much as he would accept. He was a man of fine physique, full bearded, dignified in manner. He was looked upon as especially the representative of the steamboat interests.

George Maguire and John M. Wimer were the sixth and seventh mayors, serving one year each. Maguire appointed a young college graduate, John F. Long, chief of police. Years afterwards, collector of the port and personal friend of Grant, Long became prominent in the republican party of St. Louis. He made a good chief, but his tenure of office was short. Mayor Wimer came into office as a representative of the working classes. He chose for chief of police a young carpenter, James McDonough, who was on good terms with the volunteer firemen. At the beginning of the war, when the metropolitan police system was adopted, McDonough was chief of police several years. He owed one of his most important successes in the early part of his police career to a chain of strange circumstances. Before coming to St. Louis McDonough was at Port Gibson and took passage on a steamboat for New Orleans. A tall, well dressed man, who called himself Howard, came on board as the steamboat

started, and, addressing the young carpenter, said he was "broke," without even enough money to pay passage. He asked a loan of twenty dollars, which McDonough gave him, although it strained his own resources. Industries were dull in New Orleans and McDonough failed to find a job. He started up into Arkansas on tramp and arrived at Little Rock with almost nothing. He went on to Van Buren and came back without finding work. The Little Rock landlord took possession of the kit of tools for unpaid board. One day McDonough went up the gang-plank of a boat which had just come to Little Rock; he was hailed by the long-haired, well dressed Howard, who pulled out a roll of bills and handed him twenty dollars. Howard explained that he had made \$50,000 in some Texas speculations. McDonough came to St. Louis, followed the carpenter trade a short time and was appointed chief of police. The jewelry store of Benj. F. Crain on Main street was robbed. McDonough, with several officers, arrested two suspects and then raided an old rope walk house near Main and Biddle streets which bore the reputation of housing suspicious characters. As the police approached the house the lights went out and the doors were barricaded. When one of the inmates tried to escape by the rear entrance and was captured by McDonough he turned out to be Howard. On the way, to the station the prisoner suggested a plan by which information could be obtained. His proposition was that Chief McDonough pose as a prisoner and be locked up with the others. This was carried out; Howard drew the two suspects into conversation and the details of the robbery of the jewelry store were revealed to the chief. Howard subsequently disclosed the hiding place of the stolen jewelry under the old rope walk. In pursuing his investigations McDonough learned that the man he had helped at Port Gibson and who had helped him at Little Rock was one of the most notorious thieves in the country.

In 1841 the city was considerably enlarged by a legislative act and was divided into five wards. At the next election in April, 1842, George Maguire was chosen mayor. Voting by ballot was the election reform introduced into St. Louis in 1842. For twenty-seven years the citizens of St. Louis voted by naming to the judges the person or persons for whom they wished to be counted. The population reached such numbers that two or three days were required to poll the voters. The deposit of a printed ballot was a great innovation over the old viva voce method. To secure an honest and fair election in the thirties the party managers organized large committees. In 1835 the whig party had committees in every ward "to see that the electors in the respective wards attended the polls and voted." Committees were expected to remain at the polls three days. There was a wagon committee which had exclusive control of the vehicles; there was a committee at the polls "to aid in the preservation of order, to see that no undue advantage is taken of others and to offer every facility to the judges in the reception of votes." The names of the committeemen appointed by the whig party one year occupied a full column in the newspapers.

The first native-born citizen elected mayor was victorious in the most exciting election that had been held up to that year—1844. He was Bernard Pratte. He headed the whig ticket on a platform of "Henry Clay and Protection to American Industries." Over 4,000 votes were cast. Pratte's ma-

majority was 362. The contest between whigs and democrats in St. Louis was so strenuous that when United States Senator Thomas H. Benton presented himself to vote at the Fourth ward polling place in November he was challenged, the whig challenger insisting that the senator was not a citizen. Benton was required to make oath that he considered St. Louis his place of residence before he was allowed to vote.

Mayor Bernard Pratte was not only a native of St. Louis but the first child born in St. Louis after the United States senate ratified the treaty for the acquisition of Louisiana territory. His mother was a native of St. Louis. Bernard Pratte showed his enterprising spirit by taking the first steamboat up the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone. That was in 1832. The trip was made in association with Pierre Chouteau, Jr. Mayor Pratte was a comparatively young executive—forty-one when he took his seat. During his two terms St. Louis was lighted by gas; the levee was paved with stone blocks. Mr. Pratte retired from politics and business and became a student and a lover of books.

In the eight years from 1837 to 1845 the population of St. Louis increased from 14,253 to 35,930. In 1844 there were built in St. Louis 1146 structures, including churches, public offices and private residences; the rotunda of the courthouse was completed and opened with a celebration of Washington's birthday, the 22d of February, 1845, Mayor Pratte presiding. That year was one of strong optimism. "No city," said a local historian, "was probably ever filled with a more industrious population than St. Louis in 1845, or had fewer idle persons, according to its numbers. Political questions seemed generally settled in a satisfactory way and people thought they could foresee what was likely to follow in business transactions and shaped their course of action according to those views."

Three Camdens arrived in St. Louis about 1837 from Virginia. They established a dry goods house. Two of them were brothers and the third was a cousin. When the American, or Know Nothing party, entered actively into local politics Peter G. Camden was selected as the candidate for mayor and was elected in 1846. His administration issued bonds for \$25,000 to buy stones to revet the east bank of the Mississippi when the current was threatening to cut a new channel beyond Bloody Island. In Mr. Camden's administration progress was made toward public lighting of the streets, although the movement did not become fully effective until a later date. Mr. Camden was educated for the law at Washington College but preferred mercantile life. Mr. Camden served one year, when the democrats carried the city with Bryan Mullanphy, one of the largest tax payers in St. Louis. Bryan Mullanphy's property in St. Louis was assessed at nearly \$300,000. At the election of April 6, 1847, Mr. Mullanphy received 2453 votes; W. M. Campbell, 1829, and James H. Lucas 962. The successful candidate ran as an independent; Campbell as Native American, and Lucas as Whig.

The most eccentric of St. Louis mayors was born in Baltimore and educated in the best schools of France and England. His eccentricities were exercised mainly in unusual forms of philanthropy. Bryan Mullanphy gave unstintedly to relieve distress, always trying to inspire self-reliance in those

he helped. When he died the bar association said of him: "All his oddities are but as the dust in the balance when weighed against the uprightness of his life and the succession of his charities."

During the term of Mayor Mullanphy the council passed an ordinance opening an extension to one of the streets, either Eighth or Ninth, northward. The extension passed through the home tract of Jonas Moore. When the city officials took steps to open the street, Jonas Moore said he would kill the first man who broke down the fence. Frank Molair, the city marshal, whose duty it was to carry out the provisions of the ordinance, came back to the mayor's office and reported what Mr. Moore had said. The mayor sarcastically rebuked Molair, telling him he had been intimidated and had failed to do his duty. The marshal replied that he did not care to lay down his life for a fence panel.

"You shirk your work, sir," the mayor continued. "Substantially you refuse to perform it. I understand you. As your superior officer I shall set you an example. Are you armed?"

The marshal said he was not armed. He was told to come back prepared. The sergeant-at-arms of the council was William Cotter, who acted as secretary to the mayor. Cotter was told to get a hand saw. The mayor further equipped himself with a book of the ordinances, turning down the leaf of the one which applied to the opening of streets. The party proceeded to the place where the street was to be opened. Jonas Moore stood at the door holding a rifle in his hand. The mayor addressed Moore. He said:

"I had believed you to be a good citizen and I am astonished that you should resist an officer in the discharge of his sworn duty. You have intimidated the marshal, but you cannot intimidate me, sir. You only compel me to perform his functions. I shall proceed, sir; and that you may perpetrate no rashness under cover of ignorance, I shall first read to you the law which governs me."

The mayor read the ordinance and, as he completed, threw the book to Cotter, pulled off his coat, took the hand saw and gave Mr. Molair this order:

"Now, Mr. Marshal, out with your pistol! Cock it, and observe well, Mr. Marshal; if Mr. Moore shoots me, do you instantly shoot Mr. Moore!"

The mayor paid no more attention to Moore, but went to work with the saw on the fence and continued until he had cut down all of the fence which obstructed the roadway. Jonas Moore went back into the house and shut the door behind him with a slam. After the performance the mayor led the posse in silence back to his office.

"Mr. Marshal," he said, as he came to the door, "when there is another fence to break down I beg you will have the goodness to break it yourself."

When Bryan Mullanphy willed a considerable part of his fortune to assist immigrants passing through St. Louis, he had in his mind the saddest experience of his term as mayor. The Irish famine prompted emigration. Among the immigrants, ship fever became epidemic. Malignant typhus set in and spread through the crowded ships. At the seaports it became necessary to erect temporary hospitals and to afford relief on a great scale. These Irish immigrants, intending to find homes in the far west, came by thousands to New Orleans and took passage up the Mississippi to St. Louis. One of the

priests attached to St. Patrick's church at that time, Father O'Hanlon, left this account of the distressing scenes:

Daily were steamers coming up the river crowded with sick persons in a state of utter prostration. Messengers or deckhands, mostly Irish, came from each vessel and we were obliged to hasten on board sometimes to find groups of infected persons lying in what we believed to be a moribund state. Extreme unction had to be administered in haste before these people could be landed. Early in the stage of suffering and panic I waited on the noble hearted Mayor Mullanphy and he accompanied me to one of the steamers. With tears in his eyes he witnessed the harrowing spectacles. He gave me carte blanche to order cabs for transportation to the hospitals, not only then but upon every similar occasion. With that prompt benevolence characteristic of Mayor Mullanphy, he hastened to call a meeting of the city council. Measures were taken immediately to erect hospital sheds on an island below St. Louis, where sick immigrants were to be landed and where a staff of doctors and nurses was to attend them. Not only was the mayor an active member of the St. Vincent de Paul society, then lately founded, but he now took a leading part in the formation of an Irish Immigrant society. That society endeavored, with great zeal and charity, to provide shelter for widows and orphans and work for those capable of being employed. Frequently was I aboard the steamers after landing and the scenes I witnessed were heartrending beyond description. Sometimes whole families, with perhaps the exception of one or two individuals, were found in the last stages of typhus and scarcely able to bear removal to hospitals. Grateful indeed were many poor creatures when the mayor walked among beds in which lay those struck down by ship fever. Often the mayor addressed words of comfort and promise which greatly cheered forlorn and breaking hearts. Besides his own active supervision, the good mayor frequently supplied me with liberal donations for surviving members of those unfortunate families.

The attempt to cede St. Louis to the United States as the site for the national capital, in 1845, led to what the papers called "a ridiculous blunder." In the summer of that year St. Louis sent delegates to a convention to frame a new constitution for the state. The convention submitted to the voters a proposed constitution. In the draft was a provision offering certain described territory "for the purpose of locating and keeping thereon the seat of government of the United States." In the debate it was given out that the proposed cession included St. Louis and considerable contiguous territory. But, when the language of the instrument was examined carefully it appeared that St. Louis, as then bounded, was not included in the territory to be ceded. The northern boundary of the proposed cession was about where Arsenal street is now. The constitution framers had, as a matter of geographical definition, offered the present workhouse site, Carondelet and the ground north of Jefferson Barracks for a new District of Columbia. One of the St. Louis papers commenting upon the "ridiculous blunder" said:

"The nearest approach to our city is the township line which strikes the United States arsenal tract below the city. The section of country ceded takes in the ancient and renowned city of Vide Poche, otherwise denominated Empty Pocket, and reaches nearly to Jefferson Barracks. What effect this strange blunder may have upon the two towns we leave to those interested to find out, certain of one thing only, that Vide Poche and not St. Louis is to be the future seat of the national government if the terms of our constitution are to be regarded."

The proposed constitution was rejected by the people of the state, which ended the cession of St. Louis project.

John Marshall Krum, who had been the first mayor of Alton, was the eleventh mayor of St. Louis. He was elected as a Democrat in 1848, beating Luther M. Kennett by over five hundred votes. Krum was a New Yorker, born at Hudson. Three brothers named Krum came to America from Hamburg with their families just before the Revolutionary war. From them descended many persons widely scattered in this country, spelling the name variously Krum, Krumm, Crume, Crum, Crump and Crumb. One of the three brothers was the grandfather of John M. Krum.

When a mass meeting called by Mayor John M. Krum was held at the courthouse on the 19th of February, 1849, to consider what should be done in view of the cholera epidemic, one theme was made impressive by all of the speakers. Until that date the city had not moved with energy to abate the ponds scattered throughout the city and the suburbs. These ponds, originally of clear, pure water, had become contaminated with the surface drainage. There were many of them. Speaker after speaker dwelt upon the importance of a system of drainage which would abate the pond nuisance. This was the first general agitation looking to a system of sewerage. With the movement to provide sewers, quite a controversy arose over the abolishment of Chouteau's pond. The proposition was something of a shock to sentiment. Elihu H. Shepard described the feeling:

Every old inhabitant had been fed on food from that mill. Every man and boy had fished from that pond. Every lady of St. Louis had perambulated its grassy and wide banks. To destroy this great monument of the labors of one of the greatest benefactors and first builders of St. Louis seemed an act of sacrilege which no man would have the temerity to contemplate. Yet it seemed inevitable; the multiplying of factories and butcher shops along its border had destroyed the beauty and defiled the purity of the waters. The pond's presence had become an ulcer and was desirable no longer. It was declared a nuisance and ordered drained, which was done by opening the dam and allowing the water to escape. Thus was removed one of the great features of St. Louis which had distinguished it for the first half of the century.

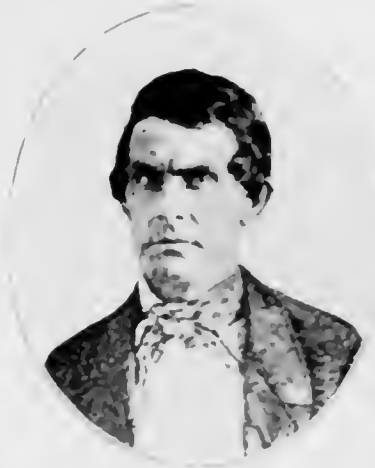
James G. Barry was the twelfth mayor. He was elected by a vote of 3,181 against 3,038 for Mr. Foster.

Luther M. Kennett was mayor three terms. He was a Kentuckian by birth and education. Compelled to give up his studies when he was fifteen he came to St. Louis, in 1825, hoping to study law. To support himself he took a position as clerk in a store. Going into mercantile business he made a fortune. Fairview, the country home of Mayor Kennett, was for many years one of the most attractive places in St. Louis county. At the municipal election in April, 1852, Mr. Kennett received for his third term a majority of 566 out of a total vote of 7,238. In the three terms, which Luther M. Kennett served as mayor, important public improvements were carried out. Previous to his first election as mayor, Mr. Kennett had been an alderman several years and during the cholera scourge in 1849 had taken a prominent part in establishing a system of quarantine. That epidemic impressed upon the community the necessity for sewerage. To that subject Mr. Kennett gave much attention as long as he was the head of the city government. In his three terms the system was planned and great progress made in construction. Another notable achievement under Mayor Kennett was the widening of the wharf and the con-





MAYOR JOHN F. DARBY



MAYOR JOHN H. WALKER



MAYOR PETER G. CAMDEN



MAYOR BERNARD PRATTE



MAYOR LUTHER M. KENNET



struction of the great Illinois dyke which completed the permanent protection of the river channel in front of St. Louis. Going to congress in 1855, with his knowledge of the city's needs, Mr. Kennett devoted himself to the work of securing appropriations for river improvement. He also procured the right-of-way for the Iron Mountain Railway through the Arsenal grounds and Jefferson Barracks. He left seven sons by his second wife, who was his cousin, Miss Agnes Kennett. By his first wife, a daughter of John Boyce he had one daughter, who became the wife of Benjamin Harris.

The vigor of the municipal campaign of that period is illustrated by the editorial of the Missouri Republican comments upon the municipal election of April, 1851:

Luther M. Kennett was re-elected mayor of St. Louis against the combined influence of Abolitionism, Free-Soilism, Socialism, Red Republicanism, Communism, Infidelity, and all the isms combined. Even Bentonism, which descended from the high standing of a senator of thirty years' standing, and came down to mingle in our ward and municipal elections, could not prevent this result.

We feel greatly gratified in this result, not only from the fact that it again secures to our city the administration of a man who is pre-eminently worthy of this trust, not more in the conduct of the affairs of the city than in his ability and manly repulsion of the unjustifiable assumptions of the Free-Soil party, but also for his notable and manly repulse of Colonel Benton at the Sixth Ward yesterday. It will forever be recollected with gratitude and consideration by the Whigs of this city. To Colonel Benton it is the severest rebuke ever administered to any public man.

It is the first instance in this country where a distinguished senator has descended from a high position to mingle in the affairs of a municipal election. Well might the friends of the colonel exclaim "What a fall!"

We congratulate our citizens on this result in another aspect. It is a rebuke, we hope and trust a severe and lasting one, to those who would rear the hydra-headed factions of Socialism, Red Republicanism, Communism, Revolutionism, and Infidelity, in our midst. We glory in it as a signal rebuke to those who would burn churches or sack convents to carry out their revolutionary purposes.

John How, born and reared in Philadelphia, was mayor of St. Louis in 1853 and 1854 and again in 1856. He was a merchant and a very successful one in the early fifties. Curiously, when Mr. How ran as a democrat in 1856, his opponent heading the Know Nothing ticket was another former Philadelphian, John B. Carson.

Between the periods of John How's service Washington King was elected mayor. He was born in New York city and was a teacher of the largest classical school in that city before he came to St. Louis in 1844 to engage in mercantile pursuits. Before he was elected mayor, Washington King traveled extensively abroad.

The municipal issue in 1857 was emancipation. John M. Wimer, a Virginian, who had been mayor one term in 1843, was elected by 1,500 majority, as the candidate on the emancipation ticket. He came to St. Louis when he was eighteen years old and worked at his trade as a blacksmith. He was one of the organizers of the Liberty fire company. Wimer was a giant physically. He had the native qualities which made him a leader in local politics. For years he held the Fifth ward at his command. From his little frame blacksmith shop on the corner of Fourth and Chestnut streets, Wimer, in the thirties and early forties, ruled as did Ed. Butler from his blacksmith shop on Tenth

street near Walnut in the seventies, when the Fifth had become the First ward. Wimer was, like Butler, devoted to his friends. Unlike Butler, Wimer held office. He left a good record as constable, alderman, superintendent of the waterworks, mayor, postmaster, sheriff and county judge. He was president of the Pacific Railroad and of the Commercial Insurance Company. There seemed to be almost nothing in the gift of the people of St. Louis which was not within the reach of John M. Wimer, the blacksmith, at the time his Virginia parentage prompted him to take sides with the Confederacy. He was fearless. His expressions of sympathy for the south sent him to Gratiot street prison and thence to Alton. Wimer escaped from prison, joined General Emmett McDonald and fell with McDonald at the battle of Hartsville in Missouri in January, 1863. When the body was brought back to St. Louis it was given private burial by order of the provost marshal to avert the possible demonstration which might attend a public funeral, so popular was the man.

In 1858, St. Louisans gave further evidence of public sentiment on the slavery issue by electing the Free Soil candidate for mayor, Oliver D. Filley. The defeated Democrat was George R. Taylor, one of the most popular business men and one of the ablest members of his party. Mr. Filley was one of the earliest Free Soil men. He came out a republican in 1856 and declared Missouri ought to be a free state. With this kind of a record he was elected mayor three times, which brought his service as the city's executive down to April, 1861. And yet St. Louis has been classed by several historical writers as strongly pro-slavery just before the war. The impression given by these writers that the majority of St. Louisans were favorable to secession is not borne out by the truth about conditions here at that time.

The "lid" was put on St. Louis during the administration of Mayor O. D. Filley. At the election of 1859 the question whether the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday should be permitted was voted upon. There were cast 5,528 votes in favor of open saloons and 7,544 against. The Germans were very much dissatisfied with the result. They had furnished the votes to put the Free Soilers in power locally. Mayor Filley was a firm believer in Sabbath observance. He was from the land of steady habits. He proceeded to enforce the Sunday law against liquor selling. The common council sympathized with the personal liberty elements. An ordinance designed to be a compromise was passed in August, 1859. It permitted saloons to remain open until nine o'clock in the morning and after three o'clock in the afternoon, on Sunday. This closed the saloons during church hours. Mayor Filley promptly rebuked the common council for seeking to thwart the popular will. He said in his message to the council:

"The peculiar feature of our political system is in its representative principle, and this will be likely to endure and claim the willing obedience of all so long as it is justly administered. It will be your duty to devise such amendments as will satisfy our citizens that their rights in this respect are in no danger and that the result obtained at the ballot box is the true exponent of those entitled to suffrage."

Daniel G. Taylor was elected mayor in April, 1861. He was a native of Ohio, born in Cincinnati, of Scotch parents. Running on the "Union Anti-

Black Republican" ticket, Mr. Taylor led John How by a vote of 12,992 to 9,434. There were only two candidates. Mr. How some time previously had been mayor three terms. He was a member of the Committee of Safety. Taylor was supported not only by democrats but by the union party and the emancipationists who were opposed to Blair and who still hoped and thought that war might be averted.

In February, two months before Taylor's election, the "Unconditional Union" ticket of delegates to the state convention was carried by a majority of 6,000 in St. Louis city and county, Missouri went 80,000 against secession. The convention voted overwhelmingly against secession and in favor of maintenance of the Union, but deprecated coercion if it could be avoided. When the state officers headed by Claiborne Jackson had withdrawn from Jefferson City to join the Confederacy, this state convention at an adjourned session chose loyal state officers with Hamilton R. Gamble of St. Louis as governor. When the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached St. Louis, the middle of April, an indignation mass meeting was held at the courthouse. Among the speakers was former Mayor John M. Krum, who announced himself a supporter of the government. He not only had been one of the earliest democratic mayors of St. Louis, but had been sent by St. Louis democrats as a delegate to the national conventions of that party in 1848, 1852, 1856, and 1860.

St. Louis had never known such a municipal campaign as that of April, 1861. The How ticket was headed "Unconditional Union." Frank P. Blair spoke for How, attending as many as three meetings in an evening. He was everywhere, seeking in this local campaign the vindication of his leadership. Samuel T. Glover was another steady campaigner for How, but he always insisted on having a hall. Blair would talk under any circumstances. A sensational incident was the coming out of Samuel Breckinridge, a member of the Kentucky branch of the family which was against slavery. Samuel Breckinridge had been a "Clay Whig;" he had been a nominee for congress on the Bell-Everett ticket, but in that spring campaign of 1861 he came out for the republicans. His accession gave great encouragement to the How people.

Daniel G. Taylor was probably the most popular man of his day in St. Louis, and was so without any unbending of purpose or any yielding of what he thought was right. He recognized no difference in rank and station when it came to treatment of widely different people. He had come up from cabin boy and the steamboatmen were especially friendly toward him. Immediately following Taylor's nomination an immense ratification meeting was held on the levee. Bonfires were burned. Speeches were made from several stands. Then followed a torchlight procession, with yawl boats on wheels, through the principal streets.

Night after night the excitement of that municipal campaign continued. Thornton Grimsley marched and marched his "Constitutional Guards" for Taylor. The republicans turned out "Wideawakes." There was all of the display of a national campaign. Behind the noise and glare of the campaigning was a feeling that as much was at stake as in a presidential contest. Business interests were deeply concerned. The river trade was the commercial artery of St. Louis. Steamboatmen and merchants clung to the hope that the influence

of the border might avert war. Sentiment was against secession but it refused to believe that war was inevitable. The bloodshed, the overt act which was to make every man take sides for civil war, had not yet come. But while the Taylor men and the How men were carrying on the open campaign, the Germans were drilling at night in Ruedi's garden, and the minute men were recruiting for the more serious business which was to follow the election. St. Louis had a population of 162,000. The vote cast in that election was over 22,000.

When Mayor Taylor was inaugurated the city offices were in a three-story building on Chestnut near Main street. They were moved a few months later to the east wing of the courthouse. That year the iron dome of the courthouse was constructed. One of the new conditions Mayor Taylor had to meet was the organization of the police department under commissioners appointed by the governor. James McDonough was made chief. A month after Mayor Taylor entered upon his administration occurred the capture of Camp Jackson. Then came "Black Friday" with its stampede of panic-stricken people from the city, the revolt of some of the Union men to the secession side, the deposition of General Harney, martial law and the horrors of civil war at the city's very doors.

No other mayor of St. Louis had to meet the confused and trying conditions which confronted Daniel G. Taylor in April and May, of 1861. Mr. Taylor was a man of strong sympathies. It was said of him that he gave more widely in private charities than any other man of like means in St. Louis. Helping young men was one of his philanthropic specialties. When there were relief expeditions to meet such emergencies as the flood of 1844, the Stonewall steamboat disaster and the like, Daniel G. Taylor was among the first volunteers. Elected mayor, he said he would consider only the question of capability and honesty in his appointments. The municipal government was well administered through the troublous period. In June, following the excitement of Camp Jackson and the street demonstrations, Mayor Taylor felt that the responsibilities of the office were greater than he could bear. He offered his resignation to the city council. He was asked to withdraw it and so strong was the popular sentiment he yielded and served not only through that term but through another. During two years when the revenues were almost paralyzed, when the demands for relief were unprecedented, when there were those who asked to substitute military authority for the civil functions, Daniel G. Taylor steered the city government with admirable tact and temper. His reelection in 1862 was the finest tribute the city could pay to his administration of the city's affairs. When Mayor Taylor went out of office he became a captain of one of the militia companies formed for the defense of St. Louis if attacked by the Confederates.

In 1863 the city entered upon almost a decade of republican mayors. Chauncey I. Filley, a New Yorker by birth, one of the five St. Louis Filleys, cousins, from Connecticut and New York, was elected mayor.

J. S. Thomas was the nineteenth mayor, serving until 1869. He came from Maryland, at the age of twenty-three. He had as a traveling companion when he arrived in 1825, Major Anderson who was in command of Fort

Sumter at the outbreak of the Civil war. The two reached the Illinois side on the evening of December 30th of that year. They stopped over night at the house of Mrs. William Wiggins, whose husband was a brother of Samuel Wiggins of Wiggins Ferry history. In the morning they were conveyed by skiff across the river, landing near the foot of Market street. As they stood upon the bank Mr. Thomas said to the young graduate of West Point, "This shall be my future lifetime home." Even at that early date, 1825, he took careful note of conditions. He said, in describing what he saw:

A great levee nearly eight miles long, with the exception of about four narrow streets which had been cut through the rock for the purpose of enabling the inhabitants to pursue their vocation of trading and for giving them facilities for obtaining water, was one solid mass of limestone rock from twenty-five to forty feet high. The number of inhabitants was 4,800. Main street, from Market to Poplar, was the only street graded and paved. We had four churches. A small brick building at the corner of Market and Second streets was known as the Catholic church; a new brick building at Third and Market was known as the Baptist church; a new building on Fourth street between St. Charles and Washington avenue was known as the Presbyterian church, and a small frame building stood in the middle of Fourth street just below where the Southern Hotel now stands. We had no bank or banking house until the 3d of June, 1826, when your humble servant opened a broker shop and banking house with a cash capital of \$270.00 and a credit of \$3,000 in Philadelphia. There were not many depositors in those days.

The services of James S. Thomas as mayor began in 1864, when he was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Chauncey I. Filley, who resigned on account of ill health. Mr. Thomas was reelected in 1865 and for a succeeding term. As mayor he was chairman of what was known as "the returning soldiers' reception committee," organized to give a patriotic and hospitable reception to the troops of the various states passing through St. Louis on their way home from the south. During his administration there occurred many contentions over the conduct of the police commissioners. Mr. Thomas endeavored to carry out reforms and aroused antagonism on the part of the commissioners. He was an ardent union man and was active in the organization and conduct of the Union League. The fact that he was chairman of the assessment committee, appointed to levy contributions from southern sympathizers in St. Louis, had much to do with his selection for mayor. Mr. Thomas performed the duties of the difficult position in such a manner as to win the praise of General Halleck and to promote the growth of loyal sentiment. His friends held that his popularity was increased by his actions as chairman of the assessment committee in such a degree that he was the most available man for mayor.

In the years following the war the use of disreputable anonymous methods of attack was resorted to more frequently in local politics than it is now. James S. Thomas preserved and often exhibited to his friends a copy of a circular signed "Citizen," issued to influence votes against him. This circular read:

Citizens of St. Louis, pause before you vote. The man who proposed to drive out 4,000 of your fellow-citizens with their wives and children as the Moors were driven out of Spain; who in the bigotry of his atheism tried to organize a crusade against the whole Catholic population of St. Louis on the alleged ground of disloyalty; and who all but succeeded in consecrating the property of the Catholic church under the false pretext of assisting the venerated

and venerable Archbishop as a rebel sympathizer; this man, James S. Thomas, is candidate for mayor. I ask you, fellow-citizens, if he be a fit person to be entrusted with the duties of chief magistrate of St. Louis.

With the election of Nathan Cole in 1869, a native of St. Louis for the second time became mayor. The Coles were early settlers. They came from Ovid, New York, in 1821. There were the father and mother, of Connecticut descent, and six sons. Nathan Cole, born in St. Louis in 1825, was the seventh son. Mayor Cole's administration was made notable by marked moral improvement of the city.

In 1871 the democrats came into control of the city government through the election of Joseph Brown who had come to Alton from Scotland with his parents when he was eight years old. Like John M. Krum, Joseph Brown was mayor of Alton before he was mayor of St. Louis. He was a war democrat, and when the government wanted a navy to force the opening of the river, Captain Brown applied his steamboating experience, as did Captain James B. Eads, in building tin clads. When Captain Brown went to Washington for settlement of the contracts he had executed he brought back to St. Louis in a valise \$800,000 in currency. During the panic of 1873 Mayor Brown developed the qualities of a financier. The city needed cash. The mayor issued what were called "brownbacks." Although the action was without warrant of law, this paper money was accepted by the banks and the people as the best thing to be done under the circumstances. It found its way back to the city in payment of taxes. The ability of the people of St. Louis to take care of themselves in a great emergency was again demonstrated.

In September, 1871, the war waged against open gambling in St. Louis brought forth from some source a pamphlet addressed to the "Best men of St. Louis." The argument was advanced under this caption: "What the suppression of Gaming Costs Us. St. Louis Loses from Two to Three Million Dollars Annually by Suppressing Games. Chicago and Other Cities Benefited."

The pamphlet was distributed to those in attendance upon a capital removal meeting at Mercantile Library hall, a copy being handed to each person at the head of the stairs. It urged that St. Louis could not afford to suppress gambling houses; that trade would be diverted to the cities which permitted gambling; that gamblers were good spenders; that business failures were already taking place as a result of the moral reform wave. The figures presented were that St. Louis would suffer a loss of from two to three million dollars annually by the suppression of gambling houses. Nevertheless, the moral movement went on. It assumed some rather extravagant forms. Following the issue of one edict from the city hall the Missouri Democrat printed the following:

We call Mayor Brown's attention to the fact that the skirts of the dresses worn on the streets by many of our fashionable ladies are too long. A letter from his honor to Captain Burgess requesting him to notify the ladies that the wearing of such dresses is an indication of bad taste might have a happy effect.

In 1872, the Taxpayers' League was organized to correct abuses in the county and city governments. The expressed purpose was "to aid in securing honesty, economy and efficiency in the administration of municipal affairs and public business." Four years the league carried on a local reform cam-





MAYOR WASHINGTON KING



MAYOR NATHAN COLE



MAYOR HENRY OVERSTOLZ



MAYOR JOHN M. KRUM



MAYOR JOHN D. DAGGETT

1900  
1901  
1902

1903  
1904

THE NEW YORK  
LIBRARY

1900  
1901  
1902  
1903  
1904

paigned under the direction of an executive committee composed of Robert Campbell, Henry Hitchcock, John R. Shepley, Henry S. Turner, Albert Todd, Silas Bent, John H. Fisse and Joseph S. Fullerton. The last mentioned was the secretary. This campaign led up to the separation of the county and city and to the adoption of a new charter.

Mayor Brown served two terms of two years each. Then ensued local political confusion. Arthur B. Barret, a democrat, St. Louis born, the third native to reach the office, was elected mayor in 1875. He sent into the council a ringing message expressing his "firm conviction that no increase of taxation will be so willingly accorded as that which would secure to our citizens relief from the terrible dust clouds that permeate every home, shop, and manufactory, carrying destruction to many of our industries, and proving no less an inconvenience than an incalculable loss from every point of view to our entire community." One week later Mayor Barret died.

A special election was held in May, 1875. James H. Britton, a Virginian by birth, of Welsh descent, a banker nearly twenty years in St. Louis, was returned as elected. The result was contested by Henry Overstolz, the opposing candidate. Mr. Overstolz was seated after Mayor Britton had served nearly half a term. In 1877 Mayor Overstolz was solicited in a very numerous signed call to be a candidate for reelection under the new charter which made the term four years. The democratic convention nominated Mr. Overstolz and the republican convention indorsed him.

The first German citizen of St. Louis elected to public office in Missouri, and the only German-born mayor St. Louis has had, was Henry Overstolz. He could trace back his ancestry at Cologne through centuries. There is a statute in honor of Matthias von Overstolz, who lost his life in the struggle to preserve the charter of the free city in 1268. St. Louisans who have seen that statue in the city hall of Cologne declare there is striking resemblance to it in the pictures of Henry Overstolz of St. Louis. Johann von Overstolz was mayor of Cologne in 1275. Half of the Cologne cathedral was given to the city by the Overstolz family. To this day the old Overstolz mansion is preserved by Cologne as a mark of respect for the name which meant so much to the city. The family was compelled to go to the Province of Westphalia at the close of one of the struggles to preserve the rights of the city. Henry Overstolz was born in Munster. He came to St. Louis in 1846. Not long afterwards he was elected a member of the city council. Successively he was councilman, comptroller, and member of the state board of public works. His election to the last mentioned position distinguished him as the first German-born citizen of St. Louis to be elevated to a state office in Missouri. Later came service as president of the city council two terms. In 1875 began a series of campaigns for the mayoralty, the most sensational in the city's history. Mr. Overstolz was, in 1875, a non-partisan candidate for mayor against Arthur B. Barret, the democratic nominee, who was declared elected. Mr. Barret died soon after the election. Mr. Overstolz was the independent candidate at the special election but on the face of the returns James H. Britton, the democratic nominee was elected. Mr. Overstolz contested and won. He began his service as mayor in February, 1876. Separation from the county and the

adoption of a new charter followed. Mr. Overstolz was elected in 1877 for the first four years term. Upon him devolved the great responsibility of organizing the city government in accordance with the new provisions. In July, 1877, came the railroad strikes. Mayor Overstolz called to the assistance of city government a number of citizens and placed in their hands the organization of an armed force. The disorder was suppressed without the loss of a life.

The original St. Louis stock supplied a mayor in the person of William L. Ewing. While Mr. Ewing got his name and some of his inclination for political life from his Indiana father, of Pennsylvania descent, his family tree on the maternal side went back through the Bertholds to Pierre Laclede, the founder. On his father's side of the house, William L. Ewing was a nephew of the first mayor of St. Louis, William Carr Lane.

Kentucky gave to St. Louis a second mayor in the person of David R. Francis. The nomination came in 1886 as the result of a deadlock in the Democratic convention. There were three candidates—Rainwater, Noonan and Parks. The convention balloted all night. During the early part of the night Mr. Francis visited the convention hall, feeling interested especially in the candidacy of his personal friend, Major Rainwater. The thought that he might be a compromise candidate had not entered his mind. The next morning Mr. Francis was at the Merchants Exchange attending to his usual business when he heard a shout at the door and called out "What is that?" The reply came back "You have been nominated for mayor." Mr. Francis was elected by a plurality of 1,200. Four years previously the city had elected a republican to the mayoralty by 14,000. A business administration in the most comprehensive sense of the term describes the period of nearly four years during which Mr. Francis was at the head of the city government. Among the achievements were the reduction of the interest rate on the bonded debt from 6 per cent and 7 per cent to 3.65 per cent and 4 per cent. The Missouri Pacific owed the city \$1,000,000 for which judgment had been obtained. Vigorous action on the part of the mayor resulted in the collection of the judgment. Some progress, under Street Commissioner John W. Turner had been made toward the reconstruction of the down town streets with granite block paving. There had developed great opposition on the part of tax payers and the movement had been checked. Mayor Francis early in his administration took up and pressed this improvement, overcoming the objections of property holders.

St. Louis first tried limestone set on edge for paving. That made a rough and noisy street. Then came the use of limestone broken into small pieces, called macadam. When this was well settled it was fairly satisfactory paving until it was ground by the tires and hoofs into powder, making either mortar-like mud or dust. About 1856 the city authorities thought cellular iron pavement was a valuable invention, and tried several blocks of it. That became so unpopular that nobody would drive or ride over it, if he could go any other route. The next experience was with wooden blocks, a pavement called Nicholson, after the Boston man who patented it. Several miles of streets in the heart of the city were paved with the blocks. The wood rotted. The surface soon became uneven. As early as 1868 the agitation for "porphyry

paving" began to fill columns in the newspapers, the proposition being to crush Missouri granite to the size of macadam. This kind of paving was tried on Broadway. Crushing machines were installed near Iron Mountain. Porphyry paving was discarded for asphalt, granite blocks, creosoted wooden blocks, and mixtures of crushed rock and bituminous compositions.

Investigation of the water conditions showed that in the near future St. Louis must prepare for a more abundant supply. Mayor Francis obtained authority from the council to buy the present site at the Chain of Rocks and to inaugurate the removal and building of new water works with a conduit. For this purpose the municipal assembly made an appropriation of \$1,000,000. A vigorous policy toward the St. Louis Gaslight Company brought about a reduction in the price of gas from \$2.50 to \$1.25 per thousand cubic feet. Another of the measures which Mayor Francis pressed was an ordinance providing for the sprinkling of all streets in the city. Efforts to impress the advantages of St. Louis as a convention city during this administration brought here the triennial conclave of the Knights Templar, the meeting of the American Medical Association, the Grand Army Encampment, the national gathering of the Christian Endeavor Society, the National Cattle Men's Association and other large bodies. Mr. Francis resigned to become governor. George W. Allen, president of the council, was mayor the remainder of the term, about three months.

Edward A. Noonan, Pennsylvanian by birth, who settled in St. Louis in 1870, was put forward in 1889 as the candidate of the young democracy for mayor. He won, although the republicans elected most of the other officers. A feature of the Noonan administration was liberal treatment of the transportation interests which encouraged the building of the new union depot and the development of rapid transit on street car lines. Mayor Noonan advocated the building of the new city hall.

The advantage of immediately previous service in the legislative branch was illustrated in the case of Mayor Cyrus P. Walbridge. In 1881, Mr. Walbridge was a member of the house of delegates. In 1889 he was elected president of the council, which made him the acting mayor in the absence of the mayor. At the end of his term in the council Mr. Walbridge was elected mayor by a large majority. He brought to the office unusual qualifications which enabled him to carry through needed reforms and important improvements. For the first time the block system of street cleaning was inaugurated in St. Louis. Mayor Walbridge carried his point that police officers should have public hearings before the police commissioners and should not be judged in star chamber sessions. He appointed a commission, with Chancellor Chaplin of Washington University at the head of it, to work out an effective system for placing wires under ground. For the first time in the history of St. Louis, women were appointed on the boards of commissioners for charitable institutions and the house of refuge. By a series of public trials Mayor Walbridge made changes in several city offices. The cases were taken to the courts and the right of the mayor to make such changes for the good of the service was sustained. Mayor Walbridge, during his term as president of the council, had cast the deciding vote for the ordinance enforcing the eight hour law in city

work, the council standing six for and six against the innovation. When he became mayor he put the law into operation—it had been a dead letter up to that time—by cancelling contracts of contractors who refused to comply. Here again Mayor Walbridge's study and practice of the law proved its value. His position was sustained by the courts. Steadily pursuing a policy of improvement of the city service Mr. Walbridge took the initial steps towards appointments and promotions under a classified system. He was the first civil service reformer in the municipal government. One of the five St. Louis mayors of New York birth, he was educated at a Minnesota college and in the University of Michigan law school, settling in St. Louis soon after he reached his majority.

In the selection of Henry Ziegenheim the people of St. Louis made choice of one who might be considered a native of St. Louis. Mr. Ziegenheim was born beyond the city limits, in St. Louis county. His parents were among the earliest German settlers in Bonhomme township. The father lived to the ripe old age of 106 years. He came of a noble family of Cassel, where a castle, as ancient as baronial times, bears the family name.

Rolla Wells was the seventh native of St. Louis chosen to the mayoralty. John F. Darby resigned the office of mayor of St. Louis on the 31st of October, 1837. Dr. William Carr Lane was elected to the vacancy on the 15th of November. He was twice elected after that and continued in office until April, 1840; thus, he served eight terms of one year each and about five months of an unexpired term, giving him the longest period of service as mayor in the history of St. Louis. The next longest service was that of Rolla Wells, who served two terms of four years each, beginning in April, 1901. The reelection of Mayor Wells was an exceptional act of the voters of St. Louis. No other mayor since the term became four years had been reelected. Few mayors, when the term was two years, served more than one term. The city began with a one-year term rule. Mayor Lane's terms were broken into two periods. Mr. Wells held the office of mayor a longer continuous period than any one of his thirty-odd predecessors. Two influences prompted Mr. Wells to stand for reelection, thereby disregarding precedents. These influences grew out of policies formed and work begun during the first term. The mayor had become deeply interested in the development of the boulevard system of St. Louis. He wanted to put the eleemosynary institutions of the city on a better basis. Probably, St. Louis has not had another mayor who thought more about or did more for the unfortunates of the city. Mayor Wells planned and worked much, but talked little, for playgrounds, small parks and boulevard's. He made the city's finances spread over improvements for the city institutions to an extent that did not seem possible when he went into office. He appeared before the board of public improvements to insist that Lindell boulevard be paved before the World's Fair. The mayor lived and owned frontage on Lindell. At the hearing he announced that he appeared as a property holder. He was insistent. The anti-improvement property holders fought the paving of the boulevard. They argued that the beauty of the street, the value of it for residential purposes, would be irreparably injured by the proposed hard paving. The boulevard was paved. The mayor's neighbors, one after

another, acknowledged the wisdom of the improvement. A proposition to go back to the condition of Lindell boulevard unpaved would have met with unanimous protest.

Mayor Wells entered upon the boulevard movement with the appointment of a commission to investigate and report what St. Louis needed. This commission was composed of George B. Leighton, Julius Pitzman and H. N. Davis. Leighton and Davis were deeply interested in civic improvement. The commission traveled and investigated and took the advice of George E. Kessler, the landscape architect of the World's Fair. The commission presented an elaborate report but the first term of Mayor Wells neared the end before practical progress had been made. The completion of a boulevard system of St. Louis will be the work of a generation, but the eight years of Mayor Wells saw the movement underway.

When Mr. Wells came home from Princeton, his father put him to managing a street railroad. That was a very good post graduate course. It taught some things which were put to good account in the mayoralty. To get up a street railroad track after it has been put down is one of the hardest jobs a municipal officer can tackle. The city made the discovery about twenty years ago that it had, by franchise, given over to street car occupation every street leading west from the business center. It began with sporadic efforts a campaign to get back one street out from Broadway which might be free to vehicles. No headway was made until the ex-manager mayor got his experience under the track on Chestnut street, when it came. The city recovered an open highway westward. When the Wells administration came in, street railways had been consolidated but street railway ordinances were just as they had been passed to apply to a variety of franchises. These ordinances were passed for horse roads, cable roads, steam roads and electric roads. They specified different rates of speed as lawful. One of the earliest reforms of Mayor Wells was a general street railway ordinance which required fenders and brakes to receive the approval of the board of public improvements. This ordinance divided the city into districts and fixed a different rate of speed for each district, reducing speed as the cars approached the more densely populated sections and the narrower streets. The interval of service was also fixed. Accidents were reduced to a small fraction of the number which occurred before the regulation. Service was greatly improved.

Shortly after William Carr Lane became mayor he appointed prominent citizens in each of the three wards to attend all fires. The equipment was a bucket and a badge. The bucket was of leather. The badge was of white cloth, tied around the hat with tapes so as to show the name of the ward in front, Northern, Central or Southern. The appointment was high honor. It implied that the citizen thus distinguished, would hurry home, grab his bucket, put on the badge and take his place in line to pass water for fire fighting whenever the alarm was given.

The natural evolution from the bucket brigade was the fire company. Again the best citizenship of St. Louis came "to the front." The meeting to organize was held in the Baptist church. The time was June, 1826. Josiah Spalding, the editor, was chairman. "The Phoenix" was the name chosen.

Where is the American city, old enough to know a volunteer fire department, which did not have a "Phoenix" fire company? Bernard Pratte, pioneer and patriot, was chosen president. "We, the undersigned inhabitants of the middle ward" was the way the roll opened. In the membership were founders of families numerously represented in this generation of St. Louisans—McGunnegle, Hempstead, Gay, Von Phul, Sarpy, McCausland, Berthold, Pettus, McGill, Sutton, Chouteau, Philibert, Clemens, Tesson, Estes, Grimsley, Billon.

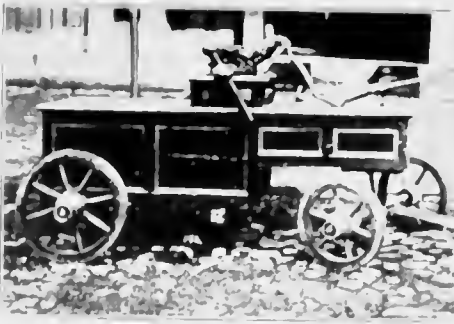
The board of aldermen at once recognized the Phoenix fire company and by ordinance decreed that the company "shall have charge of the engine now in the market house." This engine was the None-Such. It was a large square box on little wheels. Within the red box was supposed to be pumping machinery. Two large iron wheels, one on either side of the box, turned by hand and applying the manual power to sets of cogs, were expected to operate the pump. Supposition and expectation were never realized. History does not record that the None-Such ever put out a fire. After two years of trying, the middle warders repudiated the trust and went back to the leather buckets.

In 1829 another organization was attempted under the name of St. Louis Fire company. Again "the old rotary" as the None-Such was called was hauled to fires and the iron wheels were revolved by willing hands. The None-Such was hauled back to the market house and abandoned.

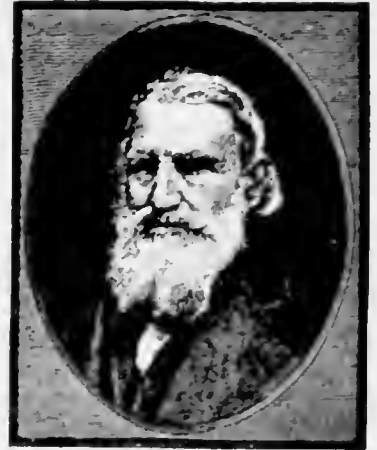
In 1832 St. Louis made the third and successful effort to advance from the bucket brigade era. The nine aldermen, with the approval of Mayor Daniel D. Page, sent Martin Thomas east to buy a fire engine that would actually throw water. The city had grown to over 5,000 population. It had extended the limits to Fourth street on the west, Cherry street on the north and Elm street on the south. New conditions demanded something better than the leather buckets. Thomas was gone about three months. He bought in Philadelphia the Pat Lyon, a hand engine which worked with brakes. In preparation for the coming of the Lyon the first volunteer company to prove permanently efficient came into existence—the Central. Edward Brooks, a Philadelphian by nativity, who had come to St. Louis a couple of years before to establish a drug store at Chestnut and Main streets, was one of the leading spirits in the Central. He afterwards became an alderman and was assistant city treasurer under Daniel G. Taylor.

When, in the fall of 1832, the Lyon arrived, all of the small boys and most of the men in St. Louis went down to Third and Market streets to see the trial. Three men could stand on the footboards of either side and four men on the ground could work the lower arm on each side. The Central company had muscle to spare. The brake arms were lengthened to accommodate more on either side. Then the little machine rocked and jumped as the arms went up and down. The firemen tried chaining the wheels. The foreman stood on top, waving his trumpet and shouting: "Strike 'er light! Strike 'er light!" to prevent the "masheen" turning turtle. In four years St. Louis had outgrown this Agnew engine and the firemen insisted on something larger and up-to-date. The Central company occupied an engine house on Main street south of Market street and opposite the market house. The location was just north of the great stone mansion of Auguste Chouteau. This was considered





PIONEER FIRE ENGINE



SAMUEL HAWKIN



HENRY CLAY SEXTON  
Chief of Fire Department



LAURENCE HARRIGAN  
Chief of P. D.



CITY HALL

CITY HALL, 1909



the most central location at the time and from that fact the company took the name.

Not long after the Central had become one of the community's most admired and respected institutions the company made a run to a fire in the upper part of the city. As the machine whirled out of Main street and up Washington avenue, Samuel Hawken came to the door of his gun shop and looked on admiringly. As the Central went by "Gil" Chouteau shouted to Hawken that the Northern ward ought to have its own fire company and not wait for the Central "to come up town and put out fires."

Hawken was a Maryland boy, born at Hagerstown. He had already invented "the Hawken rifle" which was to become famous for two generations of hunters and trappers and explorers. "By Goodness! You won't have that to say long," Hawken shouted back to Chouteau. He began at once the organization of the Union Fire company. The motto of the company was "In Union there is Strength." "Uncle Sammy" Hawken, as he became known by everybody, chose as the first name for the organization The Northern Fire company but the legislature preferred the name of Union. The engine house was on Third street near Washington avenue. The Union company was the pride of the business community in the vicinity of Washington avenue east of Third. A. C. Hull, a native of New York city, who came here a boy with his father, began "running" with the Unions when he was learning the tin and copper business, two or three years before he was old enough to be elected to membership. After the organization of the paid fire department, late in the fifties, Captain Hull was chosen chief and held the position a year. He was at one time superintendent of letter carriers. Business men like George Collier, John and Edward Walsh, Robert Campbell, P. S. Langston, Macklot Thompson, James Stewart, the Owens, the Mays, the Marlows, the Noonans, Ferd L. Garesche, the Byrnes and Tom Lynch were Unions. Pat Gorman, a nephew of the Walshes, who had come over from County Kilkenny, Ireland, as a boy and who had been given a college education by his uncles before entering mercantile life, was for years the president of the Unions. He was considered one of the happiest presiding officers of his time. He had a manner which charmed. He was president of the Montgomery Guards, president of the Hibernian society, president of the Millers' association, president of the Fire association, president of the Firemen's Fund. The time came, in 1855, when Patrick Gorman and the Unions, with their fine ideals, were able to do the city a genuine service outside of fire fighting. The Unions held undisputed title to all of their property. They refused to accept the \$1,000 a year voted by the aldermen to help maintain the volunteer companies. They held aloof from the turbulence which marked the movement to establish the paid department in 1855, and they recognized that the change was for the city's interests. After several meetings they decided to sell all of their property, to invest the proceeds in the best steam fire engine that could be bought and to present it to the city for the paid department, only stipulating that it should bear the name of The Union. When this resolution was adopted President Gorman stepped down from the chair and said: "My men, I was always proud of you, but tonight you have exceeded the highest point of my admiration." The member who offered the

resolution was the secretary, Fred M. Colburn, for almost a lifetime the city representative of the Vandalia, or Pennsylvania railroad. The steam engine was purchased, brought over the river on the ice and put into service. The moral effect of this action of the Unions was far reaching. Gorman became one of the most popular steamboatmen on the river. He commanded the Von Phul in the St. Louis and New Orleans trade. Toward the end of the war the boat was fired upon by a concealed battery at Morganza Bend and Captain Gorman was killed.

Naturally the lower ward felt that it should have a fire company after the Central and the Union were organized. The Washingtons came next. Their founders included two men who afterwards became mayors—John D. Daggett and James G. Barry. The first location of the Washingtons was on Second between Spruce and Almond streets. The membership included such citizens as Samuel C. Davis, Eben Richards, George R. Taylor, Wilson Primm, Rene Paul. That part of St. Louis was a choice residence section in those early years. The city couldn't afford to give the Washingtons a new engine. For several years the company had to do the best it could with the famous "Pat Lyon" inherited from the Unions. The locality in which the Washingtons were recruited was known as "Frenchtown," although later generations knew a section some blocks further south by that familiar designation. Hiram Shaw was one of the active spirits in the Washington company. He had come from Rutland, Vermont, in his early manhood, had tried house and sign painting and had bought out John Foulk's cigar and tobacco business, taking into partnership with him his relative, John E. Liggett. Throughout almost the entire existence of the Washington company Hiram Shaw was the president of it. As the volunteer department grew and developed Hiram Shaw was put forward to be president of the Association and also of the Fireman's Fund. Four of the Warrens, three brothers and their uncle, were Washingtons. They came from Edwardsville. John Warren was the hero of thrilling exploits. He made his way to the top of a burning house near Morgan and Green, clinging to a burning balcony and rescuing two sick men when it seemed to spectators an impossibility.

No St. Louis fire company felt that it was equipped until a motto had been selected. The Washingtons ran to fires under the inspiration of "Veni! Vidi! Vici!" The St. Louis Fire company, which was the next one in the field adopted "On Hand," and crowned the front of the engine house on Third and Locust with a figure half fish, half human. Ambrose Sprague, a New Yorker, just of age who had come to the city the year before, was one of the leaders in the formation of the St. Louis. Oliver A. Hart, two of the Blows, Edward Parry, John G. Priest, Samuel Treadway, and Isaac Rigdon were among the young business men who made up the select membership of the St. Louis. Red hats, red shirts and white trousers made a striking uniform.

The Libertys, under the inspiring sentiment of "We Conquer to Save," came into existence in 1841. This was Fire Company Number Six. It was organized in the beginning by the officers and men of the Gaty & McCune foundry. James McDonough who afterwards became chief of police, John M. Wimer, who became mayor, Samuel Gaty, who came from near Gettysburg

and whose name would have been Getty if the teacher hadn't misunderstood Sam when he first appeared at school, were among the early Libertys. Their treasurer for years was John F. Darby, several terms mayor. The Liberty roster was a long roll of sturdy citizens who have places in the front rank of their generation. There were the Kingslands, George and Philip, D. K. Ferguson, John E. D. Couzins who was afterwards chief of police, John C. Vogel, William H. Lightner, A. R. McNair, Hiram and James Ogden, John Kupferle, Nat and Robert Lindsay, Rufus Kayser, John Evill, D. S. Condit. The "foundry boys" were especially well represented in the active list. The Libertys wore uniforms of light blue shirts trimmed with silver, white trousers and blue hats. Red neckties added to the gaiety of dress.

"Surgo Lucidus" was the motto of the Phoenix. This company was the first below Chouteau avenue and marked the rapid extension of the city southward with the coming of German immigration. James G. Soulard, John Withnell and Daniel H. Donovan were among the founders. Of the early members were Charles F. Taussig, Stephen Stock, the Hercules brothers, John C. Degenhart, George H. Fisse, the Pilkingtons, Jacob Trice, the Collins brothers, and John W. Bame. The Phoenix was more than a fire company. It encouraged intellectual activity. At the time the company went out of existence it had a well selected library which was turned over to the Mercantile Library. Donovan was the life of the Phoenix. He was from Roscarbey, Ireland, coming to St. Louis when he was twenty-one. Two years after his arrival his fellow citizens elected him from the First ward, which was below Chouteau avenue, to the board of delegates, and later made him their alderman. He went to the legislature, became superintendent of waterworks and built the second reservoir for St. Louis. In 1859 Donovan was collector of customs, by appointment of President Buchanan. The volunteer fire companies started many a young newcomer in the public life of St. Louis. During the war Donovan, like some other aggressive and independent-minded Irish-Americans of St. Louis, expressed his sympathies with the south. He was removed by Halleck from his office of superintendent of waterworks in which he was serving his second term and was sent below. The Confederate authorities utilized Donovan's abilities as a constructor to establish extensive saltworks near Mobile, an industry badly needed at that time. Donovan supplied several states with salt until the fall of the Confederacy. He returned to St. Louis and entered the real-estate business.

The Franklin Fire company, with its "We Have Met the Enemy and They are Ours" grew out of the uptown growth. It located on Eleventh and Franklin avenue and afterwards moved to Eleventh between Wash and Carr, where one of the city companies is still housed. William H. Roberts, Sam S. Carlisle, the lawyer who was in the diplomatic service in South America a few years ago, James Carlisle, George H. Hazzard, Johnston and Richard Beggs, James McLean, Fred Laumann, Barney and Louis Spelbrinck, Phil and John Scott were members. The Franklins tried to do something for their neighborhood besides fighting fire. They spent several thousand dollars on a library. When support failed to be sustaining, the books and shelves were

given to the public library. Many Germans joined the Franklin in its later days and their cry was, "On mit der Franklin."

In 1847 there were people enough north of Cass avenue to justify a fire company. The Mound with a plain American home-made motto of "We fly to Succor and to Save," was located on Howard street. The company had its baptism at the burning of Scott's hotel at Second and Green streets, Washington's birthday, 1848. The Unions showed the Mounds how to go to work, loaning them hose and sharing water with them. Among the firemen of the Mounds were the Sextons, Clay, Hugh, John and Jeff, the Ashbrooks, Ellis N. Leeds, Thomas A. Dryden, Henry and Frank Overstolz, E. Z. C. Judson who became famous as a writer of thrillers with the pen name of Ned Buntline. Marshall Brotherton, James Gordon, G. E. Labeaume, William G. Clark, William Pullis were some of the substantial business men of North St. Louis who stood sponsors for the Mounds. The Sextons were carpenters and builders from Wheeling, West Virginia. Henry Clay Sexton, who obtained national fame as the head of the paid fire department of St. Louis, was barely of age when he joined the Mounds as a volunteer fireman. As with the Union, the Mound company had a strong predilection for bright red. The apparatus was vermilion. A broad crimson collar was worn with the white shirt. Red belts held up the black trousers. The hat was fiery in color, with white and gold frontispiece.

In 1848 the need of a fire company in the vicinity of Lucas Market, now Twelfth street, was admitted. The Laclede, with a motto of "Bon-Accord," honoring the name of the founder of St. Louis, was established on Market street near Fifteenth on a lot given by James H. Lucas. There is a city company there today. John J. Knapp, Thomas A. Buckland, John J. Boswell, Charles Bobb, Michael Powers and Peter Wonderly were some of the citizens who organized the Laclede. The first president was William H. Carroll. Among the active members were James Luthy, Barton Bates, Thomas Allen, D. D. Lynch. When the Laclede disbanded in 1858 they divided their assets among the Polytechnic Institute, the Protestant and Catholic orphan asylums.

"Press On" was the motto chosen by the Missouri. Nathan Coleman was the original president. He and his brother Stephen had come from Lexington, Kentucky, in 1835 to start in the business of wood turning. The Missouri included some of the most prominent professional and business men in the heart of the city. Among them were Thomas B. Hudson, L. D. Baker, Charles Keemle and Charles Pickering, the Calverts, the Chappells, J. M. Field, Enno Sander, the Russells, F. A. Bemis, Vincent Yore, R. S. King, Timothy B. Edgar, David Watson. The Missouri had an imposing engine house on Third street near Olive until they removed to Seventh street between Olive and Pine. Their hall was one of the most elaborately furnished in the department. Their uniform was less lurid than some worn by other companies. White shirts and black trousers with a high cream colored hat with a buffalo painted on the front gave the Missouri a distinguished appearance.

St. Louis volunteer firemen did not take readily to the hook and ladder service. Not until 1854 was Lafayette Hook and Ladder company, the first of the kind, formed. The motto was "Public Servants not Hirelings." The

sentiment was an expression of antipathy to the paid fire department which was about to be formed. Old firemen constituted the active membership of the Lafayette. They had a theory that this branch of the service would survive after the paid engine companies came into existence. The building of several three and four-story structures had shown the need of ladder service, and enterprising citizens cooperated in the formation of the Lafayette from motives of public spirit. Charles P. Chouteau was president, Edward E. Allen was secretary of the company. Some of the promoters of the movement were Louis Dorsheimer, afterward police commissioner, John Shore, Hugh McDermott, Sam S. Robeson. When the Lafayettes went out of service they presented the small balance in their treasury to the fund of which Wayman Crow and James Sweeney had charge for the Benton monument by Miss Hosmer in Lafayette Park.

The Fire Wardens organized in 1844 under the encouragement of the insurance men of the city for the volunteer salvage of property from fire and from theft. They had a one-horse wagon, which, loaded with tarpaulins and extinguishers, was hauled to fires. At the very first run of the Wardens to Barnard's drugstore on Fourth and Christy avenue, the property saved by their efforts amounted to \$3,000, several times the cost of the equipment. The captains of the Wardens, in succession, were: F. L. Ridgely, William Risley, John W. Luke and D. N. Burgoyne. Among the incorporators of the Fire Wardens were the Vandeventers, the Lindells, Benoists, Chouteaus, Morrisons, Walshes, Colliers and nearly all of the large property holders. Out of this organization grew the salvage corps with "Cap." Evans as its long time commander.

To care for the sick firemen, to bury the dead, to afford relief to worthy members of the companies, the Fireman's Fund association was formed in 1841. A lot was bought in Bellefontaine. Dues were collected from members of the companies and the business was transacted by delegates. The Fire Association was another body composed of delegates from the companies which met to consider and recommend rules for the general government of all. By way of illustration, it may be explained that one rule forbade the fire company to run the apparatus on the sidewalk "except when absolutely necessary." Companies were prohibited from throwing water on each other. The association brought its influence to bear on the city government to obtain appropriations for support.

Mascots were many in the days of the volunteer firemen. The Unions had a pointer which slept on the porch of Uncle Sammy Hawken's house on Washington avenue near Second. Ponto barked furiously and scratched at the door at the first stroke of an engine house bell. Without waiting for his master he ran to the Unions' house, caught the end of the rope and dragged it out into the street, trying to pull the engine. If Uncle Sammy was slow in responding, Ponto ran back to the house and barked and scratched at the front door until the captain appeared. "Nig" was another fireman's dog. He was a stumptailed terrier with a marvelous capacity for dodging. When the hose was turned on Nig it was the signal for the terrier to get out in front of the engine house and let the firemen try to catch him. Nig would confine his

dodging to a space not much larger than the section of the street on which the engine house fronted but fifty athletic young firemen couldn't catch him. "Old Bull" was the ugly mixture of bulldog and mastiff attached to the Franklins. Every company had a dog and every dog went with his company to every fire.

The annual ball was a regular date on the volunteer firemen's calendar. It was held sometimes in Concert hall on Market street, sometimes in Laclede hall on Fifth street near Olive, not infrequently at the Planters, and occasionally, when an extraordinary occasion warranted, the second floor of the great tobacco warehouse on Washington avenue and Sixth street was cleaned of the tobacco stems and turned into a banquet hall where hundreds could feast at the same time and where a hundred sets could be formed to dance through the figures of the calling and fiddling of "Old Politte." The firemen called these great affairs in the tobacco warehouse "tea-fights."

The first week in May occurred the annual parade and review of the fire companies, each body headed by its band. No ordinary flannel shirts these St. Louis firemen wore, but the finest merino or silk, red or blue in color with wide, sailor collars. There were braid and bullion trimmings and fringes and stars and tassels. These uniform shirts were turned back at the throat giving view to the finest thing in pleated or ruffled bosom that interested mothers and sisters could provide. Engines and reels carried loads of decorations and flowers which made it quite apparent why on the annual parades the companies resorted to the unusual motive power of horses. The hats these St. Louis firemen wore on parade were round topped and stiff-brimmed. The custom required that they be of the same color as the shirt. The firemen's parade was the pag-eant of the year. The whole city witnessed it.

St. Louis had a population of 45,000 and had grown westward to Eleventh street when, at nine o'clock in the evening of the 17th of May, 1849, the fire bells rang for flames on the steamboat White Cloud lying at the foot of Cherry street, which was almost the northern boundary of the city. The Levee was lined with boats. The White Cloud was at the upper landing. The nine hand engines made the run to the river front. Before they could accomplish anything the White Cloud, a mass of flames, had parted her cables and was drifting down stream slowly, bumping against boat after boat below, and setting fire to each of them. She did this to twenty-two steamboats. "Like tinder" these steamboats of '49 burned. They made such intense heat that the firemen were driven back from the Levee to the line of stores and warehouses on the west side of Front street. They tried to prevent the flames from reaching the buildings but at Locust and Front streets a commission house caught fire. The fire spread southward taking store after store and cleaning up whole blocks westward to Main. At Olive the fire crossed Main and burned west to Second and south to Market. There it jumped over three squares to a large cooper shop and burned two more blocks. The movement of the conflagration was not markedly rapid but it was steady. The firemen fought stubbornly all night, pressed back and losing lengths of hose as the flames advanced. The cathedral lay in the path of the fire not more than a block away, when the firemen resorted to the desperate remedy of blowing up six buildings and stopped the progress. When St. Louis took stock it was found that the losses were three



lives and 430 houses, twenty-three steamboats, nine flatboats and barges, three of the principal printing offices, the post office, three banks—property valued at \$2,750,000.

The hero of "the fire of '49" was Thomas B. Targee. He had come from his native New York City in 1836 and engaged in mercantile business, following at times the vocation of auctioneer. Joining the volunteer firemen, he became the head of the Missouri company and a recognized leader in fire fighting. This did not interfere with his activity as a churchman. He was the choir leader in Christ church and highly esteemed by Bishop Hawks. The fire starting on the night of the 17th of May ate its way steadily down the Levee and through the business blocks. When morning came the volunteers were worn out. Targee urged that the time had arrived for extraordinary methods. He advocated the blowing up of houses in advance to the flames as the most effective means of stopping the spread. This was agreed to. A wagon was sent to the Arsenal and several kegs of powder were conveyed to the southwest corner of Third and Market streets where it was proposed to make the stand. While the powder was being brought, Targee went to his home near Fourteenth and Market streets and remained a short time with his family. He told his wife what he proposed to do and caressed his children. He expressed the hope that the plan would be successful but he did not conceal the fact that it was dangerous.

Going back to the place which had been selected for the use of the powder, Captain Targee undertook the active direction of the work. He carried the powder into the buildings which were to be blown up, taking a keg at a time from beneath the tarpaulin where it had been placed to prevent explosion from sparks. He had blown up three structures, successfully making a gap across which the flames might not spread. The next building marked for destruction was Phillips' music store, two doors east of Second street. Targee came down Market street carrying the keg of powder in his arms. He was just within the doors where he expected to throw the keg and retreat before the fire communicated when there occurred a terrific explosion. Captain Boyce and other firemen who made a careful investigation always believed that some one had already placed a keg of powder in the music store and that its presence there was unknown to Targee.

The gift of a steam fire engine to the city by the Unions was the first telling step toward the paid fire department. Acceptance of the engine by the city and organization of a paid department were very materially helped by the presence in the council of three volunteer firemen, members of the body at that time. These councilmen were Daniel G. Taylor, George Kyler and Davis Moore. The bill to accept the engine and employ firemen went through. Most of the volunteer firemen opposed the innovation. Within three years the last of the companies, which was the first organized, went into dissolution.

More than forty years ago St. Louis took up earnestly the question of water purification. In that direction this city pioneered the way for other American municipalities. In 1866 the water board sent an eminent hydraulic engineer, James P. Kirkwood, to Europe to investigate water purification as far as developed there. St. Louis had grown beyond the pumping plant and

the reservoir system near the foot of Biddle street. Bissell's Point was in view for a new system. If it was possible to get rid of what Mark Twain called the "mulatto complexion" of the water St. Louis proposed to do it. Mr. Kirkwood made an exhaustive investigation. His report came out in 1869. It was the earliest publication of elaborate character treating on that subject. Mr. Kirkwood reported upon the filtration plants he found at Berlin, Nantes, Marseilles, Edinburgh, Dublin, London and other foreign cities. His report was authority on the subject in this country many years. Adopting Kirkwood's suggestions, Hudson, Poughkeepsie, St. Johnsbury and several American cities put in the filtration process. St. Louis did not. Generations of water commissioners groped for a solution through some sedimentation process. There are children learning to read in the schools of St. Louis who do not know what their fathers and mothers and elder brothers and sisters drank. Here is Mark Twain's affectionate description of the liquid:

It comes out of the turbulent, bank-eaving Missouri, and every tumbler of it holds nearly an acre of land in solution. I got this fact from the bishop of the diocese. If you will let your glass stand half an hour you can separate the land from the water as easy as Genesis; and then you will find them both good—the one good to eat and the other good to drink. The land is very nourishing, the water is thoroughly wholesome. The one appeases hunger; the other thirst. But the natives do not take them separately, but together, as nature mixed them. When they find an inch of mud in the bottom of a glass, they stir it up and then take the draught as they would gruel. It is difficult for a stranger to get used to this batter, but once used to it he will prefer it to water. This is really the ease. It is good for steamboating and good to drink; but it is worthless for all other purposes except baptizing.

When Rolla Wells became mayor in 1901 he discovered that the water department of St. Louis was committed to the filtration process as the only method to insure pure water. Sedimentation had been an aggravation. It meant clean water one month and "mulatto" water the next month. Results were dependent upon the "June rise," the ice gorges, the floods and the droughts and various other natural conditions. The introduction of the filtration process for St. Louis meant the wiping out of a plant which had cost \$30,000,000. The lowest estimate the mayor could get of the actual expenditures necessary to create an adequate filtration plant according to the process which the water department said was the only solution in sight was \$30,000,000. Filtration meant \$30,000,000 wiped out and \$30,000,000 more to be spent. The mayor changed the water department head. He put in a new water commissioner, but a man who had grown from boyhood in the service of the water department, Benjamin C. Adkins.

In his appointments of chiefs of departments and bureaus, Mr. Wells pursued a policy rather unusual with American mayors. His policy was to select a man he believed to be efficient and to give him a free hand. Very seldom did Mayor Wells interfere with the details of the business in any department. If the appointee didn't measure up to expectations, he had to give place to another man. In the case of the reorganization of the water department, the mayor made an exception to his general policy. He wanted water purification and he wanted it badly. He urged prompt action. He advised the Board of Public Improvements to go on a tour of investigation. He told Commissioner Adkins to make the water purification problem his first and most important business. He insisted upon trial of every suggested treatment by

sedimentation before any more consideration was given to filtration. The latter method was to be adopted only in the event that no means could be found to produce sedimentation. A young man named John F. Wixford had been experimenting with chemical processes to perfect sedimentation. He had been taken off this laboratory work and given something else to do. One of the first acts of the new commissioner, having in mind the urgent instructions of the mayor to give the sedimentation theory thorough trial, was to send Wixford back to his experiments, to demonstrate either that sedimentation of St. Louis water could be made successful or that the process must fail.

When the water began to run clear from every faucet, many people were sure they tasted alum in every mouthful. They didn't. There was no alum in the water. Lime and iron in solution, applied in the ways which the experiments proved to be effective, accomplished the purification. The doctors agreed that the process was not deleterious but rather beneficial. The bacteriologists made four tests a month through a period of years. Their analyses showed the changes which resulted. Before the present methods of purification—discovered and applied about seven years ago—the sedimentation process previously in use removed from 64 to 66 per cent of the bacteria in the water. The tests, after the new method of treatment of the water was applied, showed from 96 to 99 per cent of the bacteria removed. The increased percentage of bacteria removed from the water was attended by a corresponding reduction in the amount of typhoid fever in St. Louis. The cost of this process of purification was \$4.62 per 1,000,000 gallons.

Of the thirty-five mayors the city has had in eighty-six years seven were natives of the city. The others were widely distributed as to places of birth, a fact which illustrated the many sources from which the citizenship has been drawn. There had been only two foreign-born mayors—one from Scotland and one from Germany. The extent to which New York state contributed to the population of this city was scarcely realized. St. Louis had had five mayors who were born in New York. Three mayors were Virginians; Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Maryland contributed two, each. Among other states represented in the roll of the thirty-five St. Louis mayors were Maine, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio and Illinois.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE FUR TRADERS

*A Commercial Corner Stone Well Laid—Laclede's Beginning with a Trade of \$75,000—St. Louis in 1911, the Great Primary Fur Market—The Grip on Business Which Endured—Washington Irving's Misjudgment—The Estimate of Gabriel Franchere Truer—Manuel Lisa—How Furs Were Cured and Appraised—Taxes Paid in Shaven Deerskins—Captains in the American Fur Company—Pierre Chouteau, Jr., the Master Mind—Invasion by the Astor Lieutenants—Expedition to Astoria—Lisa's Long Chase—Wilson P. Hunt and Ramsay Crookes—An Indian Problem at Fort Osage—Brackenridge and Bradbury as Peacemakers—Charles Gratiot's Business Sagacity—The Alliance with Astor Brought About—"Upper Missouri Outfit"—Kenneth McKenzie, "The King"—Treaty Making with the Indians—Vivid Impressions of Prince Mar—Magnitude of the Business in 1833—Fort Union, the Capital—Archibald Palmer, the Man of Mystery—The Problem of Fire-water—Mr. Astor's Retirement—Beaver Hats going out of Fashion—Ashley's Rocky Mountain Expedition—The Hudson Bay Company Thearted—Bourgeois, Patron and Winterer—Jim Bridger, Mike Fink, the Sublettes and Russell Farnham.*

I very much fear beaver will not sell well soon unless very fine. It appears they make hats of silk in place of beaver.—John Jacob Astor to his St. Louis partners, 1834.

"Exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians of the Missouri and those west of the Mississippi above the Missouri as far north as the River St. Peter" enabled Laclede to lay the commercial corner stone of St. Louis in 1764 with a fur trade worth \$75,000 a year.

Secretary Morgan, of the Merchants' Exchange, gave the value of furs received at St. Louis in 1910 as \$9,000,000, making this the largest primary fur market of the world. Nearly three-quarters of the entire catch of North America was purchased by St. Louis fur houses, which carried the name of every trapper on the Continent in their books.

The fur traders, 147 years after Laclede's beginning, are still doing business at the old stand. They are having here, today, single sales of more value than Laclede's trade for an entire year. They are receiving and selling in a month more than the great American Fur company did in a year of its most prosperous period.

Laclede's "exclusive privilege" did not live out the allotted period. But, before the years had gone by, the settlement had obtained a grip on the fur trade which endured. There were other fur traders—Scotch, English, Dutch. They failed in their plans to take away the territory from St. Louis. Even the Americans on the Atlantic seaboard mistook the quality of these St. Louis fur traders, learned to their cost what competition with them meant, and went into partnership with them. Washington Irving took this eastern estimate of the St. Louisans in his Astoria. He described St. Louis in those early days as a small trading place, where trappers, half-breeds, gay, frivolous Canadian boatmen congregated and revelled, with that lightness and buoyancy of spirit inherited from their French forefathers; the indolent creole caring for little more

than the enjoyment of the present hour; a motley population, half-civilized, half-barbarous.

Gabriel Franchere, who wrote an excellent narrative of the fur trade in the period of its romance, was more accurate, as Astor discovered. He said that "St. Louis even then contained its noble, industrious, and I may say princely merchants. It could boast its Chouteaus, Soulards, Cerres, Chenies, and Valles, with other kindred spirits."

From the merchant princes at St. Louis and the barons who held the posts, down to the engages, these fur traders were invincible. Manuel Lisa was of Spanish parentage, but was born in New Orleans, in 1772. He came to St. Louis when he was eighteen years old. In ten years he had become recognized as one of the boldest and most successful of the fur traders. The Spanish governor gave him an exclusive privilege to trade with the Osages and put him under arrest for his bold speech about an alleged invasion of his rights. After Lewis and Clark came back from their expedition to the mouth of the Columbia, the Missouri Fur company was formed. Manuel Lisa was a leading spirit in it. Among the others who joined in the movement to thus organize the fur trade for St. Louis were both of the Chouteaus, Auguste and Pierre, William Clark and Reuben Lewis, the brother of Governor Meriwether Lewis. Manuel Lisa continued in the field. He ascended to the forks of the Missouri and built a fort there—a material extension of trade territory for St. Louis. Those who didn't like Lisa called him a fur trading Cortez. But Brackenridge, who went up the Missouri with this master spirit, said of him:

"He was a man of 'bold emprise' like some of the Spanish heroes of the conquest. It was a good opportunity to improve my Spanish, as we both spoke the language exclusively and read Don Quixote together at such intervals as we could snatch for the purpose."

In a single season Manuel Lisa brought to St. Louis fifteen thousand buffalo skins. These skins were obtained in trade with the Indians. They had been dressed according to the Indian method. The treatment of the skins was a duty imposed upon the squaws. When the skins were brought to the village they were stretched and dried. The next process was a thorough scraping to remove all bits of flesh and to thin the hide. After that the skin was plastered with the brains or the liver of the animal, those parts having been preserved for the purpose. After this covering had dried on another coating was applied. A pumice stone, or a stone shaped scraper was applied and all of the coating was removed. The scraping continued until the skin was dry. This was to produce softness. If the skin was still too stiff it was pulled forward and backward over a sinew until the stiffness was worked out. Skins of elk, deer and antelope were prepared by the Indian squaws in the same way. If shaved skins were desired the treatment and the scraping were applied to the hairy side.

A beaver skin of the largest size was called a plus. This was the standard. A plus of other skins was the number which the traders considered equal in value to the beaver. A certain number of deerskins made a plus. A different number of otter skins was a plus. A hundred pounds of beaver skins made a pack. This weight required from seventy to eighty skins. About the most valuable consideration given for skins was a brass kettle. A brass kettle was

traded for its weight in beaver skins. The latter in good condition were worth three dollars or more a pound in St. Louis. Of beaver, eighty skins made a pack weighing one hundred pounds. A pack of buffalo was ten skins; of bear, fourteen skins; of otter, sixty; of coon, eighty; of fox, 120; of muskrat, 600.

In 1805 it was officially announced at St. Louis that "taxes can be paid in shaven deerskins at the rate of three pounds to the dollar (33 1-3 cents) from October to April; after that time in cash."

"The season's catch" was a fur trading expression. It meant the product of one year. In 1840, the season's catch of the American Fur company which reached St. Louis was 67,000 buffalo robes. In 1848 St. Louis received 110,000 buffalo and other skins. That same year the fur traders brought to St. Louis 25,000 buffalo tongues. The value of their trade in 1820 was estimated at \$600,000. The goods which the traders carried to barter for skins were of great variety. "Strouding" was a staple. It was a coarse cloth from which the Indians made breech-clouts and petticoats. Blankets were always available for trade. So also were kettles, looking glasses, knives, blue and black handkerchiefs, calicoes, tin cups, dishes, scarlet cloth, buttons. What might be called the luxuries of the trade were brass finger rings, arm wrist bands of silver, earrings and brooches.

The part which Bartholomew Berthold, or "Bartoleme," as it was written when he first came to St. Louis, performed in the commercial life of St. Louis was important. This highly cultured and widely traveled Tyrolese gentleman became a naturalized citizen of the United States at Philadelphia. He took out his papers the year he landed, 1798. After ten years' experience in the east he came to St. Louis and founded the house in which Pierre Chouteau, Jr., John Pierre Cabanne, Bernard Pratte, John B. Sarpy were trained to become the leading spirits of the American Fur company. Bartholomew Berthold introduced business methods and policies more comprehensive and efficient than St. Louis traders had known previously. The indomitable spirit, the grasp on immediate affairs, the keen foresight, which were traits of Laclède, the founder, descended to his grandson, "Pierre Chouteau, Jr.," as he was known in business and officially. The members of the family called him "Cadet." In the first directory of St. Louis, published in 1821, he is "Peter Chouteau, Jr., fur merchant."

Elihu B. Washburne said that Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was a man so remarkable in personal appearance that "no one who had ever seen him could forget him." He described him in this way: "Tall of stature, erect, and of splendid proportions, his coal-black hair, tinged with gray in his late years, his keen, penetrating black eye, his pleasant and sunny countenance, his French vivacity, his voice strong, vibrating, accentuated, his courtly but frank manners, made an impression at once lasting and agreeable."

Mr. Washburne said that Pierre Chouteau, Jr., "as a merchant and as a man of business for nearly half a century, had no equal in the Mississippi valley. He had the genius of commerce, a bold spirit and an unerring sagacity. So long the successful manager of the American Fur company he acquired a reputation throughout all the vast northwest which made his name everywhere the synonym of commercial honor and personal integrity."

Three of the sons of Gregoire Berald Sarpy became fur traders. The father is said to have been the first St. Louisian to take a keel boat up the Missouri. John B. Sarpy began as a clerk but by force of his ability rose to partnership. He advanced in the management until he was recognized as one of the foremost of the dominant spirits. He introduced methods and economies unknown in the earlier period. Thomas L. Sarpy, a clerk at the Ogallalah post, was putting away the robes taken in the day's trade when a spark from a candle fell into a keg holding fifty pounds of powder. He was killed instantly. Peter L. Sarpy was for years in charge of the post near Bellevue, a few miles below Omaha. He was known popularly as "Colonel Peter."

The first Astor trader to actually enter the Missouri river field was Russell Farnham. Crookes sent Farnham to the Missouri in 1819. He cautioned him to "be extremely cautious in giving vent to the hard things you may and will feel inclined to say of some people you will have to deal with." Farnham went up the Missouri only as far as the Grand river in Missouri and thence struck north to trade with the Sacs. Crookes picked the best men in Astor's service to make the beginning in the Missouri.

To the St. Louis fur traders nearly a hundred years ago "bar'l" meant what it did to the politicians of a later generation. To Robert Stuart, Ramsay Crookes wrote in 1823: "The Colonel's 'bar'l' being very good, we are likely to recover the amount awarded us." The colonel referred to was Talbot Chambers of the Rifle regiment. He had seized two boats of the American Fur company commanded by Russell Farnham and Daniel Darling and had sent them in charge of Lieutenant Blair to St. Louis. The seizure grew out of the rivalry between the St. Louis traders and the Astor people. The latter sued Colonel Chambers for damages, and after four years in the courts got a verdict for \$5,000. Congress had passed a law prohibiting British fur traders from trading in American territory. The American Fur company employed many Canadians. The St. Louis traders construed this as violation of the law. The charge against Farnham and Darling was that they did not have license for fur trading from either Illinois or Missouri. Astor got the best of the St. Louis traders in the litigation. He employed Thomas H. Benton, then a young lawyer in St. Louis, as his counsel.

The most serious issue in the relations between the Astor people and the St. Louisians came with the organization of an expedition to go up the Missouri and across to the Columbia. This was a part of the Astoria project. While one party was sent by Astor in the ship *Tonquin* around Cape Horn, the other was recruited at St. Louis under Wilson Price Hunt to go overland. To the St. Louis fur traders this meant invasion of their field. Many believed that Astor contemplated a chain of posts along the Missouri connecting with the Pacific territory. Astor took into partnership a number of young men, some with considerable frontier and fur trading experience. He furnished the capital, \$200,000. Several of the St. Louisians favored most aggressive measures. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., advised that the expedition be allowed to go on its way. He said that if the Hunt expedition was wiped out Astor would send a larger one—bring an army, if necessary.





KENNETH MCKENZIE



RADS YORCOOS



A FUR TRADING POST ON THE UPPER MISSOURI



Hunt had difficulty in getting Americans because they wanted tea and coffee. He secured as associates Joseph Miller and Robert McClelland. After that there was no trouble about recruits. Miller was from Baltimore. He was highly educated. Joining the army in 1799, in preference to home life, he became a commissioned officer. Discipline was irksome. Because he was denied a furlough just when he wanted it, Miller threw up his commission. He came to St. Louis and joined the fur traders. The fiery temper of the man showed itself when he parted company with Ramsay Crookes, McClelland and the other Astorians on Snake river. When Stuart's party returned from Astoria they found Miller. The latter guided them overland and returned with them to St. Louis. Miller was the officer who said to Gen. Winfield Scott at the battle of Lundy's Lane, when asked if he could take, by a charge, the enemy's battery, "I'll try, sir." Robert McClelland was a famous Indian fighter before he came to St. Louis and joined the fur traders. He had been one of General Wayne's best scouts and runners. Ramsay Crookes and McClelland had become partners. McClelland was a bitter enemy of Manuel Lisa. He held Lisa responsible for the troubles Crookes and he had encountered on the Missouri in 1809. After the return of the Astorians, McClelland settled in St. Louis. He was one of the most expert shots in the country. The stories told of his personal exploits were marvelous. He had threatened openly that if ever he met Lisa in the Indian country he would shoot him.

Ramsay Crookes was a St. Louis fur trader before he was of age. He came out from Scotland a boy of sixteen, served a year or two as clerk for the Montreal fur traders and settled in St. Louis. In 1807 this Greenock lad formed a partnership with Robert McClelland and entered the Missouri river fur trade. He married Emily Pratte, which gave him family connection with the old French stock. When Astor began to plan invasion of the Missouri field, Crookes became one of his lieutenants. He was with Astor from that time. When Astor retired in 1834, Crookes succeeded to the presidency of the American Fur company. Even after he moved to New York to take charge of the company's affairs Crookes kept in close touch with St. Louis. He had not the physical endurance in which most of the fur traders gloried. Much of his seventy-two years he was a semi-invalid. Although only twenty-three years old Crookes was chosen to head one of the divisions of Hunt's force. He was two years getting through to Astoria, his party suffering greatly. After the failure of the Pacific Fur company, Astor's enterprise, Crookes came back overland to St. Louis. He was retained in Astor's service, looking after his interests at Mackinac. When the American Fur company was formed Crookes was taken in as a partner and as a western manager. While his headquarters were in New York he came to St. Louis frequently. Crookes finally became the head of a fur trading company operating in Wisconsin and Minnesota. He developed more than a commercial interest in the business, and became well known for the interest he took in preserving the history of the fur trade and its relation to the settlement and civilization of the western country.

Like Crookes, Donald McKenzie was a young Scotchman who took naturally to the fur trade. He was a relative of the explorer, Sir Alexander. When the British broke up Astor's Pacific enterprise, Donald McKenzie went with

the Northwest company and was from that time identified with British interests in the fur trade. McKenzie was not in St. Louis very long. He made little concealment of his chagrin that he was not selected instead of Wilson P. Hunt to lead the overland expedition to Astoria. He gave Hunt only perfunctory allegiance. In the service of the Northwest company McKenzie rose to be chief factor at Fort Gary. Later he was for eight years governor of Assiniboia.

Robert Stuart was educated in Paris. He came out in 1806. After the collapse of the Astoria project Stuart came back to St. Louis. He did not remain long but went to Mackinac as manager for the American Fur company. Afterwards he settled in Detroit and was state treasurer of Michigan.

Wilson P. Hunt was from New Jersey. He arrived in St. Louis about 1804. His first business venture was a partnership with Hankinson. Astor personally selected Hunt to make up and lead the expedition to go overland. After his fur trading experiences Wilson P. Hunt settled in St. Louis. He was made postmaster by President Monroe and held the position many years. In 1836 Wilson P. Hunt married Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt, the widow of his cousin, Captain Theodore Hunt. Captain Hunt had been an officer in the United States navy and had retired and made his home in St. Louis.

With such associates as Crookes, McClelland and Miller and with a strong party Hunt started up the Missouri early in the Spring. Manuel Lisa with a small, picked force followed a few days behind, ostensibly to trade with the Indians but really to look after the interests of the St. Louis fur traders. With Hunt's party went Bradbury, the scientist, while Brackenridge was a guest of Lisa. Both of these men were writers. They were bent on exploration, but they found themselves called upon to be war correspondents. To add an immediate aggravation to the situation the Astorians, as Hunt's party was called, took with them an interpreter named Dorion. The Dorions, as Bradbury explained, were known to everybody in St. Louis in early fur trading days. They rendered services which entitled them to places in history. When George Rogers Clark came with his Virginians to take Kaskaskia, Pierre Dorion was of the French habitants who cast in their fortunes with the Americans fighting for independence. He took the oath of allegiance to the United States and moved across the river to Cahokia. From that time he was depended upon as an interpreter and scout in American expeditions and was loyal to the country of his choice. He married a Sioux woman and had a son by her. Both of the Dorions, or Durions, as the name was said to have been originally, were interpreters for Lewis & Clark. The young Dorion was the one who went with Hunt's expedition. He rendered the Astor people important assistance and was killed in Idaho. It was over the employment of Dorion that Manuel Lisa felt personally embittered toward the Astorians. He charged that Dorion had been taken under circumstances which were unjustifiable. Several of Hunt's party left St. Louis at two o'clock in the morning, went to St. Charles and sent Dorion into the woods to avoid the service of a paper for his arrest on account of a debt to Lisa's company. Brackenridge described the get-away of the Lisa party and some incidents of the long chase after the Astorians:

We set off from the village of St. Charles on Tuesday, the 2nd of April, 1811, with delightful weather. The flood of March, which immediately succeeds the breaking up of the ice, had begun to subside and yet the water was still high. Our barge was the best that ever ascended this river and was manned by twenty stout oarsmen. Mr. Lisa, who had been a sea captain, took much pains in rigging his boat with a good mast and main and top sail; these being great helps in the navigation of this river. Our equipage is chiefly composed of young men, though several have already made a voyage to the upper Missouri, of which they are exceedingly proud, and on that account claim a kind of precedence over the rest of the crew. We are in all twenty-five men, and completely prepared for defense. There is, besides, a swivel on the bow of the boat, which, in case of attack, would make a formidable appearance; we have, also, two brass blunderbusses in the cabin, one over my berth and the other over that of Mr. Lisa. These precautions were absolutely necessary from the hostility of the Sioux bands, who, of late, had committed several murders and robberies on the whites and manifested such a disposition that it was believed to be impossible for us to pass through their country. The greater part of the merchandise, which consisted of strouding, blankets, lead, tobacco, knives, guns, beads, etc., was concealed in a false cabin, ingeniously contrived for the purpose; in this way presenting us little as possible to tempt the savages. But we hoped that as this was not the season for the wandering tribes to come on the river, the autumn being the usual time, we might pass by unnoticed.

We have been accompanied for these two days past by a man and two lads ascending in a canoe. This evening they encamped close by us, placing the canoe under cover of our boat. Unsheltered, except by the trees on the bank, and a ragged quilt drawn over a couple of forks, they abode the "pelting of the pitiless storm," with apparent indifference. These people are well dressed in handsome home-made cotton cloth. The man seemed to possess no small share of pride and self-importance, which, as I afterwards discovered, arose from his being a captain of militia. He borrowed a kettle from us, and gave it to one of his boys. When we were about to sit down to supper he retired, but returned when it was over; when asked why he had not staid to do us the honor of supping with us, "I thank you, gentlemen," said he, licking his lips with satisfaction. "I have just been eating an excellent supper." He had secretly spoken when the patron came to inform Mr. Lisa the boys were begging him for a biscuit, as they had eaten nothing for two days! Our visitant was somewhat disconcerted but passed it off with "Pooh! I'm sure they can't be suffering." He resides on the Gasconade; his was the second family which settled in that quarter about three years ago. He has at present about two hundred and fifty men on his muster roll. We were entertained by him with a long story of his having pursued some Pottawatonties, who had committed robberies on the settlements some time last summer; he made a narrow escape, the Indians having attacked his party in the night time, and killed four of his men after a desperate resistance. The captain had on board a barrel of whiskey to set up tavern with, a bag of cotton for his wife to spin, and a couple of kittens, for the purpose of augmenting his family; these kept up such doleful serenades during the night that I was scarcely able to close my eyes.

About eleven o'clock we came in sight of Fort Osage, at the distance of three miles on the bluff and a long stretch of river before us. We had now come three hundred miles upon our voyage. And for the last hundred had seen no settlement or met anyone, except a few traders or hunters who passed us in canoes. With the exception of a few spots, where the ravages of fire had destroyed the woods, we passed through a continued forest presenting the most dreary aspect. Our approach once more to the haunts of civilization, to a fort where we should meet with friends, and perhaps find a temporary resting place, inspired us with cheerfulness. The song was raised with more than usual glee; the can of whiskey was sent around and the air was rent with shouts of encouragement.

Brackenridge described Fort Osage as handsomely situated, "about one hundred feet above the level of the river, which makes an elbow at the place, giving an extensive view up and down the river. Its form is triangular, its size but small, not calculated for more than a company of men. A group of

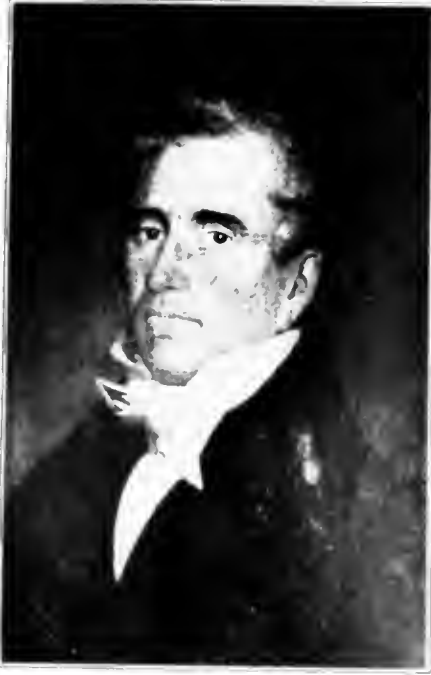
buildings is formed by the factory and settler's house. The place is called 'Fire Prairie.' It is something better than three hundred miles from the mouth of the river."

Ten days before Lisa's arrival occurred an incident which relieved the monotony of life at Fort Osage. Brackenridge describes it as the officer commanding gave him the circumstances. About fifteen hundred Osage warriors had camped near the fort. Two hundred of them had just come back from a raid on the Iowas. Brackenridge spelled the name "Ayuwas." The braves were so lifted up over the exploit that they insulted the soldiers in the fort. "One of these warriors defied a sentinel at his post. The sentinel was commanded to fire over his head. This producing no effect the warrior was seized by a file of men which he at first treated with indifference, declaring that if he was confined he would get some of the white man's bread. His tune was changed, however, by a liberal application of the cat-o'-nine-tails to his back. The Indians were excited. They rushed forward with their arms. But the soldiers paraded and made ready a few cannon; the Indians thought proper to retreat. The Indians maintained a threatening attitude for a few days; to show their spite they killed a pair of oxen belonging to Mr. Audrain, the settler near the fort. The officer at the fort sent for the chiefs and told them that unless two horses were given for the oxen he would fire on the Indian village. The chiefs complied; the pipe was smoked, and all matters were adjusted."

"We have now passed the last settlement of whites," Brackenridge continued in his journal, "and probably will not revisit them for several months. This reflection seemed to have taken possession of the minds of all. Our men were kept from thinking too deeply by their songs and the splashing of oars, which kept time with them. Lisa, himself, seized the helm and gave the song, and, at the close of every stanza, made the woods ring with his shouts of encouragement. The whole was intermixed with short and pithy addresses to their fears, their hopes or their ambition."

Lisa overtook the Astorians on the Upper Missouri in the Sioux country. Hunt was about entering upon negotiations for horses and for peaceful passage through to the mountains. While Brackenridge and Bradbury were visiting the Indian village trouble occurred between the two parties. Brackenridge wrote:

On our return, I found that a disagreeable misunderstanding had taken place between the two chiefs of the parties. The interpreter of Mr. Hunt had improperly relinquished the service of the company, to which he was still indebted. Mr. Lisa had several times mentioned to him the impropriety of his conduct, and perhaps had made him some offers in order to draw him from his present service. This was certainly imprudent, and placed him in the power of a worthless fellow, who without doubt retailed the conversation to his master with some additions. This evening, while in Hunt's camp, to which he had gone on some business, Lisa was grossly insulted by the interpreter, who struck him several times and seized a pair of pistols belonging to Hunt. That gentleman did not seem to interest himself much in the affair, being actuated by feelings of resentment, at the attempt to inveigle his man. On my return to our camp, I found Mr. Lisa furious with rage, buckling on his knife and preparing to return; finding that I could not dissuade, I resolved to accompany him. It was with the greatest difficulty I succeeded in preventing the most serious consequences. I had several times to stand between him and the interpreter, who had a pistol in each hand. I am sorry to say that there was but little



MANUEL LISA



WILLIAM SHREVE FISHER



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BULL BOATS ON WHICH FURS WERE BROUGHT DOWN THE MISSOURI RIVER





disposition on the part of Mr. Hunt to prevent the mischief that might have arisen. I must, in justice to him, declare, however, that it was through him that Mr. McClelland was induced not to put his threat in execution, having pledged his honor to that effect. I finally succeeded in bringing Lisa off to his boat. When it is recollected that this was at a distance of a thousand miles from all civil authority or power, it will be seen that there was little to restrain the effects of animosity. Having obtained in some measure the confidence of Mr. Hunt, and the gentlemen who were with him, and Mr. Bradbury that of Mr. Lisa, we mutually agreed to use all the arts of mediation in our power, and if possible prevent anything serious.

From that time it devolved upon the two writers to preserve the peace. Hunt and Lisa held no communication with each other. Bradbury and Brackenridge carried the messages between the two parties. Lisa was watching the Astorians. Hunt was apprehensive that Lisa would use his influence with the Indians against him. The two ambassadors decided that the best course was to arrange for both parties to be represented at the same time in a conference with the Arickarees, the Astorians to explain that they only wished to pass through the country and Lisa to make his arrangements for trading. This was carried out. Bradbury told of the Astorians' presentation:

Mr. Hunt rose and made a speech in French which was translated as he proceeded into the Sioux language by Dorion. The purpose of the speech was to state that the object of our voyage up the Missouri was not to trade; that several of our brothers had gone to the great salt lake in the west whom we had not seen for eleven moons; that we had come from the great salt lake in the east, on our way to see our brothers, for whom we had been crying ever since they left us; and our lives were now become so miserable for the want of our brothers, that we would rather die than not go to them; and would kill every man that should oppose our passage; that we had heard of their design to prevent our passage up the river, but we did not wish to believe it, as we were determined to persist, and were, as they might see, well prepared to effect our purpose; but as a proof of our pacific intentions we had brought them a present of tobacco and corn.

The Astorians left the river and started overland meeting with a long series of disasters. In the two Astoria parties, the one by sea and the one overland, there were sixty-one lives lost. Survivors of Hunt's expedition straggled back to St. Louis. The two war correspondents left the Mandan country and came down the river, bringing with them Amos Richardson. This man was so anxious to get back to civilization he could hardly restrain himself. He had been four years among the Indians; had been shot and carried in his body an Indian arrow. He never wanted to see the Indian country again. Repeatedly he told Bradbury he was never going away from white settlements again. About a month after his return to St. Louis, Bradbury received a call from Richardson. The latter said he had heard that the scientist was going to the Arkansas river on an exploration. He wanted to go, too. Bradbury expressed his surprise. He reminded Richardson of his frequent declarations to keep away from the Indian country. Richardson replied: "I find so much deceit and selfishness among white men that I am already tired of them. The arrow head which is not yet extracted pains me when I chop wood. Whiskey I can't drink, and bread and salt I don't care about. I will go again among the Indians."

Charles Gratiot's business sagacity was shown in his efforts to bring about harmonious partnership between the St. Louis fur traders and John Jacob Astor. In his travels Gratiot had measured the ability and resources of Astor. He

realized that rivalry meant loss to both. And therefore, as early as 1811, he tried to induce the St. Louisans to make Astor a one-third partner in the Missouri Fur company.

"In this view," wrote Gratiot to Astor, "I considered that you would be of great service to each other."

The competition and friction continued. The Astor expedition was attended with disaster. Not until 1822 did Astor establish himself in St. Louis with what he called the western department of the American Fur company. In 1827, alliance between the Chouteaus and the old St. Louis fur traders with Astor was brought about. This was eighteen years after Gratiot's attempt to bring them together. As early as 1800, Gratiot had written from St. Louis to Astor:

"You are beyond question the greatest of the fur merchants. Your relations at home and abroad give you facilities which no other house in the United States possesses. You are established in the most active city upon the globe today—where everything is to be found from all parts of the world."

Year after year the negotiations went on between Astor and the St. Louis fur traders. Astor, through Crookes, kept threatening to establish a branch of the American Fur company here and to invade the Missouri territory. Crookes was impatient; he pressed Berthold and Chouteau to take the American Fur company agency rather than to submit to Astor's competition. Astor and Crookes had good reasons for desiring an alliance with the St. Louis traders. In the summer of 1821 Great Britain excluded American fur traders from Canada. The American Fur company found its territory and trade about the Great Lakes much restricted. In 1822 the western department of the American Fur company was formally established at St. Louis. Samuel Abbott came out from the east to take charge. Still Astor held back from serious competition with the St. Louis traders. He continued to sell them goods and to negotiate for a consolidation with them. The alliance was brought about in 1827. Bernard Pratte and Pierre Chouteau, Jr., joined their interests with Astor. They were placed in control at St. Louis. A little later there was further consolidation. The American Fur company absorbed the adventurous Kenneth McKenzie and his associates who, under the name of the Columbia Fur company, were making great headway in the far northwest between the Upper Missouri and the Canadian line. The Columbia was taken over, McKenzie's territory was made a sub-department of the American Fur company, and was known as the Upper Missouri Outfit. The letters "U.M.O." branded on everything and everywhere in that region came to have awesome significance. Thus in 1828 the American Fur company extended its operations up the Missouri valley to the boundary of the United States. The entire field was called the western department, with headquarters at St. Louis. That portion of it above Sioux City, Iowa, became the sub-department under the name of the Upper Missouri Outfit. Bernard Pratte, Pierre Chouteau, John P. Cabanne and B. Berthold were the directing partners at St. Louis when the consolidation went into effect.

David D. Mitchell, a young Virginian, came out to St. Louis and entered the service of the American Fur company. He became a partner in the Upper Missouri Outfit. When he came back to St. Louis to live, about 1841, he was

made superintendent of Indian affairs with headquarters at St. Louis, and held the position ten years. During the war with Mexico, Colonel Mitchell was with Doniphan's expedition.

John A. Sire came into the fur trade after the pioneer period. When the American Fur company meant forts and treaties with Indians, and medals bearing the bust of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Captain Sire might have been properly entitled "master of transportation." He was for many years in command of the steamboat which annually made the trip up the Missouri to take the goods, and to bring back the furs. Sire was a methodical man. He kept a log book, in which he recorded the incidents of every trip, writing the account in French. This commended the master of transportation to Mr. Chouteau. So painstaking was the latter in his attention to details that he regularly visited the boat just before departure for the Upper Missouri, inspected every part of the cargo and gave Captain Sire detailed instructions for the trip. He was especially explicit in telling the captain not to trust the Indians, but to always guard against surprise. Sire was of French birth. He was a boy of fifteen when he came to the United States. He lived in Philadelphia until 1836, and then settled in St. Louis, making this his home for the rest of his life.

The offer of an agency with the Osages, which Pierre Chouteau made him, turned one young man from thoughts of the priesthood and made him a fur trader. Giraud had come over from France and was at first a member of the episcopal family of Bishop Rosatti. He remained a trader for nearly forty years. Early in his career he was sent with two companions on a business mission from St. Louis to Chihuahua. The two associates were killed by Indians. Giraud was spared because he wore on his breast a cross. The Indians recognized and respected the emblem. The first intimation of the disaster which reached St. Louis included Giraud with the lost. A letter to France informed his family he was dead. A second letter intended to correct the first was lost. More than thirty years afterwards, Giraud, taking home a fortune and a great collection of curios, was repudiated as an impostor by his relatives. Three days he argued and insisted before he succeeded in satisfying them of his identity. Then he presented his curiosities to the city of Lyons, receiving a gold medal and an ovation.

"The King of the Missouri," Kenneth McKenzie was called by the fur traders. He ruled the "U.M.O." Crookes was the right hand of Astor in New York. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was recognized as at the head in St. Louis. As the American Fur company expanded, McKenzie extended his operations over fields that had been unoccupied territory far from the established trading posts. McKenzie had to deal with Indian tribes who had been beyond the reach of the traders. His trade jurisdiction extended to the British boundary. To checkmate the encroaching fur traders from the other side was part of his business. He was well equipped for this. When he came out from Scotland he was in the employ of the British fur traders. McKenzie created Fort Union at the junction of the Missouri and the Yellowstone. Indian tribes came there to trade, choosing the time so that those hostile would not meet.

The rule of McKenzie was not lawless. It was characterized by form and ceremony. The king of the U. M. O. wore a uniform. In December, 1831,

he wrote to Mr. Chouteau at St. Louis that he had negotiated a treaty between the Assiniboine and Blackfoot Indians. He said that he believed it would be "of great importance to the district." The wonderful document has been preserved. King McKenzie executed it with all seriousness. The effect of the treaty was excellent upon the fortunes of the Upper Missouri Outfit. It served its purpose and probably would have been no more than a tradition but for a European visitor at Fort Union who made a copy of it. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, was this visitor. He was a scientist, a globe trotter of considerable fame nearly a century ago. Prince Max, as the St. Louis fur traders called him, saved to posterity the treaty made by King McKenzie. The paper reads:

We send greeting to all mankind. Be it known unto all nations that the most ancient, most illustrious, and most numerous tribes of the redskins, lords of the soil, from the banks of the great waters unto the tops of the mountains upon which the heavens rest, have entered into a solemn league and covenant to make, preserve and cherish a firm and lasting peace, that, so long as the water runs or the grass grows, they may hail each other as brethren and smoke the calumet in peace and friendship. On the vigil of St. Andrew, in the year 1831, the powerful and distinguished nation of the Blackfeet, Piegan and Blood Indians by their ambassadors appeared at Fort Union, near the spot where the Yellowstone river unites its current with the Missouri, and in the council chamber of the governor, Kenneth McKenzie, and the principal chief of the Assiniboine nation, the Man-that-holds-the-Knife, attended by his chiefs of council, le Bechu, le Borgne, the Sparrow, the Bear's Arm, La Terre qui Tremble, and l'Enfant de Medicin, conforming to all ancient customs and ceremonies, and observing the due mystical signs enjoined by the great medicine lodges, a treaty of peace and friendship was entered into by the said high contracting parties, and is testified by their hands and seals hereunto annexed, hereafter and forever to live as brethren of one, large, united and happy family; and may the Great Spirit who watches over us all approve our conduct and teach us to love one another.

Done, executed, ratified and confirmed at Fort Union, on the day and year first within written, in the presence of James Archdale Hamilton.

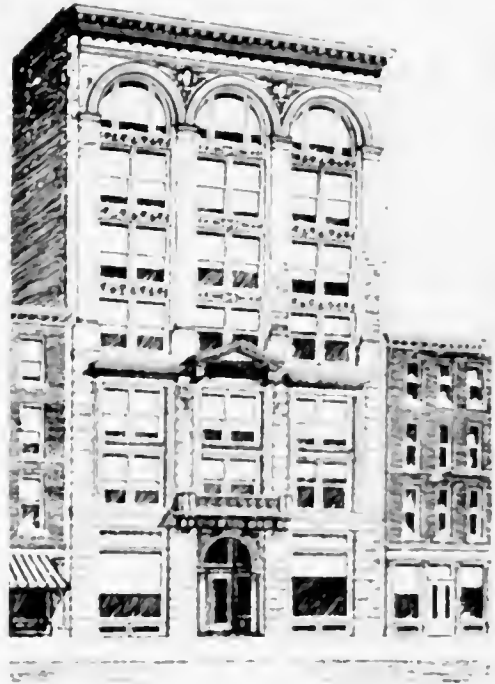
Not representing the government but as the superintendent in charge of a department of the American Fur company, Kenneth McKenzie conceived and carried out this treaty exploit. His witness, James Archdale Hamilton, was an Englishman with a mystery. The other fur traders believed Hamilton to be a member of the English nobility who had changed his name on coming to this country. Hamilton fell in with McKenzie, began as a bookkeeper and rose to be second in command at Fort Union. When the king was away, Hamilton ruled. He had his clothes sent out from London. He was correct in his manner of life, reticent as to his past. He was well liked. After a time he took up his residence in St. Louis, was known as Archibald Palmer, his real name, and remained here the rest of his days. His was one of the strong characters of the fur trading period.

A personality almost as interesting as McKenzie was James Archdale Hamilton. That was the name he gave himself when he arrived at Fort Union to become bookkeeper for the American Fur company. He was very careful of dress, and, being placed in authority during the absence of McKenzie, he proved to be a strict disciplinarian. The free and easy rank and file of the company came to look upon Hamilton with awe. Later, as he advanced in the confidence of the fur traders, Hamilton was transferred to St. Louis. He



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Headquarters of American Expedition  
at St. Louis, 1847



A FOR CRANFORD HOUSE OF  
A. S. LOUIS



DAVID D. MITCHELL



RUSSELL ARNOLD  
Courtesy: Missouri Historical Society



was made cashier of the American Fur company. It became known that he was of noble English parentage.

The Prince of Wied described vividly what he saw among the fur traders and Indians. History has preserved also the impression which Prince Max made upon the fur traders. A young clerk of the fur traders, Alexander Culbertson, was detailed to go with the prince on part of his journey. Culbertson, like the visitor, kept a journal. This is what he wrote in it:

In this year an interesting character in the person of Prince Maximilian from Coblenz on the Rhine made his appearance in the upper Missouri. The Prince was at this time nearly seventy years of age, but well preserved and able to endure considerable fatigue. He was a man of medium height, rather slender, sans teeth, passionately fond of his pipe, unostentatious, and speaking very broken English. His favorite dress was a white slouch hat, a black velvet coat rather rusty from long service, and probably the greasiest pair of trousers that ever encased princely legs. The Prince was a bachelor and a man of science; it was in this latter capacity that he had roamed so far from his ancestral home on the Rhine.

The magnitude of the American Fur company's business in 1833 was shown by a statement given to Prince Maximilian:

About 25,000 beaver skins were handled annually. These were put up in packs of one hundred pounds. A full grown beaver skin weighed about two pounds. The value to the company was about four dollars a pound. To stimulate the catching of beavers the iron traps were loaned or sold on credit to the trappers.

Skins of the buffalo cows to the number of 40,000 to 50,000 were put up in packs of ten skins to the pack. Skins of buffalo bulls had no market at that time—they were considered too heavy.

Most of the fur trade with the Indians below Council Bluffs was in deer skins, of which the company handled from 20,000 to 30,000 yearly.

Elk skins had little value. The same was true of wolf skins but the company bought them rather than turn away the Indians and disappoint them.

The skins of the silver, red and cross foxes were not numerous. About 2,000 red fox skins were expected in a season, and not more than twenty or thirty silver foxes. The latter were worth sixty dollars a skin.

The output of muskrats varied greatly. London could take half a million of muskrat skins annually. The American Fur company's annual shipments of these skins varied from 1,000 to 100,000. On Rock river, a tributary of the Mississippi, the Indians, in 1825, caught 130,000 muskrats. The next year's catch was about half of that number. Within two years afterwards the muskrat was nearly exterminated in the Rock river field.

Minks, otter, martens, lynxes and weasels were included in the company's harvest, running from 200 to 2,000 of each kind.

One season's shipment of buffalo skins amounted to 42,000. For that year's skins the company received four dollars each.

Fort Union was the fur trading capital. It stood on the bank of the Missouri, near the mouth of the Yellowstone. There McKenzie was "governor." There "treaties," on which Washington was not consulted, were made with tribes of Indians. There "Cadet" Chouteau was the great father and medals bearing his face and the peace and amity inscription were delivered to chiefs who treasured them as priceless. To Fort Union came from below each year the engages and voyageurs—the navy of the American Fur company. From Fort Union sallied forth to all points of the compass the trappers and hunters—the army of the American Fur company. Under the shadow of the palisades of Fort Union the wild nations assembled to trade and to council. They might

scalp each other if their trails crossed in the mountains or on the plains. At Fort Union there was neutrality. Administrations at Washington might come and go. To these savage peoples relationship with the rest of the world was through the Fort Union of the fur trade; their goods came from St. Louis. There was no one greater in their eyes than Pierre Chouteau, Jr.

Prince Maximilian described Fort Union as he saw it in the height of its importance upon his arrival there in 1833:

The fort is situated on an alluvial eminence, on the northern bank of the Missouri, in a prairie which extends about fifteen hundred paces to a chain of hills, on whose summit there are other wide-spreading plains. The fort itself forms a quadrangle, the sides of which measure about eighty paces in length. The ramparts consist of strong pickets, sixteen or seventeen feet high, squared and placed close to each other. On the ends there are blockhouses two stories high with embrasures and some cannon which though small are fit for service. In the front, and facing the river, is the well defended main entrance with a large folding gate. Opposite the entrance, at the other end of the quadrangle, is the house of the commandant, one story high with handsome glass windows. In the quadrangle are residences of clerks, interpreters and engages, the powder magazine, the stores, and workshops, stables for the horses and cattle, halls for receiving and entertaining the Indians. The fort shelters fifty or sixty horses, cattle, hogs, goats and fowls.

Mr. McKenzie had given us a comfortable lodging in his house, and we lived there very pleasantly, in a plain style, suitable to the resources of so remote a place; for we could not hope to meet with so good a table as we had had on board the steamer. We had every day fresh or dried buffalo flesh, and also a good supply of coffee and wine. The first days passed rapidly in examining the fort and the immediate environs, while on board the steamer they began to unload and convey the provisions and goods to the fort so that all was bustle and activity. Eight hundred packs of buffalo hides, each pack consisting of ten hides, were immediately embarked. Besides the buffalo hides, many beaver, bear, wolf, lynx, fox and other skins were embarked. Of the wolf and lynx there were sixty-two packs, each consisting of one hundred skins.

The Assiniboine having taken on its cargo, was to depart on the afternoon of the 26th of June, and return to St. Louis; the company, therefore, assembled once more on board to dine together. About three o'clock, when the whole population of the place was assembled on the beach, we took leave of our traveling companions, Messrs. Sandford and Pratte, with whom some of the company's clerks had embarked to return to the United States. In order to turn the Assiniboine first went a little way up the river, and then passed the fort with the rapidity of an arrow, while a mutual salute of a discharge of cannon and musketry was re-echoed from the mountains, and handkerchiefs were waved till a bend of the river hid the vessel from our view.

King McKenzie had posts on the Big Horn and farther up the Missouri. Four years after he took charge of the department he had fully occupied the field, establishing a number of outgoing posts and sending his traders and trappers in every direction. Two branch trading stations were maintained. One was Fort Cass, two hundred miles up the Yellowstone for dealing with the Crows. The other was Fort McKenzie, eight hundred and fifty miles up the Missouri, for the accommodation of three Blackfoot tribes. These were not forts of the United States government but fortified posts of the American Fur company. Besides these forts the company had twenty-three blockhouses or posts where they received furs and delivered goods in return to the Indians. Well armed agents and escorts traveled between the forts and these outlying posts to carry the goods and bring in the furs. The army of the company numbered five hundred men. These were in addition to the unnumbered trappers and hunters who gathered furs independently and brought them to the



forts. The company's salary roll was \$150,000 a year. To supply the army of clerks and engages a corps of hunters was maintained. The force of officers and employes at Fort Union alone required the meat of eight hundred buffalos annually. The American flag floated over the forts. When the steamboat came up with the company's annual shipment of goods it was received with a formal salute from the cannon in the blockhouses. Americans, Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians, Italians, Spaniards, almost any nationality, could be found among the hundreds of employes of the American Fur company.

King McKenzie's dynasty came to an end. Congress had forbidden the fur traders to take liquor up the Missouri. McKenzie thought he couldn't compete with the British traders over the line unless he had firewater. He set up a distillery at Fort Union, had the boat bring up a few hundred bushels of corn and manufactured. The king was so pleased with his infant industry, he showed it to some visitors. He wrote to Mr. Chouteau:

"I have a good corn mill, a respectable distillery and can produce as fine liquor as need be drunk. I believe that no law in the United States is thereby broken, though perhaps one may be made to break up any distillery. But liquor I must have, or quit any pretension to trade in this part."

A man from Boston was one of the king's guests. When he got down the river he reported the distillery. General William Clark at St. Louis, in charge of Indian affairs, called on Pierre Chouteau, Jr., for explanation. Mr. Chouteau replied:

"The company believing that wild peas and berries might be converted into wine, which they did not understand to be prohibited, did authorize experiments to be made, and, if under color of this, ardent spirits have been distilled and vended, it is without the knowledge, authority or direction of the company, and I will take measures, by sending immediately an express, to arrest the operation complained of, if found to exist."

Mr. Astor retired from the fur trade in 1834. Not long before he did so he wrote a letter to his St. Louis partners which contained the following:

"I very much fear beaver will not sell well very soon unless very fine. It appears that they make hats of silk in place of beaver."

The greatest of fur merchants was impressed with the idea that he foresaw the downfall of the beaver trade, which at that time was the most valuable skin, because the French were making silk hats. With Mr. Astor out, the business was divided. Ramsey Crookes took the department of the lakes. The Missouri river territory went to Pratte, Chouteau & Company. The name of the American Fur Company was still popularly applied to the organization on the Missouri.

Kenneth McKenzie was one of the last bourgeois in the fur trade. He was a boy in Scotland when the Astorians made their expedition up the Missouri. His earliest service was with the Northwestern Company. Then McKenzie went into the business on his own account. When the American Fur company bought out the Columbia, McKenzie became one of the chief lieutenants of Pierre Chouteau, Jr. The feat which made him famous in fur trading circles was the treaty with the Blackfoot tribe. These Indians, long under British domination, had consistently fought the fur traders from St. Louis. McKenzie secured their

trade, and in 1832 built a post in their country. He visited headquarters at St. Louis from time to time, until 1839, when he retired from active control. His home was in St. Louis the rest of his life. McKenzie crossed the plains more than twenty-five times. In a single season he traveled over three thousand miles on horseback through a country occupied only by Indians and buffalos.

In 1823 General William H. Ashley led an expedition across the plains from St. Louis. He met with resistance from the Indians and lost fourteen men. In 1824 General Ashley discovered a southern route through the Rocky Mountains. He led his expedition to the Great Salt Lake and explored the Utah valley. He established a fort. Two years later a six-pound cannon was drawn from the Missouri across the plains and through the mountains 1,200 miles to Ashley's fort. A trail was made. Many loaded wagons passed over it. A new trade territory for St. Louis was opened. Between 1824 and 1827 Ashley's men sent over \$200,000 worth of furs to St. Louis. The General retired from the business of exploration and fur trading. He sold out to a St. Louis organization in which J. S. Smith, David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette were the leading spirits. Their chief clerk was Robert Campbell. The Rocky Mountain Fur company pushed its trade across the mountains and into what are now Nevada, California and southern Oregon.

Ashley was a slender man, rather tall, thin faced, with a prominent nose and chin. He came west from Virginia when he was eighteen, sold goods, manufactured saltpetre and surveyed lands before he engaged in the fur trade. He was a man of boundless activity, at the same time a mild-mannered, serious, and silent man. With knowledge of the force of character behind those peaceful appearing features, the organizers of the Rocky Mountain Fur company selected Ashley as the leader. Early in the spring two boats were loaded with goods for the Indians. Major Henry recruited and armed one hundred men, picking those who had seen service in the fur trade. The destination was the mouth of the Yellowstone far up the Missouri, in what is now Montana. Very complete, not to say elaborate, were the preparations. Perhaps no other expedition in the history of the fur trade was better planned. On the way to Ashley's boats a wagon load of powder exploded at Washington avenue and Ninth street. The owner of the wagon, a Mr. Labarge, and two of his men were killed. This was the beginning of misfortunes. When the expedition reached the Arickarees' country, General Ashley met the chiefs of that tribe. He gave them presents. He bought fifty horses from them. When his men went to the place where they were to receive the horses they were attacked. Fifteen of them were killed. The horses were stampeded. The boats were driven away from the bank. War was declared. General Ashley had sent part of his force with Major Henry overland to the Yellowstone. This detachment encountered the Blackfoot Indians and lost four men and the goods it was transporting.

Ashley met the desperate situation with iron nerve. He waited until the United States troops had dispersed the Arickarees who were blockading the Missouri. With more men and goods from St. Louis, he went on to the mouth of the Yellowstone. In his mind Ashley had no doubt as to what had prompted the Indian hostility. As soon as he had established his base, he began a series of raids on the traders and Indian allies of the Hudson Bay Fur company. The



JOSEPH A. SIRE



PIERRE CHOUTEAU JR



ANTOINE CHÉNIER



ROBERT CAMPBELL



property stolen from him Ashley found scattered among these traders and Indians. While pursuing a band of the rival fur company's Indians, Ashley made a geographical discovery of great importance. The pursuit led him into the great South Pass of the Rocky Mountain range. Ashley brought back to St. Louis the first knowledge of the vast interior between the Rocky and the Sierra ranges. He lost one-fourth of his men and half of his goods in the contest for trade supremacy in the Northwest. He came back to St. Louis in June, 1825, after fifteen months' hardships, the boats piled high with packs of beaver and other furs. The company's venture had been immensely remunerative. Beyond this, the traders of the Hudson Bay Fur company had been driven out of the country and the Indians had been cowed. But of still greater importance to the coming generations was the fact that an easy way through the Rocky Mountain range had been found.

On the strength of his prestige Ashley, who had been lieutenant governor, was a candidate for governor of Missouri. He was beaten by Frederick Bates. His opportunity came a little later. Almost without opposition General Ashley was elected to Congress in 1830 to take the place of Spencer Pettis killed in the duel with Major Biddle. The controversy between the United States and Great Britain over the Northwest boundary was becoming acute. General Ashley had personal knowledge of that part of the country and the fur trade conditions there. His information and opinions carried much weight with those at the head of the National Government, and had influence in the shaping of the boundary policy of the United States.

The fur trade campaigns directed from St. Louis were strenuous. In the five years from 1825 to 1830, two-fifths of the rank and file of traders and trappers were killed by Indians or perished from other dangers incident to the pursuit of pelts. Brackenridge said of the creole boatmen:

"I believe an American could not be brought to support with patience the fatiguing labors and submission which these men endure. At this season when the water is exceedingly cold, they leap in without a moment's hesitation. Their food consists of lye corn hominy for breakfast, a slice of fat pork and biscuit for dinner, and a pot of mush with a pound of tallow in it for supper."

The bourgeois was the head of a fur expedition or post. The patron was the master of a boat. The winterers were the old employes who gave all of their time to the fur trading life. The *managers de lard*, or porkeaters, were the summer employes. Philip St. George Cooke, a regular army officer for some time stationed at St. Louis, described the privates in the fur trading organizations:

These men called *engages* are generally French creoles; and form a small class as distinct in character from any other, as is the sailor from his fellow-bipeds who dwell on shore. He somewhat resembles the said sailor—isolated on the prairie desert, as the other on the sea. He has a patient and submissive obedience, with a seeming utter carelessness of privations, such as would drive a seaman to mutiny. With the same reckless abandon to some transient and coarse enjoyments, he is a hardy and light-hearted child of nature—of nature in her wildest simplicity; and in these, her solitudes, he receives a stepmother's care, and battles with a stout heart against her most wintry moods. He resembles the Indian, too, and is generally of kindred blood; he possesses his perseverance, his instinctive sagacity, and his superstition. A very Gascon, he has the French cheerful facility of accommodation to his

fated exigencies, and lightens toil by an invincible and contagious mirth. He is handsome, athletic, active; dresses chiefly in buckskin; wears a sash and knife; lives precariously, generally on flesh alone; is happy when his pipe is lit; and when he cannot smoke sings a song. He is armed and vigilant while at his severest labors. He joyously spends his ten dollars a month in alcohol, tobacco, coffee and sugar, and in gaudy presents to some half-breed belle; paying the most incredible prices for these extravagant luxuries. /

Bradbury translated one of the songs which the men on the fur trading boats sang as they plied the oars:

## I

Behind our house there is a pond,  
 Fal lal de ra.  
 There came three ducks to swim thereon;  
 All along the river clear,  
 Lightly my shepherdess dear,  
 Lightly, fal de ra.

## II

There came three ducks to swim thereon,  
 Fal lal de ra.  
 The prince to chase them he did run,  
 All along the river clear,  
 Lightly my shepherdess dear,  
 Lightly, fal de ra.

## III

The prince to chase them he did run,  
 Fal lal de ra.  
 And he had his great silver gun,  
 All along the river clear,  
 Lightly my shepherdess dear,  
 Lightly, fal de ra.

Andrew Henry came from Fayette county, Pennsylvania, to St. Louis. He went into the fur trade with Lisa, the Chouteaus and others as early as 1809. The first post established by the fur traders beyond the crest of the Rocky Mountains was the venture of Major Henry; it was called Fort Henry and was located on the Snake river near Elgin; it furnished shelter to Hunt's expedition of Astorians. Andrew Dripps was another Pennsylvanian from Westmoreland county who became a St. Louis fur trader. He was with the Missouri company in 1820 and later headed expeditions for the American Fur company.

Jim Bridger was a St. Louis contribution to the winning of the west by the fur trading route. He was a boy from Virginia who was apprenticed to a St. Louis blacksmith. When Ashley and Henry recruited their expedition in 1822, Bridger joined the party. He developed in the field an extraordinary aptitude for topography, in the pioneer sense. He was never lost. Father DeSmet said Bridger was "one of the truest specimens of a real trapper and Rocky Mountain man." Jim Bridger never came back to St. Louis to live. "The canyons of the city," he called the streets, and he didn't like them. He built Bridger's Fort. Few knew the mountain country as did he. Bridger's Peak was the name given to a landmark. In the dome of the new capitol of Minnesota is a trapper for whom Bridger was the original. Dr. Whitman, the Oregon missionary, took an iron arrowhead out of Bridger's shoulder. Nevertheless the trapper entertained no grudge against the red race; he married a Shoshone wife.

Thomas Fitzpatrick was one of the partners in the Rocky Mountain Fur company. To the Indians he was known as "Broken Hand" on account of a severe wound. He was with Ashley in the early expeditions. Later he conducted the annual trade at the rendezvous on Green river and its tributaries. He remained on the frontier after the decline of the fur trade.

Three of the St. Louis volunteers who responded to Ashley's call were Mike Fink and his friends Carpenter and Talbot. They never came back to St. Louis, and their loss was the city's gain. Fink's favorite way of spelling his name was Micke Phinck. He and Carpenter frequently entertained a crowd of St. Louis boatmen with their feats of marksmanship. At seventy yards either one could shoot a tin cup of whiskey from the other's head. These three men traveled the rivers. They belonged to the roving class of "half horse half alligator" boatmen. Mike Fink's last exploit before he left St. Louis to go fur hunting with Ashley and Henry was to shoot the heel off a negro. The black boy was lounging on the levee. He had a protruding heel. Fink, at thirty yards, raised his rifle and fired. The boy dropped. Fink's defense was that he wanted to make the foot so that a genteel boot would fit it. Public sentiment in St. Louis did not accept this pleasantly. Fink was sent to jail. He got out in time to go with the Ashley expedition. Far up in the Northwest, above the Yellowstone, Fink and Carpenter quarreled. Apparently they made up. The next time they tried the tin cup experiment Carpenter told Talbot he believed Fink meant to kill him. The two men threw a copper to decide who should shoot first. Fink won. Carpenter gave his rifle and equipment to Talbot and took his position with the cup on his head. Fink aimed, and lowered his rifle; playfully telling Carpenter to "hold his noddle steady." Then he aimed again and fired. Carpenter was shot through the head. Fink said it was all a mistake and blamed his rifle. Several weeks went by. Fink bragged of killing Carpenter purposely. Talbot drew a pistol which Carpenter had given him and killed Fink. A short time afterwards Talbot was drowned, trying to cross the Teton river. The story seems incredible, but it is told in a letter book of General William Clark possessed by the Kansas Historical society at Topeka.

The Rocky Mountain Fur company was originally managed by Ashley; later by Sublette. There were four Sublettes in the fur trade. William L. was the Captain Sublette. He was six feet two inches, tawny haired and blue-eyed with a deep scar on his face which told he was game. The Sublettes were descended of Kentucky stock on their mother's side from Whitby, the companion of Daniel Boone, who was said to have killed Tecumseh in the Battle of the Thames. When William L. Sublette came to St. Louis in 1818, he started a billiard room. When William H. Ashley published his call of the spring of 1822 "to enterprising young men" William L. and Milton G. Sublette responded. The call read:

"The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred young men to ascend the Missouri river to its source, there to be employed one, two or three years."

This meant fur trading, although the call did not say so. Andrew and Solomon P. Sublette, who were younger, joined their brothers later. Captain Sublette served with Ashley, and when the leader was ready to retire became one of the party who bought him out. Twenty years William L. Sublette was

a fur trader. Robert Campbell came to St. Louis from County Tyrone, Ireland, when he was twenty. The doctors ordered him to the mountains for his health. Campbell joined one of Ashley's fur trading expeditions. A warm friendship developed between Campbell and William L. Sublette. A partnership was formed. Campbell and Sublette, while with Ashley, were mountain fur traders. When they went into business for themselves they had the temerity to establish posts on the Missouri river. For several years they gave the American Fur company the most serious competition it had. They accumulated handsome fortunes. Sublette lived in a large stone house on the hill south of Forest Park. He maintained a private zoo of wild animals he had tamed. His house was full of curiosities gathered in his mountain career. At the store which Sublette and Campbell conducted in St. Louis an Indian tepee was set up and inhabited by an Indian family. Captain Sublette surrounded himself with Indian retainers. When one of them died a grave was made in the private burying ground of the Sublettes.

Captain Sublette was a man of sentiment. He avoided conflict with the Indians with rare skill. When it was necessary to fight he did his full part. Famous in fur trading history is the battle of Pierre's Hole with the Blackfeet. There Sublette and Campbell, with their shirt sleeves rolled up, grasping their pistols, charged a breastwork. Just before doing so, each of these close friends made a will remembering the other. Sublette was severely wounded. It was after this battle and the ensuing season that Sublette and Campbell returned to St. Louis; heading a train of pack horses loaded with furs, and attended by hunters, guides and Indians. As the outfit entered the city it made an imposing procession a mile long. After his retirement from active business, Captain Sublette had political aspirations. He wanted to go to Congress from St. Louis. He wrote to Senator Benton asking him for the appointment of superintendent of Indian affairs, and died in 1845 while on the way to Washington to see about it.

Andrew Sublette was a mighty bear hunter. The pelt was the smallest part of the consideration. Whenever Andrew Sublette found himself in new territory he tried the temper of the bears. He was in California with the '49ers, listened to stories of the ferocious grizzlies and went after them. He had a dog that liked bear fighting as well as he did. In the vicinity of Los Angeles, Andrew Sublette came upon a grizzly and wounded it. The mate of the bear rushed out of the bush and attacked. Sublette was caught with an unloaded gun. He drew his knife, and, with the dog beside him, fought until he had killed the two bears. Man and dog were frightfully torn. Sublette lingered and died of the wounds. The dog remained by the bedside throughout the illness, followed his master's body to the grave and lay beside it, refusing to eat or drink until he died.

William Waldo described William L. Sublette as "a prudent, economical man." "Milton, Solomon and Andrew Sublette," he said, "were reckless of life and money." Milton Sublette's Indian fighting exploits won for him the name of "Thunderbolt of the Rocky Mountains." Andrew Sublette could shoot a wild horse through the neck so as to graze the vertebrae and paralyze temporarily but not permanently injure the animal. This was the method of cap-



turing wild horses by creasing. The Boston man who told this of Andrew Sublette said, "I give it as true because I saw it done."

Among the traditions of the fur traders of St. Louis was the marvelous story of Russell Farnham's travels. Before the War of 1812 Farnham came to St. Louis. He was a New Englander. He had been a clerk for John Jacob Astor. Recognizing in Farnham qualities beyond the ordinary young man of that day, Astor sent him west to look after his interests. Farnham was to visit Indians and agents and to make reports to Astor. He went into the north-west among the lakes of the region which became long afterwards the state of Minnesota. Returning to civilization, Farnham was arrested on reaching the Mississippi and charged with being a British spy. War had begun. When the prisoner was brought to St. Louis, he was identified as one of Astor's fur traders and was released. Farnham conferred with Wilson P. Hunt, Astor's chief representative. He sought from General William Clark all possible information about the route which Lewis and Clark had taken from St. Louis to the Pacific coast. He was a man of perfect physique, five feet and ten inches in height, fair-haired and blue-eyed.

After the failure of the Astoria enterprise Farnham accompanied Wilson Price Hunt on the Pedler to Kamchatka to undertake the overland journey across Siberia and Russia with papers for Mr. Astor in New York. The narrative of travel is given in the language of Elihu H. Shepard, the pioneer historian of St. Louis:

Then entering Siberia, he proceeded across the eastern continent to St. Petersburg, where, introducing himself to the American plenipotentiary at the Russian court, he was presented to the Emperor Alexander as the bold American who had traveled across the continent. He was received by the emperor with great consideration and kindness, and was sent by him without solicitation to Paris, on his way home where he arrived in good health, after great exposure to dangers, toils, and sufferings such as no other individual has ever voluntarily submitted himself to on these two continents. On his appearance on the streets of St. Louis he was everywhere hailed with the warmest salutations of joy, pleasure and admiration in the countenances of all who had ever known him or heard of his extraordinary exploits. These demonstrations were received with that modesty and humility which always characterize true greatness and add a never failing charm to the whole character of him who possesses them.

Mr. Shepard explains that "the exact date of departure and arrival at the different points along the journey were carefully noted by Colonel Farnham, as well as the remarkable incidents and observations on the route, in a well kept journal prepared for publication. The journal was placed in the hands of a publisher in New York, who failed and died several years before Colonel Farnham. The Colonel was never able to recover the journal or to learn its fate."

After Farnham's death from cholera in 1832 at St. Louis where he had made his home with his family, Crookes wrote from New York to Pierre Chouteau, Jr.:

"Poor Farnham! He has paid the debt of nature after a life of uncommon activity and endless exposure. Peace to his manes! He was one of the best meaning but the most sanguine man I almost ever met with. During all the ravages of the pestilence here, and the unexpected rapidity with which some of

my friends were hurried to their long account, I never felt anything like the sensation I experienced upon hearing of my honest friend's death, for I did not know he was at St. Louis, and thought him safe in some part of the wilderness."

After a century of unrivaled success, St. Louis fur traders gradually adapted themselves to new conditions. The American Fur company wound up its business about the time of the Civil war. With the advance of the railroads into the fur producing territory, the St. Louis dealers sent buyers to deal with the widely scattered trappers and traders. Cash purchasing succeeded barter. The fur trade of St. Louis, in volume, grew instead of diminishing. Following the war, representatives of the St. Louis houses traversed the Mississippi valley, the mountains and the coast, wherever there was fur production. This became the concentrating point, the great primary fur market. About 1895, a new system was introduced by a St. Louis fur house. Buyers in the field were withdrawn gradually. Trappers and hunters were educated to send in the catch by the modern methods of shipment, receiving therefor cash remittances according to market quotations.

There are over 500,000 persons in North America who trap or produce furs. There are thousands of men and boys in towns and on farms who trap and hunt every winter. They ship to St. Louis and are paid promptly, by mail, the values of the furs. In this market sales take place regularly three times a week from November to April. The selling is by sealed bids after the London method. A single day's sales will range from \$40,000 to \$60,000.

/ The buffalo, the deer and the large fur bearing animals have passed away but valuable furs still reach the St. Louis market,—Alaska sables, lynx and mink. The silver and black fox and sea otter skins sell in the St. Louis market for from \$100 to \$2,000 each. The great volume of skins is from the southern and central sections of the United States,—muskrat, raccoon, opossum, skunk and the common varieties. All parts of the United States and Canada ship here. The St. Louis trade shows that fur bearing animals are not becoming extinct. Its present proportions are larger than at any previous period. One St. Louis house communicates with 400,000 persons who make shipments of raw furs. / The evolution of the fur trade of St. Louis is now in the direction of increase of fur manufacture. Local opportunity for the production of fur garments exists. Some factories have been established.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE PRESS

*Joseph Charless' Prospectus—High Ideals of the First Newspaper—"Four Dollars a Year in Country Produce"—The Charless Family—Rebuke to the "Miserable Scribblers" of the East—Advertising Art in 1808—First Staff Correspondent—A Plea for Industries—Indian "Readers"—Personal Journalism—Duelling Condemned—A Rival Paper—Benton, the Editor—"Vile Excrescences on the Community"—Missouri Republican—Chambers, Harris and Knapp—The Exchange Room—Charles Keemle's Versatility—The First Penny Paper—Beats on the President's Message—"Most Magnificent Enterprise of the Age"—Genesis of the Missouri Democrat—Blair-Pickering Affair—H. Gratz Brown's Anti Slavery Editorials—Lincoln's St. Louis Newspaper Alliance—German Press—Weber's Bold Course—The Meteoric Boernstein—Traits of Nathaniel Paschall—How Missouri Was Carried for Douglas—The Westliche Post Coterie—Joseph Pulitzer, Reporter—William Hyde's Staff—"Mack," Printer, Reporter, Correspondent, Editor—Upbuilding of the Globe-Democrat—Oldtime Newspaper Men—A Roll of Honor—Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch Policies—Henry King on Newspaper Success—Centennial of the Republic.*

It is self-evident that, in every country where the rays of the press are not clouded by despotic power, the people have arrived to the highest grade of civilization. There science holds her head erect and bids her sons to call into action those talents which lie in a good soil inviting cultivation. The involution of the press is co-existent with the liberties of the people. They live or die together. It is the vestal fire upon the preservation of which the fate of nations depends; and the most pure hands, officiating for the whole community, should be incessantly employed in keeping it alive.—*Joseph Charless' Prospectus of the Missouri Gazette, 1808.*

The days of June and July, 1808, were not dull. Residents, of substance, were signing with no little discussion, a petition to create the town of St. Louis. They were not all agreed upon the wisdom of this proposition to incorporate. Joseph Charless had arrived by keelboat from the Ohio, bringing information that the first printing press to be set up west of the Mississippi was on the way from Pennsylvania. In the north room of the old Robidou house of posts, Jacob Hinkle was unpacking the type brought from Louisville. As he went about making acquaintances, Joseph Charless handed the people a neatly printed slip, with blank space below for signatures and addresses,—the "Prospectus" of the first St. Louis newspaper. Opening with the sentiment already quoted, Mr. Charless set forth the practical details of his business:

It is now proposed to establish a Weekly News Paper, to be published by subscription at ST. LOUIS, to be called the

MISSOURI GAZETTE,  
And Louisiana Advertiser;  
By Joseph Charless.

For the reasons above stated, we conceive it unnecessary to offer anything like professions to the public, but rather let the columns of the GAZETTE speak for themselves, and the print live or die by the character it may acquire, but its intended Patrons have a right to be acquainted with the grounds upon which their approbation is solicited.

To extinguish party animosities and foster a cordial union among the people on the basis of toleration and equal government; to impress upon the mind, that next to love of God, the love of our Country should be paramount in the human breast; to advocate that cause which placed Jefferson at the head of the magistracy, and in fine to infuse and keep alive

those principles which the test of experience has so evidently portrayed the merits, to these ends shall the labours of the Gazette be directed.

No endeavours nor expense shall be spared in procuring the earliest Foreign Intelligence, which shall be impartially given, and particular attention paid to the detail of the domestic occurrences, with extracts from the proceeding of the state and national legislature. To diversify scenes, we shall glean whatever may be most instructive and amusing in the *Belles Lettres*, with historical and Poetical extracts—men of genius are invited to send their productions to the Gazette, which will be open for fair discussion on public subjects—it will disdain to direct its flights at smaller game—scurrility and defamation can never be admitted as auxiliaries—private character is one of the possessions of civil society, which ought to be held sacred; to follow a man into the circle of private life, would be a very unfair and licentious act;—Therefore the editor will invariably exclude any and every piece which might lead to disturb our public officers, in the honest discharge of their duty, or the peaceful walk of the private citizen.

#### AVIS.

Les anciens Habitans de la Louisiane, sont informé respectueusement par L'Imprimeur du Prospectus de la Gazette du Missouri qu'il se propose de reserver trois colonnes de son papier, pour publier en francais les nouvelles locales et Etrangeres; les Loix du Territoire, et des Etats unis de L'Amerique, aussi bien que tous les Evenements qui demande publicité.

Le Prix est trois Gourdes per annum, et la Gazette sera distribuée une fois par Semaine.

#### CONDITIONS.

I. The Gazette will be published once a week on a handsome Type and Paper, the day of publication will be regulated by the arrival of the Mail; during the session of Congress, should their proceedings be particularly interesting, a supplementary sheet shall be occasionally issued.

II. Terms of payment will be Three Dollars payable in advance, or Four Dollars in Country Produce. Advertisements not exceeding a square will be inserted one week for one dollar, and for every continuance Fifty Cents, those of a greater length in proportion.

III. The First number of the Gazette, will appear as soon as possible, the types being ready at Louisville, Ky., and the press expected in the course of a month, from Pennsylvania. The intended editor pledges his reputation, that there shall be no unnecessary delay.

But something more than editor, press, type and printer was necessary. When Joseph Charless was ready to put forth Number I, Volume I, Missouri Gazette, he could find no suitable paper in St. Louis. The largest sheet was twelve inches long and eight inches wide. The form was made up accordingly. On the 12th of July, 1808, the editor lifted carefully from the old hand press a dampened piece of paper only so large as a sheet of foolscap, and held up a printed page. Journalism in St. Louis had been born.

Joseph Charless was a man of convictions. He risked his life for his principles. He had to leave Ireland in haste, having engaged in the rebellion of 1795. Escaping first to France, he came to this country, when he was twenty-four years old. The family name in the old country was Charles but pronounced in two syllables. To set his American acquaintances right on the pronunciation, Mr. Charless added a second "s." His first stop was in Philadelphia where he worked at the trade he had learned in Ireland, that of printer. One of his earliest American experiences was setting type on the first quarto edition of the Bible issued in this country. Joseph Charless married Mrs. Sarah McCloud in Philadelphia. He moved to Lexington and was connected with a newspaper. That was about 1800. In 1808, after a couple of years in Louisville, Mr. Charless came to St. Louis. While her husband busied himself with his newspaper enterprise, Mrs. Charless, a devout woman, was active in the movement to organize the first Presbyterian church in St. Louis.

Joseph Charless was an editor in fact as well as in name. Before the Gazette was a year old, it was replying in vigorous editorials to the Atlantic seaboard pessimists who still bewailed the acquisition of Louisiana territory.

Big swamp of Louisiana! ! ! 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.

The Louisiana which Editor Charless intended to vindicate from eastern press aspersions was not the Louisiana known to later generations. Congress had divided the country acquired from France in two parts. To the lower portion had been given the name of Orleans. To the northern district, including what is now Missouri, had been given the name of Louisiana Territory. This title continued until 1812. Mr. Charless called his paper the Missouri Gazette for a short time, but, conforming to the official conditions, changed to the Louisiana Gazette. When Congress decided upon Missouri Territory, the title of the paper was made the Missouri Gazette. In Kentucky, Mr. Charless had been connected with a Gazette. He liked the name and chose it for his St. Louis venture.

The first year was a trying one. When twelve months had gone around, the editor printed this review of the past and prospectus for the future:

He regrets that his paper, under the untoward circumstances under which he labored for the first year, did not come up to his own calculations, and perhaps to the expectations of his patrons—but now, having disposed of his office in Lexington, and brought his family to St. Louis, together with a supply of good paper, trusts that he will henceforth meet the expectations of his friends.

The first two years Mr. Charless ran the Gazette in the old Robidou house, the entire cost of publication was twenty dollars a week. That included Jacob Hinkle's stipend. When the Gazette had been published three years, the editor saw that his list of delinquents required attention. He printed conspicuously and with italic emphasis on "word of honor" this notice:

Mr. Charless calls upon those of his subscribers who gave their notes or word of honor to pay in flour or corn to bring it in directly. Others who promised to pay in beef or pork, to deliver it as soon as possible, or their accounts will be placed in the magistrate's hands.

For some time the Gazette appeared in two languages. This was in accordance with the assurance given in the prospectus that the paper might reach the whole community. Mr. Charless printed news and advertising in French as well as English. Some of the advertisements which appeared in the Gazette were as entertaining as the local news:

LOOK HERE ! !

Fred Yeiser, on Main street, next door to Dongan's Silver Smith shop, has on hand "a great heap of whiskey," plenty of peach brandy, linsey, country linen, shoes, nails, cotton, bed cords, etc., etc., low for cash or hides.

N. B. No credit, as I have never learnt to write.—Fred Yeiser.

If he hadn't "learnt to write," Yeiser was a patriot. When St. Louis got into the War of 1812, Yeiser was there,—a captain, too. He commanded half

of the 200 volunteers from St. Louis who went with Clark up the Mississippi to capture and hold Prairie du Chien. With the expedition was a young lieutenant in the regular army, George Hancock Kennerly, of Fincastle, Virginia. When the war was over Kennerly left the army and settled in St. Louis.

There was art in advertising a hundred years ago. Benjamin Estell, about to enter the meatshop business in 1814, invited the attention of the town of St. Louis in a printed card which could hardly have been made more effective by a modern ad-writer:

The subscriber respectfully informs the citizens of St. Louis that he will commence the butchering business on Monday next. With deference, he requests the heads of families and the masters of shops to meet him on that morning at market house and partake of his first essay, as a free will, offered at the commencement of his business.

The farmers who make St. Louis a market for their beef are invited to call upon the subscriber at the Sign of the Cross Keys, at the south end of St. Louis, and make positive contracts for their cattle, as the subscriber wishes to destroy the prevailing idea of advantages being taken of them in bringing their beef to this market. Those who will favor him with their custom shall always have their money on the delivery of their beef.

The editor of the Gazette carried on the paper largely as a matter of public spirit and from love of the business. He depended upon other sources for livelihood. The following appeared in the Gazette in 1810: "Joseph Charless informs his friends that he receives boarders by the day, week or month. Travelers can be accommodated with as good fare as the town affords on moderate terms. Stabling for eight or ten horses. Subscribers to the paper are requested to pay up. Pork and flour received."

Somewhat later the following notice appeared in the Gazette: "Joseph Charless will give one bit a pound for old copper and brass and take it at that price for debts due the printer."

Still later, in 1815, this announcement was published: "Joseph Charless, at the instance of a number of friends in Kentucky and Ohio intending to remove from Missouri and Illinois Territories, has opened books for the registry and sale of lands, town lots and slaves. Every exertion will be made to render the institution worthy of patronage."

Official patronage wasn't worth mentioning. The appropriation acts of the general assembly of Missouri Territory in 1813 read like this:

There shall be paid to Pierre Chouteau for a room by him furnished the house of representatives in December last twelve dollars; to Charles Sanguinette, for two rooms furnished for the use of the present general assembly ninety-six dollars; to Thomas F. Riddick, for stationary furnished the present general assembly and house of representatives in December last, to be paid out of the first money that may be in the treasury, thirty-nine dollars and seventy cents; for printing the laws passed at the present session, not exceeding three hundred dollars; to Andrew Scott, the sum of two dollars and twelve and one-half cents for articles furnished the present general assembly; to J. T. Garieo, for a blank book, inkstand, ink powder and quills, five dollars and sixty-five cents; and to Joseph Charless, for printing done for the legislature, fifteen dollars.

The first staff correspondent of a St. Louis newspaper was Henry M. Brackenridge. He wrote for the Gazette descriptive letters as he traveled from Ste. Genevieve to St. Louis and up the Missouri. Thomas Jefferson saw two or three of the articles, which were copied from the Gazette into eastern papers. He sent for the series. Subsequently he urged the publication of them in book

form, commending them highly for the information they contained about the new territory the United States had acquired from France. The result of Mr. Jefferson's interest was the publication of "Views of Louisiana." Brackenridge was encouraged by the government at Washington. His talents for investigation and for presenting conclusions were utilized. The government sent Brackenridge to South America on a diplomatic mission. When the report and the recommendations were laid before the administration at Washington, the declaration of the Monroe doctrine followed. That policy had its prompting in the findings of Brackenridge who had made his first impression on the public by his newspaper work in St. Louis.

Indians were among the visitors to the office of the Missouri Gazette. With dignified politeness Editor Charless would hand to each of his blanketed callers a newspaper. The Indian received the paper and examined it with as much attention as if he could read and was interested. If there was a white man in the Gazette office reading, the Indians would imitate him, turning the page when he turned it. John Bradbury, the scientist, was one of Mr. Charless' most frequent visitors while he was in St. Louis between his exploring tours of the surrounding country. When he went up the Missouri as the guest of the fur traders, Bradbury was surprised by two Omaha Indians who approached and offered to shake hands with him, making signs that they had seen him in St. Louis. He had not the slightest recollection of the two Indians. The Indians pointed down the river toward St. Louis, took up a buffalo robe, held it before their faces, turned over the corner and looked at the other side. They imitated the action of a person reading a newspaper so well that Bradbury realized at once they had been visitors to the Gazette office and had seen him reading a paper there.

Nothing in the newspaper business of those days was quite so provoking as the non-arrival of the mails from the east. This was one of Charless' scorchers on the postmasters of 1813:

No news! ! ! We are tantalized with a defalcation in the mail department; the weather is too warm for these tender gentry to travel, and the postmasters are too good natured to tell tales at Washington. How the Shawneetown postmaster can get over his oath is not an easy task to tell—for he swears he will faithfully perform his duties. The post office law says he must employ a rider in case of failure to those who have the contract.

To the upbuilding of St. Louis, Joseph Charless devoted the Gazette from its beginning. In July, 1816, he made this editorial appeal to his writers:

In the year 1795 I first passed down the Ohio to the Falls where a few stores and taverns constituted Louisville a town. Cincinnati was a village and the residence of the soldiers that defended the Northwest Territory. The country between, to Pittsburg, was a wilderness, the haunt of the savages. See it now in 1816; both banks of the Ohio sprinkled with farms, villages and towns, some with a population of 5,000 or more, with banks, steam mills and manufactories of leather, wool, cotton and flax, various metals, schools and seminaries and teachers in every village. The above is noticed as a contrast to the opulent town of St. Louis, with a capital of \$1,000,000. It has but few manufactories, no respectable seminaries, no place of worship for dissenters, no public edifices, no steam mills, no banks. Mr. Philipson has just established a brewery; Mr. Wilk, a white and red lead factory; Mr. Hunt, a tanning establishment; and last Mr. Henderson's soap and candle factory would be of great utility had it received that patronage it so richly merits. Machinery of every description is needed here and particularly a man of capital to erect a mill. He would soon realize a fortune who would establish a distillery. At least five thousand barrels of whiskey are annually received

from the Ohio and sold at 75 cents a gallon, while thousands of bushels of grain are offered at a very low price to any man who will establish a distillery.

"Private character is one of the possessions of civil society which should be held sacred," Mr. Charless declared in his prospectus. "To follow a man into the circle of private life would be a very unfair and licentious act—therefore, the editor will invariably exclude any and every piece which might lead to disturb our public officers in the honest discharge of their duty or in the peaceful walk of the private citizen."

Nevertheless, Mr. Charless did not shun wholly personal journalism. He became involved in a controversy with Major Berry. The latter couldn't get satisfaction in the columns of the Gazette. There was no opposition paper. Major Berry resorted to the distribution of a hand bill to set himself right. The hand bill was lost to history. The Missouri Gazette preserved for posterity the editor's side of the case. That there might be no mistake about the responsibility, Mr. Charless signed his editorial:

In a hand bill published by Major Berry, on Tuesday last, I have been severely censured, and charged with making "fallacious and disrespectful remarks" in publishing an account of his mission to Rock River. Those who may have read the last Gazette, and his handbill, will acquit me of fallacy; 'tis true I did not give his report in full, because I always give preference to merit in the selections for my paper. On the charge of disrespect, I must plead want of information, for until the Major informed me that he ranked as Major in the line, and was a Deputy Quartermaster General, I was ignorant of the matter. But should my pen or press be employed in recording any of his achievements in future, I will announce him, Major Taylor Berry, Deputy Quartermaster General.

JOSEPH CHARLESS.

The frank comments of the editor in the Gazette upon persons and acts gave offense in several directions. A committee of citizens called upon the publisher to tell him another paper would be started if he persisted in a course which was deemed prejudicial to the interests of St. Louis. Mr. Charless was not only defiant in the interview, but he printed his own version of it. He said the gentlemen had notified him "of their subscription of \$1,000 to start a new paper, and buy a printer of their own to conduct it as they should dictate." This action followed a personal attack upon Colonel Charless about a year earlier. The colonel had defended himself with a stick,—some said it was a "shooting stick," familiar in the days of hand composition and flat forms.

Mr. Charless was a fearless editor at short range. He did not hesitate to express editorial opinion on local matters. When the fatal duel between Benton and Lucas took place, this comment on the result appeared in the Gazette: "The infernal practice of dueling has taken off this morning one of the first characters in our country, Charles Lucas, Esq., attorney at law. His death has left a blank in society not easily filled up."

At one time Mr. Charless was threatened with incendiarism because of some vigorous editorials in the Gazette. Apparently as a result of the rumors that the editor was to be burned out, the Gazette published this: "D. Kimball requests the incendiaries of St. Louis to defer burning Mr. Charless' establishment until his removal, which will be on the 20th of April next." While walking in his garden, Mr. Charless was fired upon but was not hit.

The affair with Congressman John Scott was a newspaper sensation which continued some weeks in St. Louis. The Gazette printed several articles on





JOSEPH CHARLES



NATHANIEL CASSELL



Type of Robaloux House in Which the First News was Published in 1838



GEORGE KNAPP



ADAM BLACK CHAMBERS



Scott, who denounced them and demanded the name of the author. Threats were made, to which Mr. Charless replied: "I may be threatened, but I will continue an independent course. If I am attacked for exercising the honest duties of my profession, I know how to repel injury." That was in 1816. Mr. Charless at length gave Mr. Scott the names of the writers of the articles. There were five highly respectable citizens involved. Scott challenged each of them. One of the challenged was Rufus Easton, who replied to the challenge: "I do not want to kill you, and if you were to kill me I would die as the fool dieth." No one of the five challenged met Mr. Scott on Bloody Island. Public sentiment in St. Louis grew strong against dueling. In 1823 the Missouri Republican voiced this sentiment when it said: "Two more persons have been killed in duels near St. Louis. Their names are Messrs. Waddle and Crow. It must be a vicious state of society in which the pistol is the umpire in every controversy."

The threats to start an opposition paper came to something in the spring of 1815. With an investment of \$1,000 a press and type were bought. Joshua Norvell, from Nashville, was engaged to run the organ, which was named the *Western Journal*. The backers were soon called upon to put up more money. The name was changed to the *Western Emigrant*. Sergeant Hall came over from Cincinnati to be the manager. The *Western Emigrant* struggled along until the summer of 1819, when it changed hands again. The new proprietor was Isaac N. Henry, of Nashville. Thomas H. Benton had come to St. Louis three years before. His political career had not opened. Mr. Henry engaged Mr. Benton to edit the paper, which he called the *St. Louis Enquirer*. Benton went to the United States Senate to begin his remarkable "Thirty Years." About the same time Henry died. History does not record much about the *Enquirer* beyond the fact of its existence.

Benton never forgot his early newspaper experience. In one of his senatorial campaigns he made a speech at Boonville and went on to Columbia. His host at Columbia was James S. Rollins. In the morning Mr. Rollins was very much pleased with the well written notice of the meeting which appeared in the Boonville paper. Although the paper had gone to press about the time that the senator was addressing the audience, the report was remarkably full. Senator Benton had not yet arisen. Mr. Rollins went upstairs and, entering the bedroom, paper in hand, explained that he thought his guest might wish to see the very excellent account of the meeting the day before.

"Does it do justice to Benton?" asked the senator in his formal manner. He was fond of referring to himself in the third person.

"I think it does you full and ample justice," replied Mr. Rollins with a show of pride.

"I know all about it, sir; I wrote it myself, sir," said Mr. Benton, without the least relaxation of his dignity. To the day of his last speech in Missouri, the close of his campaign for governor, when he addressed an immense throng on Twelfth street near where the city hall stands, Benton never forgot his early newspaper habits. He sat in his room with Francis P. Blair, Charles P. Johnson and a few others arranging for a correct report of his speech in the *Missouri Democrat* next day. And to be sure of the correctness, he clung to his lifelong rule of having the proof sent to him for his own reading and corrections. Benton

wrote, Charles P. Johnson said, a small, cramped hand, but a printer would call it legible.

In September, 1820, after twelve years of strenuous editorial life in St. Louis, Charless sold the Gazette to James C. Cummins, a recent arrival from Pittsburg. The valedictory of Colonel Charless reviewed the paper's career:

The paper was established when the population of the whole Territory, now the State, hardly numbered 12,000 inhabitants; it had been eeded but four years. The original subscription was but 170 (now increased to 1,000), and the advertising list small; means were limited and the establishment supported with difficulty; but by perseverance in a straight-forward course, assisted by kind friends and patrons, the editor is gratified to know that he transfers it to his successor in a prosperous and successful condition, and return his grateful acknowledgments.

An experience of eighteen months satisfied Cummins. Edward Charless, the oldest son of the founder, bought out Cummins and changed the name of the paper, in the spring of 1822, to the Missouri Republican. In 1822 the paper attained the dignity of an editor who did not have to concern himself with the business end of the paper. Josiah Spalding, of Connecticut birth, after graduating from Yale and tutoring at Columbia, came to St. Louis to engage in the practice of law. St. Louis had at the time more lawyers than litigants. Spalding became the editor of the Gazette. Thomas H. Benton and his political associates, were denounced as "vile excrescences on the community."

In the days of the Charlesses the Republican supported John Quincy Adams. The time came when four candidates for the presidency divided the electoral vote without a majority. The presidential election was thrown into the House of Representatives. Missouri, a new state, had one representative,—John Scott. Missouri was receiving a large influx of Kentuckians and Tennesseans. The contest in the House was really between Adams of Massachusetts and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. John Scott was of southern birth. He believed in the republican principles of Thomas Jefferson, which inspired the Charlesses in the conduct of the paper. He cast Missouri's vote for Adams, and Adams was elected President of the United States by one vote, defeating the idol of the democrats, "Old Hickory." The republicanism of the Missouri Republican of the twenties was the national republicanism of that period. Joseph Charless came well by his republicanism when he risked his neck for it in Ireland. To his mind his adopted country was a republic and not a confederation of states. When he enunciated the principles of the Gazette he said:

To extinguish party animosities and foster a cordial union among the people on the basis of toleration and equal government; to impress upon the mind that next to love of God the love of our country should be paramount in the human breast; to advocate that cause which placed Jefferson at the head of the magistracy, and, in fine, to infuse and keep alive those principles which the test of experience has so evidently portrayed the merits—to these ends shall the labors of The Gazette be directed.

Two men who were to become impressive personalities in St. Louis journalism, began as apprentice boys under the Charlesses. Nathaniel Paschall was a boy of twelve, from Knoxville, Tennessee, when the elder Charless took him into the Gazette office in 1814. He was regularly indentured, a bound boy, as the apprentice was called in those days. Joseph Charless took an interest in the training of the apprentice, feeling that the youth was destined for something more than typesetting. Nathaniel Paschall was sent out to gather items of news. He

wrote editorials. Edward Charless encouraged Paschall to remain with the paper when he bought it and in 1828 took him into partnership and made him the editor.

In 1827, the other apprentice, who was to become a striking figure in the newspaper making of St. Louis, entered the Republican office. He was George Knapp. The Knapp family had come from Orange county, New York, seven years previously. The boy had been under the guardianship of Elihu H. Shepard, schoolmaster of sterling traits to two generations of young St. Louisans. George Knapp's beginning in his vocation was the delivery of the paper to the subscribers. In the eight years of learning the trade he did everything from taking the proofs to making up the forms. As Nathaniel Paschall had developed the news-handling and the editorial-writing capacity, so George Knapp became an expert in the mechanical part of the newspaper business. At twenty years George Knapp graduated from apprenticeship and was given, instead of a diploma, "a Bible and a new suit of clothes." He had become too valuable to the paper to be allowed to leave the office. Moreover, there had grown up a strong liking between the apprentice editor and the apprentice publisher. George Knapp was employed at a salary of \$10.00 a week. In two years he was given an interest in the book and job department of the paper.

At the opening of the building of the Missouri Republican at Third and Chestnut streets, in 1872, George Knapp told of his earliest newspaper experience. He said:

On the 28th of January, 1827, then being a little over 12 years of age, I entered the Missouri Republican office as apprentice under Editor Charless then proprietor, Capt. Elihu H. Shepard being my guardian, with the condition that I was to be taught the art and mystery of printing; I was to receive three months day schooling or nine months night schooling. Serving for eight years I was free at 20; at the end of my apprenticeship I was to receive a Bible and one new suit of clothes. My apprenticeship terminated in September, 1834. I worked as journeyman printer nearly two years, part of the time at \$9 per week and part at \$10, obtaining an interest in the office in 1836. When I entered the office I found Mr. Paschall and William Peterson at work at the press printing off one side of the Republican on a wooden press called Stanberry's patent lever, an improvement over the first press used in the office, which was made upon the ramming or screw principle. The edition of the paper—nearly 500 per week—required two able-bodied men over two hours hard labor for each side. The ink was put on with two large balls. To compare the facilities of the establishment then and now would be interesting only to old printers. One simple illustration in addition to the press will be sufficient. The compositor emptied his stick on the wooden galley, the form was made up on a wooden slice galley—a page cord was tied around it, all hands would hold to the page cord, and the form was slid upon the press and an impression taken for the purpose of marking the errors. Corrections were by the use of bodkins, things which I have not seen about the office for many years.

Forty-six years after he had entered the newspaper business as apprentice, George Knapp was able to remember the names of the subscribers to whom, as carrier, he delivered the paper. He remembered more than that. On one occasion John F. Darby attempted in a speech some reminiscences of early newspaper days in St. Louis.

"When I was just beginning in law," said Mr. Darby. "George Knapp brought the paper and the New Year's address. I gave him a half dollar as soon as I saw him enter, with his smiling face."

"Only a quarter of a dollar," interrupted Mr. Knapp.

"Only a quarter was it?" asked Mr. Darby.

"That was a great deal of money then," said Mr. Knapp.

The 15th of December, 1829, was the day of the first great "scoop" in St. Louis journalism. On that date the Missouri Republican astonished the city and overwhelmed its competitor by printing Andrew Jackson's first message to Congress. It was enabled to do this, as was explained editorially, "through the unexampled exertion" of the mail contractors. The message had been conveyed from Washington to Cincinnati in fifty hours, and from Louisville to this place in forty-eight hours. The satisfaction of Edward Charless and Nathaniel Paschall over this feat was not lessened by the fact that it was at the expense of Senator Thomas H. Benton and his organ, the Enquirer.

Edward Charless and Nathaniel Paschall edited the Missouri Republican until 1837. Then two Pike county newspaper men who had been successful at Bowling Green came to St. Louis seeking a larger field. They were A. B. Chambers and Oliver Harris. Their Pike county experience had been the Salt River Journal. Chambers and Harris formed a partnership with George Knapp and bought the paper of Charless and Paschall. Harris dropped out in 1839. Paschall, when he retired from the paper in 1837, believed he had acquired a competency. After a few years' retirement Paschall came back to editorial duties as assistant to Chambers. The three men, Knapp, Chambers and Paschall made a strong team.

A. B. Chambers was an older man than Nathaniel Paschall or George Knapp at the time he was associated with them. He headed the firm and was the responsible editor during a period of twenty years. Mr. Chambers was of Pennsylvania birth. He had seventy-five cents,—“six bits,” to use the vernacular of that day,—when at the age of twenty-one years he reached Pike county. He had studied law, but before he could practice in Missouri he was required to take out a license. To obtain the document, it was necessary for him to attend court, which sat at Fayette in Howard county. One Pike county friend loaned Mr. Chambers a horse. Another advanced the money required for subsistence on the trip and at Fayette. Having been admitted to the bar, Mr. Chambers made rapid headway. He became a Pike county leader among strong characters. He served in the Black Hawk war; introduced good stock into Pike county; was elected to the Legislature; established a newspaper at Bowling Green. He did all these things in eight years. Then he came to St. Louis and with George Knapp and Oliver Harris boldly entered the newspaper field.

The people of St. Louis had an opportunity to recognize what kind of a man A. B. Chambers was when as a member of the board of health he did duty without flinching in the terrific cholera epidemic. Benton, whom the proprietors of the Republican, whether Charless and Paschall or Chambers, Knapp and Paschall, constantly fought, once began a speech with something like this: "A, B, C, are not the whole alphabet and A. B. Chambers does not know everything." This was a confession that the man whose initials stood for the foundation of knowledge did know a great deal. Chambers and Paschall were editors of wide range of information.

The firm of Chambers, Harris & Knapp showed enterprise from the first. Before these newspaper men had been in possession of the Missouri Republican a year they opened what they called "the exchange room." This was an exchange room in the public sense, not in the newspaper meaning. The purpose was to supply a gathering place for the business men. The Republican office was on Main street near Pine, then the commercial center of the city. Business men were made welcome to the exchange room.

Another feature of the Chambers, Harris & Knapp enterprise was "the news room." This was established by the new proprietors of the paper about the same time that they brought the exchange room into public notice and use. The news room was for the benefit of subscribers to the paper and out-of-town visitors. It was a reading room. Here the papers received by the Republican were available to those who desired to see them. Both the exchange room for conversation and business conferences and the news room for reading became at once popular institutions of St. Louis in 1837. The city at that time had no institutions which supplied such conveniences.

A few months before the proprietors of the Republican opened these rooms, twenty-five of the younger business men had organized the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, with Edward Tracy as president. This was the beginning of the Merchants' Exchange of today, the oldest organization of its kind in the country. The Chamber of Commerce as formed in 1837 met once a month and considered subjects of concern to the business community. The first meeting place was the office of the Missouri Insurance company. The exchange room of the Missouri Republican was offered to the Chamber of Commerce for the meetings, and was accepted. The exchange room became a recognized institution of the city. It was much frequented, being open to the public, except when the Chamber of Commerce was in session.

Charles Keemle was one of the boldest men in the St. Louis newspaper field. He was in at the births and deaths of more journalistic ventures than any other publisher or editor who followed the vocation in this city. As early as 1837, Keemle and Major Alphonso Wetmore started a literary weekly called the Saturday News. They published several issues which were very creditable. But the News was ahead of the city. Keemle's ideals were high. Eight years after the suspension of the weekly, Keemle, Matthew Field and Joseph M. Field started the Reveille, a daily. Field was at that time recognized as one of the most fascinating newspaper writers in the country. He had made famous a department which was called "Straws" in the New Orleans Picayune. Five years the Reveille delighted St. Louis readers. Then it was sold and merged in the People's Organ.

Colonel Keemle's newspaper connections began on the Emigrant. That was the paper which under the name of the Western Journal was started in 1815 on a fund of \$1,000 raised by citizens who wanted to fight Colonel Charless' Gazette. Keemle was a Philadelphian. He was only seventeen years old when he came to St. Louis but he had worked in printing offices and on newspapers from the time he was nine. Soon after Keemle started with the Emigrant there was a sale and another change of name. The paper became the Enquirer, with Thomas H. Benton as editor and part proprietor. Keemle remained with the Enquirer

until he had to give up on account of his health. Then he went west in the employ of the fur traders and did some daring work among the Indians. Commanding fifty picked men he fought a battle lasting eight hours, in which ten of his men were killed and nine wounded. After three or four years of that kind of experience Colonel Keemle came back to St. Louis to grapple with the newspaper problem. He got hold of the *Enquirer* in 1825, but retired from it in 1826. In 1827 Colonel Keemle bought the *Enquirer* plant and with Charles Orr ran the *Beacon* until 1832. Two years later Keemle, associated with William Preston Clark and Samuel B. Churchill, established the *Commercial Bulletin* as a democratic organ. This paper lived for many years but Colonel Keemle withdrew from it to accept public office. He declined the nomination for mayor in 1839 and the following year became superintendent of Indian affairs for Missouri. After his experience with the *Reveille* on which rested his reputation as a popular newspaper man, Colonel Keemle was elected recorder of deeds and held that office six years.

There were interesting characters in the newspaper profession of those days. Samuel B. Churchill of the *Bulletin*, was commonly called "Steamboat" Churchill. Long after the fashion went out, he wore a blue coat with brass buttons; he had a fine head of silvered hair. Stephen W. Forman and James L. Murray were interesting personalities identified with the first *St. Louis Times*. James B. Bowlin, who became a member of Congress and afterwards entered the diplomatic service published the *Farmers and Mechanics' Advocate*.

Edmund Flagg came from Boston about 1835 to be a newspaper man in St. Louis. He described the first impression the city made upon him:

Speeding onward, the lofty spire and dusky walls of the St. Louis Cathedral, on rounding a river bend, opened upon the eye, the gilded crucifix gleaming in the sunlight from its lofty summit, and then the glittering cupolas and church domes, and the fresh aspect of private residences, mingling with the bright foliage of forest trees interspersed, all swelling gently from the water's edge, recalled vividly the beautiful "Mistress of the North," as my eye often has lingered upon her from her magnificent bay. A few more spires and the illusion would be perfect. For beauty of outline in distant view, St. Louis is deservedly famed. The extended range of limestone warehouses circling the shore gives to the city a grandeur of aspect, as approached from the water, not often beheld, while the dome-rolling forest-tops stretching away in the rear, the sharp outline of the towers and the roofs against the western sky, and the funereal grove of steamboat pipes lingering at the quay altogether make up a combination of features novel and picturesque.

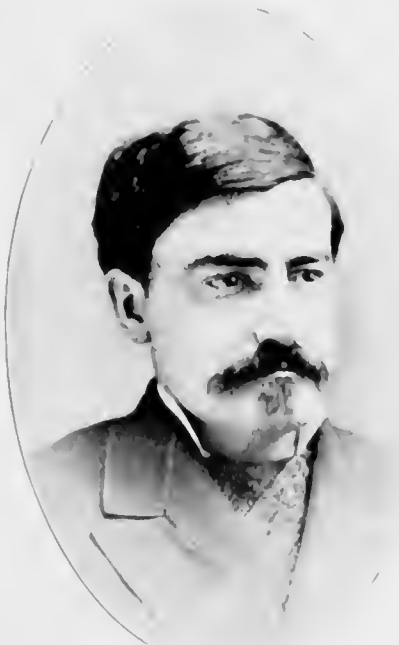
Flagg was versatile; he was a poet; he wrote novels and dramas, as well as editorials and correspondence. He went to Mississippi, read law in the office of Sergeant S. Prentiss and had a duel.

Russell S. Higgins, who came to St. Louis as a printer about 1838, was a partner of Abel Rathbone Corbin in the publication of the *Missouri Argus*. About the year 1840 Mr. Higgins started the first penny newspaper west of the Mississippi, calling it the *People's Organ*. He conducted the penny paper for five or six years and sold it out at a handsome profit. The *People's Organ* was one of the few paying newspapers of the period. Mr. Higgins left the city for some years but returned in 1852 and associated himself with Philip G. Ferguson on the *Morning Herald*. This, Mr. Higgins also made a paying paper. He sold out his interest in the *Herald* about 1854 and moved away, settling on a farm.





JOHN KNAPP



JOHN T. McENNIS



R. M. FIELD OF THE REV. MR. FIELD.



Mr. Higgins was almost alone of the newspaper proprietors of those days who could show a good balance at the end of the year.

On the 20th of September, 1836, the Republican became a daily paper, with six issues a week. In 1837 the Republican advertised for a city editor and began to run regularly a local department, distinct from editorial expressions. That was an innovation. One of the first things the local editor did was to publish an elaborate account of the races which were going on at the St. Louis track. In September, 1848, the Republican startled the conservative elements of the city by publishing a Sunday paper. A protest was promptly circulated for signatures. It expressed regret "that a journal of such deservedly high standing should lend its influence, not by arguments but by something far more powerful, its example, against the proper keeping of the Sabbath day." The editors replied courteously, expressing their appreciation of the interest taken by the subscribers to the protest, but declined to recede from the publication of a Sunday issue.

In 1840 the Republican supported Old Tippecanoe—William Henry Harrison. It did so with such effectiveness and zeal that in the midst of that hard cider campaign an emblem, a symbol as it were, was bestowed upon the paper by the admiring whigs. The Republican was called "the Old Coon." The name was accepted promptly. The emblem, a metallic figure of a coon couchant, was hoisted high above the building. Perched over the smoke stack the coon was visible from all parts of the city. Thirty years afterwards people coming up from the boats and the ferry landing—for there was no bridge at that time—saw still on duty above the Republican building, the coon couchant. The emblem survived two disastrous fires. When the paper was moved to Third and Chestnut streets, occupying a new building which ranked with the imposing architecture of the city in its day, the coon found a place in the iron arch of the main entrance. The figure was also carried above the building.

Getting the message of the President of the United States in advance of contemporaries was the supreme test of newspaper enterprise in the first half century of St. Louis journalism. In December, 1844, President Tyler's message was printed seven days after delivery. It reached Cincinnati by special express three days out from Washington and was put into type there. Copies were sent to Louisville by steamboat. From Louisville the precious document was brought by stage coach express to St. Louis, arriving on the sixth day after delivery in Washington. The printing of President Polk's message of 1846 broke the record again. The message reached St. Louis in four days. The next year, 1847, the Republican knocked a day off the record and printed the message in three days after delivery. For the first time the telegraph was used in partial transmission. The copy of the message was carried by express from Washington to Philadelphia, thence was wired to Vincennes, Indiana. From there it was brought to St. Louis by special arrangement with Eastman's line stages. "The most magnificent enterprise of the age," this newspaper feat was called. The message, immediately on its receipt in St. Louis, was printed as an extra and was mailed to all parts of Missouri and Illinois.

The five years from 1848 to 1853 brought lightning changes in the newspaper field of St. Louis. Those changes grew out of politics and made politics of national significance. In the five years, five daily newspapers of St. Louis

went down and the Missouri Democrat came up. In the same five years the political elements of St. Louis opposed to slavery, with more or less vigor and with diverse remedies, got together for effective influence and work which had much to do with the birth and fortunes of the republican party.

The beginning of the Missouri Democrat, which became the Globe-Democrat, is founded in the career of Thomas H. Benton. It was inspired by the high estimate Benton placed on the value of newspaper support. Throughout his marvelous political career "Old Bullion" never ignored nor neglected his editorial friends. He considered an organ in St. Louis absolutely necessary to his success. He impressed this upon the loyal coterie which stood by him through his thirty years. The St. Louis Union was the Benton organ for some time. It had been preceded by the St. Louis Reporter, the owners of which were Samuel Treat, afterwards United States district judge, and Lorenzo Pickering. The Missourian, a rival paper, was absorbed by Treat and Pickering and the Union was successor to both of them. While Treat, who was the editor, was away in Florida for his health the feud started between Frank P. Blair and Pickering which ended in Pickering's removal to San Francisco, where he made a fortune as a newspaper man. Treat was looked upon as one of the ablest editors in St. Louis. At the celebration of the Founding of St. Louis, in 1847, George R. Taylor offered the sentiment,—“The Press: May it Treat Us to a Reply.” Thereupon Editor Treat arose and recited a poem said to have been of far more than ordinary quality. While Treat edited the Union, the rivalry for literary honors was sharp between that paper and the Reveille. Inspired by the enthusiasm with which Treat's poem was received, J. M. Field, the editor of the Reveille, wrote and published a long poem dedicated to the “Founding of St. Louis.”

Antipathy to slavery was by no means confined to St. Louis newspaper men of Northern birth. Francis P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown were Kentuckians. William McKee was from New York. He was a printer. He believed in emancipation so strongly that he published from his job office a paper which he called the Barnburner. Francis P. Blair supplied much of the editorial matter. The paper was too advanced for the time but it gave Blair a chance with his aggressive pen and it drew attention to Mr. McKee. The Barnburner has been treated by some writers as the predecessor of the Globe-Democrat. It was put forth to advocate the principles on which the Missouri Democrat was successfully founded three years later. Its supporters were the men who created the Democrat. There was, however, an hiatus between the Barnburner and the Democrat. William McKee published the Barnburner. Back of McKee, financially, were Oliver D. Filley, Hudson E. Bridge and some others who foresaw the coming issue of slavery and who were ready to make a stand for Free Soilism. Frank P. Blair, inclined to journalism by inheritance, for his father had been one of the great political editors of his day, was chief editorial writer of the Barnburner. The paper ran only about three months, through a campaign.

There were stormy episodes before the journalistic skies cleared in St. Louis with the disappearance of the Union. That paper supported Cass for president in 1848. The Blairs and others inclined to Free Soil principles were for Van Buren. They were the “Hards.” They regarded the course of the Union

as treachery to Benton and his following. With the Union in its support of Cass were David H. Armstrong, J. M. Loughborough and some other Democrats. They were called the "Softs." The controversy between the Benton people and the Union following became personal and bitter. Pickering, in the absence of Treat, carried the feud into personalities. After Treat withdrew from the paper, Ladue who had been supplying paper for the Union, refused further credit. An article appeared in the Republican which gave offense to Pickering. Frank P. Blair assumed the responsibility for it. The Union assailed Blair personally. The first impulse of Blair was to whip Pickering on the street. His friends persuaded him to abandon this idea. Blair didn't believe in the code but he couldn't overlook the insult in the Union; he sent to Pickering a challenge by Thomas T. Gantt, afterwards judge of the court of appeals. Pickering accepted but in naming time and place, as under the code he was privileged to do, he stipulated that the duel must take place at noon on Fourth street. This was a condition so manifestly impossible that Blair refused to recognize it and proclaimed Pickering to be a coward.

A few days later the two men met on Chestnut street. Pickering stepped off the sidewalk. It was said that he drew a knife or made a motion as if that was his intention. Blair thrust at Pickering's face with his umbrella. He did not hit an eye but the ferule left a mark which showed on Pickering for several days. Two or three nights later there was a Free Soil meeting in the rotunda of the court house where political gatherings were commonly held. Blair spoke and started to leave by the Fourth street door where there was a semi-circular portico with columns instead of the present style of architecture. Some one called out in a rather loud tone "Good evening, Mr. Blair." The salutation was acknowledged and Mr. Blair passed on out to the portico. As he reached the top step a bullet whizzed by him and the man who had fired from the foot of the steps turned and fled. Blair fired and followed and fired again but without effect. In the investigation it developed that the man who had greeted Mr. Blair in the loud tone was Dr. Prefontaine, of the Union. Presumably he was notifying the person on the street below of the approach of Blair. The man who fired was not positively identified. Street lamps were not burning that night, because as one witness testified it was "corporation moonlight." The public had no doubt of the identity of the person who fired. Pickering was arrested and discharged as there was no positive proof. Prosecution was not pressed because of an understanding that Pickering would leave the state. Blair and Gantt were summoned into court for sending a challenge to fight a duel. They pleaded guilty and paid a fine of one dollar each. The judge was James B. Colt, a brother of the maker of the Colt revolver, and the district attorney was Samuel T. Glover.

Pickering sold his interest to Richard Phillips, a steamboatman, and not long afterwards Treat disposed of his interest in the same way. Benton and his friends were not satisfied with the support Phillips' management of the Union gave the senator. Blair and Brown did most of the editorial work. The Union supported Benton in the desperate campaign of 1849. The young Kentuckians, however, were more concerned in furthering the free soil movement than they were in the personal fortunes of Benton. The friends of the senator became

dissatisfied with the editorial work of Blair and Brown. About the same time the anti-slavery men like the Filleys, from New England, began to feel that the time had come for activity. They were ready to back their political opinions at some cost. A paper called the Morning Signal had been running several months, beginning on the first of January, 1852. The Signal was the enterprise of a group of printers,—some of whom became prominent in after years. These printers included Charles G. Gonter, Joseph L. Craft, Robert McKee, John F. Frazier, M. C. Libby. A partner in this newspaper venture was J. Wilson McDonald who went to New York and became a famous sculptor. These men contributed their work to the Signal and that was the best part of the capital which kept the paper going. The anti-slavery people raised money to start a paper. They found the printers open to a financial proposition. The Signal was bought in July, 1852, passing into the possession of Blair and Brown, Giles F. Filley, Oliver D. Filley, John How and a few others who shared their sentiment in favor of emancipation. A new name was selected—the Missouri Democrat. Negotiations were opened with William McKee to become the publisher, supplying the plant from his job printing office. At the same time the information came to the new company that Captain Phillips was growing tired of the Union and would sell. In March, 1853, the Union was absorbed by the Missouri Democrat. Mr. McKee received a half interest in the new paper and thus the Missouri Democrat, to become one of the great papers of the country, was launched. A youth had come from Illinois and had begun work as a clerk in the Union office a few months before the consolidation. He passed to the Missouri Democrat. His name was Daniel M. Houser.

The Union office was on Locust street between Main and Second. To that location, the Missouri Democrat was moved from Third near Pine where the Hill & McKee job office had been. And there the Missouri Democrat was published for a number of years. From that office, Daniel M. Houser, then a boy, carried proofs of editorials, which Benton wrote, to the senator for corrections. Benton, when in the city at that time, lived on Sixth and Walnut streets. Benton did not attempt to manage the paper but wrote for the editorial page as he felt inclined, the financial support of his friends securing for him the use of the columns. Some indication of newspaper values of that period is found in the amount which the owners of the Missouri Democrat paid for the Union—\$15,000.

Only in an indirect way can the Union be treated as a genealogical antecedent of the Missouri Democrat. By the same sign the descent may be traced backward from the Union to the Reporter and from the Reporter to the Argus. The last mentioned paper was started in 1831, with Judge J. B. Bowlin as editor. The judge was an active local politician. He became minister to Columbia. William Gilpin, who had great visions of the future of the country west of the Missouri and who became governor of Colorado, was another editor of the Argus. His service was rendered about 1839. Abel Rathbone Corbin, later the brother-in-law of General Grant, tried newspaper ownership with the Argus and passed the property along to Shadrach Penn who came to St. Louis bringing the fame of association with George D. Prentice of Louisville. Penn liked the name of Missouri Reporter better than the Argus. Treat entered St. Louis

journalism in association with Penn. The latter died suddenly in 1846; he was editor of the St. Louis Reporter at the time. If successive absorptions count to establish a line of descent, it is possible to trace the Globe-Democrat back to the Workingman's Advocate. The Advocate was established in 1831 but was soon merged in the Argus when the latter came into existence. The Argus was of sufficient strength and enterprise to get out a daily edition in 1838. Andrew Jackson Davis was the controlling spirit in the Argus.

"Bentonites," the men were called who contributed to the establishment of the Missouri Democrat. They preferred to be known politically as the "Free Democratic Party." They were against the extension of slavery and for some plan not yet defined in their own minds which in time might gradually wipe out slavery. The Missouri Democrat in 1852 occupied identically the position that Abraham Lincoln did on the slavery issue. Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, besides Benton, contributed to the editorial page, although neither was known as the editor. That position was held by W. S. McKee, cousin of William McKee, the publisher. Peter L. Foy, who shared the views of Blair and Brown on the slavery question, became connected with the Missouri Democrat in the summer of 1853, when the paper was a year old as an editorial writer. Nowhere else in the west was there such a combination of editorial talent as gave character to the Missouri Democrat during the years immediately following the establishment of the paper. In that formative period of the "Republican and Reform" party the Democrat was a force far beyond the borders of Missouri. Benton's personal star was fading but a great political movement was taking form and these editors, professional and amateur, made the Missouri Democrat's page of national influence.

William S. McKee died in 1854. Hill sold his interest to Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, receiving, however, only a small amount of money for it. Editorial charge was taken by B. Gratz Brown, who had been giving more and more attention to the paper, before the purchase of an interest.

Adroit editorial steering, the conditions demanded. Vigorously Brown combated the charges that the Missouri Democrat stood for abolitionism, a very unpopular idea in St. Louis about 1855. He was conservative in his expressions about slavery. At the same time, the paper was strongly against extension of slavery into the territories, especially Kansas. Above all issues, just as Lincoln proclaimed his position in that day, the Missouri Democrat never missed opportunity to proclaim that "the Union must be preserved."

From being only an editorial writer, Peter L. Foy came into personal prominence with the Democrat. He went to Jefferson City to act as legislative correspondent in November, 1855. From the state capital he was sent to Washington to do correspondence for the paper. He came back to Missouri in the campaign of 1856 to resume the writing of editorials and to accompany Benton on that disastrous personal campaign through the state. The newly formed Republican party was running its first national ticket with Benton's son-in-law, John C. Fremont, at the head of it.

In that year of 1856, B. Gratz Brown was elected to the legislature and went to Jefferson City. Foy, in the absence of Brown, was given editorial charge. With the consent and encouragement of William McKee, Foy carried out one

of the most daring and successful editorial policies in the history of St. Louis journalism. Benton had gone down to defeat in his campaign for governor. He had supported Buchanan for president against his relative, Fremont. He had turned to literary labors and had no longer use for an organ. Across the river, in Illinois, the Republicans had elected their state ticket with Bissell, of Belleville, at the head of it. The time was most opportune for just what the Missouri Democrat did. The paper came out for emancipation. It did not propose abolition, but it took a step which was far in advance of the previous policy of opposition to extension of slavery in the territories. Foy wrote and the Democrat printed a series of practical articles on the desirability of white over black labor. The action of the Democrat attracted widespread attention. B. Gratz Brown in the legislature upheld the new policy in a speech. Henry A. Clover and S. H. Gardner supported Brown in the new movement. The proposed remedy of peaceable emancipation for the slavery issue took so well that the Missouri Democrat pressed it vigorously. William McKee had come from New York state with anti-slavery leaning. He was willing to go as far and as rapidly in that direction as the public sentiment of a slave state and of the principal city in a slave state would warrant. As the popularity of the new policy manifested itself, Mr. McKee encouraged his editor. The agitation was continued with the result that at the next municipal election a candidate for mayor, John M. Wimer, was nominated on an emancipation platform and was elected. When Lincoln began to agitate his "house divided against itself cannot stand" he found the Missouri Democrat keeping step with him, fully committed to the new Republican party. In the campaign of 1858 between Lincoln and Douglas for the Illinois senatorship, the Missouri Democrat strongly supported Lincoln. For a considerable period its Illinois correspondent was John G. Nicolay who was located at Springfield and who became private secretary to President Lincoln in 1861. John Hay was another Illinois correspondent of the Democrat in the years immediately preceding the war. When the paper, following a custom of that time, offered a prize of fifty dollars for the best poem which would serve as the "carrier's address," John Hay competed for it and won it.

George W. Fishback came to St. Louis in 1855 and joined the Democrat force. He had charge of commercial and literary features. When B. Gratz Brown went to the legislature he sold his small interest in the paper to Fishback. About two years later, in 1858 or 1859, Frank P. Blair let Mr. Fishback have one-half of his interest. In 1862, Blair, dissatisfied with the course the Democrat had taken in support of Fremont, let go of his remaining interest and Mr. Houser became the purchaser.

Foy was the editor, and an aggressive one he was through the campaign of 1860 and until he was appointed postmaster by President Lincoln in 1861. Mr. McKee didn't write but he was a sturdy backer of the men who did write and he gave the fullest encouragement to the editorial course which won for the Democrat before the war a standing among the most important papers in the country. The character which the paper acquired previous to 1861 had a great deal to do with its subsequent success. During the war John F. Hume was the editor. He was succeeded by William M. Grosvenor. In 1871, following the Chicago fire by which the Republican, in part owned by him, was de-





HENRY BOURNSTEIN



CARL SCHURZ



CARL DAENZER

THE GERMAN PRESS OF ST. LOUIS



stroyed, Joseph B. McCullagh came to St. Louis and took the editorship of the *Missouri Democrat*

Almost the oldest, certainly the most influential and successful German press of the United States, was no small part of St. Louis journalism. Weber, Palm, Bernays, Prectorius, Daenzer, Schurz, Hillgaertner, Stengel, Olshausen and other strong personalities created it. In 1835 the first *Anzeiger des Westens* appeared in St. Louis. The editor was William Weber, a German student, whose sympathies with republicanism and whose efforts to get into the Polish revolution of 1830 made him an exile after he had suffered imprisonment at Leipsic. Weber's first employment in St. Louis was librarian of the collection of books which became the Mercantile Library. The German press of St. Louis was not for Germans only. Weber denounced so vigorously the burning of the negro murderer at Seventh and Locust streets that the mob went to the *Anzeiger* office and threatened to wreck it. The *Anzeiger* consistently fought Know-nothingism from the beginning until that misconceived political movement collapsed in 1855. It opposed slavery. As early as 1846 the *Anzeiger* appeared as a daily. Among the regular contributors were Engelmann, the scientist, and Frederick Muench, the patriot. Many years before the Civil war, editorials and other articles in the German newspapers of St. Louis were translated and given wide circulation in the American papers of the United States.

Henry Boernstein succeeded Weber as editor. He had received a university education in Germany, had served in the Austrian army five years, had written plays produced in European capitals, had managed grand opera in Paris and had been a European correspondent of leading papers. Boernstein was daring and aggressive. It was second nature for him to engage in political plotting. Revolutionary events of 1840 in Europe made Boernstein an exile. St. Louis was the city of refuge. Where Weber had been aggressive, Boernstein introduced the sensational. He laughed to scorn the frequent threats to "clean out the *Anzeiger*." He did not confine his activities in St. Louis to journalism. He carried on a theater, a hotel, and a brewery. When the Civil war began Boernstein went as a colonel. He tired of military life and took a consulship in Europe. Later he made his permanent residence in Europe and wrote letters to American papers. For years a feature of the *Mississippi Blätter* was Boernstein's budget of European "Tittle Tattle." Boernstein cleared considerable money with the *Anzeiger* for several years, but he was too erratic to wear well.

From 1856, when it supported Buchanan for President, the *Missouri Republican* was a Democratic newspaper. It also reserved the right to criticise candidates and platforms and it exercised the right. From the same year, when it supported Fremont, the *Missouri Democrat*, predecessor of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, was a Republican newspaper. Neither of these great papers was a party organ, but consistently supported the principles of the respective parties. Probably the names of no other two newspapers in this country have been so extensively commented upon as were those of the *Missouri Republican* and the *Missouri Democrat* in the years when they represented the parties of opposite titles. When Secretary of State John Hay visited the World's Fair at St. Louis in 1904 he told a Lincoln story on the names of the two St. Louis newspapers. Lincoln said to Mr. Hay, during the campaign of 1861, that the *Missouri Repub-*

lican and the Missouri Democrat reminded him of a desperate fight he once witnessed in the court house yard at Springfield. Two men engaged in a rough and tumble bout. They clinched and struggled and rolled and tumbled all over the court house yard, Lincoln said. It was such an evenly matched fight that the circle of bystanders could not tell which man was getting the worst of it. Finally the combatants separated when both were completely worn out. The spectators looked them over carefully and tried to determine which one had won the honors. They were unable to decide, but they did make the astonishing discovery that each combatant had on the other's coat.

Charles Lewis Bernays was the saving element of the Boernstein regime in German journalism. He did as much as any other one man of his time to give the German press of St. Louis its high standing. He had studied at Munich, Goettingen and Heidelberg. He had been an editor of German papers and a correspondent in Paris. He had been in the diplomatic service before he was one of the republican patriots emigrating to this country. Bernays and Boernstein had known each other in Europe. They came to the United States at different times but with the understanding that they would meet here. Bernays joined Boernstein on the *Anzeiger*. Much of the vigorous editorial writing which brought fame to the German press of St. Louis during a period of thirty years was from the pen of Bernays. Late in life he acquired marked facility in English composition and was on the editorial staff of the *Republican* several years.

After Boernstein went to war the *Anzeiger* suspended. It suffered from the reaction that comes to the paper which, depending too much on the sensational, suddenly loses that character. After five or six months a new *Anzeiger des Westens* was issued with Carl Daenzer as editor and manager. Daenzer participated in the revolution of 1848-9. In consequence he joined the large colony of German patriots in St. Louis. He was the opposite of Boernstein, a better newspaper man because he was enduring. He was possessed of a great store of information, he was thoughtful. His policy brought to the support and encouragement of the *Anzeiger* elements not confined to the German population. Bernays, who had gone to Europe as a representative of the Lincoln administration, came back and wrote better for Daenzer than he had done for Boernstein. Just before the Civil war, the coterie of German journalists in St. Louis received a notable accession in the person of Dr. George Hillgaertner, the talented young doctor of laws from Munich. Hillgaertner had been an active participant in the revolution, had been one of the signers of the paper against the government, had fled to Switzerland, had been charged with high treason and had been sentenced to death. Shortly after his escape to this country in 1852, he was made one of the editors of the *Staats-Zeitung*, at Chicago, where he signed the call and was active in getting up the meeting of protest against the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, a decisive step toward the formation of the Republican party. After participating in the organization of the Republican party of Iowa, Dr. Hillgaertner came to St. Louis. Until his death, after the war, he was one of the most forceful German editors in the country. His influence was not confined to writing. As a public speaker, Dr. Hillgaertner was heard in all parts of the west during the Fremont and Lincoln campaigns. When Dr. Hillgaertner died, at the age of forty-one, the German singing

societies, turnvereins and other German organizations formed a great escort to Bellefontaine. A daughter of Dr. Hillgaertner became the wife of William A. Kelsoe, a newspaper man.

The 97,000 people who lived in St. Louis in 1854 supported 21 newspapers and 12 magazines. The daily circulation of St. Louis newspapers was 19,000; tri-weekly, 6,400, and weekly, 72,000.

The editorial career of greatest length in St. Louis newspaper history was Nathaniel Paschall. It began in 1814, if the apprenticeship may be included. It ended in the capacity of editor-in-chief of the Republican, 1866. There was an hiatus in Paschall's newspaper life. For two years he was clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. The duties were not congenial. The docket was willingly put aside for the pad on which to write the daily editorial. Minds like Paschall's are intended for the newspaper profession. They combine the maximum of interest in public affairs with the minimum of personal ambition. Paschall was a wonder for work. During many years he wrote all of the editorials, edited all of the correspondence, did all of the clipping of exchanges and read all of the proofs of his articles. He was a judge of news. He laid out a political policy, which he followed with great force. Under him the Republican advocated Jefferson's principles and the Whig creed of Henry Clay. It parted squarely with those who went into the American or Know Nothing movement. It helped elect the Democratic ticket when Buchanan was chosen. It opposed secession. Paschall was a wonderfully clear writer. There was no mistaking what he meant in an editorial from his pen. Nathaniel Paschall had some peculiar traits. He was rugged, mentally and physically. His recollection of events and dates was astonishing to his fellow-workers. He could not be persuaded, until his health began to fail, to wear an overcoat in winter. He could tell where on the page to look for an article printed months before. He did not use spectacles. When this sturdy old man of St. Louis journalism died, the business men of the city, many of whom had not a speaking acquaintance with him, met on 'change and paid tribute to him in these words:

In all that tended to promote the growth and prosperity of his state, in all that tended to enlighten and elevate the character and promote the interests of its people, to inculcate learning, to strengthen the moral and social condition of his fellow-citizens, Nathaniel Paschall was, during the whole of his active life, an earnest, enlightened and faithful worker.

Modesty was a trait of Nathaniel Paschall, so strong that it amounted to diffidence. He was never heard to boast of what he had accomplished. Yet his course in breaking with the Buchanan administration on the Kansas policy, in supporting Douglas with all of his editorial might, in checkmating Claiborne F. Jackson's secession plans, in overcoming the influence of Senator Green, did a great deal more than history has given credit toward holding Missouri in the Union. How carefully Nathaniel Paschall edited the Republican was illustrated when William Hyde, the city editor, brought in his account of the funeral of Thomas H. Benton in the spring of 1858. The obsequies were attended by an immense number of people. Inspired by the occasion Mr. Hyde used some adjectives. He wrote of the ex-senator as "eminent." Mr. Paschall ran his pencil through "eminent" and interlined "distinguished." Some time afterwards Mr. Hyde asked Mr. Paschall why he made the change. The editor replied:

"Benton was a distinguished, a conspicuous, or a noted man, but not an eminent one towering above men of his station. He was not learned, not eloquent, not profound."

Then followed an off-hand analysis and review of Benton's public life as Paschall had known it from the time he was an apprentice under Joseph Charless and was receiving his initiation into journalism.

"Yes, sir," said the editor as he concluded his analysis, "Benton was a prominent man, a noted man, but not what should be meant when we say 'eminent.'"

The power which the Missouri Republican wielded in the Democratic party was shown in 1860. At Charleston, the Democratic party had divided and the adjourned convention at Baltimore had put out a second ticket, headed by Douglas. Missouri Democrats divided sharply. There were Breckinridge Democrats and Douglas Democrats. Claib. Jackson was nominated for governor at a regular convention. The Republican knew his leanings toward secession. Thomas C. Reynolds was the nominee for lieutenant-governor. To Mr. Reynolds Mr. Paschall said:

Jackson's course has been unendurable. He should instantly, upon hearing of Douglas' nomination, have proclaimed his adhesion to the usages of his party and announced his purpose to do everything in his power to carry the Douglas ticket. He hates Douglas, I know. His personal likings in this matter, whether they relate to Douglas or to Douglas' friends, are a thing of indifference.

Then followed an intimation that if Jackson did not support the regular nominee he need not expect his own appeals for support on the ground of his regular nomination to avail him. To William Hyde Mr. Paschall gave instructions to go with Mr. Reynolds and ascertain the result of the message to Claib. Jackson.

"Watch those gentlemen," the editor said to his correspondent, "do not let them get away from us. If they don't come out publicly for Douglas within three days after they meet—say at Boonville—telegraph immediately and come home."

The correspondent did his work well. He found Claib. Jackson, rode across the country with him, occupied a bed in the same room with him, and heard the stormy interview in the moonlight outside when the messenger of the Breckinridge Democrats in St. Louis arrived with the demand upon Jackson to come out for Breckinridge. At Boonville, Claib. Jackson asked for another day of grace; he wanted to consult Congressman John B. Clark at Fayette. Clark had been one of the leaders of the Missouri delegation at Charleston. Mr. Hyde telegraphed to Mr. Paschall Mr. Jackson's request for more time, and went on to Fayette with the politicians. While the conference proceeded behind closed doors, Mr. Hyde completed the Fayette end of the arrangements he had begun at Boonville the night before. There was no wire from Fayette. Boonville was the nearest telegraph point. The correspondent stood near the door of the room where the conference was taking place. Outside, around the corner, a negro boy, trusty and light of weight, sat on a saddle horse of Howard county's best breeding. Thomas C. Reynolds was a St. Louis lawyer and alive to the enterprise of journalism. He had agreed to pass out the word as soon as a decision was reached. He did his part. Hyde folded the sheet of paper, dashed out and gave it to the boy. Down the Boonville pike moved a cloud of dust. The poli-

ticians came out slowly from the conference and the speaking began. There was much preliminary oratory. When Claib. Jackson finally reached his climax and announced that the Democratic state ticket supported Douglas, the news had already traveled by pike from Fayette to Boonville and by wire from Boonville to St. Louis and was being read on the bulletin board by the astonished Breckinridge Democrats.

Missouri was carried by a close vote for Douglas. The Missouri Republican's policy aligned the state in the presidential election of 1860 against the secession movement. In the three months which followed the election before the outbreak of hostilities, the Missouri Republican deplored the growing friction between the Republicans and the secessionists; it advocated a course intended to avert the shedding of blood in the streets of St. Louis; it did not waver in its support of the National government as against the claimed right to secede.

While St. Louis was under martial law in August, 1861, three newspapers were compelled to suspend publication. The form of order directed by Justin McKinstry, the provost marshal, was this: "You are hereby ordered to suppress the newspaper called the Morning Herald, James L. Faucett, proprietor, and not allow the publication of the same from the date of this order." Squads of soldiers took possession of the offices of the Herald, the Bulletin and the Missourian and enforced the order.

Nathaniel Paschall's active connection with the Republican was forty-five years. In the fifty-six years of his association with the paper, George Knapp had a proprietary interest during forty-nine of them. John Knapp was in charge of the publication office thirty-four years. Neither George Knapp nor Nathaniel Paschall supplied that attention to business detail which is essential to success in a metropolitan paper. John Knapp came in as a partner in 1856. He bought a considerable interest for cash and was the publisher. Within two years after this change the paper was making money at a rate that astonished George Knapp and Nathaniel Paschall. The circulation was greatly increased. The advertising patronage was doubled. Then it was that the paper attained the blanket sheet proportions, larger than any other paper west of the Alleghanies, and larger than any of the eastern papers, with two exceptions.

Early in its history the Missouri Democrat began to be known for the quality of its staff correspondence. James Redpath walked into the office one day in the fifties. He was hungry and ragged. He told Mr. Houser he had come from Mobile, most of the way on foot. Mr. Houser took him to Theophile Papin, then in charge of the city department, and suggested that he be given something to do by way of trial. Redpath was tested on several local assignments, with such results that he was sent to Kansas, in 1855, then the storm center for news. Redpath's letters from Kansas, signed by his initials, attracted the attention of the whole country, so much so that Horace Greeley sent for him and won him away from the Democrat to the Tribune. Redpath suggested Albert D. Richardson as his successor in the Kansas news field. The Democrat put Richardson on the staff and held him until Horace Greeley again offered a better paying position. Richardson went to the Tribune only to lose his life some years later at the hands of McFarland. Redpath left the newspaper profession to establish and conduct the Redpath lecture bureau.

Another staff correspondent of the Democrat was Henry M. Stanley, who began as a local reporter on the paper. Following the Civil war Stanley was sent west to do correspondence in the Indian wars and with Indian peace commissions. He represented the Democrat at the time William Fayel was in the field for the St. Louis Republican. Both men wrote with descriptive power and their letters added not a little to the reputation of the St. Louis press. The work of Stanley was observed by James Gordon Bennett. Stanley went to the New York Herald as a staff correspondent. He was sent to Africa to find Livingston and became the explorer of world-wide fame. Whitelaw Reid, long before he became connected with the New York Tribune, was a correspondent of the Democrat. The late Henry V. Boynton, of Washington, was for a considerable period the Washington correspondent of the Democrat.

The Westliche Post was a paper which had to be reckoned with as a great national force in the years following the Civil war. Probably it was for years the most profitable German newspaper property in the country. Just before the war Carl Daenzer and Dr. Wetzel issued the first number of the Westliche Post. Mr. Daenzer withdrew from the Westliche Post to revive the Anzeiger. In 1864 the great career of the Westliche Post began with Emil Preetorius as editor. Thenceforward it was to represent a powerful following. University bred, a doctor of laws, Preetorius was in the revolution of 1848-9. He joined the colony of patriots in St. Louis. But it was not until ten years later, toward the end of the Civil war, that he entered the newspaper business. Theodore Plate was associated with Preetorius, taking the business management. Arthur Olshausen, who had published the old Anzeiger, and Theodore Olshausen were actively interested in the Westliche Post. Carl Schurz, coming out of the army, joined his fortunes with this strong combination. Joseph Pulitzer was a Westliche Post reporter. William Stengel, from the university of Tuebingen, one of the most talented of German journalists, came to St. Louis when he had served through the Civil war and became assistant editor to Preetorius. This Westliche Post staff in the late sixties formed the strongest group of German journalists of the country. The influence of the Westliche Post was national. While he was one of the editors, Schurz was elected to the United States Senate. He retained his interest in the paper. The stockholders in the Westliche Post realized handsomely.

Of Joseph Pulitzer's advent as a reporter in St. Louis, the late William Fayel had this vivid recollection:

In those days the alley back of the old post office on Third and Olive streets was a lively thoroughfare. One sultry day most of the reporters of the city were in that alley, attracted by some incident which promised news. Suddenly there appeared among us the new reporter. He apparently had dashed out of the office, upon receiving the first intimation of whatever was happening, without stopping to put on his coat or his collar. In one hand he held a pad of paper and in the other a pencil. He did not wait for information but announced that he was the reporter for the Westliche Post and began to ask questions of everybody in sight. I remember to have remarked to my companions that for a beginner he was exasperatingly inquisitive. Pulitzer was so industrious that he became a positive annoyance to others who felt less inclined to work. As it was considered quite fitting in those days to gey the reporters on the German papers, the English reporters undertook to curb Pulitzer's eagerness for news. On more than one occasion the new reporter was sent out from the coroner's office on a wild goose chase. But it was then observed that while taking this banter





CHARLES LOUIS BERNAYS



DR. GEORGE HILGERTNER



EMIL PREETORIUS

THE GERMAN PRESS OF ST. LOUIS

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text]*

In  
PUBLIC LIBRARY  
ASTORIA, OREGON  
TAYLOR FOUNDATION

in good part, Pulitzer never relaxed his efforts. The consequence was that the city editors of the English papers soon discovered that the *Westliche Post* often contained news which they missed. Major George W. Gilson, city editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, posted an order on the bulletin board directing reporters to give less time to attempts to delude the German reporters and more time to work in competing with them. We soon learned to appreciate Pulitzer's extraordinary capacity for news gathering. Of all his qualities, the most notable was his determination to accomplish whatever he set out to do. I recall an incident. Pulitzer was at Jefferson City as the correspondent of the *Westliche Post*. I was the correspondent of the *Republican*. One night there was a secret Democratic caucus to which only representatives of the Democratic papers were admitted. Early in the session there was a noise in the corridor. Suddenly the doors were burst open. The doorkeeper was sent sprawling. The correspondent of the *Westliche Post* walked down the aisle to the press table, laid down his pad of paper, took his seat. No one raised question or objection. The next day the *Westliche Post* was the only Republican paper which had a report of the caucus.

The staff of the *Republican* in 1870 was a happy family. That year the office, a mammoth establishment for its time, burned, with a loss of \$170,000. Upon the site, Chestnut street, near Main street, was built a low structure. It was of temporary character. The publishers of the *Republican* intended to follow the westward movement and to build more elaborately and permanently on Third and Chestnut streets. The front of the temporary building was the business room. Through this was reached a large room, a hall in dimensions. The center of this hall was occupied by a fountain in a pool of considerable size, with ferns and palms. Around the walls were arranged desks of a variety of sizes and patterns. At the farther end of the hall were the files of the daily papers, and large tables on which the exchanges were heaped. This was the editorial home of the *Republican*. From his revolving chair near the door, William Hyde could turn and see every member of the staff, from the writer of the leaders to the newest reporter.

In the twenty-eight years of his connection with the *Republican* Hyde advanced through the grades from reporter to editor-in-chief. He was a man of splendid physical appearance. He came of Revolutionary stock. His father was a Connecticut man who moved to New York and became a professor in Genesee College. His mother was a Gregory, of New York, a highly accomplished woman. Hyde took a partial course at McKendree, in Illinois, and afterward graduated in law at Transylvania University, Lexington. He began his newspaper career with a solid educational foundation. He did his first newspaper work in Belleville and came to the *Republican* through legislative correspondence at Springfield which attracted attention. Not quite twenty years later Frank R. O'Neil trod these same preliminary footsteps and joined the local force of the *Republican*. O'Neil came from Belleville, had early experience on the Southern Illinois weekly press and as legislative correspondent at Springfield attracted the attention of Hyde, as Hyde in the same line of work had impressed Paschall. In about the same time that Hyde attained the chief place on the paper, O'Neil likewise became the editor.

A strong man on the editorial page was Daniel M. Grissom. He wrote leaders which dealt with the practical. He was at home in every field of editorial comment. What he wrote was easy to read. The style was virile and straightforward. There was no striving after effect in words. Grissom's active service as an editorial writer on the press of St. Louis was thirty-five years. A native

of Kentucky, a farmer's son, he was educated at Cumberland University, Tennessee. After two years of teaching he became a writer on the St. Louis Evening News in 1853. He was editor of the Union and later of the Dispatch. At the instance of Hyde, Grissom went to the Republican in 1869. He remained there until he retired from active newspaper work in 1888.

To Thomas Dimmock fell the task of setting a literary pace in St. Louis journalism. A native of Massachusetts, Dimmock was brought west when he was a boy. His education was obtained in the schools of Alton and in Shurtleff College. In Dimmock's early life, Alton was a place of literary culture. It was noted throughout the Mississippi valley. About Shurtleff centered a circle of those who thought much and who wrote carefully. In surroundings where the standards were high Thomas Dimmock's taste was formed. Several years Dimmock was editor of the Alton Democrat. Shortly after the war, he came to St. Louis to be an editorial writer on the Republican, continuing the connection until some time in the eighties. He loved books. He wrote reviews which brought him national reputation as a critic. He lectured upon literary subjects which interested him. He led the movement to erect a monument on the brow of the Alton bluff to Elijah P. Lovejoy, the martyr to a free press. At the dedication of the monument, Dimmock delivered the address.

A graceful writer of special articles for many years beginning in 1871 was Clarence N. Howell, a graduate of the University of Michigan. A man who served the paper as city editor was Stanley Waterloo, the author, another University of Michigan man. William Homes, a Presbyterian minister for several years in St. Louis, gave up the pulpit to become an editorial writer on the Republican in 1856. In 1864 he traveled through California, Arizona and Mexico, writing a series of very entertaining letters to the Republican. Ill health compelled him to give up newspaper work in 1868. He ranked as one of the most scholarly newspaper writers of his time.

"Journalism leads to anything if one quits in time," William H. Swift once remarked. Before he left the vocation, Mr. Swift made his mark in it. He created and developed the importance of the financial and commercial department. That was during his connection with the Republican. After the 'change hours and a round of the banks, Swift would come into the editorial rooms of the Republican and in a few short, pungent sentences, tell what the day had brought forth in his field. Hyde, Grissom, MacAdam and the others listened with respect. Swift was a natural newsgatherer. But he brought more than facts. His mind held the impressions. He analyzed instantaneously what he had seen and heard. This five or ten minutes' monologue of Swift's furnished daily suggestion for the editorial page. It was the basis of frequent assignments for the local staff. Swift was a graduate of the university of journalism of that day—the composing room. He went through all the grades of the profession—reporter, city editor and editor-in-chief. He knew St. Louis and St. Louisans as did few newspaper men of 1870. But business life lured him.

For almost a lifetime Thomas E. Garrett maintained a standard for dramatic criticism which was of more than local note. He discovered and brought to public notice the genius of Mary Anderson. A general utility man of the Republican staff for many years was the Rev. James A. Dacus. He seemed to have

no specialty. He could write intelligently and readably on almost any topic suggested to him. The fact was Dacus had been an omnivorous reader, with a marvelous memory. Dacus was "the walking encyclopedia" of the paper.

Twenty years the Missouri Democrat had been growing, when in March, 1872, by order of the court, it was sold for \$456,100, the bidders being limited to the owners, McKee, Fishback and Houser. Fishback took the paper at that price. McKee & Houser started the Globe. Within three years the Democrat was sold to the Globe for \$325,000. St. Louis newspapers, that succeeded, were characterized by strong individuality. They were not imitators of each other or of newspapers in other cities. Without press franchise, without a subscription list, without anything but press and type, the Globe entered upon a newspaper duel with the long-established Missouri Democrat. Mr. Houser spent money for news with a lavishness St. Louis newspaper business had never known before. Joseph B. McCullagh joined the Globe late in 1873, after Mr. Houser's policy had had a year's trial. The Globe continued to spend money freely and judiciously for news. In the phenomenal success Daniel M. Houser gave a remarkable illustration of newspaper business management. The editorial force of the Globe had only to suggest where the news service might be improved. Houser not only met the bills without objection but encouraged the costly enterprise. In three years the Globe outstripped the Democrat. It did so on the merits of very large expenditures for news. Daniel M. Houser was the father of that policy. He realized the benefits and when the Globe and the Democrat were consolidated in 1875, he continued the policy. For years there was no paper west of New York which paid for news service what the Globe-Democrat did. In New York there was only one competitor, the Herald. The policy was profitable. It enabled the Globe-Democrat to extend its circulation in the territory where its politics did not recommend it. Under the policy which encouraged enormous telegraph bills distance lent enchantment to news. The Globe-Democrat sometimes gave more space to a happening hundreds of miles away than it did to similar news at home. Professor William T. Harris, after retiring from the superintendency of St. Louis schools, delivered a series of lectures in St. Louis on speculative philosophy, lectures of great value to those interested in that field. These lectures were given very little space in the Globe-Democrat at the time. Subsequently Doctor Harris delivered the same lectures in Boston. The Globe-Democrat received long, intelligent reports of them by telegraph; and it may be added that more people read them as telegraphed than would have read them if the lectures had been fully reported in St. Louis. Underlying this news policy was insight of human nature.

When the Globe appeared on the 18th of July, 1872, its platform was announced in these words: "In the prevalence or overthrow of Republican principles is wrapped up the thrift and glory or the ruin and disgrace of the American people." The editor was a newspaper man of fifteen years' experience in St. Louis—Charles R. Davis, a native of New London, Connecticut. Mr. Davis died after having had charge of the Globe a year. A few weeks later, in the fall of 1873, Joseph B. McCullagh took the editorship.

The stock of the Globe-Democrat after the reorganization was \$500,000, divided as follows: William McKee, \$300,000; D. M. Houser, \$160,000; J. B. McCullagh, \$20,000; Henry McKee, \$10,000; Simeon Ray, \$10,000. The old

Missouri Democrat was established with some expectation on the part of party leaders that it would be subservient. Very early in the history of the Democrat Frank P. Blair insisted upon the support of a measure of party policy to which sturdy William McKee could not consent as a newspaper man. Mr. Blair pressed his point strongly in a conference of the owners of the Democrat. Daniel M. Houser had risen to the management of the counting-room. He was seated at his desk posting the ledger when Mr. Blair came out of the conference, defeated and disgusted.

"Dan," said Mr. Blair, with some manifestation of heat as he passed through the counting-room, "if you want my stock in this paper, you can have it." Mr. Houser became one of the owners of the Democrat, his first interest being the stock received from Frank P. Blair, one-sixth of the capital.

The newspaper career of Joseph B. McCullagh was thirty-seven years and all but twelve years of that time was in St. Louis. While Mr. McCullagh was away from the city of his adoption he was growing. Leaving his home in Dublin when he was eleven years old, McCullagh made several trips as a cabin boy on a steamship between Liverpool and Baltimore. When he was twelve he began to learn the trade of printer in the Freeman's Journal office in New York. At sixteen he was a compositor on Dr. McAnally's Christian Advocate, attending Sunday school and the literary society in the church at Fifth and Pine streets, and giving his leisure hours to the study of shorthand. At seventeen he became a reporter on the Missouri Democrat, John Frazier recommending the youth to Mr. McKee. That was in 1859. At Jefferson City the legislature was wrestling with the shadows of approaching war. McCullagh reported the proceedings fearlessly. In 1860 he went to the Cincinnati Commercial for better pay than the Democrat offered. From the very beginning of hostilities he was a war correspondent and in the thickest of it. When Commodore Foote was hit by a shell at Donelson, McCullagh was in the pilot house with him. At Vicksburg, McCullagh ran the batteries. He missed nothing. After the war he became a Washington correspondent, the contemporary of Whitelaw Reid and George Alfred Townsend. He passed through the experience of starting a newspaper in Chicago—the Republican. The great fire wiped out that venture. Immediately afterward, late in the fall of 1871, McCullagh came back to St. Louis. From that time, for a quarter of a century, there was but one field, one paper for him. The most tempting offer from other cities made not a fleeting impression on his mind.

The late Charles A. Dana, who created the New York Sun, said Joseph B. McCullagh was the best reporter he had ever known. He emphasized, rather than qualified this opinion when he further said he could hire all of the editors he wanted, but good reporters were scarce. McCullagh never outlived entirely the reporter habit. He brought many paragraphs written in the plain hand which no printer could mistake and in the concise style which left no room for editing. Occasionally he did an interview. When he went away on infrequent trips he wrote charming letters.

About 1880, St. Louis entered upon a crisis. The fire of 1849, the cholera epidemics, the Civil war—none of these so tried St. Louis as did the ten or twelve years' period beginning about the year mentioned. The decade of greatest danger that time might be called. Chicago boomed with the prodigious development of

the northwest. Kansas City and Omaha suffered from the exaggerated methods of Chicago. Wichita and a dozen other places in the west went wild with the fever of real-estate speculation. St. Louis almost stood still. Cities west and south confidently expected to outstrip her before the end of the century. The period was one of revolution in material conditions. Railroads were usurping the waterways. The community which had grown strong and wealthy, which had defied the panic of 1873, which had shown more population than Chicago in 1870—to some extent a fiction—was turning slowly to the new channels of commerce. St. Louis was advancing a little, backing almost as much as the gain, using first one paddle wheel and then the other, like an immense, unwieldy steamboat getting ready to go ahead after having made a landing. The opportunity was McCullagh's. One day, in 1881, he came into the local room and said to the city editor: "We will have a railroad department. Make all you can of it." He gave explicit and detailed instructions. Up to that time the railroad news of the *Globe-Democrat*, as with other papers, had been a matter of a half-column, more or less, as the notes of daily incidents and accidents seemed to justify. "The Railroads" of the *Globe-Democrat* became at once a dominant feature,—three, four, five columns, a page if so much space could be well filled. Not for a week or for a month, but for years McCullagh taught the lesson of commercial salvation for St. Louis.

But this innovation was only one element in his broad policy to build up St. Louis. A moving conviction in his mind was that St. Louis must grow with the *Globe-Democrat*. "The towline" as he called the paper's influence was never coiled. He sent a correspondent to Philadelphia to make a study of the building associations and he stimulated the idea in St. Louis by giving a great deal of space to these institutions here. He sent correspondents and artists south, west and north to write and to sketch, paying their way and dealing with whatever they conceived to be interesting. Communities were at first incredulous if not suspicious. After the letters and the pictures began to appear, and when no attempt was made to sell extra copies or to canvass for subscribers, people awoke to a comprehension of the McCullagh policy.

When the Gould railway system was tied up with a strike which seemed to McCullagh to be unjustifiable and the result of dictatorial wilfulness on the part of the leaders rather than of just grievances, he attacked the situation vigorously. After the trouble was over, Jay Gould met McCullagh in the rotunda of the Southern hotel. He wanted to express appreciation of the course of the *Globe-Democrat*. McCullagh said the *Globe-Democrat* had done only what seemed to be right for a newspaper having the interests of the community and the southwest at heart. Gould replied he believed that, but the railroad would like to show its good will in some tangible way. McCullagh suggested that St. Louis business men had been trying to get a fast mail service on the Missouri Pacific westward. If the railroad felt like showing its good will toward the city and the *Globe-Democrat*, that might be the opportunity. Gould turned to one of the officers of the road, and asked that preparations be commenced at once to install the service. This was the first of the fast mail trains started out of St. Louis.

"Booming," in the sense it has come into universal use, originated with McCullagh. The first application of it, according to an authority so well recognized as the Century Dictionary, was in the Globe-Democrat in 1878. McCullagh consistently boomed St. Louis. He didn't always do it by the direct method. He printed things that stung local pride. He scourged complacency when he thought that course was in the interest of progress. He could make "Poor old St. Louis!" look aggravating in print. He believed in the counter-irritant. But through all of his years at the head of the Globe-Democrat, McCullagh was never a knocker. While criticism was biting when lethargy threatened, support was never withheld when public spirit had been aroused and was doing its best.

There were men of affairs who realized what McCullagh, with the Globe-Democrat, did for St. Louis in the critical period. They saw in his policy and methods more than the building of a newspaper. They realized what in prestige, in hold upon its trade territory, in commercial influence as the great distributing center, the city owed McCullagh's policy with the Globe-Democrat. These men in business and in the professions had measured the crisis and its dangers. They felt that such service as McCullagh had rendered the city should not pass without recognition. McCullagh was then living in downtown apartments. He took his meals at a hotel. He had no home. The movement, started quietly, found support. A fund of \$25,000 was assured. It was to be applied to the purchase of a residence; the deed was to be handed to McCullagh. Ready to carry out the plan, the moving spirits in it sought for the proper person to lay the matter before the editor and to ask his acceptance. They chose, after some thought, James Campbell, by reason of the known personal friendship existing between the two. Mr. Campbell made the approach delicately. McCullagh met it with a negative answer, courteous but positive. And with a flash of humor, he added:

"Some of them might come around afterwards and want to run the paper."

Some years later, when his health failed, a movement in different form to show appreciation of what McCullagh had done for this community was started. It was proposed by a number of men who had seen the substantial benefits of his newspaper management to meet all of the cost of a long journey for recuperation. Nothing came of the suggestion. McCullagh had never sought wealth, but he had provided against emergencies, and would have preferred to pay his own expenses if he had cared to travel. But these expressions were pleasing to him in that they showed appreciation of his efforts to make his newspaper life of some good to the city. He had a strong aversion to the expression of gratitude in words. He used to say that the attempt to voice the sentiment weakened it. When Eugene Field wrote a graceful tribute in verse to "Little Mack," McCullagh didn't write him a letter of thanks; he sent him a gold watch.

McCullagh taught journalism by practice and by precept. Late in the evening the foreman of the composing room laid upon the chief's desk the proofs. It was a favorite practice with McCullagh to pick out a local item written in rather diffuse style, go through it line by line and strike out words,





JOSIAH McCULLAGE



WILLIAM HYDE



RICHARD EDWARDS



phrases and even whole sentences that were not essential to the facts. Then he would carry the proof to the city editor and "show him." Another practice was to verify footings of statistical matter. Woe to the city editor or to the telegraph editor if he sent up stairs a tabulated vote or any other collection of figures which did not total correctly. There was another grave offense under the chief and that was the mistake in the spelling of a name or in the initials. With the city directory convenient, no excuse was permitted for mistakes in names of city people. The chief insisted that a man on a daily paper should be posted on current events outside of his department. He expected every member of the staff to read the *Globe-Democrat* before he came to work. One noon he walked into the news editor's room and addressed a word of comment on the most prominent article in the paper that morning. The news editor was a recent acquisition to the staff. He replied casually that he hadn't read the paper. Very firmly the chief told the newcomer that if he expected to stay on the *Globe-Democrat* he must read it as regularly as he ate his breakfast. There were departments and specialties, but every man on the staff was expected to possess general information and to be willing to undertake any assignment.

Without pen or pencil in hand, without paper or book before him, McCullagh was charming in conversation. He talked readily and freely. He told a story well. He could gossip. He was wonderfully accurate on historical facts. He caught the inaccuracies of attempted quotations with marvelous certainty. Diffuseness of style he abhorred. When he was engaged in a somewhat personal newspaper controversy he came into the city room one noon and, laying down the morning paper, pointed to two lines in the first column of the editorial page. The words were blistering.

"When you have to go after a man," said McCullagh, "put a drop of vitriol on him. Don't pour a barrel of vinegar over him."

Characteristic of Mr. McCullagh, was the editorial announcement of the removal of the *Globe-Democrat* from the location the paper had occupied on Fourth and Pine streets to "The Temple of Truth" on Sixth and Pine streets. It was limited to three words: "We have moved."

The strength of its editorial page became a marked and distinguishing feature of the *Globe-Democrat* under the administration of Henry King who came from Kansas at the invitation of Mr. McCullagh about 1883, to be the leading editorial writer. That was the beginning of a new policy as to the editorial page of the *Globe-Democrat*. The late Noble L. Prentis divided editors into those "who came into the profession from college or from the composing room," and those "who are newspaper writers from the beginning." Mr. Prentis said of Henry King:

If he didn't "lisp in numbers" he editorialized in petticoats. His first essays in writing were like those of Benjamin West in painting. He has carried the art of science of word-handling to a higher pitch than any other Kansas writer in any field. No word mason among us has polished and fitted each stone in his structure as he has. To write, with some, is recreation, with many a business, with others the effect of occasional inspiration, but with him it is an art, like music, or painting, or acting. His thoughtful devotion to form does not run into pedantry or finical word picking, but is the result of the man's constitutional nicety and

daintiness of mind, which betrays itself even in the clear, legible and rather peculiar handwriting in manuscript which knows no "outs," "doublets," blots or interlineations.

When he became editor-in-chief of the *Globe-Democrat* in 1896, after the death of Mr. McCullagh, Captain King continued and developed the news policy of the paper and at the same time added to the staff until he had given the paper an editorial standing which out-classed in strength and finish most of the editorial pages in the country. Notable features were emphasized, such as the Sunday stories of Caspar S. Yost, the historical articles of Charles M. Harvey, the literary work of David R. McAnally, the pleasant satire of Collier, the Scotch humor of Fitzmaurice.

From 1864 to 1878 the *Dispatch* passed through vicissitudes which ought to have wrecked it half a dozen times. Checkered is hardly the word to apply because that would mean alternate prosperity and adversity. The *Dispatch* had few periods of prosperity. Its career was almost continuous adversity. There was a period when the prospect seemed hopeful; Charles P. Johnson was one of the editors, but the law claimed him. A bright spot was when Stilson Hutchins, having sold his interest in the *Times*, conducted the *Dispatch*, beginning in 1873 with the brilliant John N. Edwards and D. Robert Barclay as editors and John M. McGuffin as publisher. The *Dispatch* yielded good profit for a year or two. But the mistake was made of tying to it the debt-burdened *Times*. The *Dispatch* was sold by Hutchins to raise money to save his first love, the *Times*. The buyer came from successful newspaper management elsewhere, put his capital into the *Dispatch* and lost it. In the years of St. Louis journalism it has occurred repeatedly that newspaper men, whose experience in other cities had been measurably successful, have come here to fail, either in starting new papers or in operating old properties. The successful St. Louis newspapers from the business point of view have been those conducted financially by men who obtained all or nearly all of their training in St. Louis.

When the *Dispatch* passed into the possession of Joseph Pulitzer at trustee's sale in 1878 it was thirty years old, if the legitimacy of descent be not too closely scrutinized. There was in 1838 an *Evening Gazette*, which in 1847 became *The Evening Mirror*. The latter was succeeded in about a year by *The New Era*, out of which came in another twelve months *The Intelligencer*. *The Intelligencer* in 1857 consolidated with *The Evening News*. In 1867 *The News* was absorbed by *The Dispatch* and eleven years later *The Dispatch* attached to itself *The Post*. The actual making of *The Post-Dispatch* began under the distinctive policy which Joseph Pulitzer applied from the time he acquired the paper. He organized his staff, composed of John A. Dillon, John A. Cockerill, Henry W. Moore, Florence D. White, John F. Wagner, John T. McEnnis, Will J. Thornton and George A. Schuette. The judgment of Mr. Pulitzer in the selection of his talent was vindicated by results. Afternoons, when the paper had gone to press, Mr. Pulitzer sat in the editorial room of *The Post-Dispatch* and talked to his staff about the Constitution of the United States and journalism. Zealously the paper followed the spirit of Mr. Pulitzer's proclamation that *The Post-Dispatch* "will oppose all frauds and shams wherever and whatever they are." Mr. Pulitzer developed and magnified the police

power of a newspaper beyond any former conception of that quality, and found the policy to be profitable.

Joseph Pulitzer enlisted in the army the day he landed in this country. He joined the Lincoln Cavalry, a New York regiment. His services took him to Virginia where he saw fighting at Five Forks. This connection with the cavalry led to Pulitzer's first employment in St. Louis, just after the war. That job was hostler at Benton Barracks, now the Fairground park on Grand avenue. Pulitzer was fireman on a ferryboat a few days. He did manual labor on the Levee in an emergency. He drove a carriage a short time. He even helped to bury the cholera victims on the island below the city. The willingness of the young immigrant to do anything honest to support himself at length brought him to the notice of The Westliche Post people. Discovering that Pulitzer was a man of education, Prectorius tried him at reporting. In six years Pulitzer was one of the editors and had obtained an interest in the paper. Restless energy was his characteristic.

For several years Joseph Pulitzer hesitated between journalism and the law. He had achieved about all there was to learn or gain with the Westliche Post. He tried politics, as a member of the legislature, as a police commissioner, as a leading participant in the Greeley-Brown campaign of 1872, as a member of the constitutional convention of Missouri. In his leisure hours he read law. He even went so far as to rent an office in the Temple building, near that of Charles P. Johnson for whom he had great admiration. The fact that he had succeeded as a political orator, coupled with his confidence that he had the industry necessary to reach success in the legal profession, encouraged him. But Mr. Johnson advised against this career. He told Mr. Pulitzer frankly that he was too restless, too nervous, too easily agitated for the law. He advised journalism. Mr. Pulitzer got his license to practice and went to Europe to think about his future. In the winter of 1876-7, Mr. Pulitzer was in Washington. That was the exciting period following the Tilden-Hayes campaign. Mr. Pulitzer contributed editorial correspondence to the New York Sun. As a matter of fact he was trying himself out, to determine for himself his aptitude for English journalism. The results were satisfactory. Mr. Pulitzer's Washington letters attracted a great deal of attention. In 1878, Mr. Pulitzer went to Europe and made a study of conditions there writing his "impressions" for The Sun. In December of that year, Charles P. Johnson and John S. Marmaduke, afterwards governor, received telegrams from Mr. Pulitzer saying he would arrive the next evening and asking them to meet him at the Lindell hotel. The subject of the conversation was the approaching sale by trustee of the Evening Dispatch under mortgage. Mr. Pulitzer was advised strongly by these two personal friends to bid in the paper. Mr. Johnson could speak advisedly of the St. Louis newspaper field. He had studied it at close range but had preferred law.

When the new proprietor went into the Dispatch office on the morning of the 10th of December there wasn't a bushel of coal or a roll of white paper. The boiler and engine were held in place for operation by iron bands and strips which had no place in the original construction. Steam heating pipes throughout the building were tied with rags to stop leaks. The old press was badly

battered. Mr. Pulitzer looked through the building, pressed into service a few people and that afternoon got out an edition of 1,000 copies.

In forty-eight hours a consolidation was effected with the Post, one of the best evening papers St. Louis had ever had. By this arrangement Mr. Pulitzer gained the prestige which John A. Dillon had created in the short life of the Post. He acquired the services of a good staff. But upon the consolidation—the Post and Dispatch—he stamped his own peculiar and effective personality with the following editorial announcement:

The Post and Dispatch will serve no party but the people; will be no organ of "Republicanism," but the organ of truth; will follow no caucuses but its own convictions; will not support the "Administration," but criticise it; will oppose all frauds and shams, wherever and whatever they are; will advocate principles and ideas rather than prejudices and partisanship. These ideas and principles are precisely the same as those upon which our government was originally founded, and to which we owe our country's marvelous growth and development. They are the same that made a Republic possible, and without which a real Republic is impossible. They are the ideas of a true, genuine, real Democracy. They are the principles of true local self-government. They are the doctrines of hard money, home rule and revenue reform.

After two weeks, the name was hyphenated—Post-Dispatch. In 1887 the publication of a Sunday edition was begun. In 1893 the price of the Post-Dispatch was reduced to two cents and the use of pennies was encouraged where previously a nickel had been the smallest coin in common use by St. Louis. In the newspaper evolution of Joseph Pulitzer his St. Louis experience was everything. When Pulitzer went to New York to become of international stature it was to apply on a large scale the theory and practice he had tried here.

In May, 1888, Charles H. Jones of Jacksonville, Florida, purchased an interest in the St. Louis Republic. In that year the name of the paper underwent change from Missouri Republican to St. Louis Republic. Colonel Jones held the editorship of the paper five years and retired. During that period Charles W. Knapp was the publisher. Upon the retirement of Colonel Jones, Mr. Knapp became the editor-in-chief with Joseph A. Graham as managing editor.

While it celebrated the second birthday anniversary in 1909, the St. Louis Times could hardly class as an infant newspaper. It was not started when the first issue appeared. Back of that date were many years of favoring traditions and valuable good will. The St. Louis Times inherited directly and legitimately elements of vitality and strength for which new papers usually must wait on years of cultivation. The bringing of the Westliche Post and the Anzeiger together under one management, the Anzeiger taking the evening field, was accomplished in 1898. Where twenty efforts to establish German papers in St. Louis failed, two, the Westliche Post and the Anzeiger achieved signal success. On the Anzeiger, in 1877, a big-framed dancing-eyed, light-haired youth hustled for local news. He was fresh from the fatherland. He piled lumber a few days, and then he worked in a grocery a few weeks after his arrival in St. Louis. He was sanguine and he was tireless. He grew to mean more and more to the Anzeiger every year, coming into the full confidence of the founder, Carl Daenzer. At the same time, in the office of the Westliche Post, a young man, educated at Washington University, was following in the

footsteps of his illustrious father and growing into the business. Edward L. Prectorius, speaking for the *Westliche Post*, and John Schroers, representing the *Anzeiger*, brought about the community of interests. Thereby they began the preparation of the *St. Louis Times*. In the summer of 1908, Mr. Schroers sold his interest in the *Times*.

The *Amerika* came into existence through an organization known as the German Literary Society with several hundred members. It was started in 1872 under the editorial charge of Anthony Hellmich. Doctor Edward Preuss succeeded Mr. Hellmich, and under his able direction the paper achieved marked success. The *Amerika* had its own field. It devoted considerable attention to religious matters in the German parishes. It had a large and loyal constituency. The business head of the paper for some years was Henry J. Spaunhorst, who was president of the German Literary Society. Mr. Spaunhorst was succeeded by William Druhe. The next business manager of the *Amerika* was John Peitzmeyer, son-in-law of William Druhe.

The union of the pioneer penny paper, the *Chronicle*, with an existence beginning in 1880, and the *Star*, dating back to the successful experiment in distinctive Sunday journalism by Mead and Gitchell and Munford in 1884, offered fine opportunity. The *Chronicle* drew to it a loyal following among the trade and labor organizations of the city. The *Star*, in its advocacy of Republican principles under Nathan Frank, had found substantial support. In 1909 the *Star* and *Chronicle* passed under the control of E. G. Lewis.

Not a newspaper of St. Louis, but a newspaper from St. Louis was the *Woman's National Daily* in its genesis. It was started by Edward G. Lewis, the founder of the *Woman's Magazine* and of the *Woman's Farm Journal*, two monthly publications of large circulation. The want of the daily newspaper, which Mr. Lewis felt, was scattered along 40,000 rural free delivery routes. An Egyptian temple, the interior copying Karnak, costing \$195,000, was the home of the daily. The press upon which this paper was printed, at the speed of 5,000 a minute, cost \$92,000. The electrical equipment cost \$10,000 more. Telegraph wires ran into this temple of new school journalism. News was handled on the tabloid principle. At 2:30 in the afternoon the great press started. At 6:30 in the afternoon the last electric van rolled away to catch the mails. The next morning the paper was reaching readers on most of the rural delivery routes within five hundred miles of St. Louis. The precision of this rapid performance in newspaper issue was marvelous. Minutes count. Newspaper men, accustomed to the haste of the daily press, were amazed at the celerity which marked every stage of the production of the *Woman's National Daily*.

In October, 1873, the publisher of the *Missouri Republican* received a notification from a subscriber which is probably without counterpart in American history. The notice read thus:

Gentlemen:—Your paper has been faithfully delivered at the corner of Main and Mulanphy Streets for fifty-two years. The last of the family died there on the 22d of last month and there is no one left to read the paper. I find this morning twenty-two numbers unopened on the front steps. Send bill for liquidation. W. Wadingham, administrator.

The Knapps and the Paschalls never forgot the days of small beginnings. Whenever anniversaries or other occasions suggested reminiscences, all honor

was given in print to Joseph Charless and his son Edward Charless. The recollection went beyond words. There is of record in the minutes of the directors of the paper an incident which does honor to the newspaper profession. The directors in 1882 were George Knapp, John Knapp and Henry G. Paschall, the last-named a son of Nathaniel Paschall. At a meeting of the board on the 2d of January a resolution was adopted conferring upon the only surviving representative of Edward Charless an annuity. The letter breathed the old-fashioned, delicate courtesy:

Dear Respected Madam: Wishing you a happy New Year, we take pleasure in communicating the following preamble and resolution, which, with the cordial appreciation of the stockholders of the corporation of Publishers: George Knapp & Co., have been adopted.

Whereas, Mrs. Jane L. Hoffman is the only surviving representative of the noble and worthy Edward W. Charless, the founder, over sixty years ago, of *The Missouri Republican*, he the successor of his father, Joseph Charless, who, beginning in 1808, published the paper under the name of *Louisiana Gazette* and *Missouri Gazette*,

Resolved, That an annuity of \$200, payable quarterly in advance, from the 1st of January, 1882, be and is hereby appropriated to the use of Mrs. Jane L. Hoffman during her natural life.

With the kindest wishes for your continued good health and cheerful, genial disposition, and hoping your life may long be spared, we are devotedly your friends.

Always considerate of its local department, the Republic had a remarkable procession of city editors. David H. MacAdam, a Scotchman of no little literary ability, the father of the present Washington correspondent, was followed by George Brown, John McGaffey, John G. Dill, Stanley Waterloo, Clarence N. Howell, Frank Stone, Charles A. Taylor, Frank R. O'Neil, W. A. Kelsoe, Robert M. Yost, M. J. Lowenstein, Harry B. Wandell, Dent G. Robert, D. J. McAuliffe. John Knapp established a practice which kept the proprietors in close touch with the writers on the paper. Farley, the assistant foreman of the composing room, knew the handwriting of every man on the staff. After the paper had gone to press he penciled above each article, editorial, local and special, the name of the writer. The paper thus marked was upon the desk of Colonel Knapp when he reached the office in the morning. It was consulted in no hasty or perfunctory manner. The Knapps made it their business to know the kind of work every member of the staff was doing. They gave credit where it was due. Their first inclination, in every controversy which arose over publications, was to stand by the writer. Unless it could be shown that the editor or reporter was clearly in the wrong, the proprietors sustained him. This policy had not a little to do with the spirit which held the staff in harmonious relations.

Long and honorable is the list of those who have lived their lives in St. Louis journalism. There was Phil G. Ferguson, gentle mannered, kindly, with a spring of humor which never ran dry. Away back in the early fifties, when starting newspapers was a thriving St. Louis industry, Ferguson had his fling at proprietorship. He also tried editing and managing. But in the end he found more satisfaction on the local staff of the Democrat and later the Globe-Democrat. A custom of St. Louis, dating from the early days, was the gathering of merchants and professional men at the postoffice Sundays between 12 and 1 o'clock to receive the mail. The office opened at 12 o'clock and mail was handed out to all who cared to call for it. This was a Sunday substitute for the carrier





FRANK R. O'NEIL



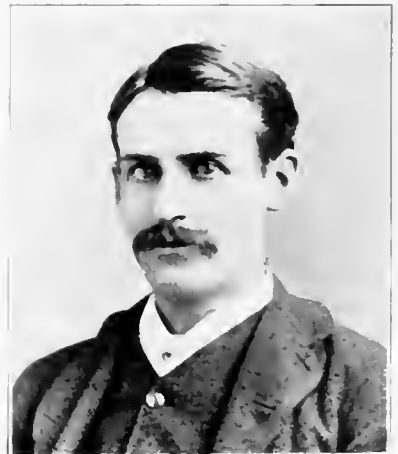
JOHN F. MAGNER



CLARENCE N. HOWELL



GEORGE MUNSON



THOMAS M. KNAPP



service week days. "Sunday at postoffice corners" was at its best as a St. Louis habit when the postoffice was located at Third and Olive streets. But the custom did not lapse for some years after the removal to Eighth and Olive. The crowd began to gather about half past 11. It was at its height at half past 12. It did not entirely disperse until half past 1. Citizens who went to church in the morning walked to the postoffice corner after the sermon, stopping to chat a few minutes, called for their mail and went home to the early dinner. For years Phil Ferguson did the "Corners' Gossip." He made it a feature of the Monday morning paper. This weekly gathering was a regular assignment with all of the papers, but no reporter ever approached "Jenks," as Ferguson was commonly known, in the humorous personal treatment of it.

In 1879 Abram S. Mitchell came back into St. Louis journalism. He was an editor and a successful one at an earlier period. In association with Charles G. Ramsey, Mr. Mitchell made the St. Louis News, which was the predecessor of the Dispatch, the leading evening paper for several years. Mitchell was an editor when the editorial page was the overshadowing feature of the paper. He was a very vigorous writer and a man of considerable literary attainments. Mr. Mitchell came back to St. Louis journalism to take charge of the Times-Journal. In the brief period of his administration one act stands out as especially worthy of mention. Mr. Mitchell came into the city editor's room and told of a youth he thought would make a good reporter. He described him as having had the advantages of classical education, and as being engaged at the time in a job printing office. Mr. Mitchell requested that the youth be given a trial. The next day William Vincent Byars made his entree to St. Louis journalism. Reporter, editor, author, poet, he has honored the profession.

George Brown was the highest salaried newspaper reporter in St. Louis about 1875. He came here with some experiences on an English paper, but wholly unacquainted with this country. Yet he stepped into a good position within a week and advanced rapidly to the star place on the local staff. One day the door of Mr. Hyde's room at the Republican office opened. A stout young man entered just far enough to expose his presence and without a word of introduction, asked:

"Want a reporter?"

"Not today," said Mr. Hyde, without looking up from his paper.

The visitor began to back out and was just about to close the door when the editor called after him:

"Hold on! If you want to show what you can do, you may go up to Dr. Finney's church tomorrow morning and make a report of his sermon."

"How much do you want?" asked Brown in the matter of fact manner which was his striking characteristic.

"Half a column," replied the editor. Not another word was said. The door closed. The editor told his city editor, Mr. MacAdam, of the occurrence.

On Monday morning Mr. Hyde, looking over the paper, saw the sermon story occupying exactly half a column to the line. In a little while George Brown came in. Mr. Hyde nodded to him and said:

"I told you to give us half a column on Dr. Finney, didn't I?"

"Yes, sir. I did," said Brown.

"I see you did," continued Mr. Hyde. "But tell me; how did you happen to make just a half column, no more, no less?"

With not a smile or the suggestion in tone that he had done anything more than what was ordinary, Brown replied: "I took a copy of your paper and folded it once so as to make a half column. I counted the lines in the half column. I counted the words in enough lines to strike an average. I multiplied the number of lines by that average, and then I wrote just that number of words about the sermon."

Mr. Hyde was a man of few words and of quick action. He employed Brown.

Reporter, city editor, editor, manager, Frank R. O'Neil was a figure in the newspaper life of St. Louis. The quality of his work was far above the ordinary. His associates first discovered his talent and then came public appreciation. What Frank O'Neil wrote could be identified by the daily reader. The man enjoyed his work. He was wonderfully accurate in statements and rigidly faithful in portrayal. More than this he had a capacity for turning out "good copy" which was the envy of his fellows. The revelations of life to the newspaper man sometimes beget cynicism and hardness. Frank R. O'Neil never lost his inborn kindness of heart. Weaknesses of human nature strengthened his feeling of charity. He never glossed wrong doing in his writing. Perhaps a more politic man would have won greater personal renown with those who did not know him so well, but he would not have won to such a degree the confidence, the admiration, the love of those with whom he worked day by day. In 1883, after the death of Jesse James, when Frank James had a price of \$10,000 on his head, and was being hunted by detectives, O'Neil met the noted bandit, through arrangement of a mutual friend, remaining with him two days, and, under a promise not to reveal his whereabouts, returned to St. Louis and wrote a graphic interview with him, which he held for release, faithful to the promise, until James surrendered, when it was published.

In 1878, during the yellow fever epidemic in the south, Quarantine Station, below Jefferson Barracks, full of refugees, became infected, scores of deaths being reported daily. The people of the city were panic stricken. Health Commissioner Francis invited the newspapers to send reporters to the station to investigate conditions. O'Neil and two other reporters accepted the dangerous assignment, spending an entire day there. On their return O'Neil wrote a vivid description of the prevailing conditions, which was widely copied. Just as he finished this story, O'Neil was sent to cover an assignment at the Insane Asylum, where several patients had been mysteriously poisoned. He returned in time to write a graphic two-column account of this for the regular edition, thus in one day having accomplished a task that ordinarily would tax the capacity of several men.

When Frank R. O'Neil and Clarence N. Howell were the central figures of the Republican local staff, a kid reporter was taken on. He was a slender boy, laughing-eyed, interrogation-faced. He was at the age and of the temperament to absorb knowledge. He had adopted mankind for his study and the newspaper office for his school room. The boy looked up to O'Neil and Howell with all the admiration and confidence the youthful collegian gives to favorite profes-

sors. His daily assignment was the school board offices in the old Polytechnic building at Seventh and Locust streets. A cultured woman, a lady of breeding, Mrs. Bernoudy, who had charge of the office of the superintendent of schools saw what the boy needed. She talked books to him. She opened to his mind the opportunities for reading. In time the boy knew more of what the public library contained than any other one person except the librarian, himself, Mr. Crunden. The faculty to self-educate runs strong in the Irish blood. The boy reporter gained from his reading, first, information of wide range; then, style of expression, and finally, ideas which put him on the road to become the writer of national fame. The evolution of William Marion Reedy belongs to the history of St. Louis journalism.

The late William C. Jones brought into the Dispatch office about 1874 a fair faced young man whom he introduced as a McKendree graduate with a Heidelberg finish. He wanted his friend to have a try at journalism. That was William A. Kelsoe's introduction to more than a third of a century of capable, reliable work on St. Louis newspapers. Will J. Thornton began; he made a specialty of railroad news. John T. McEnnis, John F. Magner and Florence D. White took apprenticeship at reporting with Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch. All of these young men entered their newspaper careers in St. Louis offices and continued with the profession here.

The Fields, Eugene and Roswell M., went to Kansas City, Denver and Chicago after an apprenticeship of years on St. Louis newspapers. Dent Robert, the San Francisco editor, was a graduate of the St. Louis school of journalism. So were George Grantham Bain, Justin McGrath and John J. Jennings, who made their way in New York. Augustus Thomas and Harry W. Walker were St. Louis reporters before they went east to become important, one as a writer of plays, the other as an official and politician. John A. Dillon, who entered the profession as an editorial writer on the Globe-Democrat, went to New York and became the leading editorial writer on the World.

Of a later generation of journalists "made in St. Louis" were George S. Johns, Casper S. Yost, Homer Bassford, Jewel H. Aubere, O. K. Bovard, D. J. McAuliffe, William M. Ledbetter, Jon E. Gorse, Ripley D. Saunders, Henry D. Wood, John W. Kearney, Clark MacAdams, Louis C. Dodge, Donald G. Fitzmaurice, J. N. Fining, Hastings MacAdam, Joseph Miller, Jr. These were some of the men who grew into positions of importance on the St. Louis papers. They learned the town and the inhabitants thereof before they began to write editorials, to direct the local staffs, to let their imaginations loose on stories full of the local color true to life.

John Hogan wrote his carefully considered "Thoughts on St. Louis" for a newspaper. The articles made such an impression upon the community that they were published in book form. His appreciative fellow citizens bestowed upon Mr. Hogan a set of silver plate in recognition of the value of his suggestions. The charming "Recollections" of John F. Darby first appeared in the newspapers. Authorship came as a demand upon John N. Edwards after some of his wonderfully graphic descriptions of Civil war episodes had been printed as special articles when he was an editorial writer on the Republican and the Dispatch. Theophile Papin's letters from Europe about 1880 attracted wide

interest. Readers found it difficult to believe that the writer was a business man who had followed the prosaic life of an operator in real estate. The profession of journalism in St. Louis sustained a loss when Theophile Papin gave up writing in his earlier career. The most charming sketches written of early times in St. Louis were from his pen. Theophile Papin was of the family which founded St. Louis. He knew the people from boyhood. After leaving college in 1849 he followed his natural bent and became a member of the staff of the *Reveille*, the brightest paper of its day. "Black Eagle" was the name Seth Wallace Cobb bore as a newspaper correspondent in Tidewater, Virginia, before the Civil war. After the war he was editor of the *Petersburg Express*. Many years afterwards when he had accumulated a fortune in the grain trade of St. Louis and had served three terms in Congress, Mr. Cobb went to Europe and wrote in a charming style a series of travel letters for the Republic.

Shepard Barclay for years held a connection with the press of St. Louis. After studying law at the University of Virginia he went to the University of Berlin to attend lectures. His stay abroad covered the period of the Franco-Prussian war. A natural inclination prompted him to act as war correspondent for a St. Louis paper. After Judge Barclay's return to St. Louis he did considerable editorial work for several years. The one lawyer's desk in St. Louis which most strikingly resembled that of an industrious editor was in Judge Barclay's office.

In 1886 the Republic startled, not only this country, but the old world, with the announcement that the Panama Canal scheme had collapsed. At the same time were exposed the scandalous practices of officials connected with the canal company. The exposure was made in complete and convincing form; there was no surmise, no indefinite hinting. The facts were given in a straightforward, business-like style. The occasional correspondent who did the business world a service was Leonard Matthews. Mr. Matthews had retired from business in St. Louis. He was traveling abroad. His brother was in command of the Brooklyn and was cruising in the Caribbean Sea to stop filibusters intending disturbance to Honduras. Leonard Matthews was a guest of his brother on the Brooklyn. He discovered the dishonest, ruinous conditions prevailing on the Isthmus, wrote an account of them and sent it home. The article appeared in March, 1886.

The composing room, before the linotype, graduated many who became reporters and editors. One of these was George W. Gilson, city editor of the *Globe-Democrat* for several years; another was O. R. Lake, McCullagh's trusted night editor. Four men who became famous in art or authorship graduated from the Republic's art department. They were but little more than beginners when they became members of the staff. H. R. H. Heaton, who went from St. Louis to Chicago, was one of the talented quartet. Paul Cornoyer, the widely known artist, was another. Augustus Thomas, the play writer, was the third member. A. Russell, whose striking color pictures have made so attractive the front page of the *Globe-Democrat Magazine* section, was the only one not lured away from St. Louis.

Not many of his later associates knew that Saunders Norvell, wholesale merchant and public man, had his newspaper romance. The *Post-Dispatch*,



EUGENE FIELD



DAVID R. McNALLY



THOMAS ELWOOD GARRETT



MARK TWAIN AND DAVID R. FRANCIS  
Unveiling Tablet on Birthplace of Eugene Field.





when Joseph Pulitzer sat in the front room and directed details, encouraged talent. Norvell discovered that he could sketch. One day he brought into the Post-Dispatch office a striking character drawing of a well-known man about town. Pulitzer was pleased.

"Young man," he said, "that is very good. We'll put it in the Post-Dispatch and pay you \$5 for it. See if you can do as well again."

Norvell, at sixteen, started as a newspaper artist. His sketches were taken and printed promptly. The pay was slower. Norvell called but brought no sketch. He called again. Pulitzer wrote an order on the cashier.

"Young man," he said as Norvell started toward the door, "you've missed your vocation. You were born to be a collector."

William Flewellyn Saunders learned and wrote more about industries of St. Louis than any other reporter in the city. That was his preparation for the position of general manager of the Business Men's League.

St. Louis newspaper offices were educational institutions for many young men before they were admitted to the bar. Judge Jesse McDonald was a journalist before he was a lawyer. The same was true of E. T. Allen, John T. Fitzsimmons, Thomas M. Knapp, Charles M. Reeves, George S. Grover, Frank W. Peebles, James Young, Cortez A. Kitchen, Carl Ungar, Henry E. Haas.

J. W. Buel, the author of many books, and Richard Sylvester, head of the police system of Washington, were St. Louis reporters. Among those who graduated from St. Louis newspaper offices to enter other callings can be mentioned the late William H. Woodward, who came to this country from Hereford, England, a boy of eight. Mr. Woodward's father was an Episcopal clergyman, rector of Grace church in St. Louis, until his death. Young Woodward entered the Republican office in 1852 and remained there thirteen years. Former St. Louis newspaper men were William C. Teichmann, the consul, who entertained Admiral Sperry's battleship fleet at Colombo; Rolla M. Kendrick, at one time critic of the Globe-Democrat; Newton Crane, the English barrister; Emile W. Leonhardt, James C. Espy, William T. Marsh, Tobias Mitchell, R. P. Thompson and W. A. Thompson, E. P. Carruthers, Stephen A. Martin, Thomas Jefferson Meek, Eugene R. Stroh, John Kraus, Charles H. Kelleter; Henry E. Campbell, who became a Baptist minister; Dr. F. J. Taussig and Dr. J. A. Hornsby; Samuel Polk and Fred Kretschmer, railroad officials; Albert Lawson, Estill McHenry, John M. Holmes, Samuel Abeles, James Cox; Charles Witter, of the School of Pedagogy; Jesse J. Mayes, United States Army; Nathan Cole.

The sum of \$15,000,000 would not purchase the daily newspaper properties of St. Louis in this year of 1911. That is to say, if the owners were willing to sell, the valuations would not come within that sum. The original investment in the St. Louis daily newspapers was not \$100,000. The Republic's beginning was a hand press and a few pounds of type. It is tradition that when the printer ran short of certain capital letters in the large metal type he whittled substitutes out of wood and stuck them into the forms.

William McKee had a job office which he put up against a few thousand dollars contributed by several Free Soilers. The Missouri Democrat was started. McKee's job office was the plant, and counted for one-half the stock of the com-

pany. The rest of the stock was divided into three parts and held by men who contributed the small working capital.

Joseph Pulitzer paid \$2,500 at the east front of the courthouse for the Dispatch, and the Post came as a partnership asset.

A printer and a reporter started a gossipy Sunday paper, called the Sayings. They brought it out as an evening paper, calling it the Star Sayings, got Nathan Frank interested and turned the property over to him. The misfortune of Mr. Frank and of St. Louis journalism was that at the time he found he owned a newspaper his law books did not burn and his clients did not forget him.

About \$10,000 was the foundation of the St. Louis Chronicle. A part of that was spent in buying pennies by the barrel and turning them loose in St. Louis when this was a half-dime city only.

The capital of the Times was the prestige and the net earnings of the Westliche Post and Anzeiger. Furor Teutonicus in journalism, as Americanized by St. Louis atmosphere, was the inspiration of the Times. The Anzeiger and the Westliche Post passed the half-century mark a long time ago. They were founded and placed in the very front rank of the German press of the United States by a coterie of intellectual, freedom-loving Germans.

What the St. Louis daily newspapers of the present cost in investment is a mere matter of satisfaction of curiosity. What they represent in present valuation is not of primary concern. The figures are interesting chiefly as illustrating to what magnitude this combined profession and industry of newspaper making has grown in St. Louis. To produce a metropolitan newspaper in the year 1911 means a daily expenditure running into thousands of dollars. The cost of production of five St. Louis daily newspapers, two morning and three evening, is over \$125,000 weekly, of which at least 80 per cent is disbursed on pay rolls. This does not take into account the news dealers, the carriers and the newsboys, who derive their living from the sales of the St. Louis daily papers.

Why these thrived when other newspaper endeavors failed is of greater importance than what they cost or what they are worth. In what respects they are survivals of the fittest are the phase which have chief claim on consideration.

Four different Heralds and as many Tribunes proclaimed their entrances upon the field of St. Louis journalism. There have been Bulletins, and Journals, and Unions, and Eras, and Arguses, and Intelligencers. Odd names, such as The Reveille, The Barnburner, The Repudiator, The Pennant, The Fountain, The Native American, The Reporter, The Magnet, have been tried on St. Louis newspapers, but they did not insure vitality.

Before the Commercial Club, in 1907, Captain Henry King, during an admirable talk, gave the secret of newspaper success in St. Louis. The evening was devoted to the consideration of newspaper standards and policies. Speaking as the editor-in-chief of the Globe-Democrat, Captain King outlined the editorial conduct of a newspaper enterprise, which for more than half a century had wielded great moral and political influence and had been pre-eminently successful in a business sense. He said:

We often hear the accusation that newspapers are controlled in policy and purpose by their advertisers. In so far as this implies a sacrifice of principle in return for patronage, it has no foundation. But newspapers are influenced in a measure by the business interests

of the community. Speaking for myself, I have found that what is best for such interests is best for the city and all classes of its population. The operations of finance and commerce form the basis of the city's prosperity, and a newspaper must keep in friendly touch with them, or forfeit its best opportunity for useful public service. For my part, I feel that it is my duty, as it is always my pleasure, to consult and co-operate with the business men of St. Louis, because I have learned that their success is indispensable in promoting the general welfare and progress. If they advertise, so much the better for them, I am sure, as well as for the newspapers.

When the Missouri Republican reached the half century mark, July 12, 1858, the editor wrote: "Fifty years ago today, this paper came into existence. The cycle of fifty years is a rare event in human life—it is an epoch in the history of the country—it is a miracle in journalism." Looking backward the editor accounted for the miracle in this way:

The success of the Republican originated with its constant efforts to promote all departments of business in their diversified channels and to identify itself with the whole interest of St. Louis; it has been the firm friend of the city by being for half a century the faithful and reliable organ of every class of business. The Republican looks to the people for its success, by devoting a portion of its columns to all the various ramifications of commerce, trade and professional pursuits which make the life and being of St. Louis. Its destiny is linked with that of the city.

George Knapp had a character as positive as Nathaniel Paschall's. Yet these two men built up the Republican until it was of commanding influence without clashing. Together they made the paper a persistent advocate of measures calculated for the public good. Mr. Hyde summed up George Knapp's newspaper policy in a very few words:

"He wanted his paper to be clean and decent." He hated injudicious journalism which drags the public for scandal and dirt. His ambition, like Chambers' and Paschall's, was to issue a sheet full of legitimate, current news, editorially commented upon, honestly, intelligently, fairly, alike welcome in the family circle as by professional and business men.

The character of the Republican's course toward other newspapers, even when personal journalism prompted vicious attacks upon it, was well illustrated by a paragraph in that editorial review of the first half century. The editor, presumably Nathaniel Paschall, wrote:

Since the establishment of the Republican, many journals have come into existence, sprung upon the arena to dispute the prize of championship and public patronage, but after a short display of futile efforts retired from the lists and sunk into oblivion. We could mention more than twenty papers which have come into being, sickened and died from the want of support which a public ever accords to a merited journal; but the revelation will neither profit us nor our readers and we would not probe wounds of disappointment which have probably nearly healed.

If the semi-centennial of a newspaper is a miracle, what shall be said of the centennial? That is an event in the history of a city, of a state, of a country, of the world. The centennial of the St. Louis Republic, celebrated July 12, 1908, found the editor a Knapp, the head of the business office a Paschall—Walter B. Carr. In the centennial issue appears the following:

1808-1908,

A hundred years of earnest endeavor, a hundred years of honest effort to fulfill the great ideals to which it was committed by its founder, is the record of The Republic's first century of life. To-day with a vastly wider field for service and a power for good immensely greater than it possessed when it started, it cannot begin its second century with any more

solemn committal to high standards of duty than was made in the prospectus announcing its advent in the village of St. Louis the twelfth day of July, 1808. So, on this twelfth day of July, 1908, it adopts anew the old pledge and in the coming years will zealously strive "to impress upon the mind that next to love of God the love of country should be paramount in the human breast."

Not all newspapers, perhaps, acquire a marked individuality with distinctive human qualities, but for some a character develops which is so peculiarly and entirely its own that it takes on a personality of compelling force. This came to The Republic generations ago and for the entire hundred years of its existence the paper has been the primary thing and the human beings who in the succession of years have directed its conduct have been only sympathetic instruments for the preservation of a character that must be held faithfully true to itself. With singular fidelity they have adhered throughout the passing years to the same standards, resisting all temptations to make their newspaper a vehicle for their own personal exploitation.

It has happened to no other American newspaper that the ownership and conduct in the span of a century have been in so few hands. The names of Charless, Paschall and Knapp make an unbroken chain of continuity from the beginning in 1808 to the century's close in 1908. As a matter of mere business permanency The Republic is notable among the mercantile institutions of the country, since the controlling ownership and active management rest at the end of a hundred years in the hands of direct or collateral descendants of men who had their training under and became partners of either the founder or his son. The paper was but four years old when Nathaniel Paschall entered its service, and a grandson is today, ninety-six years later, one of the owners and managers. Among them, too, is a nephew of George Knapp, who came to the paper fifteen years after Paschall and eighty-one years ago.

Beginning under the founder, Paschall became the partner of the founder's son and was an active member of the paper's staff for forty-seven years. Starting under the younger Charless and the associate Paschall, George Knapp, whose connection continued uninterrupted for fifty-six years, formed partnership relations with both Charless and Paschall. Nathaniel Paschall and George Knapp worked side by side for thirty-two years and with them as associate for more than a third of that time was John Knapp, whose connection covered altogether a period of thirty-four years. His son, now and for more than twenty years head of the concern, has himself begun his forty-second year of service.

Thus no imaginary links, shadow bonds in the line of continuity, piece out The Republic's centennial chain. The Missouri Gazette of 1808 has changed its name, but The Republic of today is the same paper, devoted to exactly the same purposes and differing from the little sheet of 1808 only as the metropolitan city of 1908 differs from the village of 1808. Generation has followed generation in the conduct of the paper, and the younger men, having opportunity in years of associated service to benefit by the precept and example of their elders, have taken up the responsibilities of conduct with conscientious recognition of an established character they must maintain, a recognized identity they must not sacrifice.

What else but uniformity of standards could flow from such close and long-sustained intimacies of association? From Charless the elder and Charless the younger to Paschall and Knapp the traditions of a moral mission and a high public duty were passed. To their successors came the same traditions, imposing the sacred obligation to respect and preserve the splendid record of the past. Sentiment will always be a potent factor in the affairs of humanity and The Republic has a heritage of inestimable value in the binding force of sentiment which is backed by the traditions of a century. It owes duties to itself it cannot escape and above all else it belongs to its readers, whose confidence and trust have been cemented by lifetime ties which must not be betrayed.

The Republic can make no better promises for the future than its pages have again and again presented in the past. Standing today upon the threshold of a new century it commits itself once more to the pledge of Joseph Charless and will continue its endeavor to impress upon its readers the fact that love of country should always stand paramount in their minds. So, also it renews today the promise given fourteen years later by the younger Charless to uphold "whatever has a tendency to preserve, strengthen and perpetuate the Union of the sister States of this Republic, or promises to add to the prosperity of our own State in par-



WILLIAM A. THARP



CHARLES LESSUR



DAVID REID



WILLIAM FAY



E. D. KARGAU



WILLIAM M. SPINK



JAMES M. GALVIN

NEWSPAPER WORKERS OF OTHER DAYS



ticular." As evidence that the promise is made in sincerity it offers its files for those trying years from 1860 to 1865, as incontrovertible proof of loyalty, an imperishable monument of genuine patriotism.

In the South and of the South, the sympathies of this paper moved deep and strong for the Southern people when the sectional differences developed to the point of rupture in 1861. With present anticipation of coming trouble, it fought vigorously in 1860 against the extremists of the Democratic party, Douglas having neither before or after his nomination any more earnest newspaper advocate than The Missouri Republican. As it fought for Douglas, so it fought against secession, and it can look back now with gratification at the record its pages unfold of strenuous endeavor to avert fratricidal strife.

It would be impossible to more accurately state its political platform or more definitely describe its relation to party organizations than was done at its birth and in various subsequent renewals of its political pledges. Now, as in 1808, The Republic aims "to advocate that cause which placed Jefferson at the head of the magistracy." But today, as the prospectus of Joseph Charles promised a hundred years ago, the highest aspiration of the paper is "to extinguish party animosities and foster a cordial union among the people on the basis of toleration and equal government." This is a mission that aims at something higher than mere party devotion. It proffers faithfulness to the principles for which its party stands and not slavish obedience to party organization. "It is not intended," as Edward Charles declared in his prospectus of 1808, "that this paper shall be the handmaid of party. Such a subserviency would in a great measure prevent its usefulness."

This journal came into being more as a public institution to subserve definite public purposes than as a business venture. Joseph Charles looked to other occupations for his living and there was no touch of bombast in his references to the press as "the vestal fire upon the preservation of which the fate of nations depends." If a venture in journalism was not to develop an additional source of income, but to strengthen him for the realization of the high mission of public service to which he pledged himself with patriotic fervor. He wrote with serious zeal and absolute sincerity, therefore, when he declared the power of the press should be intrusted only to "the most pure hands officiating for the whole community."

Charles came to St. Louis just as enterprise and ambition were beginning to awaken among its people. The little French trading post was nearly half a century old, but it was still only a village. The tax collector was able to find for his lists only 257 people who were in possession of earthly goods of enough value to be taxable and it is not probable that the total population was more than 1,500, although half a century later it was estimated in these columns that the hamlet of 1808 could count 2,500 people. In the political nomenclature of the day it still ranked as a village in the Territory of Louisiana that lower part of the great empire acquired by Jefferson, which had New Orleans for its metropolis, being designated as the Territory of Orleans.

It is an illustration of the vitalizing power of aggressive journalism that the young Irishman who gave St. Louis its first newspaper registered a notable accomplishment in less than two weeks after the first copy of The Missouri Gazette appeared. St. Louis with a newspaper was no longer content to remain a village, so the third issue of The Gazette, which is reissued as a part of The Republic of today, reported the election of five town trustees, which act the people ignorantly supposed would formally advance them to the rank of a city. Unfortunately, they overlooked the necessary preliminary of a petition to and a permit from the Court of Common Pleas, which the territorial law, passed just a month before, required. That oversight invalidated their action, compelling a new proceeding at a later date, but none the less the stirring of civic pride which came with the newspaper created a de facto city eighteen months before the red tape of the law gave it de jure character.

Through all of its century of existence this paper has held its place as the herald of the city's progress. Whatever would advance the interests of St. Louis or promote the welfare of its people has found unlagging support in these columns. Fifty years ago today, Nathaniel Paschall, commenting on the fact that "the period of its being embraces all that is essential in the history of our city," explained to his readers that "the success of The Republic originated with its constant efforts to promote all developments of business in their diversified channels, identifying itself with the whole interest of St. Louis." It was pardonable that he

should add with unconcealed pride that "its destiny is linked with that of the city." The link is still unbroken. What St. Louis is, The Republic is. Associated in their hundred years of joint history, they will face the fortune of the future together, The Republic continuing to look to the people for its success as it has always done in the past.

To be true to these traditions sanctified by a century of honorable memories is the ambition with which those who direct The Republic of today look forward to the advancing years of the Twentieth Century. In the story of the past they trust to find inspiration to make the story of the second century no less worthy when the time comes for it to be written down. Stimulated by the splendid example in a hundred years of accomplishment that carry not a single blot of odium, the effort of the future will be to hold to the same high standards, to unceasingly inculcate love of country, to battle courageously for the people, to be brave enough to be right even when the right is unpopular, to be independent but not neutral, to stand for party principles but never to be the slave of party, to represent the optimism of St. Louis, to assist in its advancement and give help to everything that can further the prosperity and happiness of its people. To this platform The Republic stands pledged by the record of the days that are gone. It has kept the faith a hundred years and commits itself now to the high resolve that the second century shall worthily supplement the first.

CHARLES WELBOURNE KNAPP.

As a city St. Louis has a character of its own. Naturally, its successful newspapers have their distinctions. Imported newspaper managers, as a rule, have not been so satisfactory as those home bred. The introduction of new blood has been tried experimentally many times. It resulted well occasionally but not generally. The wise imported editor discovers that he must be acclimatized. He comes to show, he remains to study his constituency, he succeeds in proportion to the thoroughness of that study. What wins in other cities will not always produce the same results in St. Louis. On the other hand what St. Louis sustains with marked approval often proves acceptable to another city. St. Louis bred newspaper men have been successful in other fields. Not so many imported newspaper men have been markedly successful in St. Louis. Wrecks of scores of enterprises which were to give this community "live" newspapers are distributed through the one hundred and one years of St. Louis journalism. But the successful papers of today in this city range in age from a quarter to a whole century. They are directed by men who have had the greater part if not the whole of their newspaper experience in St. Louis. In positions of importance on these papers is a larger proportion of natives of St. Louis than the vocation of journalism can show to be true of any other city. The profession has descended in some cases from father to son. Traditions are nowhere so strong as in this newspaper field.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE MINING INDUSTRIES

*How Burton Found Lead—Burton's Newspaper Sketch—Julien Dubuque, the Indian Adviser—An Iowa Grant St. Louisans Claimed—The Pig Lead Roundabout Route—Trudeau's Grant to Moses Austin—Crude Smelting of Sheet Lead—The Castle at Potosi—"Barefooted Wagons"—Maclot's Shot Tower at Herculaneum—St. Louisans Interested in "The Diggings"—Early Methods at Mine a Burton—Process of Colonel John Smith—Bonne Terre's Beginning—The Era of Disseminated Ore—LaGrave's Discovery—Always a St. Louis Industry—Almost Fabulous Profits on Granby Shares—The Day of Black Jack—Seventy Years of White Lead Production—A St. Louis History of Lead—The Story of Isomachus—Evolution to Paint Manufacture—The Inspiration of Many Industrious—Traditions of Silver Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob—Great Expectations of 1870—John Maguire's Expert Prediction—"City of the Iron Crown"—Costly Experiments in Coke Burning—Exploitation of Alleged Copper Mines—Franklin County Ores—The Mining Craze of 1885-90—Stock Trading on Third Street at Night—Granite Mountain Bonanza—Profits of More than \$12,5120,000—Many Betterments of St. Louis, the Results.*

We are happy to find that a spirit of enterprise and industry is every day manifesting itself among the people of this territory. They begin to be convinced that the peltry and fur trade is diminishing in value, and that it is necessary to give up, in part, the old staple, and to turn their attention to the more important one of lead. During the last two weeks several boats have left this place in order to enlarge the mineral establishments made many years ago by Julien Dubuque at a place called the "Spanish mines" on the Mississippi. The present adventurers have become the purchasers of a part of these mines under an order of the general court of this Territory, and have taken with them near one hundred hands, provided with all the implements necessary for mining and carrying on the lead business.—*The Missouri Gazette, June 20, 1811*

The year that Laclède coralled his expedition up the Mississippi, to found St. Louis, Francis Burton discovered lead. Burton was a French soldier. He had fought against the British. He participated in the defeat of Braddock. When the French power waned, he wandered west of the Mississippi and became a hunter in Missouri, before Missouri had a name. A tradition is that Burton,—Breton, he was sometimes called—built his camp fire one night against what he supposed was the root of a tree. In the morning there was smelted lead among the embers. Thus was discovered the great lead field known to generations as Mine-a-Burton. This was not the first finding of lead ore in Missouri. It was the beginning of an industry which had its important place in the building of St. Louis. A beaver was pictured on the notes of the first bank of St. Louis. A pig of lead might have been a fit companion symbol.

In the early times, when the enterprising Frenchmen dominated the lead industry, they had a pleasant way of naming their mines. When a discovery was made and a grant obtained from the Spanish governor at St. Louis, the place was named after the owner with the prefix "Mine-a." Thus Mine-a-LaMotte received its name which was contracted into Mine La Motte. Mine-a-Joe was so called for the pioneer Joseph Bogy. Mine-a-Burton was named for the discoverer. Burton never was much of a miner. He preferred hunting. He lived to be one hundred and nine years old. The latter part of his life was spent in St. Louis. Thomas H. Benton, then the young editor of the St. Louis Enquirer,

made Burton the subject of a sketch in the *St. Louis Enquirer* in 1818. This is what Mr. Benton wrote about the old discoverer:

Burton is a Frenchman from the north of France. In the fore part of the last century he served in the low countries under the orders of Marshal Saxe. He was at Fontenoy when the Duke of Cumberland was beaten by that marshal. He was at the siege of Bergenop-Zoom, and assisted in the assault of that place when it was assailed by a division of Saxe's army under der Count Luvesdape. He had also seen service upon this continent. He was at the building of Fort Chartres in the American bottom, and was present at Braddock's defeat. From the life of a soldier Burton passed to that of a hunter, and in that character, about a half century ago, while pursuing a bear to the west of the Mississippi, he discovered the rich lead mines which have borne his name ever since. The most moderate computation will make him at the present writing, 1818, one hundred and six. He is what we call a square built man, of five feet and eight inches in height, full chest and forehead. His senses of seeing and hearing are somewhat impaired but free from disease and apparently able to hold out against time for many years to come.

The same year that Laclède came up the river and that Burton found Mine-a-Burton, Francis Valle of Ste. Genevieve was developing Mine La Motte. This was the first of four generations of Francis Valles. The founder of the Valle family, Francis Valle, came out from Canada, where he was born, to Kaskaskia in 1730. Made commandant at Ste. Genevieve, he turned his attention to the lead industry. Mine La Motte took its name from M. de la Motte Cadillac. Like Renault, la Motte was seeking a silver mine. He located the wonderful deposit of galena, which was afterward called "the golden vein," and carried away some specimens. He was not a lead miner. Whatever Francis Valle may have thought about the silver tradition, he applied himself to the production of lead. The Indians brought in the metal rudely smelted and traded it. They resented the efforts of the white men to mine. Francis Valle and his sons built a block house to protect the mines. The Indians attacked it. One of the sons was killed. Operations were suspended, but there was demand for lead. Mining was resumed. Again the Indians attacked. Again occurred a suspension. It was only temporary. Ste. Genevieve flourished on the trade. Spanish governors exercised a rather lax authority over the lead fields. Gradually St. Louis began to take notice of opportunities outside of the fur trade. The American Revolution created a more than normal demand for lead. Shipments of lead which were started down the river never reached New Orleans. The boats which had been loaded at Ste. Genevieve were found empty and adrift below the mouth of the Ohio.

The Valles were of the sturdy French pioneer stock which could not be daunted by disaster. They applied to the lead industry the same courage and persistence which gave to St. Louis supremacy in the fur trade. With the Valles were associated in the early lead mining the Prattes and the Beauvais families. One of the Valles had three lovely daughters, who were wooed and won by three gallant Rozier brothers, Felix, Francis and Firmin. Good lead land went to the daughters for dowry. The Roziers acquired more lead land and were interested in mining enterprises.

Julian Dubuque was the first St. Louisian to go into lead mining. He was a Canadian who had settled in Cahokia. His fur trading trips to the Upper Mississippi took him among the Sacs and Foxes. These Indians conceived great admiration for the trader. Dubuque was no ordinary character. He

had the qualifications of natural leadership. He knew Indian character. Ten years after St. Louis was founded, the Sacs and Foxes persuaded Dubuque to come and live with them. They made him their counselor. All questions of tribal importance were taken to him for his opinion. The beginning of the confidence was the cure of a rattle-snake bite by the trader. Thirty-five years Dubuque lived with the tribe near the site of the city in Iowa which bears his name. For many years he was the only white man these Indians would permit to remain among them. His Indian name was La Petit Nuit.

Dubuque's life with the tribe began about 1775. A few years later, in 1788, the Indians met in solemn council and conferred the grant of a lead mine on their white friend. Some years afterwards Baron Carondelet, then governor-general of Louisiana, confirmed this grant. Dubuque worked his lead mine, shipping the product to St. Louis. He came down occasionally to visit his old friends. His ambition was to have Pierre Chouteau, Jr., then a boy, join him and inherit the lead mine and the good will of the Indians. Young Chouteau went back with Dubuque at the end of one of these visits and remained several years. When General Pike went up the Mississippi in 1805 to explore the head waters, and to report on the country along the west bank, he saw Dubuque. For some reason the latter wouldn't talk much. He told the general his grant was twenty-eight leagues long, and from one to three leagues wide. That was quite a strip of Iowa. The grant of Carondelet wasn't shown. Dubuque said Soulard had it in St. Louis. He told General Pike that the output was from twenty thousand to fifty thousand tons of lead yearly. Pike in his report rather discredited Dubuque's statements. Dubuque died in 1809. His faithful admirers put the body in a lead coffin and buried it on Dubuque's Bluff. For a long time they kept a lamp burning over the grave every night. Dubuque left a will in which he made Auguste Chouteau his executor. He seems to have felt he had a title to the grant which could be conveyed, for he treated it as an estate which could be encumbered. Bradbury, the scientific explorer, in 1811, became much interested in the Dubuque grant and wrote about the controversy over it:

Formerly these Indians, the Sacs and Foxes, gave permission to a person of the name of Dubuque to dig lead. He resided in their village, being much respected by them, and acquired some property, the management of which, after his death, fell into the hands of Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis, who in 1810 advertised for sale Dubuque's property in the mines or his right of digging lead. It was bought by Colonel Smith, the proprietor of Mine Belle Fontaine, and Mr. Moorhead, of St. Louis, for about three thousand dollars. They ascended the Mississippi with an armed party to take possession but were roughly handled by the Indians and happy in having escaped with their lives. The Indians immediately afterwards called a council, and being fearful of giving offense to the American government, sent deputies to St. Louis to plead their cause before Governor Howard and General Clark. The deputies performed their mission with great ability; first disclaiming any intention to continue the grant beyond the life of Dubuque, and secondly any wish to offend the government by driving away Smith and Moorhead. They next stated that when the Great Spirit gave the land to the red men, their ancestors, he foresaw that the white men would come into their country, and that the game would be destroyed; therefore, out of his great goodness, He put lead into the ground that they, their wives and children might continue to exist. They lastly appealed to the justice of their Great Father, the President of the United States. Governor Howard and General Clark approved of their conduct and assured them the protection of the government.

The ore is raised by the men, but the smelting is done by the squaws. The method by which they extract the metal was described to me by Mr. Prior who was of the Lewis and Clark party and who traded with these Indians for lead. They first dig a deep cavity in the ground, near a perpendicular bank of the Mississippi, and from the face of the bank make a horizontal hole to meet the bottom of it. A quantity of dry wood is then thrown into the cavity and set fire to, after which the ore is thrown in and the supply of both is continued. The metal runs out at the horizontal opening, and is received in holes made by the Indians with their heels in the sand of the river. In this state it is bought by the traders from St. Louis, who afterwards cast it into pigs in their own moulds.

The decision of General Clark stood until the Sacs and Foxes were removed in 1832. Then the St. Louis representatives of Dubuque's estate took possession under the Carondelet grant and began improvements. The government claimed the land by virtue of purchase and ejected the holders of Dubuque's title. The mines were worked under government leases on royalties until 1847, when the land was sold. One of the early plants for manufacturing white lead was at Buffalo. Pig lead from the Dubuque district was brought down the Mississippi to St. Louis, trans-shipped to New Orleans, then sent by sailing vessel to New York and finally up the Hudson and by way of the Erie Canal to Buffalo. That was long before railroads. The Buffalo manufacturers, by way of improving transportation, established an ox-team express which hauled their pigs of lead across Wisconsin to Lake Michigan, where they were taken by boats around the lake route.

Bradbury was one of the earliest scientific visitors in the Southeast Missouri lead field, going there about 1811:

On a Saturday evening I arrived at the Mine Belle Fontaine, and employed myself until night in examining the substances thrown out by the diggers, and found the most interesting specimens among the refuse of one man who, on that account, I particularly noticed. On the following morning I met him in the village, dressed in a white gown, with red slippers, and a blue silk waistcoat, embroidered with silver lace.

Some of these mines have fallen into the hands of Americans, who have ventured to penetrate the rock which is always found at a depth of from six to twelve feet below the surface, and have been amply rewarded for their enterprise. I remained a few days with Mr. Elliot, who at that time had only just commenced on the rock but had the most promising prospects of success. He had raised a considerable quantity of ore, and many tons of blende and with the last had repaired the road to his works, not knowing what substance it was. Mr. Moses Anstin, proprietor of Mine-a-Burton, had been very successful, having found large masses of ore in the caves of the rock into which he had penetrated.

Louis Labeaume de Tateron came to St. Louis to be secretary to the Spanish lieutenant-governor, Trudeau. He dropped the prefix which indicated his descent from a noble family and became plain, democratic Louis Tateron Labeaume. For that action he had the precedent set by a number of St. Louis families of distinguished lineage. After the American occupation Mr. Labeaume was judge of the court of common pleas. He held one of the grants of lead lands to the southwest of St. Louis. His place was called Richwoods mines. On a square league he dug forty holes four feet deep, widely scattered. In thirty-eight of them he found lead.

The first notable improvement in lead mining methods was introduced by an adventurous Connecticut man. Moses Austin came to St. Louis about 1798. He visited the lead mines and saw at once the opportunity for improvement. It is tradition that until Austin came sheet lead was unknown. The shrewd

New Englander smelted ore and poured it on a flat rock to produce the first sheet. Governor Trudeau was impressed with Austin's shrewdness. He was encouraging American settlers. On conditions, the governor granted Austin a league which included about one-third of the Mine-a-Burton lead field. In accordance with the proviso, Austin built a furnace and sunk a shaft. He increased the production largely. He built for his home an imposing stone castle, which was one of the wonders of the lead country. Ostensibly the fortifications were for protection against the Indians. Subsequent events rather indicated that Austin never forgot that he was an American, and looked forward to the time when the American flag would fly west of the Mississippi forcibly, if not peaceably. He borrowed Spanish cannon from the commandant at Ste. Genevieve, and failed to return them when the Spaniards evacuated Upper Louisiana. Austin seems to have entertained the hope of silver, although he didn't waste time looking for it, but turned out lead for several years. When the American occupation took place, Austin told Captain Stoddard that the ore of Mine la Motte carried fifty ounces of silver to the ton. The Mine la Motte, up to 1804, had produced 8,000 tons of lead, but it had not shown enough silver to pay for the extraction. Austin grew tired of his lead mining and smelting soon after the American occupation. He went to Mexico and got a grant in Texas for colonization purposes. On his way back to Missouri to raise his colony he was killed. His son, Stephen Austin, took up his father's prospect and led the colony to Texas. Stephen Austin was one of the pioneers in the movement for Texas independence, and the capital of the state was named after him.

Before Moses Austin became enamored of the opportunity to help found a republic in Texas he had taken out of Mine-a-Burton 9,300,000 pounds of lead. This lead was transported to the river either on pack animals or on carts, with great wooden wheels having no tires. The Indians called these wooden wheeled carts of the French pioneers "barefooted wagons." When St. Louis, under an enterprising municipal administration, put in the first street paving on Main street, there was bitter opposition. The argument was made that the wooden wheels of the "barefooted wagons" would go to pieces on the cobble stone paving and that the country trade would be lost.

The Austin home was the most formidable private residence of Missouri in that day, not excepting the mansions of the Chouteaus with their walled-in grounds, at St. Louis. Austin's home was a castle. It suggested the possibility of something more than defense against Indians. For three generations Austin's castle was the pride of Potosi, which became the name of Mine-a-Burton. It stood until the fire of 1871 played havoc with the ancient mining center.

In November, 1809, this notice appeared in the Gazette, informing the St. Louis public of the inauguration of a new industry:

"John N. Maclot having completed the erection of his shot tower at Herculaneum,—the first in the West,—gives notice to his friends and the public that he will manufacture lead into drop-shot on reasonable terms."

More than half a century after this announcement, the scaffolding of the tower still projected over the edge of the limestone cliff. Travelers on the boats

approaching or leaving St. Louis were told the story of the early enterprise. John Nicholas Maclot was from Metz. He was in Paris just before the French Revolution. Suspected of republican sentiments he suffered imprisonment in the Bastille. When released he came to this country. After some mercantile experience in Philadelphia, he came to St. Louis with a stock of goods, the year of American occupation. The opportunity to make shot appealed to his inventive mind and he went down to Herculaneum, a new settlement which Moses Austin, the Connecticut pioneer was establishing. Austin was working the lead mines at Potosi. He proposed to make Herculaneum on the river the shipping point for the mines. Just below the town was a very high and overhanging cliff. To Maclot the conditions suggested a shot-tower with the altitude provided by nature. About all that was needed was to build on the edge of the cliff the place to melt and drop, with the proper receptacle at the base.

This was the first shot making establishment west of Pittsburg. Maclot continued his manufacture some years. He dropped from the Herculaneum cliff the lead which made buckshot and bullets for the War of 1812. When the Battle of New Orleans was fought on the eighth of January Maclot was there. He got off a letter to Mr. Cabanne, in St. Louis. This was what he wrote:

The enemy have reembarked leaving their wounded and prisoners. They landed 9,966 men. After the action, 1,966 were missing in the next morning's report. They acknowledge a loss in the various engagements of over 3,600. Their total loss may be put down at 4,000.

Mr. Cabanne carried the letter to Colonel Charless. The Gazette came out with the glorious news. That night St. Louis illuminated. At least one candle burned in every window of the town "in honor of the brilliant success of the American arms at New Orleans," as Colonel Charless put it.

Maclot was the son of John Maclot de Coligny. He came of good family in Lorraine. He rendered the city of his adoption great service. Like some other pioneers of St. Louis, he did not have the fortune to hand down his family name, although he left descendants. His wife was a daughter of Charles Gratiot, Marie Therese, named in honor of her grandmother, Madame Chouteau. The two daughters of Maclot became the wives of Henry A. Thomson of the United States Army and Pierre A. Berthold. Two daughters by a second wife, who was Miss Mathieu of Philadelphia, were Mrs. Wallace and Mrs. Weston.

In 1810, pirogues in the lead trade went up the Meramec river to the Big river and hence up Big river, sixty miles. St. Louis had direct interest in the Meramec Diggings, as they were called. Travelers, looking into material conditions, were much impressed with the lead industry as a business interest of St. Louis. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, who came under the patronage of the King of the Netherlands, wrote:

I was told that the lead ore lies almost on the surface, and is so extensive, that it is not worth the trouble to dig for it deep. If therefore a shaft is pushed so deep as to strike water, this shaft is abandoned and another opened. The easy method of working will last until the owner has labored over every part of his territory; then he will be obliged to have recourse to water pumps, and steam engines. On Fever river, on the Upper Mississippi, are also very rich lead works. These, united to the works at Potosi, have delivered, during nine months, 887,298 pounds of lead; the amount of percentage which the United States received from these works during that time, was 104,113 pounds. It is supposed that



CHARLES DESOTO



JAMES ALLEN



WOODEN SHOVEL USED BY PIONEER LEAD MINERS



EXCAVATING FOR VASTOGEN SKELETONS IN SUBURBS OF ST. LOUIS





in the next year the mine works will produce from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 pounds of lead which must be 350,000 pounds for the share of the United States. It is but a few years since these mines were worked.

The Missouri lead miners of a hundred years ago formulated their own mining code. When a hole or pit showed good prospects, the miner made his claim. He took a pole and measured twelve feet every direction from the edge of the hole. That was his claim. The miner could drift that distance but no farther. He must dig a new pit and make a new claim. The only implements of mining were a pick, a wooden shovel and a sledge hammer. The ore, sold at the top of the pit, brought from twenty to twenty-five dollars for one thousand pounds. A miner might make a strike of \$500 in a day. He might work months and make nothing.

"A discovery" was the name applied when any considerable body of ore was found in the Missouri field. The prospectors dug holes five or six feet deep. If they found only a few pounds of ore they abandoned the spot. If the holes showed ore in abundance, the news of a discovery spread. Miners flocked to the locality. The new center of activity held its popularity only until there was a larger discovery or one in ground more easily worked. This was the process of mining lead southwest of St. Louis a century ago. The ore was commonly found in slopes near creeks. It was buried in dark red clay, a few feet from the surface. The chunks or lumps of ore were from one to fifty pounds weight. Not infrequently a mass of one thousand or two thousand pounds was found. The limestone rock was reached at eight or ten feet. There the miners stopped.

Brackenridge, in his *Views of Louisiana*, told how the Indians mined and smelted lead ore and also what he found at Mine-a-Burton:

The Indians are badly provided with tools for mining; a common hoe is almost the only instrument which they use. They merely scratch away the soil a few feet, and the ore may be said, without exaggeration, to be pried up, in the manner of stones in a quarry. The mode of smelting is equally rude. The ore is thrown on piles of wood and the lead is afterwards gathered up in cakes, in the shapes and forms assumed by melted lead when carelessly thrown on a hearth. It is afterwards melted by the tralets and made into pigs by the use of moulds.

We entered the village of Mine-a-Burton in the evening, situated in a long, narrow defile, on the banks of a small stream, the houses being on each side and far apart. It was a very humble village, the dwellings more properly cabins than houses, with the exception of that of Colonel Austin, the nabob of the place, whose dwelling situated on an elevated point, had comparatively something of a castle-like appearance.

The name of diggings was much more appropriate than that of mines, for they were nothing more than numerous pits, with the red earth thrown out near them, like newly dug wells. These covered a space in some places of ten or twenty acres, with the remains of hastily constructed cabins, the superficial search after the ore having been accomplished and the explorers having gone in pursuit of other discoveries; for such is the name given to the latest diggings where some one has been so lucky as to find an abundance of ore near the surface. The divining rod, I was informed, was pretty generally used; but I presume the more observing and experienced formed their opinions from the appearance and color of the clay, the deposits on the surface and other peculiarities in the configuration of the land.

At the time of Brackenridge's visit to the Missouri lead mines, John Smith was one of the most noted captains of that industry. Colonel Smith entertained

the first newspaper correspondent of St. Louis and made this impression upon him:

There was nothing in his appearance to denote the fierce belligerent. He was a small man, of a delicate frame, even somewhat effeminate in his appearance—mild, blue eyes, fair hair, fair complexion—his face smooth and youthful, although he was not less than forty years of age. His manners in his family were mild and gentle; kindness and benevolence appeared to be the natural growth of his heart. Mrs. Smith seemed to be one of the most amiable of her sex, and their only child a daughter about ten years old, seemed to possess the modesty and sweetness of disposition of her mother.

To enable the reader to form an idea of the desperate intrepidity of my host, I will select from a hundred instances the following: One of the diggers at the mines, a man of ferocious character and herculean frame, either of his own accord, or instigated by some of theimps of Satan about the mines, resolved to assassinate the colonel, and thus get rid of the floating grant and the great monopolist. Taking his rifle, for he was a great shot, he went to the house of his intended victim, and challenged him to a trial of skill at a mark, that is to say, the best in three at the head of a nail, at the distance of sixty yards. The challenge was, of course, promptly accepted, and they proceeded to some distance from the house, where the ruffian seized the first opportunity, when the colonel was off his guard, to turn the muzzle of his rifle on his unsuspecting companion; but in the haste which attended guilt, his ball passed through the colonel's left shoulder without inflicting a mortal wound. He fell; the assailant rushed upon him, and fell with him to the ground, though uppermost; while the colonel, whose presence of mind never forsook him, drew his dirk, but missing his aim, drove it into his own thigh; he drew it out, struck the assassin on the ribs; the weapon bent, and as a last desperate effort, he drew it across the stomach of the ruffian, inflicting a mortal wound. The assassin who had been endeavoring to seize the Colonel by the throat, now released his hold, and they both lay for some time bathed in blood. The slaves coming up, carried them both into the house. And here it may be mentioned, as a proof of the magnanimity of the colonel, that by his orders every attention was paid to his treacherous enemy until he died of his wounds.

For many years the smelting of lead was about as crude as the mining. As late as 1810 there was but one regular furnace in operation in the Meramec field. The common way was to build a stone furnace on the side of a hill, the top open, an arched entrance at the bottom. Three large logs, four feet long, were rolled into the furnace. Small logs and pieces of wood were piled around. The ore, in lumps as large as could be handled conveniently, was thrown on top of the wood. Fire was lighted in the evening. The next morning there was melted lead in the hole dug at the entrance to the arch. This was poured into moulds and formed the pigs. The custom was to put six thousand pounds of ore in at one firing. The first smelting gave about three thousand pounds of lead. The scorched ore and ashes or slag were put through the ash furnace and yielded from twenty-five to thirty per cent more lead. Even the stone furnace was an improvement on the time of Renault. Then the ore was thrown on log heaps and the product was whatever melted and ran down into hollows dug in the ground. A stick was thrust into the ground near the end of each hollow or mould. This was burned out and left a hole through each pig of lead. Thongs were run through the holes and the pigs of lead were carried to the river on pack horses.

About 1854 Professor Whitney, a geologist of high rank, made the prediction that lead mining in Missouri was a lost industry. He thought the ore bodies had been nearly exhausted. In 1907 the southeastern Missouri lead district, directly tributary to St. Louis, produced in round figures 98,000 tons of

lead, worth \$10,150,000. At the same time H. A. Wheeler, the consulting mining engineer, ventured the prediction that the district was passing from shallow to deep mining with the prospect of still more handsome results in the future. He reasoned that the field could be extended from St. Francois and Madison counties into Washington county; that the shallow deposits of the latter are "underlaid with disseminated ore bodies." He cited geological evidence to sustain his theory.

Last year the mines poured into St. Louis 2,639,740 pigs of lead. A pig is eighty pounds. A generation fifty years ago didn't produce so much. This prodigious increase came about through the disseminated lead mining. Before the Civil war there was a locality called Bonne Terre. It wasn't a town, or even a village. It was a place where the ground looked favorable for scattered lead. Therefore the miners called it Bonne Terre. Two houses were the only evidences of settlement. Two grants had been given. One was to Andrew Pratte; the other to Buron Pratte; they were brothers and connected with one of the earliest St. Louis families. Anthony LaGrave came to Bonne Terre. He was a Canadian Frenchman, who had turned lead miner. After considerable prospecting LaGrave settled upon Bonne Terre as the best thing he could find. The surface had been worked over. That wasn't what had taken the eye of LaGrave. In a bluff on the edge of a creek, the Canadian had seen and studied a ledge of limestone which was full of lead. The formation looked as if, when the limestone was in plastic state, liquid lead had been injected through it until it was hard to tell whether lead or limestone was the principal part of the mixture. LaGrave thought he saw possibilities in working this lead charged rock. He bought the Andrew Pratte land. Tradition has it that the price paid was about \$900.

LaGrave went to work on the ledge of limestone. He laid up poles somewhat after the fashion of cob houses which children build. When the pile was high enough the chunks of lead bearing limestone were heaped on top and fire was started. The lead was not melted but the ore was roasted. The heating made the limestone brittle. LaGrave put the ore into hoppers with an old-fashioned grinding apparatus, something like an immense coffee mill. This grinding machine was run by mule power. It broke the limestone from the galena. Washing by hand power completed the separation. The smelting was done in a furnace which LaGrave set up on a primitive plan. This treatment was carried on several years. LaGrave got the reputation of successful extraction of lead from the rock. His method was much talked about in the lead region. LaGrave sunk a shaft down through the loose ground and into the limestone far enough to give an idea of the magnificent dimensions of the disseminated lead body. But all of the time this pioneer was treating the disseminated ore, he was sending his wagons through the Flat river diggings and buying pure galena from surface diggings to smelt at his Bonne Terre furnace. These operations of LaGrave began some time before the war. They were continued during the war. The Iron Mountain Railroad was built to the vicinity of Ironton. It was not far west of Bonne Terre. LaGrave hauled his pig lead to the railroad and shipped it to St. Louis. The amount of these shipments was so noticeable that it attracted attention in St. Louis. The news circulated that LaGrave was

getting lead from the rock and among those who became interested was Mr. Barlow, an official of the Iron Mountain Railroad. This was Joseph C. Barlow, a relative of Stephen D. Barlow. Impressed with the magnitude of LaGrave's shipments Mr. Barlow brought the property to the attention of J. Wyman Jones and other eastern men who organized the St. Joe Lead Company. And then began the development of the disseminated lead ore bodies according to practical and economical methods, born of the genius of Charles B. Parsons, who came from Massachusetts.

Properly classed, the disseminated lead ore production has been always a St. Louis industry, although eastern capital and brains took hold of the opportunity and showed what was in it. Firmin Desloge, a native of the lead mining district of southeast Missouri, educated in St. Louis, was one of the pioneers in the disseminated lead ore development. His father came from France about 1818, was a merchant, dealt in lead and in lead lands. The second Firmin Desloge had his apprenticeship at the lead business in old Potosi. There were times when the industry staggered under adverse conditions. Two men—Charles B. Parsons and Firmin Desloge—remained steadfastly with it until they had fully demonstrated the yielding value of the disseminated ore. They found lead almost at the grass roots. They went down through lead bearing rock to a depth of four hundred feet. It is forty years since treatment of the disseminated ores was undertaken seriously. The production of the district in that time has been a steady growth from 6,000 to 100,000 tons of lead. Varying somewhat with the price of lead, the district has been sending to St. Louis from \$6,000,000 to \$10,000,000 worth of lead annually.

Sixty years ago the Flat river country was famous. Forty years ago it became famous again. Today it is more famous than it ever was. It is sending to St. Louis millions where during former periods of fame it sent thousands of dollars in pig lead. Flat river is vital to a great St. Louis industry. Three generations ago the miners burrowed in shallow workings seeking pure galena. They didn't go down to the limestone with lead in vast quantities disseminated through it. Surface mining the method was called. One-tenth of the lead found by the miner went to the owner of the land. Some of the old St. Louis families had good incomes from these royalties, while the lead produced went to swell the commerce of the city. Fortunes, as wealth was estimated before the Civil war, were made out of Flat river and the other southeast Missouri diggings. Galena was currency, just as furs had been in an earlier day at St. Louis. The stores took galena in trade and heaped it up until called for. Wagons were sent through the diggings on regular trips to collect the galena and haul it away to the furnaces at Mineral Point and Hopewell and elsewhere. As the ore was collected by these wagoners cash was paid for it.

Titles to the lead lands of southeast Missouri are traced back to the days of the Spanish governors at St. Louis. Grants were bestowed by those officials. The grantee was usually some person who had deserved well of the government or who could offer the inducement that he would develop the property and add to the prosperity of the province. If there was private graft in connection with these transactions before the American occupation history has not preserved record of it. These grants were usually of 1,000 arpents, or by the measure-

ment of today about 800 acres. Very few of the owners worked the land. They let miners come on and dig for a share of what was found. This royalty was usually about ten per cent. The pioneer miners sunk well-like shafts fifteen or twenty feet. They took out only the loose mineral. They did not attempt to do anything with the lead in the limestone rock. For some years before the American occupation in 1804, Ste. Genevieve was the place of residence of most of those who held grants to these lead lands. But St. Louis was the capital and gradually residents of St. Louis acquired control of the industry. In the days of "gophering" after lead in this region those who were successful accumulated as much as \$40,000 and \$50,000.

One custom to encourage prospecting gave to the discoverer of new diggings all that he took out on one hundred square feet of the ground on which he sunk his first shaft. When he went beyond this measurement he began to give the owner the ten per cent. When mining began in the southeast Missouri field there were evidences that the Indians had obtained lead there. The aboriginal process of smelting was very simple. The Indians heaped up a pile of wood, threw the ore on top of it and let the lead run down on the ground. They resented the coming of the white miners. Blockhouses were built to protect the first miners. "Old Man Frye," who lived to be one hundred and sixteen years old, was a pioneer in the lead diggings. He was engaged to marry the daughter of Andrew Baker, another pioneer in the lead region. At that time a wedding meant a walk to Ste. Genevieve to have the ceremony performed. A wedding party was made up and with quite an escort the couple set out to walk the thirty or fifty miles at leisurely pace. Young Frye and Miss Baker wore their wedding clothes. Their friends were in holiday garb. They had walked about ten miles when a band of Indians stopped them and made them prisoners. The intentions of the party were explained to the captors. Instead of showing sympathy the Indians took a humorous view of the situation. After some minutes of deliberation the Indians stripped every member of the party. They allowed the young lady to retain a single garment. To the other members of the party they left nothing.

About 1856 Granby was the talk of all St. Louis. Those persons who held Granby shares were esteemed highly fortunate by their fellow citizens. Down in southwest Missouri, long before the days of railroads, in 1853, a Cornishman found lead on the farm of a man named Richardson, who was holding the land under squatter's right. Prospectors flocked in to look for the galena. Nuggets by the ton were taken out. Smelting was of the crudest character, the metal in pigs was hauled by ox teams to Boonville and shipped down the river to St. Louis. The Granby company was organized in St. Louis. The Blows, the Kennetts, John S. McCune, James B. Eads, perhaps others, went into it. They built a smelter. They systematized the methods of production. They acquired 7,000 acres of land. Before 1861, there were four thousand miners digging ore in and about Granby and bringing it to the smelter of the company. The profits of the Granby company reached the enormous sum of \$500,000 a year.

As the miners raised lead ore from the shallow shafts at Granby they brought up with it a black crystalline mineral which none of them recognized as of any value. They called the stuff "black jack." Miners who went out to

Granby from the lead diggings in southeast Missouri recognized the black jack as the same worthless mineral they had been throwing out of the mines at Potosi and elsewhere, though not in such enormous quantities. Around the shafts of Granby black jack in thousands of tons was heaped and left.

A man named Hasselmeyer manufactured and sold candy in St. Louis. He had a laboratory and gave his leisure hours to chemical experiments. He dabbled in mineralogy. Specimens of black jack brought to St. Louis, along with nuggets of galena, aroused the interest of Hasselmeyer. The candy maker took the specimens to his laboratory. He came out with the announcement that they were zinc ore. Hasselmeyer sold his candy business, went down to Potosi, acquired a lot of supposed refuse, built a smelter and turned out the first slab of zinc ever manufactured in that region. That was a great day for black jack. Potosi celebrated. Judge George D. Reynolds of St. Louis, then a young lawyer, made a speech predicting alluring possibilities for the new industry. But neither the orator nor hearers realized the consequences. Hasselmeyer moved his zinc smelter to Carondelet, where it in time became the Glendale. The black jack which had been accumulating on dumps throughout southeast Missouri for generations was bought up and shipped to St. Louis for reduction. Down at Granby there was an industrial revolution. There the black jack lay already mined in small mountains. The company transformed it into dividends and began to dig for more. Lead ore was the by-product. The zinc field spread. Joplin became the center.

In 1818 the Missouri Gazette announced that "in despite of the savages, Indian and British, this country is progressing in improvements. A red and white lead manufactory has been established by a citizen of Philadelphia by the name of Hertzog. This enterprising citizen has caused extensive works to be erected, to which he has added a handsome brick house in our principal street for retailing merchandise. We understand that his agents have already sent several thousand dollars' worth of manufactured lead to the Atlantic States."

In 1810 there was one white lead factory in the United States. It made 369 tons that year. The infant industry was one of the results of the acquisition of Louisiana. Tench Coxe reported to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, that "establishments to make pigments were erected in one season sufficient, with the shot factories, to utilize all the product which was likely to reach Atlantic ports. Red and white lead and patent yellows are now made in considerable quantities." Secretary Gallatin sent the report to Congress.

Seventy years the industry of white lead production has been growing in St. Louis. Twenty years ago it reached an output of from 18,000 to 20,000 tons annually. The manufacture of sheet lead and of pipe has been a St. Louis industry, owing its prosperity to the tributary lead region. There was a time when the shot towers of St. Louis turned out 40 per cent of the shot manufactured in the United States.

Not much market for white lead west of the Mississippi was found in the pioneer days. A good stiff clay to chink the logs was more to be desired than a keg of paint. William Glasgow, Jr., built works to turn Missouri lead into white lead. He had as superintendent Isaac Gregg of Pittsburg. This establishment was operated five years and then burned. At the same time Bacon &



HENRY F. BLOW



JAMES H. KIRKSON



COLLIER WHITE LEAD WORKS, ABOUT 1855





Hyde built a small white lead factory. But the real father of white lead manufacture, the man who made it one of the great industries of St. Louis, was Henry T. Blow. Dr. Silas Reed began experiments in white lead making, and Henry T. Blow took them up, developing the Collier works. Blow was followed by Thomas Richeson.

St. Louis proved to be the best place in the United States for the manufacture of white lead. It had advantages other than nearness to the pig lead supply. Oil was cheaper here. The oak timber to make the kegs came into this market. In the early days Henry T. Blow bought castor beans and made free distribution of them to farmers around St. Louis in order to encourage production. One of Mr. Blow's purchases of castor beans was brought up the river on a steamboat which was conveying immigrants to St. Louis. A bag of beans on the lower deck bursted and wrought havoc among the unfortunate people who cooked and ate the beans.

There was romance in the lead industry. William H. Pulsifer of St. Louis, having some financial concern in lead production, was asked to prepare an historical paper upon the subject. He became greatly interested as he investigated. The result was a volume of nearly 400 pages. Very modestly Mr. Pulsifer called his book "Notes for a History of Lead." He spoke of it as a compilation. He asked to have it considered "an amplification of the article prepared as an after-dinner paper for a paint club." The book was published twenty years ago, and is today a standard work on lead, and on the manufacture of white lead. The historical research was the more notable because the author was interested in the industry only as a side investment. Mr. Pulsifer found among other interesting things about lead and its derivatives this account of an ancient household argument against the use of face paint:

Isomachus had a beautiful young wife, who followed the prevailing fashion and rouged and powdered her lovely face, and moreover wore highheeled shoes to add height to her figure. "Tell me, my dear wife," said Isomachus to her one day, "in which case would you consider me the more worthy of your affection and esteem, if I truly informed you of my estate, or if I pretended to possess more than I really owned, and concealed some things from you; if I gave you false silver, a wooden chain plated with gold, and purple raiment which would not retain its hue." "Oh! don't speak so," interrupted his wife, "you could not do such a thing. If you were like that I could not love you." "Then," said Isomachus, "have we not a partnership in our bodies as well as in our possessions!" "Yes," she replied, "it is so considered." "Then," said Isomachus, "would I treat you with the most loving consideration if I smeared my body with minium, and painted under my eyes in order to deceive you; or if I so cared for my body that it should be healthy and strong, and thereby be in truth and by nature painted. Would you prefer, when you pressed your lips to my cheek, to touch my own natural and healthy skin, or a plaster of ceruse and minium?" "Ah," she cried, "it would be much more pleasant to touch your skin and to see you as you really are, and not with powder on your cheeks and paint under your eyes." "Believe me," said Isomachus, "I like not ceruse or minium on your dear face."

He then explained to her that such arts might possibly deceive a stranger, but could not her husband, as the bath and her tears would soon remove the cosmetic coating. The young wife was quickly persuaded that as every creature in his own natural condition best pleases himself, so man considers the unadorned beauty of woman the most adorned.

The white lead industry was seemingly about to be revolutionized in 1870-80. There were taken out thirty-five patents in that decade to improve on the old method of white lead manufacture. St. Louis had become a great center

of white lead production. Local capital was invested in the new processes; plants were erected here and in several other cities. The new processes failed and were abandoned after some costly experimenting. Many centuries ago "Theophilus, a humble monk and priest," as he described himself, wrote in his Book of Various Arts, how to make white lead and paints. So little is known of Theophilus, that historians dispute whether he lived in the seventh or the thirteenth century. To this day the monks' directions guide the St. Louis makers of paints. On Clark avenue, between Ninth and Eleventh streets, the principles upon which Theophilus, at least nine hundred years ago, based his rules for corroding lead are still followed. The inventors now confine themselves to improvements of minor details. They have ceased to invent new processes. Very few establishments for manufacturing white lead have been started in the past twenty years. The old concerns have enlarged their capacities and have reduced the cost of production. They have so completely occupied the field that encouraging opportunities for new enterprises do not exist.

William H. Gregg came into the white lead industry in 1867. He and his associates organized the Southern White Lead company. For twenty-two years Mr. Gregg was the president. Under his management this concern grew until it was turning out one-sixth of all of the white lead manufactured in the United States. Mr. Gregg was a New Yorker, from Palmyra, descended from Captain James Gregg, who came out with a Scotch colony to found the town of Londonderry, New Hampshire, nearly sixty years before the American Revolution. He had twenty years successful experience in St. Louis mercantile life before he became a manufacturer of white lead. He became identified with the white lead industry at a time when pig lead was hauled to St. Louis in farm wagons from Franklin and Washington counties, ten and twenty pigs at a load. The time came when the Collier, the St. Louis and the Southern were manufacturing here over thirty per cent of the entire white lead product of the United States.

In the evolution of the white lead industry the product under the St. Louis trademark became known and used in every state and territory of the Union. So valuable was the reputation of white lead manufactured in St. Louis that manufacturers in other cities adopted forms of labels for their kegs which, while not precisely like those put upon the packages from the St. Louis factories, were so similar as to be mistaken for them at a casual glance. The St. Louis companies found that in remote parts of the country white lead under misleading labels was being purchased for the St. Louis product. They went into the United States court at Chicago and on the showing of the superiority of the St. Louis product obtained injunctions restraining outside manufacturers from using the imitation labels. They obtained judicial support of their contention that "the name St. Louis, on a package of white lead, is of itself a recommendation or guarantee." This was nearly a quarter of a century ago. William H. Gregg, William H. Pulsifer, Fletcher W. Rockwell, Henry S. Platt and Alexander Euston were among the St. Louisans who obtained this remarkable judicial tribute to the character of a St. Louis industry.

Natural was the evolution from pig lead and white lead to paint, with twenty-five St. Louis manufacturers turning out annually over seven million

dollars in paints and varnishes. The ten million dollars worth of pig lead which the mines of Missouri now annually send to St. Louis is the base of a pyramid of industries. From twenty-five to thirty-five per cent of this lead remains here. It is the raw material which enters into various forms of manufacturing. The industries which this pig lead thus encourages add over twenty-five million dollars to the productive trade of the city. They are sustained by millions of dollars invested capital. They give employment to an army of salaried and wage people.

Lead furnished St. Louis the inspiration of a variety of industries. After Silas Reed and Henry T. Blow developed and perfected the manufacture of white lead, what was more natural than for St. Louis to become the seat of linseed oil manufactures. Quite as a matter of course followed the making of other oils. Near St. Louis were found deposits which made profitable the production of mineral paint. The evolution of these industries encouraged the making of chemicals and kindred products until this city became known the world over for these lines of manufacturing.

About 1852 the manufacture of sheet lead and lead pipe began. Within two years the entire Mississippi valley was supplied from St. Louis with lead pipe. The product in twelve months was two million pounds. It was shipped out on large reels or coiled in casks. The manufacture of sheet lead quickly reached one million, two hundred thousand pounds a year. With the raw material close at hand, St. Louis demonstrated the ability to manufacture at prices with which other points could not compete. At that time the St. Louis shot tower was manufacturing nearly twenty-five thousand pounds of shot daily. In five months of 1854 the shot tower turned out one million nine hundred and ninety-four thousand pounds of shot and four hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds of bar lead, according to Captain Simonds' books. Blatchford & Collins were early manufacturers of sheet and pipe lead. William H. Thompson went into this industry and laid the foundation of the fortune which grew with the National Bank of Commerce. Chadbourne developed the manufacture of shot on a scale which made St. Louis one of the chief centers of this industry.

In the siege of Pensacola a Spaniard named Antonio was captured. He bragged to the French about the mining he had done in Mexico. The company sent Antonio to the Missouri lead country. The Spaniard dug down to the ore, broke off some pieces and treated them. Announcement was made that the result was several drachms of silver. Encouraged by this alleged prospect, a mining company under La Renandiere took charge of the work. With a costly outfit this organization made an utter failure. It not only got no silver, but couldn't produce lead. Then came Renault, of whom Charlevoix wrote:

"In the month of June last Renault found a bed of lead two feet in thickness, running to a great length over a chain of mountains, where he has set his people to work. He flatters himself that there is silver below the lead. Everybody is not of his opinion, but time will discover the truth."

Inspiring and encouraging this early seeking for silver in southeast Missouri was John Law's Mississippi scheme. The bubble collapsed while Renault was still seeking for silver. To encourage the banker-miner, the French commandant at Fort Chartres granted him a tract of land extending northward to the Mera-

mec. In those days this river was called the Merameg, which was Indian for catfish.

Renault was a banker in Paris. He studied mineralogy. Forty-three years before the settlement of St. Louis a company was formed to mine for silver in the Mississippi Valley. Renault headed the enterprise. He came up the river, bringing several hundred negro slaves from San Domingo. Lead was found, but not the silver. Renault continued his prospecting for years, most of the time in Missouri. His route to the lead country was up the Meramec, south of St. Louis to the Big river, and then up the Big river, or Grande river, as he called it. Renault had two theories: One was that silver veins would be found in the lead country. The other was that the lead ore itself carried a percentage of silver. The explorer worked twelve or fifteen years. He mined considerable lead. He was never able to find silver veins. He could not extract from the lead the silver he supposed was there. After working the Missouri field, searching along the Mississippi to its source, and making a side trip up the Illinois, Renault went down the river in 1744, leaving most of the San Domingo slaves in the vicinity of Fort Chartres. Some of these slaves were brought to St. Louis by the first settlers.

Previous to Renault's ambitious efforts, the West India Company sent Sieur de Lochon. That was in 1719. The purpose was to mine for silver, not lead. Lochon dug up some ore and worked over it four days. He showed two drachms of silver, claiming to have smelted it out of a pound of lead ore. Charlevoix, who came down the Mississippi later, heard of this. He also noted the suspicion that Lochon first put in the silver which he took out. Lochon tried on a larger scale. He smelted two or three thousand pounds of ore and got no silver. The product was "fourteen pounds of very bad lead." Lochon went back to France.

Renault's workings were not far from what is now Potosi. They remained abandoned for many years. This Spanish theory of silver in connection with lead of southeast Missouri was not without some foundation. Toward the southern limit of the lead field the proportion is largest, but even there it is too small to pay the cost of extraction. More than a century after the failure of the hopes which had set France wild, St. Louis capitalists put money into one of these "Missouri silver mines" and left it there. In 1804 Moses Austin wrote to Captain Stoddard at St. Louis that "the lead ore obtained from Mine La Motte contains fifty ounces of silver to the ton."

As late as 1810 the lead miners in the district near St. Louis held to the theory that silver would be found. Brackenridge, who visited the mining field at that time, wrote:

The ore contains a considerable proportion of sulphur, arsenic and it is believed, of silver; though in respect to the last it has not been sufficiently tested by experiments to know whether the proportion would repay the trouble and expenses of separating. It is highly probable that the ore of some of these mines may yield it sufficiently. The ore of the Merameg, which I am informed has been partially assayed, gave the most flattering result. Above the rock the ore is found in enormous masses in strata, apparently horizontal, and often two feet thick, and several of these are passed before the rock arrests the progress of the miner; I have seen pits ten or twelve feet deep where the strata of ore had been only dug through, the digger intending to strike the rock before he attempted to undermine; perhaps

gratifying his vanity with the pleasing contemplation of the shining mineral, his riches. In the rock there appear to be no regular veins; the ore occupies the accidental fissures as is the case generally in lead mines.

Some of the Americans who settled in St. Louis clung to the theory of silver deposits in southeast Missouri just as the Spaniards and the French had done. They expended considerable money in seeking for veins. In 1859 a German named Hoeninger found silver in Madison county and sunk a shaft. After a century and more of tradition there was found a well defined vein of silver bearing galena, but the percentage was not profitable.

"The favored child of the mighty valley of the Mississippi, the city of the Iron Crown," Charles P. Johnson called St. Louis in his address to the state immigration convention, April, 1886. The words were not extravagant. At that time it was confidently believed St. Louis was adjacent to a region "where they have enough ore to run one hundred furnaces for one thousand years."

In 1847 Pilot Knob was considered one of the greatest deposits of iron ore in the country, but it was forty-seven miles from the Mississippi, and the building of a railroad from St. Louis to Iron Mountain had not begun. Lewis V. Bogy purchased an interest in Pilot Knob. The other stockholders became discouraged at the long delay in securing transportation. They offered their shares for sale and Colonel Bogy bought them. The colonel presided over the Pilot Knob Company for some years and gave his attention to the development of the mineral resources. He became president of the Iron Mountain Railroad.

The greatest of St. Louis' expectations, in 1854, was manufacture of iron. At the gates of the city was the coal. Near by and in forms for working almost without parallel in facility were ore bodies thought to be practically inexhaustible. Why should not St. Louis become another Workshop of the World? The fur trade was losing its glamor. There were forebodings that the lead deposits of counties contiguous to St. Louis were being worked out. To the field of iron manufacture the Chouteaus and the Valles and the Harrisons and the Garrisons and the other captains of St. Louis industry turned their attention. They planned for generations. Science encouraged them. Business acumen justified the undertakings.

In the third county south of St. Louis was an Iron Mountain, "one of the most wonderful metalliferous formations in the world." Such was the description in 1854. The practical possibilities for St. Louis were pointed out at that time in this glowing language:

The ore of the Iron Mountain covers an area of some 500 acres. It rises to a height of some 260 feet above the general level of the country and is estimated to contain above the surface over two hundred million tons of ore. Here is an object for laborers that is capable of supplying the demands, even of English furnaces for generations without going below the general surface of the country. The ore is found in lumps from the size of pebbles of a few ounces to those of 200 or 300 pounds in weight and is gathered from the surface from base to summit to the extent of thousands of tons without any difficulty.

Quality as well as quantity of the ore encouraged the belief that St. Louis "should have the most extensive iron manufactures in the United States." Of the ores of Iron Mountain and of contiguous mines it was said they—

Usually yield some 68 to 70 per cent of pure iron, and it is so free from injurious substances as to present no obstacle to working it into blooms. The metal is so excellent that much

of it and also that from the Pilot Knob is now used by the manufacturers on the Ohio river for mixing with the ores found there, and is especially esteemed for making nails. Combinations of the ores from Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, it is said, will form the best iron in the world for railroad car wheels, and all other purposes requiring great strength and tenacity; and no doubt rails for roads, made from our own mines, would be stronger, consequently safer, wear longer, and for these reasons be cheaper than any other rails that can be made. The ore from the Shepard mountain, in the same vicinity, is different. It is analogous to the Swedes' iron and possibly may be even better than that for the manufacture of steel. It has been tried for this purpose and found excellent. The farmers in the vicinity now lay their plows with it, while it is used for making cold chisels. The agent of Jessup & Sons of Sheffield, England, has ordered ten tons of this particular iron shipped to England for experiment. They make large quantities of steel.

With perfect confidence the St. Louisan before the war spoke of the iron deposits near by as "inexhaustible." At Iron Mountain a shaft had been sunk one hundred and forty-four feet. It gave "fifteen feet of clay and ore, thirty feet of white sand, thirty-three feet of blue porphyry and fifty-three feet of pure iron ore in which they are still at work." This was at the base of the mountain. These explorations were thought to justify the conclusion that "no other country in the world of the same extent has so abundant and accessible supply of iron as Missouri."

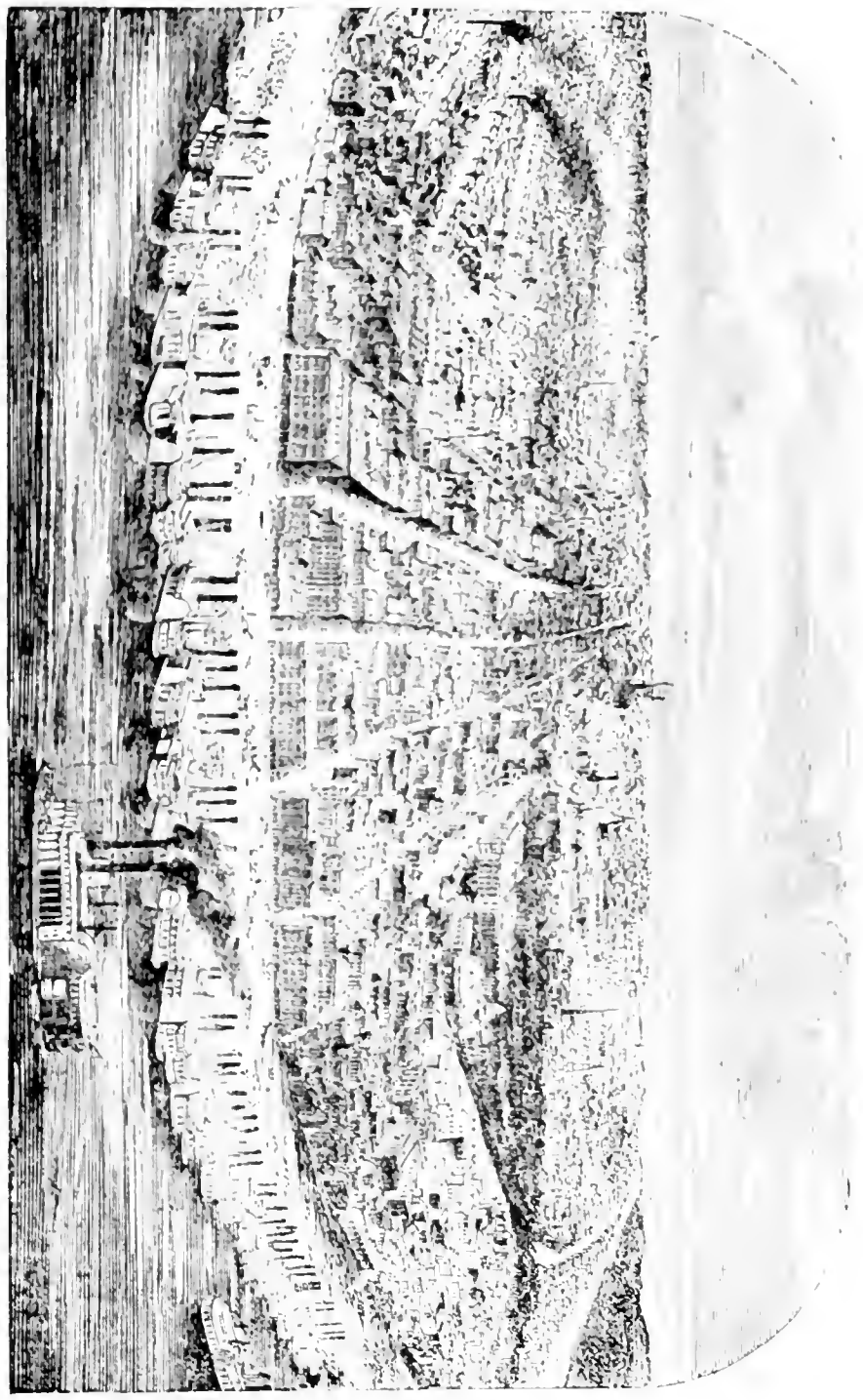
Economy of production seemed to be greatly in favor of St. Louis iron manufacturers. It was pointed out that "at the Tennessee works and at the Pennsylvania works it costs from two dollars to five dollars a ton to get the ore to the furnaces. On the Cumberland river, after getting out the ore at the mines and boating it in many instances for miles to the furnaces, it has there to be burned and considerable expense incurred to get it into the furnaces. But at the Knob, the cost of quarrying and hauling, all preparations for smelting the ore, is only from forty to fifty cents per ton, while at the Iron Mountain it is even less."

Two companies in St. Louis were making iron, Chouteau, Harrison and Valle, at Iron Mountain, and the Madison Company, in which Lewis V. Bogy was a leading spirit, at Pilot Knob and Shepard Mountain. All of the iron they could turn out was taken by the foundries and machine shops in St. Louis.

John Magwire was a national authority on iron production in 1872. Eight years before he had made an exhaustive examination of the advantages and adaptability of St. Louis as a manufacturing city for all things manufactured in other parts of the United States. Upon the subject of iron production Mr. Magwire had reached conclusions which influenced the investment of considerable St. Louis capital. In November, 1872, he announced:

Everybody now knows that owing to the richness and fusibility of Missouri ores, furnaces using those ores and raw Illinois coal mixed with coke, yield from 25 to 35 per cent more iron per day than furnaces of the same dimensions in any other locality of this country, or in Europe, and that the quality of the iron is excellent; that enough good iron can be produced from Missouri ores and Illinois coal to supply the wants of the country; and the fact is now also well known that good pig iron can be produced in Missouri and Illinois at a cost of labor varying not far from that required in Wales, which is the most favorable country of Europe for making iron. There are greater facilities for obtaining ore and coal in Wales than any other country of Europe, but neither in Wales nor upon any other part of the earth's surface, so far as my information goes, are ore and coal so accessible as in Missouri and Illinois.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK FROM THE WATER







Mr. Magwire pointed out that in Wales it required equivalent of the labor of thirteen men one day to produce a ton of pig iron, while in Missouri the requirement was eight men one day. But he added that the Missouri ton would make rail which would last three times as long as the Welsh rail.

Perfect confidence was felt in the purifying process which was to make good coke out of Illinois coal. The Illinois Patent Coke Company, of which Theodore Meier was president and in which St. Louis capital was invested, used what was called the Osterspeys process. The plant was elaborate. With the minimum of hand labor, three men only being required to convey the coal from the cars through the crushing and washing to the ovens, it was to produce two thousand five hundred bushels of coke daily.

About 1849 two St. Louisans of scientific attainments prospected Franklin county for copper. They were Archibald Gamble and Edward Bredell. They employed a practical smelter man and built a furnace near the location of Stanton's gunpowder industry. The plan of operation was to have the farmers mine the ore from the scattered ledges, haul it to the furnace and sell it for a stipulated price per ton, following the custom of early lead mining in adjacent counties. Mr. Gamble and Mr. Bredell satisfied themselves that there was much ore in the southern part of Franklin county. At the first trial the furnace chilled and the practical smelter man accounted for it by the change of the wind to the north. Other St. Louisans went into copper mining in Franklin county. The Stanton mine was opened, a furnace was built, a pump was put in. Copper to the value of thirty thousand dollars was produced and hauled by wagon to St. Louis.

Great hopes were entertained for several years about copper deposits in the vicinity of St. Louis. The St. Louisans, exploiting the Stanton mine, were sanguine. Copper produced from this mine was put on exhibition at the real estate office of Leflingwell and Elliot in 1854. This optimistic announcement was made:

The proprietors regard it as a lode of great power, and believe that their explorations warrant the conclusion that the copper region of Missouri will reward capital, skill and labor better than the Lake Superior region. The furnace of the Stanton company converts their ore at one process into copper wanting only from three to five per cent of absolute purity. So that by this process, pig copper is produced at one heating in Missouri equal to that produced by five processes in the great Swansea works in Wales, or in the Baltimore smelting establishments. Our citizens can at any time examine, if they will, at the office of Leflingwell and Elliott the copper produced at the Stanton mine. It is said to command in the eastern markets the very highest price of pig copper, nor can they supply even a moiety of the demand. In the same county of Franklin and in Washington there are other valuable mines known to exist, and many other places on the Southwestern railroad, where the indications are just as good, where the land can now be purchased for two and one-half dollars an acre. There is a mine belonging to Andrew Park which promises to be very rich. This mine was first discovered in 1816, by some persons who, having heard a tradition that early Spanish miners had found silver in that region, determined to sink a shaft in quest of that metal, and in doing so discovered red oxide of copper of very rich quality. By the removal of a few inches of surface earth, some 7,000 pounds was taken out, pronounced to be a combination of sulphuret, red oxide, gray copper and malaebite. This ore was shipped to Baltimore and smelted there with very satisfactory results.

Dr. Silas Reed was given the credit of starting in St. Louis the interest in this near-by copper mining. St. Louisans were told that "ores of copper in many

localities have been found associated with the ores of iron and very often in the same vicinage have been found extensive deposits of lead; and it is believed that many of the iron mines containing massive ore are the surface gossan of copper mines. All of the practical miners from Cornwall and Cuban mines who have visited and examined the copper mines opened in Missouri, recognize the gossan as the unfailing sign of lodes of copper at the depth of from one hundred to three hundred feet."

Predictions were made that the Southwest Branch, now the Frisco, would derive a great deal of revenue from the copper mining along its line within one hundred miles of St. Louis. A shipment of fifteen or twenty tons was made over the road while it was being built through Franklin county. Discoveries were made also along Current river. New York as well as St. Louis capital was interested in these copper prospects.

Three of the St. Louisans who became interested in Franklin county copper mining discovered across the line in Jefferson county an old farmer named John de Roques, who thought he was heir to a three million francs estate in Paris. They examined the papers and capitalized the claim. One of the three was Henry W. Williams, the authority for two generations on St. Louis land titles. The others were Hiram W. Leffingwell and Richard Smith Elliott. The claim looked so favorable that Mr. Williams went to France and investigated it. He discovered that there was one collateral branch of the family nearer to the estate than the Jefferson county de Roques.

Few St. Louis fortunes have vindicated popular estimation of them when they passed from the hands of the makers to the last analysis of the executor. The estate of John J. Roe was one of the exceptions. It exceeded by fifty per cent the public expectation. A genius for business, Mr. Roe had connections everywhere in the west. He invested in mining. His share in the profits was shipped to him periodically in the form of gold bricks. One day James A. Waterworth, who had business relations with Mr. Roe, went into his counting room. A bar of dull, yellow metal lay on the floor. In a casual tone the great captain of industry said:

"Won't you put that on the desk here?"

Mr. Waterworth stooped to pick up the bar, tugged and then straightened with a look of amazement. Mr. Roe laughed. A dividend from his mine had just arrived; it was a mass of gold too heavy for ordinary strength to lift.

In 1874 St. Louis possessed a Mining Exchange at Fourth and Elm streets with a creditable display of mineral specimens arranged in cases. In the building were the offices of individuals and firms dealing in mineral lands. The Exchange was made entertaining for visitors by exhibits of Indian relics and curiosities. A collection of war relics presented by General John B. Gray was a feature.

When the St. Louis Mining and Stock Exchange was established in 1880 on Third street, between Olive and Locust, its officers and directors included James Baker, Thomas Richeson, G. W. Chadbourne, Charles F. Orthwein, J. W. Paramore, John W. Noble, David R. Francis and W. R. Allen. Investment in mining shares was epidemic between 1885 and 1890. St. Louisans were never laggard in the development of any industry of the West. They went into the

discovery, prospecting and operation of silver and gold mines with the same spirit of enterprise which had moved them in the fur trade, the lead mining and the iron smelting. Silver bullion was selling above a dollar an ounce when St. Louis became thoroughly aroused to the possibilities of bonanza exploitation. In every mining camp from British Columbia to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, St. Louis had interests before the decline set in. Granite Mountain suggested to the sanguine minds the possibility of repetition.

In 1888 there were specimens of ore in hundreds of counting rooms. St. Louis had organized mining companies by the score. Dealing in mining shares became general. The business drew a multitude of investors to the local habitation on Third street. The officers of the exchange were J. D. Abeles, president; Joseph G. Mullally, vice president, and Albert Singer, secretary. Business grew to such magnitude that morning and afternoon sessions were held. Over fifty mines were listed. The sales of stocks on the exchange amounted to from fifty thousand dollars to one hundred thousand dollars a day. There were times of extraordinary excitement when reports of rich strikes came in. Brokers and customers remained on Third street until late in the evening buying and selling stocks, while they waited for confirmation or denial of the earlier news.

Some mines paid. The business was not entirely speculation. For several years St. Louis investors received from \$2,500,000 to \$4,000,000 a year in dividends from their mining stocks. But the mines which made returns were the exceptions. These began to fail when silver dropped to not much more than half of the price commanded when St. Louisans started the exchange. In 1893 came the collapse of the speculation as far as the general public was concerned. It left in the possession of thousands of people in this city beautifully printed but practically worthless mining stock certificates.

Granite Mountain was not a chance investment for St. Louisans. Back of that most brilliant enterprise in mining industry was the experience and careful study of mineralogical conditions by men who had gone years before to Montana to follow the business of mining. When the Civil war was in progress St. Louis brains and St. Louis capital were developing the mineral wealth of Montana. As early as 1866, the Hope was a silver mine, one of the earliest in the territory. It was controlled by St. Louisans. The location was about a mile from Phillipsburg. Among those who had put money into the Hope and had operated the mine with varying success several years were Sam Gaty, the foundryman; A. F. Shapleigh, the pioneer hardware merchant; Captain John C. Swon, the steamboatman; Charles Taussig, Edwin Harrison, Louis Duestrow, D. A. January, Judge Samuel Treat, Charles McLaren, Luther M. Kennett. There came a period when the Hope belied its name. It ceased to be profitable. Charles Clark worked out a plan of treatment of the tailings, which cleaned up over \$75,000, and paid the debts of the company.

During his connection with the Hope, Mr. Clark studied the neighboring territory. He learned of a valuable silver prospect known as the Granite Mountain, located a few miles from the Hope. The prospect was for sale. It had developed no body of ore. Mr. Clark talked about this prospect with Mr. C. D. McLaren, who was the superintendent of the Hope mill. Having the true mining man's interest in all indications, Mr. Clark went with Mr. Bennett, an English

metallurgical expert, to look at Granite Mountain. One of the owners accompanied them. Mr. Clark and Mr. Bennett looked over the prospect, took some samples of ore and returned. They discussed the property. The Englishman's conclusion was not to recommend the property to the people he represented. That was the winter of 1879-80. Mr. Clark and Mr. McLure made further investigation with the result that Mr. McLure obtained an option on the property. Mr. Clark came to St. Louis and laid the proposition before the Hope company. The St. Louisans talked it over. Some of them thought they had had enough of silver mining in Montana and concluded to stop. The others decided to go on, after hearing Mr. Clark, and to secure Granite Mountain property. The price was \$40,000. Charles Clark and L. M. Rumsey undertook the organization of the syndicate. The subscriptions in the syndicate were made by John R. Lionberger, Charles Taussig, Louis Duestrow, A. F. Shapleigh, Edwin Harrison, L. M. and Moses Rumsey, O. D. Filley, Jesse January, Mrs. Charles Clark and others. The amount raised by the syndicate for the purchase reached \$52,000. Granite Mountain was bought. Clark and McLure devoted themselves to the development of the property. The syndicate raised \$100,000 for development work. When \$98,000 had been spent the mine was known to be a success.

Then the Granite Mountain Mining company was organized with \$1,000,000 capital stock, divided into 400,000 shares of the par value of \$25 each. To the original investors were distributed 300,000 shares, the remaining 100,000 shares being set apart in the treasury to reimburse the subscribers who had formed the syndicate and advanced the funds for development as required.

The richness of the mine was developed so rapidly that the stock almost immediately went up to \$3 a share. The management of the property in the earliest stages was excellent. The best machinery was bought and a twenty-stamp mill was erected. Mining proceeded in a legitimate, business-like way. In 1881-2 the bonanza strike was made. In 1884 the stock was worth \$3 a share and in December, 1885, it went to \$20. From that time it advanced until about 1887 sales were made at \$67 a share. The mine then was considered worth over \$26,000,000. Dividends began in 1885 at ten cents a share monthly. They increased until they reached seventy-five cents a share. That rate was paid two months. Most of the time the dividend was fifty cents a month. When the suspension came there had been paid to stockholders in dividends over \$30 a share. The net profits of the Granite Mountain were \$12,120,000. The mine produced over \$22,000,000.

Some of the early investors sold when they felt the price justified, but most of those who had gone into the enterprise in the beginning remained with it. An adjacent property, the Bimetallic, owned in part by Granite Mountain stockholders, produced in profits \$3,880,000. The principal owners of the Bimetallic were Charles Clark, C. D. McLure and James M. Merrill.

Granite Mountain excitement was at its height in St. Louis three years. Fortunes to the number of fifteen or twenty were created or largely increased by this mining enterprise. They were, for the most part, wisely invested in betterments of St. Louis. Granite Mountain money went into the Merchants' bridge, into trust companies and banks, into real estate and office buildings, and into the development of suburban properties. Two causes contributed to the decline—

the high grade ore bodies gave out and the price of silver went down. Those who knew most about Granite Mountain maintained that more thorough development work might have revealed other bonanzas in the properties owned by the company.



## CHAPTER IX.

### BANKERS AND BANKS

*When Deerskins were Currency—“Hard Money” and “Fur Money”—Financial System in Colonial Days—“Bats” and “Boons”—Monetary Reform Decried by Governor Cruzat—The First Bank Note—“Bank of Missouri” in 1817—Troubles of “The Old Bank of St. Louis”—Hard Times of 1830—Failure of Justus Post—Tragic Mystery of William H. Jones—The United States Bank—John O’Fallon’s Wonderful Management—John Mullanphy’s Policy—The Bank Issue in Politics—Pettis Biddle Dark—A Loan by Peter Lindell—How St. Louis Divided on Jackson’s Veto—Bank of the State of Missouri—Lasting Lesson in Safe Banking—Panic of 1837—Flood of “Shinplasters”—Mexican “Cartwheels”—Period of Private Banks—California Gold in St. Louis—Panic of 1855—A Superb Act of Financial Honor—Panic and Bacon Failure—Banking Law of 1857—James H. Lucas & Co.—Era of State Banks—Specie Payments Suspended by the War—Loans Forced by the Government—Career of Louis A. Bonast—Banking as a Lifelong Vocation—Fall of the “Old State Bank”—Crisis of 1873—Not a St. Louis Bank Closed—Liquidation and Canalization—Thirty Savings Banks—A Better Law—The Clearing House—Some Notable Bankers—Furor and Stronger Banks—Experiences of 1893 and 1907.*

To the Public: The undersigned, knowing and relying upon the ample ability of the following banking houses of the City of St. Louis, and with a view of quieting the public mind in regard to the safety of deposits made with them, hereby pledge themselves and offer as a guarantee their property to make good all deposits with either of said banking houses.—*The Act of Financial Honor, February, 1855.*

When Maxent, Laclede & Company began business in St. Louis deerskins were currency. Jean Baptiste came over from Cahos to trade. He wanted a capote for himself, a skirt for madame and a headkerchief for Angelique. Auguste Chouteau took the bundle of deerskins which Jean Baptiste laid down, weighed it and entered in his book, very plainly and neatly, the value in livres. The bundle was tossed into the stone warehouse, out of the way. Jean Baptiste had credit for the amount which Auguste Chouteau had entered on the book. He could trade against it. That was banking in St. Louis in 1704.

On the books, credits and debits were in livres. In fact a livre was seldom seen in St. Louis in those days. It was a silver coin of France which represented eighteen and one-half cents. In Laclede’s settlement the livre was simply an arithmetical unit of value.

St. Louis did a business of \$70,000 a year. It traded a thousand miles and more up the Missouri river and its tributaries. It handled this business of about 360,000 livres on the books without a livre in sight. A pound of shaved deerskins was worth two livres—thirty-seven cents. A pound of beaver was worth more. Bear, buffalo, wolf, lynx, otter, raccoon,—all of these skins were valued by the pound and the valuation was expressed in livres. The banking business was simple but it had its forms. It wasn’t the barter of the pioneer colonists of the Atlantic coast. All accounts were kept in money terms. Jean Baptiste didn’t trade deerskins for goods. He sold his deerskins by the pound, received credit for the value expressed in livres and then bought his goods according to the prices expressed in livres. Six years the business of St. Louis went on in this

way. Real estate as well as merchandise was bought and sold for money but the money was not cash; it was the valuation in furs. Deerskins were the most numerous of the pelts in that period. They had an unvarying value by the pound. Unshaved deerskins were worth thirty cents a pound.

After the Spanish set up colonial government in 1770, St. Louis saw some cash in circulation. To distinguish the new kind of money from the currency which had prevailed, the silver was called "hard money." But the principal circulating medium for years continued to be the "fur money." When hard money changed hands the receiver hid it and kept it as long as he could. The habitant who died leaving a will which disposed of "hard money" was the plutocrat of those days. One will of this kind disposed of "four hundred hard dollars." It was town talk for weeks.

On the basis of fur money St. Louis developed a financial system. The exclusive privilege of Maxent, Laclède & Co. expired. Other merchants established themselves and offered goods for pelts. There were furs and furs. Some trappers and traders were not so painstaking with the preparation of their stocks as others were. The time came when this "asset currency" needed regulation. So long as the furs furnished the only medium of exchange, contracts which called for livres were settled with furs. But as actual money slowly came into circulation disputes arose as to what was meant when contracts or agreements mentioned amounts without describing the character of money to be paid. Custom at length decreed that when a contract did not expressly stipulate "hard dollars" the obligation might be met with pelts at the prevailing prices. The largest denomination of the fur money was the "pack." This was a bundle of skins making up a definite weight and having a fixed value. With "a pack," one could establish good credit at any store in St. Louis.

One of the first problems of government with which Cruzat, the Spanish lieutenant-governor had to deal was the financial policy. Etienne Barre brought up from New Orleans on his boat for Benito Basquez, the St. Louis merchant, six barrels of rum and some dry goods. The freight was twenty-five dollars a barrel. This rate was not disputed. But what happened is set forth in the well written appeal to Cruzat:

The undersigned, having delivered to Basquez the above articles, said Basquez proposed to pay him his freight in peltries, which was not according to agreement. He refused, demanding his freight in dollars as per agreement, he being obliged to pay his outfit and expenses in dollars. After repeated demands, he is compelled to have recourse to your justice to compel said Basquez to pay him as per agreement; and in default of same to sell such portion of the goods as may be necessary to pay him the one hundred and fifty dollars.

Basquez was notified to appear next day and present his side of the controversy. The records fail to show how Cruzat settled the dispute. They do show that about the same time a reform was instituted in financial methods. It may not be proper to describe this united action of the merchants of St. Louis as the initial clearing house movement, but it is certain that the first regulations to improve the financial system of St. Louis were then put into effect. The livre was the coin with which the business would have been done if the actual money had been in circulation. But for twelve years after Laclède founded St. Louis few of these silver pieces found their way to the settlement. A livre, worth eighteen and one-half cents, had been the unit of value in France for centuries.



The franc subsequently took its place. St. Louisans reckoned by livres. Having no livres they gave a fixed value to furs by weight. That value was estimated in livres or fractions of livres. The furs passed current at these fixed values. Instead of issuing paper bearing the stamp "one livre," St. Louis merchants weighed as much fur as it had been determined should be valued at one livre and that fur passed from hand to hand as one livre. The system, at first very simple, now graded furs into the finest, the medium and the inferior. Here was afforded the means of making change with the fur currency. The prices fixed were forty cents per pound weight for the finest, thirty cents a pound for the medium and twenty cents a pound for the inferior furs. But the system which Laeclde put into effect with the founding of St. Louis developed complications. It had been in operation a dozen years when Cruzat came. Abuses had crept in. Traders were bringing furs in bad condition. The merchants joined in a memorial to Cruzat. They wrote:

To the Lieutenant-Governor of the Illinois:

Sir: We, the undersigned, merchants of this village, with due respect, have the honor to present to your consideration, that for some time back, the custom has grown up between the merchants and traders and hunters of settling the accounts between them with furs and peltries, at certain prices, which vary according to the kind, quality and condition.

Then followed a detailed statement of the abuses. The neglect of the traders to properly care for their furs before delivery was described. The want of coin to do the business was emphasized. The need of government regulations which should apply to the fur currency was made impressive. The address on reform of the financial system, the first movement of its kind in the history of St. Louis, was signed by Martin Duralde, Benito Basquez, J. M. Papin, Sarpy, Ante. Berard, J. F. Perrault, Joseph Motard.

Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat, "after examination and consideration of the memorial of the merchants of St. Louis and the forcible reasons with which it is supported," issued the following:

Decreed that from this time in future, no skin shall be weighed before it is thoroughly examined and has passed inspection as sound; but in order that no merchant can hold back from this reform, nor delay on frivolous pretexts the time of examination, after the refuse is separated, the skins that are to be warranted shall be exposed to dry in the sun. And it is further ordered that it is the merchant's business to examine and discriminate his own skins, soon after the trader has delivered them to him, and shall have them weighed immediately, so that by this method no injury or detriment will be done the trader.

Done in the government hall, March 5, 1776.

FRANCO CRUZAT.

Beginning without money, St. Louis early became a center of capital. The furs shipped out more than paid for the goods shipped in. A decade after the founding the balance of trade was considerably in favor of the settlement. It continued to be so. The accumulation of wealth was gradual and moderate. It was continuous. The cartwheel Spanish or Mexican dollars rolled into St. Louis and remained. Merchants put this dollar on a block of wood, gave the head of a chisel a smart tap and produced halves and quarters. Thus was the earliest fractional currency manufactured here. The merchants even cut the quarters in two and made "bits." The bit was twelve and one-half cents. For a long time the bit was the lowest denomination of money in St. Louis. If a customer bought something for less than a bit he received the change in pins or needles or a few

sheets of paper to make up the bit's worth. French habitants were not slow to master the mysteries of the bit. They learned to say "seex beets" for a load of wood.

Banking with bundles of furs for deposits went even beyond the handling of this kind of currency. When the trapper or trader came in with his season's collection of pelts, the merchant gave him a receipt for so many livres worth of furs. When the merchant turned over the furs to the government officials or to the supply house in New Orleans or forwarded to Montreal, or later to the Ohio, he took his receipts for so much weight of furs valued in money. These receipts passed from hand to hand in business. They represented fixed values. They were used in settlement of accounts. They were credits. They corresponded to drafts. The common name for these receipts given on deposits of bales of furs was "bons." They were good for so many dollars' worth of furs on demand. They were signed by the one with whom the furs had been deposited. They were often indorsed as they passed from person to person.

As business houses became firmly established in St. Louis and well known in other centers of trade, they formed connections. A shipment of furs was made to the correspondent in New Orleans, or in Montreal. The value was put to the credit of the shipper. Against that credit the St. Louis merchant bought his stock of goods. Bills of exchange passed between the St. Louis merchant and his correspondent. This was banking in a restricted form but it served its purpose and rendered unnecessary the transfer from and to St. Louis of large sums of money.

After 1804, St. Louis came into the use of another form of paper for money. The United States government was represented in its new territory by many civil officers. St. Louis became the most important military post in the west. To pay salaries and to meet a variety of obligations the government sent to St. Louis bills drawn at New Orleans on the United States Treasury. These bills were circulated in payments of all kinds at St. Louis. They passed into general use by business men who wished exchange to send east or south. In these and other makeshift ways St. Louis managed to get along and do a great deal of business without banks until the population reached about 2,000. The number of people, however, was no indication of the financial importance of the community. Here was the money center of a great section of country into which immigration was pouring,—a human flood.

The first bank note issued in St. Louis had on it the picture of a beaver caught in a beaver trap. The vignette was emblematic of the fur trade upon which the community had prospered. The wording of the bank-note was:

The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of St. Louis promise to pay Five Dollars to Fowler or Bearer on Demand, St. Louis, Missouri Territory, June 18, 1817.

S. Hammond, President.

John B. Smith, Cashier.

The first bank was an experiment. It lasted three years. The original list of stockholders included most of the business men of St. Louis. The capital stock was \$100,000. For a year the institution was immensely popular. The beaver bank bills stimulated business. The directors disagreed. One faction endeavored to change the management. On the 11th of February, after the board had transacted the routine business, a member, Mr. Pilcher, offered a resolution to

remove the cashier, John B. Smith. The resolution carried by a narrow majority. The board proceeded to elect another cashier. After several ballots, another member of the Smith family, Theophilus W., was chosen. Three directors, dissatisfied with the result, immediately resigned. Their resignations were accepted. Then followed one of the most remarkable proceedings in the history of banking. The directors who had resigned were joined by Thomas H. Benton, and two army officers, Colonel Daniel Bissell and Lieutenant James McGunnegele, and several citizens. This impromptu gathering adopted a resolution to take possession of the bank. The leaders directed the clerks to leave the building and locked the doors. Proceeding to the counting room of Mr. Pilcher, those in opposition to the board of directors organized and demanded the keys of the safe. The demand was refused. The meeting next chose a committee of five to have the custody of the banking house and to deny admittance to the directors. The bank remained closed several days. The controversy was taken into court. A conclusion was announced on the 12th of March to the effect that "the public mind having become tranquillized, the Bank of St. Louis opened for business on Tuesday last, redeemed its paper in specie, and the public are hereby notified that it will continue to redeem its paper in specie on presentation."

The troubles among the stockholders continued to affect the business of the bank. On the 12th of July, 1819, the doors were finally closed. The directors distributed assets so as to cause creditors as little inconvenience as possible. Considerable loss was shared among the stockholders. The institution passed into history as "the old Bank of St. Louis."

While the first bank was in its first auspicious year, conditions seemed so encouraging that a second bank was organized. This was the Bank of Missouri. It began business February 1, 1817. The capital stock was fixed at \$250,000. Charles Gratiot headed the commission which received subscriptions. Auguste Chouteau, the stepson of Laeclde, was made president and Lilburn W. Boggs, who was afterward governor, was chosen the first cashier. Notes were issued. They were adorned with a bust portrait of Thomas Jefferson, a liberty cap, a group of four ships in a harbor and a sunrise scene in the mountains. The wording of the notes was:—

The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Missouri promise to pay One Dollar on Demand at their Office of Deposit and Discount, St. Genevieve to William Shannon, President thereof, or to Bearer, St. Louis, October 14, 1818.

Auguste Chouteau, President,

John Dales, Cashier.

The Bank of Missouri was intended to supply banking facilities for the Territory, with branches wherever needed. The St. Louis office of the concern was in Auguste Chouteau's mansion. It went out of business with considerable loss to stockholders. St. Louis was doing a business of \$1,000,000 when these earliest banks were established. But in 1820 came hard times in the west with scarcity of specie, depreciation in land values and general discouragement. The two banks in St. Louis were wound up but without the widespread disasters and suffering which attended the bank failures at that time in Kentucky and Ohio.

The case of Justus Post illustrated the mistake a man makes in going into the banking business without natural qualifications for it. Colonel Post

was a West Pointer by education. He was an engineer of high order. He served in the War of 1812 with great credit to himself. Coming to St. Louis to engage in civil pursuits, this ex-officer of the army brought with him a fortune of \$100,000. Investing in real estate, he built a fine home a short distance from the city and started a mill. His fellow citizens found the colonel a man of wide range of information. They ranked him among the foremost in intelligence. When the time came to choose directors for the Bank of Missouri, organized in 1817, Colonel Post seemed an ideal man for the board. He was elected and served. But when complications arose, he became impatient. He resigned his position. In his disgust he sold his property at a sacrifice and left the city. The Illinois State government was investigating the subject of a canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois river. Colonel Post offered his services as engineer and was accepted. After that he remained in Illinois and engaged in milling. St. Louis lost one of the most promising of the new citizens of that period.

Congress chartered the United States bank at Philadelphia in 1816. The St. Louis branch was not established until 1829. John O'Fallon was the president throughout the existence of the branch. Between the liquidation of the earliest banks and the starting of the branch St. Louis felt the need of banking facilities. Alexander Scott and William K. Rule were merchants. They desired to make a remittance to Philadelphia. The amount was \$4,000. The bank notes were obtained and given to a clerk to wrap up for transmission. William H. Jones, a dry goods merchant of St. Louis, was going east. As a matter of accommodation he consented to carry the package of bills and received it from Scott & Rule. When he reached Philadelphia, Mr. Jones delivered the package in accordance with the directions. He went about his own business which was to buy goods for his store. He had purchased \$60,000 worth of stock and ordered it shipped to St. Louis when he was notified that something was wrong with the supposed package of money he had brought. The package was stoutly tied with twine. When it was opened, it was found to be made up of slips of paper cut in the size of bank bills. Jones was shown the opened package. He could only affirm his innocence. The package had not been out of his possession during the journey. Overcome by the discovery, he went to his hotel and killed himself. No suspicion attached to Mr. Jones in St. Louis. Those who knew him held him guiltless. The mystery of the missing money was never solved.

St. Louis had many kinds of money in circulation when the Branch bank opened. Coins had taken the place of the fur currency. They were as cosmopolitan as the population in 1829. More than half of these coins current in the city were of foreign minting. The silver pieces of France, of Italy, of Germany, and of England mingled with the United States money brought from the eastern states. Immigrants and travelers carried with them the specie most familiar to them and had no difficulty in getting rid of it in St. Louis. The Mexican peso was as popular as the American dollar. Almost any kind of coin was taken in trade in St. Louis stores. The Branch bank introduced notes and half dollars which gradually took the place of the foreign money. St. Louisans did not take kindly to the paper currency until the wise manage-

ment of the Branch bank had won local confidence. Mexican dollars long maintained their hold on popularity in St. Louis.

John Mullanphy was one of the directors of the St. Louis Branch bank. One day a note for \$500 was offered for discount. The directors with the exception of Mr. Mullanphy, voted no. As the note was turned down Mr. Mullanphy asked what was the matter. He was told that the man was a mechanic; that personally the maker could not be made responsible for the paper. Mr. Mullanphy asked the director sitting next to him to move a reconsideration. This was done. Mr. Mullanphy put his name on the back of the note. The note was accepted by the votes of all of the directors with the exception of Mr. Mullanphy, who under the rule, could not vote on paper which bore his name. Such a policy tended to make the bank well liked. Yet it was a policy not abused. Liberal treatment was bestowed with such discrimination that few losses were incurred.

Spencer Pettis was the Member of Congress from St. Louis when the United States bank controversy was most critical. He was a candidate for re-election in 1831. His campaign was made upon the Jackson platform of hostility toward the United States bank. In his speeches Pettis assailed the management of the bank. Living in St. Louis was Major Thomas Biddle, a brother of Nicholas Biddle, president of the United States bank at Philadelphia. Major Biddle resented the criticisms of Pettis, especially in so far as they reflected upon his brother. He did so in a newspaper article. He called Pettis "a dish of skimmed milk." Pettis replied in the paper. Early one morning Biddle went to the hotel where the Congressman lived. He found him in bed, pulled away the cover and used a whip on him until citizens interfered. Under the code of honor of the period there could be but one sequence. The campaign proceeded. Pettis was elected. The month following the election, Pettis devoted to putting his affairs in order. Toward the end of August the challenge was sent. Biddle was shortsighted. He named a distance so close that the pistols almost touched. One account alleged that the two men were not six feet apart and that the weapons lapped. The time was five o'clock in the afternoon of August 27. The place was the sandy island opposite the city and within view from the Missouri side. There was no concealment of the preparations. Everybody knew when and where the meeting was to take place. People flocked to the river front. They filled the windows and covered the house tops. At the first fire both men fell mortally wounded. When the surgeons told them they could not live, Pettis and Biddle expressed to each other forgiveness. They were brought back to St. Louis. Edward Dobyns wrote his recollection of the scene. His narrative is preserved by the Missouri Historical Society:

After the fatal meeting the parties, with their friends, crossed back to the St. Louis side of the river, and the immense collection of people that had assembled on the river bank at the hour of meeting separated. The friends of one went up and the friends of the other went down to the landing places. As the yawl approached the shore Mr. Pettis was leaning on the breast of his surgeon, Dr. Linn, who supported him in his arm. Captain Martin Thomas, his second, was holding a vial, from which the wounded man was inhaling to keep up life. It was my privilege to have been the first to meet the party as they neared the shore and know of my own knowledge what occurred. When the skiff neared the shore Mr. Pettis, in his reclining position, in the arms of his surgeon, looked up and caught the eye of Mr. Benton

and said: "Col. Benton, have I acted the poltroon?" To which Col. Benton replied: "No, sir; you have shown yourself the bravest of the brave."

Pettis died the next day. Biddle lingered a few days. The tragedy was one of the long series of Benton duels. It grew out of the political controversy over the United States bank. Pettis was a follower of Benton who assumed control of the situation. He said to Pettis, his protegee: "Let there be no definite action taken in this matter until this election is over. And then, sir, I leave you to vindicate your honor in such manner as you may deem most consistent with the principles that govern gentlemen." Twenty-five years later, in another August campaign, B. Gratz Brown delayed until after the election his challenge of Thomas C. Reynolds, that there might be no interference with the political fortunes of Benton, who was running for governor. Edward Dobyns remembered:

During the days just before the fatal meeting I often met Mr. Benton at his residence, having been requested by him to call every day, as he did not often go out among the people. Upon one occasion when I called Dr. Lewis F. Linn, the surgeon of one of the parties, was just coming out of the parlor. It was the day before the fatal duel. Mr. Benton said, with evident deep feeling and seriousness, "There will be no child's play in the meeting." I suppose Dr. Linn had informed him that the distance was only 5 feet apart. There was not much said. A deep seriousness seemed to pervade the mind of Mr. Benton. The fatal meeting took place on the next day.

Mr. Benton's whole course was calm, collected and dignified, never uttering a harsh word, or giving expression to a feeling of unkindness to any party. He presided at the meeting of the friends of Mr. Pettis, who met to give expression to their regrets; wrote the account of the duel in a calm, dignified and impartial style, which Dr. Linn and I took from his residence down to the St. Louis Beacon, a paper published by Col. Charles Keemle. The notice was copied into almost all of the papers of the United States.

The bar paid tribute to the memory of Pettis. The fellow officers of Biddle at the Barracks adopted a memorial to him. The political controversy over the bank question went on but there was no more dueling for years afterwards. Biddle had married a daughter of John Mullanphy not a great while before his death. Twenty years the widow survived and lived a life of beautiful charity. In the yard of the institution she founded at Tenth and Biddle street, for widows and orphans was placed a memorial with the touching appeal:

"Pray for the souls of Thomas and Ann Biddle."

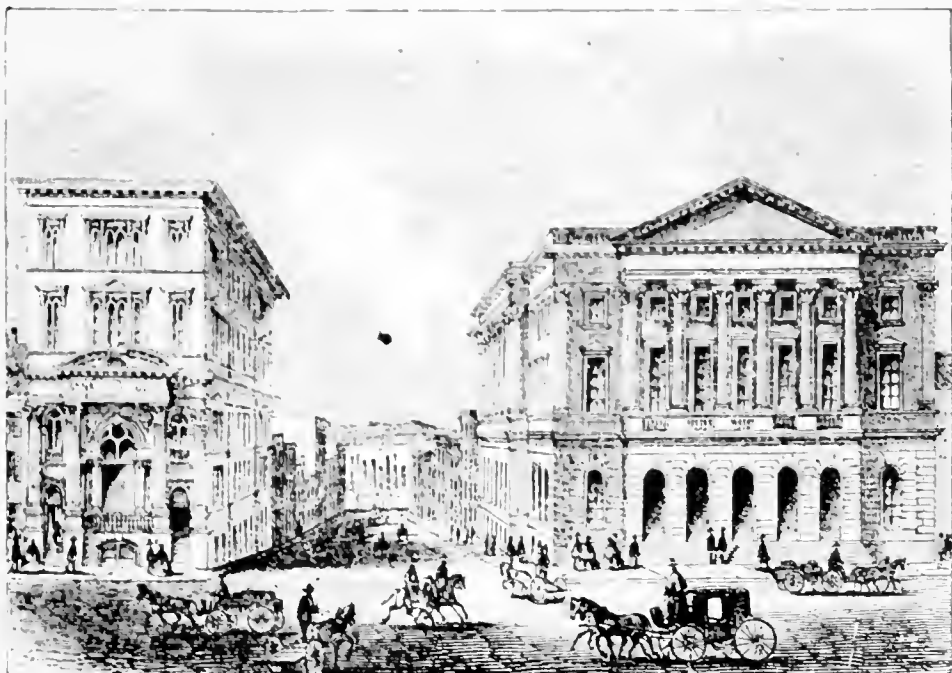
The newspaper account of the duel, which was sent out and was published generally throughout the country, was written by Thomas H. Benton. A movement was started to erect a monument to Pettis. When the stone was ready, the popular feeling had subsided. The stone was sold to pay the bill of the man who furnished it. Some time afterwards friends of Pettis got through the legislature an act naming for him the county in which Sedalia is situated. Pettis was a young man. He came from Culpeper, Virginia, about eight years before the fatal duel. The governor of Missouri had the power to appoint the secretary as well as other executive officers. When Governor Miller was elected in 1825, to fill out the term of Frederick Bates who had died, he gave Pettis the appointment of secretary, although the young Virginian had resided in St. Louis only about two years. Pettis made out and forwarded commissions to justices, county judges and some other officials. When he sent a commission he wrote a letter in which he said,



LOUIS A. BENCIS



SENATOR LEWIS A. BOGGS  
Age 42 of 45



BANK OF ST. LOUIS AND POSTOFFICE  
Third and Olive Streets in 1858





"Please say that I am a candidate for Congress." This canvass by letter was effective. In 1828 Pettis ran as a democrat and was elected, defeating Edward Bates.

Peter Lindell was one of the directors of the Branch bank. A customer had a note for \$5,000 falling due. He held paper for several times that amount but had been unable to realize through collections the money to make good the debt. He had abundant assets but they were slow. Under the careful policy pursued by the board this borrower could not apply the paper to meet his own obligation. In distress he went to a friend for advice. The friend looked over the paper, picked out the best of it and took it to Peter Lindell. He explained the situation. Mr. Lindell glanced at the paper and wrote his personal check for \$5,000 in favor of the borrower. The friend supposed that this meant a heavy discount on the paper tendered. He made inquiry. "Only the regular per cent on borrowed money," replied Mr. Lindell. "I shall accept no more." This is illustrative of the men who managed successfully the banking business of those early days in St. Louis. As directors they insisted upon rules which they regarded as essential to absolutely safe banking. As individuals they were ready to go farther in accommodation than they would go as directors. They risked their own money when they would not venture the capital of the bank. They were trustees of the money of others. The trust imposed responsibilities which were not shirked.

The 24th of July, 1832, was a day of note in St. Louis. Andrew Jackson had smashed the United States bank with his veto. In the afternoon of that day, the friends of the bank met at the town hall. William Carr Lane presided. The resolutions were brought in by Edward Bates, Pierre Chouteau Jr., George Collier, Thornton Grimsley, Henry S. Geyer and Nathan Ranney. They expressed "deep mortification and regret" for the veto. They declared that the bank had been "highly beneficial to the nation at large and indispensably necessary to the commercial prosperity and individual comfort of the western people." They revealed apprehension that the consequences of the President's course would be that "one universal scene of distress and ruin will pervade the whole western country."

The sentiment of St. Louis was not one-sided upon the United States bank issue. In the evening of the same day that the supporters of the bank acted, the Andrew Jackson side was heard. A second meeting of citizens was held in the town hall. Dr. Samuel Merry presided. Dr. Merry and Dr. Lane had been partners in the practice of their profession. Now they headed the opposing political parties. Lane had held the office of mayor of St. Louis six years, retiring in 1829. Dr. Merry was to be a candidate for mayor at the coming city election. He was receiver of public moneys under President Jackson. It was quite natural that he should head the movement to indorse the Jackson veto.

If these resolutions adopted at the afternoon meeting were strong, those which the Jackson people put forth were even more sweeping. The committee was composed of E. Dohyns, John Shade, James C. Lynch, L. Brown, B. W. Ayres, J. H. Baldwin and P. Taylor.

While the first meeting viewed the veto "with deep mortification and regret" the second body of citizens viewed "all banks and banking institutions possessing exclusive privileges and powers of monopoly as of dangerous tendency in a government of the people, calculated in their nature to draw distinctions in society and to build up family nobilities." The meeting furthermore viewed "the stand which General Jackson has taken against the monied powers of Europe and America as a mark of firmness and patriotism not surpassed by any patriot or statesman since the light of liberty first dawned upon our country."

The bank question overshadowed all other issues in St. Louis for some years after this. Senator Thomas H. Benton committed the Democrats to specie. He advocated a monetary system in which there should be no money other than the precious metals. Thereby he obtained the name of "Old Bullion." The Senator denounced the opposition. But strong as Benton was, the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, predecessor of the Merchants' Exchange, sent to Congress a petition "for the establishment of a national bank." That was in the summer of 1837. The petition bore the signature of nearly every prominent business man in St. Louis. The truth of history is that St. Louis had had an exceptional experience with the United States bank. The St. Louis branch of that institution was under the management of John O'Fallon throughout the period of its existence. And John O'Fallon was a born banker. The other efforts to establish and to conduct banks in St. Louis had been disastrous to stockholders. John O'Fallon managed the St. Louis branch of the Bank of the United States in such manner as to afford the banking facilities which the business of St. Louis so much needed. At the same time he protected the interests of the bank. When President Jackson destroyed the United States bank there followed considerable losses in all of the cities except St. Louis where branches had been established. John O'Fallon wound up the business of the St. Louis branch with a loss of \$125. In that period, when the banking business of this country was passing through its crude and elementary stage, the conduct of the St. Louis branch of the United States bank laid the foundation of the financial repute of St. Louis. It taught that successful bank management calls for more than fine business qualifications. Temperament had its part in the make-up. In that measure men are born to be bankers. Ability to read human nature, to know character, is no small asset in the capital the bank manager puts into the business. It counts for far more than the stock he may hold in his own name. The lesson of John O'Fallon does not teach that the bank manager must be cold-blooded. It does prove that an extraordinary talent of discrimination is indispensable.

When all of the affairs of the St. Louis branch were settled and it was known that the loss had been only \$125, the sentiment in favor of a bank recognized by government was very strong. If the United States would not charter then the State should. Thus sentiment crystallized. St. Louis had become a city of 6,000 population, with far-reaching business connections. Lines of steamboats carried the trade north and south, east and west. Confronted with the possibility of entire loss of banking facilities, the business men welcomed temporarily a branch of what was known as the Cincinnati Commercial agency. Mr. O'Fallon turned over such banking business as could be trans-

ferred. The government made the agency its depository. Fair service was given by the Cincinnati people. The situation which was in a way to become desperate was partially relieved by the agency. Very soon the St. Louis business men realized that the agency was making much money for Cincinnati capital. The movement for a home institution gained headway. When the Legislature met in 1837 the first bill introduced was to charter the Union Bank of Missouri. The name was changed by amendment to The Bank of the State of Missouri. So great was the popular demand that within thirty days the bill became law.

In those days the establishment of a bank was attended with much formality. A bank was a semi-public institution. Subscriptions were received by commissioners. Everybody was interested. The management of the branch was still a pleasing reminiscence. Upon the commission was placed the man who had made the branch so successful, John O'Fallon. With him were associated Hugh O'Neill, Henry Walton, John B. Sarpy and George K. McGunnele. The quickness of the responses proved the strength of sentiment behind the movement. The commissioners who took the subscriptions to the old Bank of St. Louis in 1815 and 1816 were two years or more in getting the capital together. John O'Fallon and his associates were but a few days beyond two months. The "State bank," as it became known familiarly, opened for business the middle of April, 1837. Recognizing the force of public sentiment the Cincinnati Commercial agency turned over the St. Louis business to the new bank and withdrew from the State. Public interest in the Bank of Missouri was more than sentimental. The State held one-third of the stock. There were provisions for branches and eight of them were established. Two members of the board of directors were appointed by the governor. The limit on the capital stock was \$5,000,000. John Brady Smith was made president. The location was on the west side of Main street in what was then the business center of the city.

The Legislature which chartered the Bank of Missouri, manifested a disposition to keep out of Missouri such institutions as the Cincinnati Commercial agency. Sentiment of the legislators was against foreign capital doing banking in the State. The House passed a bill to expel foreign banking agencies. In December, 1836, the business men of St. Louis were called together in town meeting. Dr. Hardage Lane was chosen chairman and Charles D. Drake was made secretary. John F. Darby talked. Ex-Mayor William Carr Lane offered the resolution expressive of the sense of the meeting and it was adopted:

That in the opinion of this meeting it will be highly inexpedient in the General Assembly to remove or lessen the banking facilities now possessed by the manufacturing and commercial community by removing the bank agencies located amongst us, and that we deprecate any presentation in the General Assembly on the subject as tending inevitably to the great injury of every class of our citizens.

In policy and in practice, the Bank of Missouri preserved the traditions of the management of the branch bank. John O'Fallon was a member of the board. Edward Walsh was another director. These two men, with John Brady Smith, the president, taught St. Louis safe banking. For twenty years the Bank of Missouri was the only bank of issue in St. Louis. Its notes circulated as far to the southwest as Chihuahua. They were better than gold and so

esteemed. They were as good as gold in value and easier to carry. Times of inflation came when the management of the Bank of Missouri was counter to public sentiment. Regulations were adopted against which the business community protested strenuously. At one period, after a meeting of business men had so advised, many leading depositors withdrew their accounts from the Bank of Missouri and put their money with insurance companies and with the St. Louis Gaslight company which was doing a banking business. This was in 1840. Between that time and 1843 the country passed through a period of depression which wiped out \$600,000,000 in debts through actual bankruptcy proceedings, and in which the decline of values was estimated at \$2,000,000,000. The Bank of Missouri pursued its policy of safety and weathered the storm.

In that period St. Louis was flooded with paper currency from other states. The name of "shinplaster" for such currency was born of the conditions. These bills, as they depreciated in value, were contemptuously known as "white dog," "blue dog," "blue pup," according to the color. The conflict between the business men and the Bank of Missouri started with the refusal to accept the paper currency of certain outside banks in settlement of loans. On the 12th of November, 1839, the directors of the Bank of Missouri resolved "that the bank will in future receive from and pay only to individuals her own notes and specie, or the notes of specie paying banks."

This was prompted by the suspension of specie payments on the part of many eastern, southern and western banks. Thousands of dollars in bills of banks which had suspended specie payments were in the hands of St. Louis business men. The action of the Bank of Missouri caused great indignation. The Missouri Republican reported the conditions:

The bank excitement continued very high yesterday. In fact, it is the only subject matter of conversation or consideration. The merchants, it might literally be said, have forsaken their counting rooms, and the mechanics their shops. Wherever two or three met, the action of the bank was the theme of conversation, and in every circle that we have fallen in with, whatever might be the politics of those composing it, the resolution of the directors was condemned without measure or reserve. In truth, there never has been in this community so universal and unanimous a condemnation of any measure as this. Execrations loud and deep are freely uttered in every quarter and by men of all parties.

The panic of 1837 followed a period of wild speculation in city and town real-estate. A great firm in New Orleans failed on account of the decline of cotton. In New York, house after house with southern connections failed. Banks in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore suspended. St. Louis suffered in paralysis of business. Two years of depression and of futile attempts to get back to specie basis in the east followed. The action of the Bank of Missouri was one of self-preservation but at the same time business men of the city felt bitterly about it. In November, 1839, a meeting was held at the courthouse. Edward Tracy was president. The meeting resolved that "as the sense of this meeting, it will be no discredit to any individual having paper maturing this day at the Bank of Missouri to allow said paper to go to protest if a tender is made at bank, or to the notary, of currency hitherto bankable and is refused."

The merchants appealed to the bank to accept payment on the discounted paper then in hand as in the past and to make the rule apply only on future business. This the bank declined, as it did also a proposition offering a bond

of wealthy citizens against loss on the bank notes which it might receive if the specie rule was modified. Efforts of business men and bank to get together failed. The Bank of Missouri preserved its soundness but it lost a great deal of business. To merchants who were utterly unable to meet obligations in specie at the bank some concessions were made. But the result of the clash was to give impetus to the establishment of private banks. The Bank of Missouri kept on in the even tenor of its way teaching St. Louis the lesson of absolute security.

A fact that is clear in the history of banking in St. Louis is that the city suffered from but did not contribute to the panic of 1837. If there was error in the banking methods of St. Louis it was error on the side of conservatism. Money was lost through depression in business. No money was lost by depreciation of currency put out by St. Louis. All of the confusion and trouble through which this community passed was forced upon it from the outside.

Up the Missouri to Wayne and Westport landings, thence over the Santa Fe Trail, even beyond the city of the Holy Faith into Chihuahua, merchants of St. Louis sent goods to supply the needs and luxurious desires of the wealthy owners of ranches and haciendas. This was long before the railroads. When days of settlement came, back over the trail and down the river was brought to St. Louis the actual cash. Exchange in that trade was not known. Paper money was often of uncertain reputation. The money to pay for goods to be bought or already received on credit was sent to St. Louis in the form of silver dollars. The "cartwheels" were put up in stout wooden boxes. Sometimes the Mexican came with his remittance. Occasionally he reinforced the ordinary protection with a guard of his own. The shipments of coin ran from \$10,000 to \$100,000. A single remittance of \$50,000 to the St. Louis merchant or banker was not unusual in the buying season. When the boat reached the St. Louis wharf a dray was called. The heavy boxes beside which the Mexican guard had watched and slept all of the way down the Missouri were rolled over the gang plank and up the end of the dray. The dray was driven through the business streets, the Mexicans, with their queer, old-fashioned, wide-muzzled muskets on their shoulders, marching on either side of the dray. If the shipment was of unusual amount, the Mexican merchant, with his rifle in hand might accompany the dray. Sometimes as many as six of the guards came the long journey to insure safe delivery. When the dray, with its precious load drew up in front of the store or bank where delivery was to be made there was most courteous reception accorded. The Mexican or Spanish merchant became an honored guest. His escort was taken care of. The deposit of silver dollars of Mexican minting was placed to the merchant's credit. In the traditions of trade this commerce with the Santa Fe and Chihuahua country is remembered as of great profit to St. Louis. These buyers from the northern Mexico territory were men of excellent business traits, reliable and honorable in their settlements.

From 1840 to 1860 was the period of private banking in St. Louis. Among the firms engaging in financial business were:—Lucas, Turner & Co., John J. Anderson & Co., Darby, Barksdale & Co., Bogy, Miltenberger & Co., B. M. Runyan & Co., Tesson & Danjen, Loker & Renick, E. W. Clark & Co., Allen, Copp & Nesbit and Page, Bacon & Co. Members of these firms

were for the most part, men of large private fortunes. They represented extensive business interests. Conditions were extraordinary. St. Louis was entering upon a period of rapid growth of population. The famine in Ireland and the revolution in Germany in 1848 sent multitudes of immigrants. Railroads were building westward from the Alleghanies. The Mexican War made St. Louis a great supply depot. Government disbursements here were very large. In 1849 came the gold excitement in California. The business of St. Louis expanded enormously. The Bank of Missouri pursued its conservative course, limiting its issues of notes and its lines of credit to keep always on the safe side. There wasn't currency to do the business which offered. The banking facilities offered by the chartered institution did not permit the merchants to take advantage of what appeared to them great opportunities. And so the private banks, one after another, came into the field. To meet the demands for a sufficient volume of money with which to do the business of the city these private banks handled paper money freely. When the gold placers of California began to yield, St. Louis was almost the first trade center to realize the benefits. Overland freighting grew into large proportions. Purchases in the St. Louis stores and markets were on an unprecedented scale. Profits were fascinating. The flow of wealth into the city encouraged great enterprises.

In 1852 a committee of the Legislature examined the condition of the Bank of Missouri, at St. Louis, and the branches out in the State. The committee found the assets of the parent bank in St. Louis to be \$3,983,131. The circulation issued and outstanding was \$1,461,090. The net profits from May 8, 1837, to June 30, 1852, were \$1,227,659. The profits were not excessive but the bank was sound and its notes were everywhere as good as gold. The "Old State Bank" had a good name as far as St. Louis was known. Two years after it began business the bank sustained a serious loss, the mystery of which was never solved. Coin to the amount of \$120,000 disappeared from the vaults. The money was not recovered.

The crucial test of the private banks came with the beginning of 1855. These institutions had performed no small part in the building of St. Louis. They had supplied the facilities which a period of expanding trade demanded. They stood close to the business interests. It is difficult to see how St. Louis could have gone through the fifteen years before 1860 without these private banks. Sole dependence upon the one great chartered Bank of the State would have dwarfed the city's legitimate commerce, would have handicapped enterprise. The bankers of St. Louis in 1855 carried long in vivid memory the 13th of January. The day of the week was Saturday. Page & Bacon did not open. Down and up Main and Second and Third streets the news spread. It paralyzed business everywhere but in the banking houses. Groups collected in front of the tellers' windows. Lucas & Simonds cashed checks amounting to \$260,000. Louis A Benoist & Co. paid out over \$100,000. The Boatmen's Savings disbursed over \$100,000. J. J. Anderson & Co. and E. W. Clark & Brothers paid out large sums. All day, for in those years banking business did not close at noon on Saturdays, the houses honored the checks as fast as presented. When evening came the vaults of the banks of St. Louis



THE BOATMEN'S BANK  
One of the First Bank Buildings.



ROBERT A. BARNES



CHARLES PARSONS



EDWARD WALSH



JOHN R. LIONBERGER



JOSEPH CHARLES, JR.

THE FINANCIERS OF SEVERAL GENERATIONS





contained \$800,000 less than in the morning. Monday morning brought restoration of confidence. The run stopped. A superb act of financial honor did it. Ten citizens whose private fortunes amounted to over \$8,000,000 pledged every dollar they possessed in support of the credit of the banks. They issued this notice bearing their signatures:

To the Public: The undersigned, knowing and relying on the ample ability of the following banking houses in the city of St. Louis, and with a view of quieting the public mind in regard to the safety of deposits made with them, hereby pledge themselves, and offer as a guarantee their property to make good all deposits with either of said banking houses, to wit: Messrs. Lucas & Simonds, Bogy, Miltenberger & Co., Tesson & Danjen, L. A. Benoist & Co., John J. Anderson & Co., Darby & Burksdale, and Boatmen's Savings Institution.

John O'Fallon,  
Ed. Walsh,  
Louis A. LaBeaume,  
J. H. Brant,  
L. M. Kennett,

D. A. January,  
John How,  
James Harrison,  
Andrew Christy,  
Charles P. Chouteau.

The banks opened at the accustomed hour, prepared to meet all demands. The excitement subsided as quickly as it had arisen. There was some scarcity of money for a week, but no panic.

Page & Bacon remained closed but took up the drafts which had gone to protest, paying interest and cost of protest as rapidly as they could realize. On the 17th of February the house announced that business would be resumed on the 19th. The bank opened again and continued in operation until April 4th when, a branch in San Francisco having closed, the house in St. Louis went into liquidation.

This brief panic of 1855 in St. Louis was another case of trouble starting outside. In Wall street a crisis occurred in 1854. Over-speculation in lands and railroads following the California boom disturbed things on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Money became tight as the result of the crisis in New York. St. Louis did an enormous business in 1854. Page & Bacon that year showed the largest volume of transactions of any bank in the Mississippi Valley. The firm's exchanges in the twelve months, it was reported, were \$80,000,000. Henry D. Bacon was a Massachusetts man. He came to St. Louis in 1835, after some commercial experience in Hartford, Conn. Here he engaged in the dry goods trade and afterwards in the iron trade. In 1844 he married Miss Julia Page, the daughter of Daniel D. Page. Mr. Page was from Maine. He had settled in St. Louis in 1818, had been chosen the second mayor of St. Louis, had accumulated a fortune as a merchant and miller. In 1848 the banking house of Page & Bacon was established, the son-in-law being the active head of the institution.

In the seven years of the house of Page & Bacon, St. Louis was the gainer largely through the liberal management. Money in large sums was advanced to the city and county of St. Louis to meet bonds. The sum needed to complete the Ohio & Mississippi through Illinois to the east bank of the river was obtained from Page & Bacon in 1853. The help given by this house built the Belleville & St. Louis railroad and brought cheap coal to the city. A subscription of \$35,000 was made to the Missouri Pacific when ground was broken. Later, advances of over \$100,000 were made that the work might not stop. Mr.

Bacon personally gave \$40,000 toward the building and furnishing of the Union Methodist church. He supported various philanthropies with much liberality. The great influx of immigrants created a demand for homes. Page & Bacon built and sold on small cash payments hundreds of houses. The Belcher sugar refinery was an industry in which St. Louis felt great interest. Page & Bacon extended financial aid which made the industry the largest of its kind in the country.

The house felt the New York crisis in 1854. Trade began to languish. Real estate values sagged. Money was becoming scarce. Mr. Bacon was too shrewd not to recognize the dangers. He prepared, as he thought, amply. New York correspondents of Page & Bacon were Duncan, Sherman & Co. The St. Louis connection had been very lucrative for the New Yorkers. During the Mexican War, Page & Bacon had handled a great deal of government money, as heavy disbursements were made in St. Louis in the course of military operations. There seemed to be every reason why the New York house, after having enjoyed the profitable relations with the St. Louis institution for seven years should stand by in bad weather. Toward the close of 1854, Mr. Bacon went to New York and, as he thought, arrived at a thorough understanding with Duncan, Sherman & Co. Conferences were held during three days. The situation was carefully canvassed. At the end of the third day, in Mr. Bacon's room at the hotel, assurance was given that the New York house would extend credit to the St. Louis house to the amount of \$250,000. This was to be on the real estate securities which Mr. Bacon carried with him to New York. Mr. Bacon came back to St. Louis satisfied that with this help the house would withstand the stringency. In a few days he received a telegram from Duncan, Sherman & Co. that it would be impossible to extend the credit as that house must protect itself. Mr. Bacon appealed by wire: "For God's sake, do not desert us, if you do we are ruined and half of St. Louis with us." The appeal was fruitless. Duncan, Sherman & Co. answered that a banking house had no right to risk its money in real estate. It refused to do anything for Page & Bacon. The shutters went up. Perhaps no other bank failure in the history of St. Louis was attended with so general public sympathy for the heads of the institution. Daniel D. Page and Henry D. Bacon had served the city of their adoption well.

No over-speculation, no failure, no dishonest methods at home ever have precipitated panic in this city. There have been local bank failures but they were not of such importance as to shake general confidence in the financial institutions of the city. There has been individual dishonesty but so rare and so exceptional as not to disturb faith in the honesty of the bankers of St. Louis. No wild wave of speculation ever swept over the city. Financial straits have had their beginning elsewhere and St. Louis has shared in them through sympathy or through circumstances beyond her control. So it was in 1855.

There were no wildcat banks in St. Louis but a flood of wildcat currency flowed into the city from the outside. From the east side of the river, whence had come population and civilization, came also the notes of banks established under laws with the minimum of restrictions. They operated under law which permitted the issue of bank notes on State bonds, on county bonds, on

city bonds, on township bonds, on canal bonds, on railroad bonds. These notes came to St. Louis, a veritable deluge of currency. They passed into trade. They paid for goods, for machinery, for food supplies. They passed from par quickly to discount, dropping three, five, ten and more per cent until they were worth not over fifty cents on the dollar.

Financial conditions were erratic after 1855. Following the crisis which attended the closing of Page & Bacon, the private banks had between two and three years of good times. The manner in which the men of large fortunes had supported the credit of these banks in 1855, the fact that but one of the banks, Page & Bacon, had been forced into liquidation made a strong impression on the rest of the country. St. Louis had come through this latest of panics with such showing of financial integrity that other cities marveled and admired.

In 1857, just at the time when the transition from private banking to the organization of banks under the new State law was on, the next crisis came. The trouble started away from St. Louis. An institution very popular throughout the Mississippi Valley, the Ohio Life and Trust company of Cincinnati, failed. Its liabilities were \$7,000,000. The announcement came on the 24th of August. St. Louis bankers recognized what was coming. They began to reduce their loans in New York. In sixty days half of the credit in New York had been withdrawn. Many failures occurred in the east. About the middle of September banks in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington suspended. Stocks declined forty per cent. Industrial establishments closed down. About the middle of October banks in New York, with one exception, suspended payments and the New England banks followed. On the 28th of September, St. Louis bankers began to feel seriously the stringency. That day depositors wanted specie. The St. Louis banks opened and paid out to all comers. At ten o'clock in the morning Darby & Barksdale stopped paying checks with specie. A little later J. J. Anderson & Co. suspended payments. The heaviest run of the day was on James H. Lucas & Co. This house at the time was doing the largest banking business in the west. Actuated by public spirit and hoping to stop the run which they believed was unwarranted, eighteen men of wealth, without request or suggestion from the banking house, came together that day and signed a guarantee to protect depositors with J. H. Lucas & Co. The eighteen were James E. Yeatman, James Harrison, John How, R. J. Lockwood, Edward J. Gay & Co., Ed. Walsh, John O'Fallon, John H. Gay, M. Brotherton, W. Renshaw, Jr., J. S. McCune, D. A. January & Co., D. H. Armstrong, Charles K. Dickson, Thomas T. Gantt, William M. McPherson, James B. Eads, Charles Tillman. The paper which these men signed was as follows:

The undersigned, believing that there is nothing in the condition of affairs to justify a want of confidence on the part of the community in the several banking houses of St. Louis, do hereby, in order to allay the apprehensions of depositors and to prevent the inconveniences which might result from a run on their depositories (without intending by their action to intimate a distrust of any other house), guarantee and assure to all persons having accounts with the banking house of James H. Lucas & Co. the safety of their respective deposits.

Fourteen men of large means signed a similar guarantee for depositors with Renick & Peterson. This house and that of J. H. Lucas & Co. were sustaining the most serious withdrawals of deposits. Renick & Peterson had

been obliged to suspend for a few weeks in 1855, at the time the Page & Bacon suspension occurred. It is to be borne in mind that suspension of payments by the St. Louis banking houses of those days did not mean failure. Unanticipated withdrawals exhausted specie on hand even when the house might have on hand large amounts of paper money. Under such circumstances the house stopped paying out specie until it could replenish the supply in the safe and then resumed. The citizens who guaranteed the deposits with Renick & Peterson were Samuel Gaty, Robert Campbell, Edward Walsh, John How, Charles K. Dickson, Thomas T. Gantt, J. J. Murdock, O. D. Filley, G. F. Filley, J. B. Sickles, Livermore, Cooley & Co., W. Renshaw, Jr., W. H. Benton, and H. Crittenden.

The guarantees had marked local effect. Some of the banking houses sustained small runs on the following day. Undoubtedly the Lucas institution would have remained open if the drain had been limited to St. Louis depositors. But the house had a large out of town business. It had established a branch bank in San Francisco. Major Henry S. Turner had given up the position of assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis in 1852 to engage in the banking business with his relative, James H. Lucas. At Major Turner's instance, Captain William Tecumseh Sherman left the army at that time to join him in the banking business. The two went to San Francisco and conducted the branch of the J. H. Lucas & Co. house. In 1855 San Francisco passed through a panic and the Lucas branch sustained a severe run but lived through it. In 1857, the San Francisco branch was closed on the recommendation of Captain Sherman who had remained in charge after the return of Major Turner to St. Louis in 1855.

The drain on J. H. Lucas & Co. continued from out of the city. There was plenty of "currency" in St. Louis. There was not enough specie. Many obligations were payable in specie. The bank bills were useless to such debtors. Several large establishments were compelled to close business temporarily. On the 4th of October the banking-house of E. W. Clark & Brothers stopped paying cash on checks, the suspension being temporary. On the 5th of October J. H. Lucas & Co. suspended and went into liquidation. It had paid out over \$1,000,000 in coin. The manner in which the business was liquidated is one of many incidents which honor the history of banking in St. Louis. James H. Lucas assumed, personally, all of the obligations of the bank. He gave notes to the creditors for the full amounts. He paid those notes with ten per cent interest. From the debtors to the banking house he accepted what they were able to pay, without suit. This honorable treatment of creditors and merciful policy toward debtors cost Mr. Lucas over \$500,000.

Very strongly, throughout the history of banking in St. Louis, is impressed the obligation to the depositor. It was a vital principle of the banking of early times that the St. Louis banker risked his own money where he would not venture his depositor's. Banking capital might become impaired. Reorganization might be found necessary. But always the money of the depositor must be protected. A theory of public trust entered into the business. Possibly this idea had its beginning in the inflexible, scrupulous supervision which John O'Fallon maintained over the Branch bank of the United States.

Doubtless the high sense of honor which the pioneers in business in St. Louis preserved prompted the unwritten code which regulated banking in St. Louis. Certain it is that generation after generation of bankers stood ready to sacrifice their own fortunes, if need be, rather than that the people who had trusted their money to them should be losers.

The day after the closing of the Lucas banking-house the Boatmen's Savings sustained a run. All day long the withdrawals continued. Some of the other institutions sent offers of specie. The trustees declined with thanks. In the afternoon the Boatmen's Savings posted this notice, signed by the president, Sullivan Blood:

Whereas, there are rumors injurious to this institution, that a portion of its cash funds is on deposit in other institutions of this city, the Board deem it proper to state that all the cash funds belonging to it are in its own vaults.

Sullivan Blood had the sense of responsibility for other people's money which made him an ideal bank president. He was a man of nerve. He was of Vermont birth. Left an orphan, he made his way westward when he was under age. Working his way down the Ohio on a flatboat, he came to St. Louis in 1817. The town, it was then, was beginning to put on city airs. Watchmen were deemed necessary to preserve the peace and protect citizens. Sullivan Blood became a watchman and later was promoted to be captain of the watch. He held this place ten years. He was chosen an alderman. The river appealed to him. His boats became very popular because of the confidence Captain Sullivan Blood's personality inspired with all who became acquainted with him. This quality he possessed in extraordinary degree. It was inborn. It showed itself in his service as captain of the watch. When the time came to reorganize the Boatmen's under a new charter, Captain Blood, by common consent of those interested, was picked as the man for president. He held the office twenty-three years. The tribute the public paid to Sullivan Blood's character was shown in an incident of the bank's early history. In 1854 a robber got into the safe before the opening hour and carried away \$18,000 in paper money and \$1,000 in gold. Page & Bacon, Lucas & Simonds, Loker, Renick & Co., E. W. Clark & Brothers, and J. J. Anderson & Co. offered to advance money, anticipating that the robbery might start a run. The business of the bank went on as if nothing had happened. The help was not needed. The robber was not caught.

The year 1857 saw the regeneration of banking in St. Louis. Then came into existence, with beginnings almost infantile compared with present strength, the great financial institutions of St. Louis' present. Back to 1857 the Mechanics-American, the Merchants-Laclede, the National Bank of Commerce and the Third National look for their birthdays. It is a record of fifty-four years. Ten years earlier the St. Louis Boatmen's Savings Institution, in 1847, had been established. It was without capital. It was to be a bank "where boatmen and other industrious classes can safely deposit at interest their earnings." Profits were to be divided among the depositors who deposited \$100 or more within the first six months and allowed the money to remain. The institution was managed by trustees. In 1856 the institution took a new charter and with a capital of \$400,000 entered the regular banking field.

The regeneration of the banking business in 1857 came about through a general banking law passed by the Legislature that year. This law provided for the organization of banks. It authorized the issue of two dollars in paper for each dollar of paid up capital. Banks were made subject to inspection by a State commissioner. Six banks were started in St. Louis under this law. Three of the six are today among the strongest institutions of the city. The Merchants then, is the Merchants-Laclede today. The Mechanics of 1857 is the Mechanics-American now. The Southern of that year took a national bank charter when the national banking law was enacted and is today the Third National.

The other three of the six banks organized under this State law of 1857 were the Exchange, Union and St. Louis. Two years before this banking law was passed, the State Savings Association, in 1855, was given a charter as a savings bank and went into operation. It became the State National.

The same year that the six banks started, the National Bank of Commerce had its beginning under the name of the St. Louis Building and Savings Association. It was organized under a charter which gave it banking privileges and was a bank from the beginning. In 1869 the name of Bank of Commerce was taken. Still later the St. Louis National Bank was absorbed by the Bank of Commerce, so that this institution may be said to have started in 1857 from two roots. The German Savings had its beginning in 1853. Its capital was \$25,000.

The first president of the St. Louis Building and Savings Association, now the National Bank of Commerce, was Marshall Brotherton. Two brothers came from Pennsylvania in the early days. One became sheriff of St. Louis. His brother, Marshall, was his deputy. Afterwards Marshall Brotherton became sheriff and served so acceptably that he was reelected several times. For his reputation of integrity and devotion to duty he was chosen president of the St. Louis Building and Savings. Afterwards he served as president of the Bremen Savings.

The notice to the public with which the Boatmen's began business was in this unusual form:

The Boatmen's Savings Institution will henceforward be opened daily from 10 a. m. to 4 p. m., and on Saturdays till 6 p. m. until further ordered. On Fridays no males will be admitted, this day being expressly set apart by the trustees for the female community. The institution for the present is located at No. 16 Locust street, one door west of Main, and those who become its patrons are respectfully requested to circulate among their friends and neighbors its charter and by-laws.

Seven banks of St. Louis have had continuous existence of over fifty years. Their dates of first organization ranged from 1847 to 1857. The official statements of these seven banks in 1908 showed:

Capital .....	\$ 20,300,000
Surplus .....	19,600,000
Deposits .....	150,000,000

The run of October 6, 1857, compelled the Mutual Savings Institution under the Planter's on Fourth and Pine streets, to suspend payments. At the Bank of Missouri, the Gibraltar of the banking business in St. Louis, specie was called for all day. The German Savings and the Franklin Savings stood an all day run without closing. Tesson & Danjen, Benoist & Co., Franciscus &

Co., Renick & Peterson and the other private banking houses went through that October day without being forced to close. But the experience was enough to prompt a meeting of business men that afternoon. A committee appointed at a previous meeting "to advise on the currency question," made a report. The business men took important action along two lines. One was the memorializing of the Legislature "not to issue any State bonds, except such as previous legislation makes imperative to be issued, and to pass such a revenue law as will give to the world the most perfect assurance that, under any and all circumstances, Missouri will pay her interest and protect her obligations."

The reason for this action was that Missouri had been prodigal in the issue of bonds to railroads and the inflation was working disastrous conditions for the banks and business of St. Louis.

The other act of the merchants' meeting was the adoption of a resolution "that the business men of St. Louis will continue to receive for the present the good currency (meaning Illinois bank-notes which were thought to be better secured than any other) afloat in the country in all transactions at par." Probably this was not so wise as was the memorial, from the banking point of view. The merchants felt that they could not turn away the flow of money from the Illinois trade, even though it was bringing danger to the specie in the banks.

On the 19th of October, Tesson & Danjen reached the danger line and stopped payment. Five days later the State Bank was compelled to suspend business for two days. The Merchants, one of the new banks under the State law, stopped payments of specie on the morning of October 26. The Southern stopped an hour after opening. The Mechanics met the demand all day but was compelled to follow the others and to refuse to pay out specie for a short time. This temporary suspension of specie payments in St. Louis was only the echo of what was going on in the rest of the country. The panic of 1857 was attended by 5,123 bankruptcies in the United States and Canada with \$299,800,000 liabilities. Cotton dropped from sixteen cents to eight and one-half cents a pound. Fourteen railroads stopped paying interest on \$180,000,000 bonds.

In St. Louis the six new banks took over most of the business from the private banking-houses. The close of 1857 brought resumption. Banking was carried on safely and sanely until the war cloud grew dark in November, 1860.

George K. Budd brought with him from Philadelphia a genius for financial initiative. He established the private banking house of Budd & Park in 1839 or 1840. Later he made of the *Intelligencer* a financial paper which commanded public respect as well as interest. He was one of the founders of the Boatmen's bank, which was organized on a plan entirely novel for those times. Later, Mr. Budd drafted the charter for the Real Estate Savings and became the president of that bank. He had some of the ideas which have made the trust companies so popular and profitable in the St. Louis field, but he was ahead of the time for such institutions. St. Louis was then passing through the savings bank stage. George K. Budd thought he could see the wisdom and profit of a combination of banking and real estate within the limitations of trusteeship. He was right and time has proved it. His faith in the future of St. Louis realty led to large investments of outside money.

Lincoln was elected in November, 1860. On the 26th of the month St. Louis banks, with the exception of the Exchange, temporarily suspended payment. They resumed but the winter was full of financial uncertainty. Southern states were holding conventions and adopting ordinances of secession. In April war was seen to be inevitable. On the 24th of the month the officers of the banks of St. Louis united on a conservative line of action which averted a threatened panic. October of 1861, with the war in progress, was a crucial test of banking in St. Louis. The bank presidents held meetings and endeavored to prevent misunderstandings. On several days in that month there was confusion caused by one St. Louis institution refusing to accept the notes of another. Before the end of the month an agreement was reached whereby the notes of the State, Mechanics, Merchants and Southern banks were accepted by any of these banks. The notes of these four banks constituted about all of the good money in circulation in St. Louis at the time.

In July, 1861, after the battle of Bull Run, the bankers of St. Louis were beginning to realize what war meant to their business. Besides the general conditions of uncertainty which applied to the entire country, they were confronted by the circumstances peculiar to a community on the border line. Here was division of local sentiment, sharply drawn and personally bitter. Here existed complete paralysis of relations with a large part of natural trade territory. Business in many lines was suspended. In directions stimulated by war conditions it was unnatural, fictitious. Through the war period the banks of St. Louis felt their way.

An army officer on an expedition with a Union force sent up the Missouri found in a bank at Boonville \$134,000 belonging to the Bank of St. Louis. He seized the specie and brought it to St. Louis. His superiors did not take the responsibility of returning the money to the bank to which it belonged. Those were days when wholesale confiscation of property of sympathizers with the South was being advocated. The loyalty of the bank officers might be called in question. The money remained for some time in the custody of an express company. After conditions in St. Louis became better understood and policies were determined the money was given back to the bank. The incident illustrates only one of many strange occurrences in the banking business of St. Louis in 1861.

The last day of July, 1861, the State commissioner reported under the banking law on the condition of the St. Louis banks. He classified the banks of St. Louis on some basis of relationship to the military authority which was then supreme in St. Louis. In one class the commissioner put the State bank, the Merchants' and the Exchange with circulation outstanding to the amount of \$3,411,595. The banks put in another class were the St. Louis, Mechanics', Southern and Union. These four banks had outstanding, St. Louis, \$472,110; Mechanics', \$832,625; Southern, \$715,070; Union, \$1,067,510. In the savings institutions the commissioner found \$3,000,000. The circulation of the seven banks was practically the money on which business was being done in St. Louis. The effect of the classification, or, if not the effect, the inference from the classification was that about half of the circulation was in a measure discredited until the attitude of the government toward the four banks was determined.





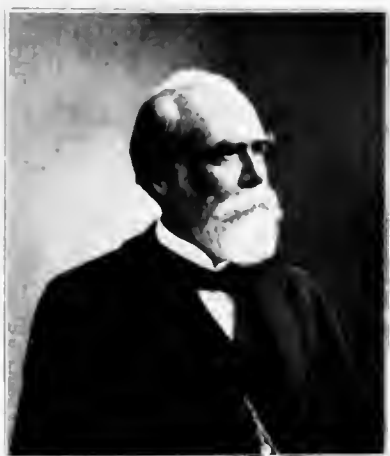
MICHEL D. TESSON



GEORGE J. LEIGHTON



JAMES H. LUCAS



GEORGE S. DRAKE



JOSEPH O'NEIL

ST. LOUIS BANKERS OF SEVERAL GENERATIONS

THE NEW YORK  
PUBLIC LIBRARY  
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION  
125 WEST 47TH STREET  
NEW YORK 10036

THE NEW YORK  
PUBLIC LIBRARY  
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION  
125 WEST 47TH STREET  
NEW YORK 10036

In this situation, with everybody looking askant at his neighbor and loyalty waiting upon definition and application, the bank presidents of St. Louis worked out their financial salvation. One day the notes of one bank were not accepted by another. Within a week, perhaps, the ruling was reversed. The presidents held meeting after meeting. Bank notes fluctuated in value. The discount was greater on the paper bills of the bank or banks shut out from the acceptance by the other banks. It is easy to see to what these meetings of the bankers of St. Louis in 1861 were leading. The evolution of the clearing house system was in progress.

No small part the banking institutions of St. Louis performed in the exciting events of 1861. Gold and silver disappeared from general circulation. Military operations in and about the city required money. The United States sub-treasury, under charge of Isaac H. Sturgeon, could not take care of all of the sudden demand on the part of the government. Loans or credit, at St. Louis banks, were found to be indispensable if the Union cause was to be assured here. Some of that credit was extended in, perhaps, not very good grace. But voluntarily or involuntarily the banks and private banks of this city became the creditors of the United States to what were large amounts in those days. When the government settled down to steady prosecution of the war, and the business of fighting became somewhat systematized late in 1861, the examination of accounts showed the amounts due the banks and bankers of St. Louis. In some cases the money had been taken with so little ceremony that it amounted almost to seizure. But the emergencies were great. The conditions were without precedent. As soon as its accounting officers could get to them the government acknowledged the obligations. The amounts found to be due banks and bankers in St. Louis are given. Nearly all of this money was advanced in the first six months of 1861:

Boatmen's Savings Institution	\$154,300
Building and Savings Association	127,613
Mechanics' Bank	36,000
Merchants' Bank	75,000
German Savings Institution	10,000
Robert S. Hays	42,000
Webb & Kaime	5,000
Southern Bank	10,000
Belchers' Sugar Refining Co., assignee	10,000
Partridge & Co.	5,000
Reed & Co.	4,500
McMeehan & Ballentine	2,500
People's Savings Association	10,000
George D. Hall, assignee	10,000
Bank of Missouri	291,103
State Savings Association	37,255
Exchange Bank	141,337
Union Bank	68,877

These amounts the officers of the government found to be due the several banks and bankers. The debts were paid. Where specie had been taken in these loans, forced or voluntary, the government allowed ten per cent interest.

Business in St. Louis was done with the bank-notes of these state banks until the United States paper money made its appearance. Postage stamps were used a great deal for small change. In 1862 a government tax of ten per cent

was put upon state bank-notes, rapidly driving them out of existence. One bank after another in St. Louis took advantage of the national banking act and "nationalized" as they called it then. In the summer of 1862 the hardships of the war began to tell upon the families of the volunteers. The Western Sanitary Commission was doing a great deal but the needs were beyond the responses. A movement to help volunteers enlisting and their families was started among the banks of St. Louis. The list of contributions shows how liberal and general was the answer in a period when the bankers were having troubles of their own.

State Savings Institution .....	\$2,500
Bank of the State of Missouri.....	5,000
Merchants' Bank .....	2,000
Boatmen's Savings Institution .....	4,000
Southern Bank .....	500
Bank of St. Louis .....	600
Franklin Savings .....	500
Mechanics' Bank .....	2,000
L. A. Benoist & Co. ....	500
Exchange Bank .....	2,000
Tesson & Danjen .....	100
Allen, Copp & Nesbit .....	100
Union Bank .....	500
St. Louis Gaslight Co. ....	1,000

A banker by natural bent of mind was Louis A. Benoist. He was markedly an illustration of what an important part adaptability performs in this vocation. Choice of the business was no accident with Mr. Benoist. A large fortune did not tempt him into the life of a financier. Mr. Benoist's father was a fur trader who came to St. Louis from Canada when a young man, long before American occupation of St. Louis. His ancestors were of an illustrious French family. Away back in the line one of them was chamberlain in the reign of Charles VII. Possibly the traits which developed so notably in Louis A. Benoist came down through the generations from that controller of a royal treasury. On his mother's side Mr. Benoist was a Sanguinet, strong French stock of early St. Louis. Louis A. Benoist was born in St. Louis the year before the American flag was raised. He had the best educational advantages of the day. He was tutored by Judge Tompkins, a man of much culture, who afterwards was on the supreme bench of the State. In his youth he attended St. Thomas College in Kentucky. He studied medicine two years with Dr. Trudeau and read law later in the office of Horatio Cozzens. These studies he pursued, not with the idea of practice, but for general education. The death of his grandfather took Mr. Benoist to France to settle the estate. When he returned he began to lay the foundation for the business of a banker. In 1832 he established a regular banking business in St. Louis and six years later put in operation a branch at New Orleans. With a foresight which was the marvel of the banking profession of St. Louis for many years, Mr. Benoist conducted the business successfully through panics and depressions. Only once was he seriously embarrassed. In 1842, the conditions compelled temporary suspension. Mr. Benoist reopened his banking-house and paid all depositors with ten per cent interest for the time their money had not been available to them. L. A. Benoist & Co. passed through the troublous times of

1857. At his death Mr. Benoist left an estate of \$5,000,000. His knowledge of literature was extensive; his general information was world-wide.

The last two years of the war banking in St. Louis adjusted itself to new conditions. It entered upon a prosperous period which was not broken until 1873. The old haunting trouble of specie runs in the forties and fifties was past. All money was paper and all money was as good as the government. Old banks took out national charters. New banks were organized. In 1865 the International was started with \$100,000 capital and William C. Lange, president; in 1867, the Franklin, first called the Franklin Avenue German Savings, with \$60,000 capital, and G. W. Garrels, cashier; in 1868 the Bremen Savings, with \$100,000 capital; in 1872, the German American, with \$150,000 capital; in 1873, the Northwestern Savings. These five banks still live and prosper with over a third of century of continued usefulness and success. They are to be taken into account with the seven heretofore mentioned as having passed the half century mark. The history of the banking business of no other city in the country presents such a showing as this.

The longevity of the leading banks of St. Louis has been remarkable. More significant, perhaps, are the long periods of service of many of the bankers. The Boatmen's has had three presidents in its sixty-odd years of activity,—A. D. Mills, seven years; Sullivan Blood, seventeen years; Rufus J. Lackland, thirty-nine years. This bank has had three cashiers,—Alton R. Easton, Charles Hodgman and William H. Thomson. George S. Drake, who came from Hartford, Connecticut, was for twenty-four years the vice president. Mr. Thomson has the distinction of having been connected with the Boatmen's fifty-two years, during thirty-nine of which he has been cashier.

The hold of confidence which a long-lived bank gains on the community was illustrated when a citizen went into the Boatmen's at a time of stringency and offered \$140,000 in currency to be used if wanted to meet withdrawals. The offer was declined with thanks. The bank had all of the ready money it needed and did not care to lock up a surplus. In 1847 Captain Thomas Dennis deposited \$100 in the Boatmen's. He went to California in 1849 and did not return. In 1874, a Californian, James M. Lane, who had married a daughter of Captain Dennis, came with the proper authority, bringing the original deposit book, and received \$2,565, the original deposit and its accumulations.

The State National has had five presidents,—R. M. Henning, John How, John J. Roe, Charles Parsons and John H. McCluney. Mr. Parsons was a life-long banker. He conducted banking business in Keokuk, Iowa, before he came to St. Louis. He filled the office of cashier before he became president of the State National, or State Savings, in 1870. His connection with this bank covered more than forty years. When John H. McCluney, in 1907, advanced from vice president to president of the State National he had been connected with that institution continuously for fifty years. A native of West Virginia, or Virginia, as it was before the Civil war, Mr. McCluney had lived his life from childhood in St. Louis.

It was said of Eugene Karst that in twelve years as a bank teller no person presenting to him a check ever was required to be identified twice. Among banking officials by whom the details of the business were carried to perfection,

Mr. Karst was a recognized phenomenon for memory of names and faces. He was a native of France. His mother was a Miltenberger. The family came to St. Louis in 1838. In his early manhood Mr. Karst entered the banking house of Bogy, Miltenberger & Co. That was in the period of private banking firms. With the St. Louis National and its predecessor Mr. Karst was connected as teller or cashier twenty-two years.

In these days a proposition to seek in New York subscriptions to the capital stock of a St. Louis bank would occasion surprise. Such a quest was undertaken in 1865. The Merchants bank had been running on a state charter from 1857. At the close of the Civil war it was decided to change to a national bank. The St. Louis financiers who were in the Merchants bank were ambitious to make the capital stock considerably larger. They proposed that the reorganization as a national bank should show a capital of \$700,000. That was heavy capitalization for a bank in those days. Subscription books for stock in the Merchants National bank of St. Louis were opened in New York city. The cashier, Mr. James E. Yeatman, was sent to New York to make personal effort to secure subscriptions. He was notably successful. A considerable portion of the \$700,000 stock was subscribed in New York.

With the establishment of national banks, the Legislature of Missouri decided that the time had come for the state to go out of the banking business. In 1866 the state sold its stock in the old State Bank of Missouri. That institution had stood for nineteen years as the financial Gibraltar of St. Louis. It had been anathematized for ultra conservatism at times by the business men. But its management had been sane and safe. The first president was John Brady Smith. Afterwards Mr. Smith was the state and county collector and still later the first surveyor of the port of St. Louis when the city attained that importance in foreign trade. With his strict sense of business honor and stern integrity, John Brady Smith was an ideal president for a bank such as the "old State" was intended to be. His appearance, serious, dignified, sturdy, with coat almost invariably buttoned to his chin, personified the man who could be firm when the question involving trust was presented to him. John Brady Smith came of fine stock. His father, William Smith, was from Culpeper county, Virginia. He came to St. Louis with his family in 1810. At that time, John Brady Smith, who had been born in Lexington, Kentucky, while his father was in business there, was twelve years old. William Smith, the father, was a director in the first bank started in St. Louis. While holding that position and when he was counted one of the foremost citizens of St. Louis, William Smith fell a sacrifice to the intense feeling aroused in the city by the Benton-Lucas duel. On September 28, 1817, the day following the duel, a group of business men stood in front of the Washington hotel, on Main and Pine streets, discussing the event of the previous day. William Thorp became angry at an expression of opinion by William Smith, drew his pistol and killed him.

The state's stock in the Bank of Missouri was purchased by a syndicate of capitalists headed by James B. Eads. The bank was made national. Through investments in enterprises like the bridge the capital of the bank became impaired. In 1876 the capital stock was reduced from \$3,410,300 to \$2,500,000. The next election of directors brought new blood into the board. A committee made an

examination of the assets which had suffered in the general shrinkage of securities throughout the country. Upon the committee's report the directors decided to ask the comptroller of the currency for a receiver and to liquidate. The "old State Bank," which had weathered financial stress after stress, which had supplied paper money more highly esteemed than gold, passed out of existence.

Between 1864 and 1873 many banks were started. The close of the war brought back to business life men of ability who were seeking openings. Banking looked easy in the flush times of 1865-70. The city was expanding. The national banking law was encouraging. The state banking law did not safeguard as it does now. A few thousand dollars was capital. National banks, savings banks and neighborhood banks multiplied in St. Louis. Paid up capital was not required. The number of banks of all kinds in St. Louis exceeded sixty. Savings banks paid six per cent on deposits. It is to be remembered that the population of the city at that time was about 300,000, but St. Louis was recovering the trade lost during the war and was extending its commercial influence in new directions. Undoubtedly the banks found business profitable until 1873. Then came the panic in the east. St. Louis banks apparently came through the crisis with less trouble than the banks in any other city. Not a bank closed. Clearing house certificates were resorted to for a short time. And then ordinary methods were resumed. But a period of stagnation followed. The strong and older institutions had carried the weaker through the crisis. The clearing house, then five years old, had been of great help to the situation. The four years that followed 1873 were trying. Twenty-five St. Louis banks went out of business. Twenty of them made good their depositors and transferred their business or consolidated. Most of these liquidating banks were of less than \$150,000 capital. Some of them were under \$75,000. In the summer of 1877 five banks closed in two weeks. They were small institutions, with one exception. Their exit from existence was not even a nine days' wonder. Five out of the twenty-five liquidating banks failed to pay depositors in full. In two cases, both outlying and small banks, criminal mismanagement was revealed. The losses incurred through these five banks were almost insignificant in comparison with the banking business of the city but they fell upon a large number of small depositors—working people and small tradesmen. The effects of these failures were altogether out of proportion to the actual money losses. One of them was the speedy enactment of State banking laws which drove into liquidation several more weak banks and which made impossible the organization of banks of the class that had been so numerous. Missouri, under the influence of this situation in St. Louis, pioneered the way for other states in bank laws. Another effect was the adoption of rules by the St. Louis clearing house which made it impossible for banks of weak capital to do business here. But a third and a far reaching effect was the discouragement which the failures gave to the savings class of depositors. For fifteen years this influence was felt. It gave great impetus to building associations. With wider distribution of wealth in proportion to population than any other American city, St. Louis came to have a surprisingly small number of savings depositors. The thrift of the community showed itself in many small holdings of real estate instead of in savings bank accounts.

Between 1873 and 1877 St. Louis had thirty savings banks in operation. A thrifty population created an encouraging field. Unfortunately these institutions were started under a law which was too liberal. They began on a nominal capital ranging from \$100,000 to \$200,000. From ten to fifty per cent was paid in, so that some of these banks opened for business with from \$10,000 to \$50,000 paid in. In eighteen months of the stringency which followed 1873, seven of these savings banks went into liquidation. It is greatly to the credit of the majority of the men who put money into stock of these banks on mistaken ideas of the business that they saw to it depositors recovered their savings, although stockholders lost.

From between sixty and seventy the number of banks in St. Louis dropped in number to fifty. Even then nineteen of the fifty were savings banks. Nine of the nineteen had full paid capital. Liquidation continued. But while it progressed there were banks in St. Louis that continued to pay dividends, and the stock of which was away above par. In the decade between 1870 and 1880, St. Louis learned the lesson that a smaller number of strong banks is better for a community than many banks of less capital.

The St. Louis clearing house is forty years old. It began operations the day before Christmas, 1868. The membership numbered thirty-four. The membership at the last annual meeting was sixteen. The evolution has been from many banks of moderate capital to fewer and stronger institutions. It is shown, in striking manner, by the changes as well as by reduction in membership.

#### Membership, 1868.

Accommodation Bank.	Mechanics' Bank.
Bartholow, Lewis & Co.	Merchants' National Bank.
Boatmen's Savings Institution.	National Bank State of Missouri.
Butchers' and Drovers' Bank.	National Loan Bank.
Central Savings Bank.	North St. Louis Savings Association.
Commercial Bank.	Peoples' Savings Institution.
Exchange Bank.	Provident Savings Institutions.
First National Bank.	St. Louis National Bank.
Fourth National Bank.	St. Louis Building and Savings Association.
Fourth Street Bank.	Second National Bank.
Franklin Avenue German Savings Institution.	State Savings Association.
Franklin Savings Institution.	Third National Bank.
German Bank.	Traders' Bank.
German Savings Institution.	Union National Bank.
Haskell & Co.	United States Savings Institution.
International Bank.	Clark Brothers & Co.
G. H. Loker & Brother.	Western Savings Bank.

#### Membership, 1909.

Boatmen's Bank.	Merchants-Laclede National Bank.
Central National Bank.	Mercantile Trust Co.
Commonwealth Trust Co.	Mississippi Valley Trust Co.
Franklin Bank.	National Bank of Commerce.
German-American Bank.	South Side Bank.
German Savings Institution.	State National Bank.
St. Louis Union Trust Co.	Third National Bank.
International Bank.	Mechanics-American National Bank.





HENRY D. BACON



ISAAC H. STURGEON

(At the age of 45)



JOHN J. ANDERSON

THE FINANCIERS OF SEVERAL GENERATIONS



Edward Chase, of Massachusetts birth and an inheritance of steady habits, came to St. Louis in 1847 to take charge of the branch house of Clark, Dodge & Co., then on Main and Olive streets. He was for twenty-six years manager of the St. Louis clearing house and became the recognized authority on what, perhaps, might be called the technique of banking. It was said of him that he never took a vacation and for twenty years did not miss a day from the clearing house duties. Mr. Chase's recreation was found in music. Thomas A. Stoddart, a Pennsylvanian of Revolutionary stock, after many years of proven capability in the position of cashier of the Third National, succeeded Mr. Chase as manager of the clearing house and was followed by William M. Hoxton, of thorough financial training and of literary attainments.

Some of the most forceful men in the business community were quick to appreciate the beneficial tendency toward the reduction in the number of banks. George E. Leighton, a man of strong character and of wide experience, surprised the stockholders of the Mercantile bank by advising liquidation. Such was the respect for his judgment that the vote was largely in the affirmative. The depositors' accounts were turned over to the State Savings without loss. The business of the Mercantile was wound up with handsome return to the stockholders. Other consolidations prompted by the same movement to economize in management took place. They progressed without regard to the hard times of 1873 but in accordance with a natural evolution which was wholly in the interest of better financial conditions. Thus the City Savings bank was turned over to the Bank of North America. The Bank of North America liquidated through the Bank of St. Louis. The last mentioned institution reorganized with an honorable history from 1857 as the St. Louis National bank. In due course the St. Louis National was absorbed by the National Bank of Commerce, originally started in 1857 as the St. Louis Building and Savings Association. Charles G. Warner as a bank director and vice president won high repute in the banking and business community, although most widely known as an authority in railroad auditing and financing.

Joseph O'Neil, an Irish boy of twelve, came to this country with his widowed mother and several brothers and sisters. The family reached St. Louis in 1839. Joseph O'Neil had learned the carpenter's trade. He built houses. When the State Savings Association was organized in 1857 he had accumulated a little money which he invested in the bank, becoming a director. That was the beginning of his career as a banker. Archbishop Kenrick had acquired a great deal of church property but much of it was unproductive and in need of attention. Mr. O'Neil was chosen to take charge of the property. He succeeded so well that he was encouraged by the archbishop to organize a bank. The Central Savings was the result. After a time Mr. O'Neil differed with the other directors on the management. He opposed certain policies which he believed to be unwise. Withdrawing from the Central he founded the Citizens' Savings. His judgment was vindicated when the Central went into the hands of an assignee by reason of bad investments. The Citizens outlived nearly all of the other savings banks. Mr. O'Neil conducted it until 1891, when he retired from active business. Subsequently the bank went into liquidation and paid every dollar of deposits. Mr. O'Neil was a man of extraordinary sentiment. He was an ad-

mimer of Burns, and Moore and Mrs. Hemans to such an extent that he could recite poem after poem, by the hour. A nephew of Joseph O'Neil was Frank R. O'Neil, the newspaper man.

The banker's temperament was possessed in marked degree by James M. Franciscus. Sixty-two years in financial business, over forty years of that time in St. Louis, Mr. Franciscus went through panics, civil war and flush periods with exceptional success. He was of Maryland birth and had a trial of his chosen vocation as a broker in that excellent training school, Baltimore, before he came west. His career as a banker in St. Louis began in 1840. With his brother, John T. Franciscus, he conducted the banking house of Franciscus & Co. In the latter part of the decade of 1840-50 Mr. Franciscus conducted a brokerage business in New Orleans. He returned to St. Louis in 1851 to become a partner in the banking house of Gray & Co. In 1852 the house of Haskell & Co. was started with Mr. Franciscus as one of the principal partners. This developed into the Haskell bank, where Thomas E. Tutt and Mr. Franciscus became associated. Mr. Tutt had been a very successful business man and at one time a director in the State Bank. Mr. Tutt was president, and Mr. Franciscus, vice president of the Haskell bank. This bank was conducted without loss and with such success that its good will was purchased by the Lucas bank, in which both Mr. Tutt and Mr. Franciscus became directors, the latter being chosen president. After the panic of 1873, and when prudence prompted a reduction in the excessive number of banks in St. Louis, Mr. Franciscus recommended liquidation. He so conducted the winding up of the business that not only were depositors paid in full but stockholders after enjoying dividends of six and eight per cent annually, received back all they paid in and twenty per cent premium.

In 1877 Mr. Tutt became president of the Third National and three years later Mr. Franciscus, much against his wishes, for he desired to retire from active business, became vice president of that bank. In the management of three banks these two men were associated, one or the other being president. With the Third National they came into association with a third bank manager who ranks among the successful men in the banking history of St. Louis. John R. Lionberger was a Virginian, like Mr. Tutt, from Luray, Virginia. Mr. Lionberger's mother was a Miss Tutt. The stock was Scotch-Irish out of which have come some of the most notable business men of St. Louis. Mr. Lionberger was one of the organizers of the Southern Bank, one of the six banks formed under a general state banking law in 1857. The Southern became the Third National in 1864 and three years later Mr. Lionberger was made the president. He was among the founders of the St. Louis clearing house and a strong figure in the trying period from 1873 to 1875. In 1876 Mr. Lionberger resigned the presidency of the Third National to go abroad. When he returned he was elected vice president. These three men were genial, public spirited, generous in their personal relations but of scrupulous integrity in the handling of bank business. An extraordinary association was that of these three bankers. Mr. Tutt was a student of finance. In his busy life as a merchant he had read and thought much on monetary theories. He wrote forcibly upon financial topics. Mr. Franciscus' bent was in the direction of practical details of banking. He was

masterly. He never forgot that periods of depression and stagnation were inevitable in the financial world. Mr. Lionberger had strong inclination toward public and semi-public enterprises. He gave freely of his time and energy to matters for the common good. He was a moving spirit in the Board of Trade of St. Louis, before the time of the Business Men's League and represented the local organization in the National Board of Trade. He participated in the early railroad enterprises. He made the remarkable record of financial relationship with eighty corporations in most of which he served as a director.

In one block on Third street, in 1873, there were five banks. Four years later there was only one of the five remaining in business. Third and Second were the financial streets of that period. They lost that distinction in the decade of liquidation and consolidation. The Clerks' Savings was one of the institutions started with considerable enthusiasm. It organized with a capital of \$1,000,000, of which twenty per cent was paid up. Afterwards this capital was reduced to \$200,000. The name was changed to the Security and the bank was conducted for some time on Fifth and Olive streets. The business was turned over to the Manufacturers'. Depositors lost nothing and stockholders got back a considerable portion of what they had paid in. The Union National closed up depositors' accounts on its liquidation. The Traders' went out of business in a respectable way. The West St. Louis paid its depositors in full. When the Hibernia closed the patriotic Irishmen who had started it promptly prepared to pay depositors in full, taking the chances of any loss there might be in the liquidation of slow assets. The Hibernia took care of the deposit accounts of the Guardian Savings.

Some of the banks which passed out of existence, either by absorption or liquidation were: The Real Estate Savings, the Home Savings, the Provident Savings, the First Ward Savings, the Mullanphy Savings, the City, the Central, the Mutual, the Accommodation, the Butchers and Drovers, the Broadway, and the German.

The United States Savings turned over its business to the Mechanics' in 1879. The First National became the Empire and the Empire turned its accounts over to the Lafayette which survived and prospered. The history of the Lafayette has proven what there is in management. Founded in 1876, in the period when the tendency was so strong toward consolidation, the Lafayette not only outlived the banks in its vicinity but grew to be one of the strongest of the institutions not located in the heart of the city. The predecessor of the Lafayette bank was the Lafayette Savings. One of the directors in the original institution was Fred Arendes. Some of the successful bankers of St. Louis have come through other professions and with liberal education. Others have come from the trades and with the memory of long hours and strictest economy. There has been no royal road to the banking that has endured in St. Louis. Fred Arendes came to St. Louis in 1849 and worked as a journeyman tailor. The first fifty dollars he was able to save he sent to Germany to bring his mother to this country. He was the first president of the Lafayette bank and held the position twenty-two years, until his death. Standing beside the body of Fred Arendes, one who had known him most of his lifetime in St. Louis said: "I never heard him speak a profane word. No poor person asked help of him and was refused."

In 1875 the clearing house took action intended to encourage consolidation of banks without sufficient capital. This rule was adopted:

No member shall be added to this association unless such member shall have a paid up capital of \$150,000. No member having a less amount of paid up capital than \$150,000 shall be allowed to make exchanges through the clearing house for any non-member except under such contracts as are now existing.

The rule could not, of course, be made retroactive. It did express the conviction of the members that the time had come in St. Louis banking to insist upon sufficient capital. The Legislature acted. Bills were passed providing for the publication of bank statements periodically. Banks were compelled to stop doing business when the capital was impaired to the extent of more than twenty-five per cent. At least half of the subscribed capital must be paid up. Dividends were forbidden when capital had been impaired. These and other wholesome provisions went into effect the summer of 1877. Stringent penalties for mismanagement were imposed. Influential in promoting this legislation was the assignee of one of the banks in liquidation. This assignee was M. H. Phelan, a state senator at the time. The bank of which Mr. Phelan was assignee was the Central Savings.

Incidents of the early banking in St. Louis would be impossibilities under present methods and conditions. About 1850 a loss of \$80,000 to the Bank of Missouri occurred. That difference between the cash account on the books and the specie in the vaults was discovered. When and how the abstraction of this large amount of money took place remained a mystery. An arrest was made and prosecution followed. The result was acquittal. So wanting was foundation for suspicion, as shown by the evidence, that the person charged was given a government position. The theory of the bank management was that the money was taken long before the discovery. A practice of the board was to appoint at frequent intervals a committee to count all of the money in the vaults. This should have detected the loss quickly. It appeared, however, that this counting had taken place under such conditions that the deficit might have existed years without being shown by the report of the counting committee of directors. This counting was a work of some hours. The committee entered the vaults in the morning and counted steadily until noon. Then the vaults were closed and the committee went out to lunch. It was the theory of the board that, during the temporary absence of the committee, the vaults were entered by some one connected with the bank and that enough money was shifted back to the uncounted portion to cover the deficit. The report of the committee was thus made to agree with the books. How long this had gone on, if indeed it was the case, the board never learned. All explanations rested solely on theory. After the discovery of the loss, some member of the counting committee remained in the vaults at lunch time.

One important lesson which the panic of 1873 taught the bankers of St. Louis was the wisdom of united harmonious action. All through the spring and summer of that year stringency was shown in the money market of New York. The signs of distress were freely exhibited. Jay Cooke & Co. failed about the middle of September. The New York Stock Exchange closed for some days. About the end of September, the 25th, the St. Louis clearing house



D. K. FERGUSON



GEORGE K. WOOD



RICHARD HODGES



THOMAS F. JEFF



R. M. FUNKHOUSER



C. HODGMAN

ST. LOUIS BANKERS

THE  
PUBLIC

LIBRARY



adopted the plan of settling balances with clearing house certificates and agreed to the following to hold good until the first of November:

"We will not pay out money, except for small amounts to be optional."

In the emergency of a shortage of cash the city resorted to a temporary issue of scrip called "brownbacks." These notes were used to pay city salaries. Being receivable for taxes, licenses and other municipal dues, they helped to relieve the situation so far as the city employes and those dependent on them were concerned.

The shrinkage in values in the country were estimated to be \$300,000,000 in four weeks. Nevertheless St. Louis with the excessive number of banks, between sixty and seventy, passed through the crisis without a single bank failure. The reduction in the number of banks which came later was in obedience to a general sentiment that the business was overdone and that the banking business and the city as well would be better off with fewer and stronger institutions.

One of the best managed of the savings banks was the Union Savings. This bank was organized in 1864 with Thomas S. Rutherford as president. It went through the trying times of the seventies and became the foundation on which was built up the American Exchange. The Mechanics' Bank had for presidents during the greater part of its existence, from organization in 1857, Oliver Garrison and David K. Ferguson. Consolidation of the Mechanics and the American Exchange created the Mechanics-American National. When Robert Randolph Hutchinson came back to St. Louis from four years of hard service in the Confederate army, the Drake test oath barred the way of return to his profession. Born in Virginia, his father of Connecticut stock, his mother of the historic Carter family, Mr. Hutchinson was educated at the University of Virginia and at Berlin. The law was his profession. He became connected with the Lucas bank and later with the Mechanics. Of the latter he was cashier and following the retirement of Mr. Ferguson became president. He was also president of the clearing house. The change from law to banking turned out to be to his liking and Mr. Hutchinson was for thirty years in active and successful banking life. In 1908 the head of one of the largest banks of St. Louis attained his majority in the local profession. That is to say, he began his banking career in St. Louis in 1887. Before that he had been teller or cashier of banks in Richmond, the Planters and the City, for sixteen years. Walker Hill's connection with the business in St. Louis began as cashier of the American Exchange. After the consolidation, forming the Mechanics-American National, Mr. Hill was made president. The theory of once a banker always a banker has had its practice contributing not a little to the personal character and material success of the banking of St. Louis. This has found illustration in such men as G. W. Garrels, Tom Randolph, W. P. Kennett, J. A. Lewis, Edward Hidden, N. A. McMillan, Richard Hospes, L. A. Battaile, George E. Hoffman, George W. Wilson, George W. Galbreath, James E. Brock, Frederick Vierling, William Moffitt. Some men seem born to the vocation of banking, get into it early and live their lives in it with a fitness the community recognizes.

Edward Walsh participated in the organization and early conduct of the Bank of Missouri and later of the Merchants' bank. The genius that was his by nature for safe management of financial affairs descended to his son, Julius

S. Walsh. The latter was identified as director with the Merchants', the Laclede and the Third National. In 1890 he was the leading spirit in the organization of the Mississippi Valley Trust company, of which he became president. He held the presidency a number of years until he became chairman of the board, relinquishing the executive duties of the presidency to Breckinridge Jones. The characteristics of the Walshes, father and son, have had as much influence as that of any two men upon the development of banking in St. Louis. These financiers combined enterprise and conservatism in the proportions which take into account the varying conditions of business. Through alternate prosperity and panic, from 1837 to 1909, the influence of Edward Walsh and of Julius S. Walsh had been of vital value in the institutions to which it was given.

With some of the successful bankers of St. Louis inclination toward financial business seems to have been inherited. Breckinridge Jones, of an old Kentucky family tracing lineage back to Wales, was educated for the law. From almost the beginning of his practice in St. Louis, as a young man, Mr. Jones, gave his attention to financial organization. He participated in the founding of the Mississippi Valley Trust company, became the secretary, then counsel, second vice president, first vice president, and president. The genius of Mr. Jones in what might be termed, perhaps, law-finance, was shown in the preliminary movement for the World's Fair. The plan and the form of financing the Exposition were drawn by Mr. Jones. They were followed without alteration by the finance committee of which William H. Thompson was chairman. They not only worked out successfully in practical detail but stood the test of perfect legality in court after court. This plan, devised by Mr. Jones, has since been accepted as a model in later exposition movements. It has been copied and carried into effect by other cities.

A marble counter, tellers in solitary confinement, vaults full of currency, these alone do not constitute a bank. The architectural scheme has become one of the essentials. A building suitable for occupancy by a bank must have a dignified expression. The interior must make concessions in space and in other respects to appearances that the character of the institution may be sustained. This means more than simply the room in which to transact the business of the bank. To put the argument, or the theory, somewhat differently, bank atmosphere must be created by the architecture from the first impression given to the vision by the outer facade. It must be strengthened by the passage through a spacious, effective but not too ornate portal. It must find fullest realization in the grand corridor flanked by great columns and the artistic fronts of the many departments of the business.

Thus the architect reasons but with better and more elaborate explanation of his theory when he comes before the directors of a bank about to build new or modernize old quarters. If these ideas are to be ignored, if the suggestion of architectural dignity means nothing, if the atmosphere of a bank need not be created in its surroundings, then a warehouse, or any old kind of a building, will do for a financial institution. The hardest headed, most thrifty banker of these times knows that appearances count. Banking in the Twentieth Century means more than the calculation of per cent. There may have been a time within the banker's memory when standing room for customers, count-

ing room for cashier and teller and desk room for the executive heads met the requirements of location in which to do banking business and when the architecture cut no figure. That time has passed. The architect has come into his own in bank designing and construction for St. Louis.

The earliest business experience of Charles H. Huttig was in a bank at Muscatine, Iowa, where he was born. Three years Mr. Huttig studied the details of banking in the house of Cook, Musser & Co. When he became connected with the Third National of St. Louis, as a member of the board of directors, he was equipped with practical knowledge of the business. Mr. Huttig was for some time vice president of the Third National before he became president in 1897. When, in 1906, the American Bankers' Association selected representatives from the principal money centers of the country to draft a plan of currency reform to be laid before the government, Mr. Huttig and Mr. Festus J. Wade were chosen to represent the banks and trust companies of St. Louis and the southwest.

Somebody asked Festus J. Wade one day to define his theory of banking. His answer was: "To get in every dollar I can and make it earn as much as it will, with perfect security."

The answer was characteristic of the man's straightforward, clean-cut ways of managing the business. The faculty of going about anything in the quickest and easiest way, which Festus J. Wade possesses to a marked degree was illustrated when the East St. Louis Trust and Savings bank was opened. Mr. Wade had been one of the managing spirits in that organization. The day had been set for the opening. The capital had been deposited with the National Bank of Commerce while the subscriptions were being collected. Mr. Wade went to the bank, drew out the capital, \$250,000, for the new institution in large bills. He placed the bills in the inside pockets of his coat and left the bank. Entirely alone, he walked to the Leads bridge and got a street car. When he reached the Illinois side, he walked several blocks to the location of the new bank and handed the money to the cashier. It never seemed to occur to him that there was anything unusual in carrying a quarter of a million dollars in his coat pockets through the streets and across the bridge without escort or weapon.

At the age of fifty, Festus J. Wade presided over a trust company and a national bank. He looked through the plate glass window into the street where thirty-two years ago he drove the mule in front of a bobtail street car for two of the strong men in his present boards of directors—John Scullin and James Campbell. He was then eighteen years old but he had led a business life seven years. His career to help himself began in 1870 when he went into the dry goods store of D. Crawford & Co. as a cash boy. From the time he was eleven he was seeking his level by a series of upward steps. When he was twenty years old he discovered that the education a boy receives in the public school before he is eleven is not sufficient to capitalize him for all that life holds out for him if he is energetic and ambitious. At the age of twenty, therefore, he began to go to school again. Now it was a business college. Four years, until he was twenty-four, the young man faithfully and industriously followed the course of the college, taking his nights to make good the loss of the boyhood years.

His life has been one of continuous, persistent efforts but it is doubtful if any other part of it has called for the degree of application which attended the nearly four years of all-day office work and half-night study.

Three men from the same part of Virginia had much to do with the development of banking in St. Louis. John D. Perry of Scotch-Irish ancestry, a strain of which has been virile and beneficial to the profession, was one of the founders of the Exchange bank in 1857. This bank won the distinction of redeeming in specie all of the notes issued under the banking law of the state. No matter when the Exchange bank-note came to the counter, in time of depression or war, the hard money was there to be paid out in redemption. One other bank in the country made the like record,—the Chemical of New York. Mr. Perry was president of the Exchange bank several years. A loan was made to John C. Fremont who at that time, just before the war, was engaged in building a railroad in Missouri. Fremont got the money and pledged rails as collateral. The Exchange bank made the loan at the rate of \$100 a ton, about four times what the same weight in rails would be worth in these days. But the market value of rails at that time was \$140 a ton. The present generation wonders why railroad building in Missouri was so costly in the pioneer period. Fremont had been a famous explorer when he was in the army. He had headed the Republican presidential ticket in 1856. He was a "Pathfinder" in a new country and in politics but he was not a business man. The Exchange bank had to take the rails for the loan.

Soon after the war, John D. Perry, Thomas J. Bartholow and William J. Lewis formed the banking house of Bartholow, Lewis & Co. Mr. Perry and Mr. Lewis were brothers-in-law. They married sisters, daughters of Talton Turner of Howard County. Mr. Perry and General Bartholow were cousins. Mr. Perry's mother was a Bartholow. Through the influence of Mr. Perry, General Bartholow came to Missouri some years before the war. At the breaking out of hostilities General Bartholow joined the Union army and served with distinction, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. He took active charge of the banking firm. Mr. Lewis, in 1866, had participated in the formation of the Commercial bank. He became the second president of it serving ten years and refusing salary. Bartholow, Lewis & Co. was a partnership in the beginning. In 1872 the firm was incorporated. General Bartholow was president until 1878. Mr. Perry became president that year. In 1881, Bartholow, Lewis & Co. became the Laclède bank with John D. Perry as president. In 1885 the Valley National united its fortunes with the Laclède the consolidation forming the Laclède National with Samuel E. Hoffman as president. Mr. Hoffman was president until 1895, in which year the Laclède National united with the Merchants' National forming the Merchants-Laclède National with a board composed of the directors of the two institutions and with William H. Lee as president.

David R. Francis was the largest stockholder of the Laclède National when the consolidation with the Merchants National took place. He began buying stock in Bartholow, Lewis & Co., investing his first savings from his grain business when he was a young man. It was one of the traditions of the banking business that Mr. Francis never sold a share of his stock in the institution and its successors from the day of his first investment. He became vice president

of the Laclede before it was a national bank, and held the position through the changes except for two short intervals one of which was when he became a member of the cabinet of Mr. Cleveland. The John D. Perry estate remained in trust, the interest in the successive institutions being held intact for the heirs by the trustees.

William Nichols was an Indiana farmer boy. He came to St. Louis in 1867 and entered the Commercial bank. He became cashier and when William J. Lewis died, Mr. Nichols was made president. He held the position until the Commercial was taken over by the State National. Lewis C. Nelson was a Missouri born banker. He came from Boonville, graduated at Yale and took up banking from a natural taste for the profession. After managing a national bank in Fort Scott, Kansas, several years, Mr. Nelson came to St. Louis in 1877 and was for more than twenty years actively connected with the banks of this city. He was cashier of the Valley National and afterwards president of the St. Louis National. John Nickerson, of Revolutionary stock in New York state, began his banking career in St. Louis in 1867 as teller in the old State bank. After that he was cashier of the St. Louis National. At the time the St. Louis National was consolidated with the National Bank of Commerce Mr. Nickerson was president of the former. He became vice president of the National Bank of Commerce.

When Chief Justice Ninian Edwards of Kentucky was selecting the name for a son born at Lexington in 1812, he had in mind admiration for the then Secretary of the Treasury, the greatest financier in the United States of that period. He had no thought that he was founding a family destined to be a strong factor in the financial development of the southwest two generations later. Chief Justice Edwards was successively territorial governor, governor and United States Senator of Illinois. His son, Albert Gallatin Edwards was sent to West Point. Ten years after graduation he followed the life of an army officer, waiving a furlough in order to participate in the Black Hawk war. Leaving the army after the campaigns with the Indians, General Edwards entered commercial life in St. Louis. At the beginning of the Civil war he volunteered and was made a brigadier general. He became bank examiner under Governor Gamble. He was made assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis by President Lincoln and because of his excellent administration of the trust was continued term after term until President Cleveland came into office. With his sons, General Edwards founded the banking and brokerage house of A. G. Edwards & Co. Three sons followed in the footsteps of the father. Benjamin F. Edwards advanced step by step to the presidency of the National Bank of Commerce. George L. Edwards took charge of the business of A. G. Edwards & Co. and Albert G. Edwards, the second, became one of the controlling managers and president of the Commonwealth Trust company.

Jacob C. Van Blarcom, of New Jersey parentage, with sturdy Holland ancestry behind him, came to St. Louis, a youth from Rutgers' college in 1867. The cholera had made gaps in commercial ranks. Help was needed. Mr. Van Blarcom, at the age of eighteen years, became a traveling salesman. Three years later, in 1870, his connection with banking began, as head accountant in

the Bank of Commerce. He developed an extraordinary capacity for improving on the banking-house routine of the period, introducing method after method which simplified the business and at the same time insured greater safety. At the age of twenty-eight, Mr. Van Blarcom was cashier. Upon the death of William H. Thompson Mr. Van Blarcom was made president.

T. B. Edgar was one of the organizers of the Dollar Savings institution. The business of the Dollar Savings was turned over to the Exchange in 1857. Mr. Edgar was also prominent in the organization of the Second National which represented Jay Cooke & Co., placing several issues of government bonds. Mr. Edgar served as president of the Second National in the early period of its existence. Some time after the panic of 1873 the Second National paid its depositors and went into liquidation. The Continental was organized in 1866, taking over the business of the National Loan bank. Mr. Edgar became the president of the Continental and served until 1880 when he retired from active business life. George A. Baker succeeded to the presidency of the Continental. The capital of the bank was increased from \$100,000 to \$1,000,000 with a surplus of \$250,000 under Mr. Baker's management. The deposits grew from \$350,000 to \$7,500,000. Mr. Baker continued at the head of the Continental until his death. He was succeeded by F. E. Marshall. The Continental was taken over by the National Bank of Commerce, Mr. Marshall becoming one of the vice presidents of the latter. In 1907 the Fourth National was consolidated with the National Bank of Commerce. The same year the Central National was established. W. S. Foreman was president until 1909 when he gave place to H. P. Hilliard, one of a little group of strong bankers drawn to St. Louis from Texas cities.

The experience of 1873-80 turned out greatly to the advantage of the banks of St. Louis. In 1882 there were twenty-four banks with \$13,492,964 capital and surplus, and with \$41,729,011 deposits. In 1898 there were twenty-one banks with \$23,398,482 capital and surplus and with \$92,683,370 deposits. In sixteen years capital had increased seventy-six per cent and deposits over one hundred per cent. Moreover the banks had passed through another panic and period of depression,—1893. The experience of 1873 enabled the banks of St. Louis to pass through the panic of 1893 with the minimum of embarrassment. The two lessons well learned prepared the banks of St. Louis to control the situation in 1907 with less inconvenience and loss to themselves and the city than, perhaps, was experienced in any other money center, capital and population considered. When William H. Lee, the president of the clearing house, was asked for the secret of the happy escape of financial St. Louis from serious damage in the storm of 1907 he replied: "There is no secret. We came through without failures. That is the whole story." In June, 1911, the capital of the banks and trust companies of St. Louis was \$41,452,400. The surplus and undivided profits were \$43,401,490. The deposits were \$314,523,903. The shares of stock issued were 414,524. They were distributed among 9,242 stockholders. The book value of the stock was \$84,853,890 and the market value was \$110,594,400.

## CHAPTER X

### STEAMBOAT DAYS

*The Flat-bottomed Ferry—“Piggott’s Fort”—Horsepower Sternwheeler—Captain Wiggins—The Mississippi’s Width in 1815—Boatable Waters in the Days of Bateaux—The Pirogue Before Steam—A Cent a Pound for Freight—Brackenridge on River Transportation in 1810—Robert Fulton’s Proposed Monopoly—Arrival of the First Steamboat—A Dollar to Go Aboard—By Through Boat from Philadelphia to St. Louis—Missouri Currents Mastered—Local Capital Conservative—Primitive Steamboating—The Coming of Captain Swon—Rapid Growth of River Commerce—St. Louis Marine Railway—Plowing a Sandbar to Save the Channel—Robert F. Lee’s Experiments with the Harbor—Henry Kayser’s Engineering—Shipbuilding Industry—Some Famous Commodores—Faring a Salute—Benton on “the Ship of the River”—The Mississippi’s Best Days—Flood of 1817—A Joke on C. K. Garrison—“Floating Palaces”—The Circus of the River—Pilots “at the Wheel”—The Big St. Louis—“Ten Cents for Passage and Supper”—Appalling Records of Disasters—The Paralyzing Shock of War—James B. Eads and Jefferson Davis—Mississippi Problems and Their Solutions—The Crowning Success of the Jettyes—Decline of Traffic—Iron Hulls Long Advocated—The Deep Waterway Movement.*

I will say that the captains of western river steamboats, as a class, may have been sometimes a little rough in their expressions, but were generous to a fault. I think, for exemplary conduct and manners, Captain J. C. Swon, of the *Alex. Scott*, stood at the head. For a model pilot, I think Captain Sellers, whose tomb in Bellefontaine is adorned by a helmsman in marble standing at the wheel, stood at the head of the profession, always a gentleman, ever the same. All played their part, and nearly all have passed on to join the great majority. They have rung the last bell, blown the last whistle, made the last landing, have stood the last watch. Others will take their places but the glory of steamboating on the Mississippi is past. No longer will the dark-eyed crew stand on the fore-castle and sing of “the bully boat and the bully crew and the bully captain, too,” as the boat gracefully, though loaded to the guards, glides out into the stream, perhaps to make a successful voyage, perhaps to be torn to atoms by the treacherous stream, or to lay her bones with many a hundred others in the bottom of the river. Such was life among steamboatmen of the olden time.—*Captain Joseph Brown, before Missouri Historical Society.*

In the early fall of 1787, a youth rode down to the river bank, opposite St. Louis. As was the custom at crossings where the streams could not be forded, he shouted the long drawn out: “O-o-o-ver!” He waited for some sign of activity at the foot of the rocky bluff on the other side. Five minutes passed and again came the lusty halloo: “O-o-o-ver!” An hour and more passed before a flat-bottomed boat rowed by two men put out. By this haphazard means the traveler from the east side reached St. Louis in the year that the United States had adopted a constitution.

The youth was Danny Boone. The son of the great hunter had come to St. Louis to seek his fortune in the field service of the fur traders. Kentucky was becoming too crowded. The youth had received from old Daniel a horse, a rifle, a compass, a bag of corn and a parental blessing. When he landed in St. Louis, Danny Boone was given a warm welcome before he began his twelve years hunting and trapping in Missouri. But his waiting experience on the Illinois shore was that of most other travelers who sought St. Louis in the thirty years preceding 1797. Captain James Piggott, who had “frit” in the Revolution, came to settle in the American bottom as early as 1783. He built a fortification to protect his family and the other members of the little colony that fol-

lowed him. "Piggott's Fort" was the name given. The location was some little distance south of East St. Louis. Prompted by the increasing travel to St. Louis, Captain Piggott established a stopping place on the present site of East St. Louis. In 1797 he obtained from the Spanish governor, Trudeau, a permit to run a ferry regularly between St. Louis and the Illinois side and went into business. When the captain died, his widow rented the boat and the privilege. In 1805, the year after the American occupation, competition set in. John Campbell got a license to run a ferry in his own name. He had been conducting the Piggott ferry. Byrd and Charles Lockhard established a rival ferry in 1813. Two years later the majority interest of the Piggott heirs in the original ferry passed to McKnight and Brady.

In 1817 St. Louis had attained the degree of importance which demanded two ferry landings. Boats continued to bring travelers from the east side to the place where Auguste Chouteau had made the first landing near the foot of Market street. But another line ran to the other depression in the rocky front near the foot of Morgan street. The service, under competition, became regular; it continued to be primitive. Two kinds of boats were used. The slow moving flat bottomed craft without covering was employed to convey horses and wagons. A keel boat with four oars made quicker passage for people afoot. Ferry transportation at St. Louis became progressive when John Day fixed up a boat with a stern wheel which was turned by a horse in a treadmill. As the patient animal climbed, the paddle wheel went round and the ferry churned its way across the Mississippi. In those days, when rivalry did not lead to cut rates, the tolls for ferriage were twenty-five cents for a human being; fifty cents a head for cattle and horses; fifty cents for a wagon or other vehicle; twelve and one-half cents a hundred for lumber or other heavy freight.

With 1818 came a new era in ferrying. Samuel Wiggins with his family arrived from South Carolina. He had some means. He connected himself with the ferry business. He bought John Day's horsepower sternwheeler. He acquired the interest of the Piggott heirs in another line. Gradually he consolidated and improved the service. He did not come too soon. In 1816 one of these frail ferry boats was upset, by bad handling, in the middle of the river. Dubai, the ferryman, two assistants and two passengers were drowned. As soon as steamboat navigation demonstrated its value, Captain Wiggins put into service a steam ferry. Other boats were added as the business grew. "The Wiggins ferry" became an institution of the city. It met public needs. If the ferry had not been so well conducted, St. Louis would not have waited until 1874 for the first bridge. Just one hundred years after Piggott obtained the first ferry privilege at St. Louis, the Wiggins ferry boats carried in the 62,000 trips they made during the twelve months 673,275 passengers, 364,000 vehicles, 51,400 head of horses, cattle and sheep, 123,011 railroad cars. The amount of freight transported across the river by the Wiggins ferry in its centennial year, counting from its origin by Captain Piggott, was more than 2,500,000 tons. St. Louis had two bridges and three other ferries. Nearly one-third of the freight transported across the river at St. Louis was carried on the Wiggins ferry.

Edwin Draper, who crossed to St. Louis by the ferry in 1815 gave this account of the experience:





CAPTAIN DANIEL G. TAYLOR



CAPTAIN JOHN N. BOFINGER



CAPTAIN WILLIAM W. GREENE



CAPTAIN JAMES DOZIER



The ferry boat in which we crossed was a small keel boat, without upper deck or cabin, and was propelled by four oars by hand. The wagons, then the only means of land travel, were run by hand on to the boat, across which were placed broad planks transversely, resting on the gunwales of the boat, while the tongue of the wagon projected beyond the side of the boat; and as the latter swayed gracefully to the motion of the waves the tongue-chains would dip politely into the water, as if acknowledging the power of the mighty monarch they were daring to stride. The horses, wagon and saddle, family, slaves, and dogs were stowed in the bottom of the boat between the wagons, and thus we triumphantly entered Missouri. Our crossing, with many other families, was detained several days by high winds and waves preventing the safe crossing of the boat.

Mr. Draper maintained in after years that the Mississippi was not so large as when he first saw it.

The statement I make is this, that at the time I first crossed the stream, in 1815, it was fully a quarter of a mile wider at St. Louis than it is at the present time. I do not state the exact number of feet and inches it has diminished, but about the above distance. How this wonderful change in the width of the river at your great city was brought about it is not my business or purpose to explain.

Forty years before St. Louis was founded by Laclède, high tribute was paid by Charlevoix, the traveler, to the junction of the great rivers:

I believe this is the finest confluence in the world. The two rivers are much of the same breadth, each about half a league, but the Missouri is by far the most rapid, and seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror, through which it carries its white waves to the opposite shore without mixing them. Afterward it gives its color to the Mississippi, which it never loses again, but carries quite down to the sea.

Governor William Clark and Thomas H. Benton, in the days before steamboats, undertook to estimate what they called "the boatable waters" of the Mississippi and tributaries. They made the navigable distance 50,000 miles—30,000 above and 20,000 below St. Louis.

"Of course," wrote Mr. Benton, long afterwards, "we counted all the infant streams on which a flat, a keel or a bateau could be floated."

They agreed that of this immense system of navigable water, St. Louis was the central point with a great destiny before it. The pirogue was the freight-boat on the Mississippi before steam. It was built like the barge of a later period. The length varied from thirty-five to sixty feet; the depth from twelve to fifteen feet. One of these craft could carry thirty to forty tons of freight. The pirogue was poled in shallow water. It was towed by a long line like a canal boat. Three months was the time required to make the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis. The freight rate on most articles, was about a pound.

Henry M. Brackenridge, staff correspondent of the Missouri Gazette in 1810 and author of Views of Louisiana, described the Mississippi river transportation before the steamboats:

There is a surprising difference in the navigation of this truly noble river, in the ordinary stages of the water and during the continuance of the floods. There have been instances of persons descending from St. Louis to New Orleans, in ten days; the distance, however, is much shortened by being able to cut off points, and to go through channels impracticable in low water. The usual time in low water is from four to six weeks. In ascending, fifty days to the mouth of the Ohio is considered a good voyage, but two months is the most usual time; oars and poles are always used for the purpose of navigating the boats, but the cordelle and sails are also of great importance. In the course of a voyage it is rare that there are not six or eight days of sailing, which is a great relief to the hands as the boat is then propelled against the current without their assistance, sometimes thirty

miles a day. In very light winds the sails are hoisted and, although not sufficient alone to cause the boat to ascend, yet afford considerable help. The boats usually employed are from ten to thirty tons burthen; as high as Natchez, schooners of fifty tons often ascend. There are besides boats of peculiar construction, much in use, carrying often eight or ten tons; they appear to be formed of a single tree, but in reality out of three of the largest size; two are hollowed in such a manner as to form the sides, and a third for the bottom; they are then joined together so as to make a very durable and strong boat, easily managed, and the most safe against hurricanes and violent winds.

In 1810, Robert Fulton, of steamboat fame, addressed a memorial "To the Honorable Legislature of Upper Louisiana." Associated with Fulton in the proposition was Robert R. Livingston. According to the memorial both Fulton and Livingston were "native citizens of the United States and residing in the State of New York."

The memorial set forth that New York, to encourage the establishment of steamboats on the waters of that state, had granted to them exclusive right to navigate boats, impelled by force of steam, for twenty years for the first boat and five years for each succeeding boat, the whole term not to exceed thirty years. The petitioners explained that they had already constructed two boats, one of which they called the North River steamboat and the other the Car of Neptune. The North River steamboat, they said, had been running voyages of 160 miles between New York and Albany since July, 1807. The Car of Neptune had been making voyages between New York and Albany since September, 1809.

The petitioners stated that their associate, Mr. Roosevelt, had made an examination of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in the summer of 1809, examining the depths and velocities of the two rivers. He had reported such conditions as led Mr. Fulton and Mr. Livingston to conclude these rivers might be navigated by steamboats. The petitioners were willing to make the venture provided they could secure what they deemed proper encouragement in the way of exclusive privilege.

The memorial concluded with the following proposition to the legislative body of Upper Louisiana, of which St. Louis was the seat of government:

For these reasons, and to encourage the immediate establishment of steamboats on the waters of your state, and particularly on the Ohio and Mississippi, your petitioners pray that, after the example of the State of New York, you will grant them the exclusive right to navigate the waters of your state or territory, with boats moved by steam or fire, on the following conditions:

First, that three years from the time of passing the law your petitioners will build a boat on the Ohio or Mississippi river, to move by the force of steam, which shall be capable of carrying seventy tons of merchandise, produce or material, and move at the rate of at least three and one-half miles an hour in still water—if they do not comply with these conditions the law shall be null and void.

Second, that in all cases they will not charge more than three-fourths of the sum which is usually paid for carrying merchandise or materials of any kind on said rivers to any given or equal distance to which the boats now transport them.

Third, that they will perform the voyage in less than three-fourths of the time which is now usually required by the mercantile boats to navigate said rivers to any given point where steamboats can go with safety.

Fourth, that on establishing the first boat, the governor will appoint a committee of three persons to report on the performance of the boat; and if they find that your petitioners have complied with the terms of the contract, the law to be confirmed in favor of said Livingston and Fulton.

The petition, as the memorandum on the back of it indicates, was "presented October 10, 1810."

The disposition is indicated by the following endorsement: "Ordered to lie on the table October 23, 1810 Taken into consideration and postponed until next session"

The legislature sitting at St. Louis did not accept the proposition of Robert Fulton. Seven years elapsed before the first steamboat reached St. Louis. That was the Zebulon M. Pike. It was a very primitive affair. The hull was built like a barge. The power was a low pressure engine, with a walking beam. The wheels had no wheel houses. The boat had but one smokestack. Where the current was rapid the crew used poles to help out the steam power. The Pike ran only by daylight. The trip from Louisville to St. Louis and return required four weeks. One account of it gives the time as six weeks. The General Pike was such an object of curiosity that Captain Jacob Reed charged the St. Louisans who wished to come on board a dollar apiece. The admission was not prohibitive. Several times the boat became so crowded that the captain stopped receiving and waited for those on the deck to go ashore. The mention of the coming and going of the Pike was made very briefly by the Missouri Gazette.

The year after the coming of the Pike, some Ohio river men built a steamboat they called the St. Louis and sent her around to this port. Captain Hewes invited a number of leading citizens to take a ride up to the mouth of Missouri. The Gazette in its next issue reported that "the company on board was large and genteel and the entertainment very elegant."

One thing that affected the early interest of St. Louis in steamboating was the general doubt about steam navigation of the Missouri. The Pike had made three and three-quarter miles against the Ohio current. If that was the best the steam engine afloat could do, the motive power would not succeed on the Missouri.

About the first of May, 1819, the Maid of Orleans came into port at St. Louis. She had steamed from Philadelphia to New Orleans and then up the Mississippi to St. Louis. That same month the Independence left St. Louis and went up the Mississippi and the Missouri as far as Franklin, near Boonville. She was thirteen days on the way but she did it and unloaded her cargo of flour, whiskey, sugar, iron castings. Then indeed the town of Laeclde sat up and marveled. Colonel Charless acknowledged his skepticism and glorified the new era of steam navigation. He published in the Gazette this congratulation:

In 1817, less than two years ago, the first steamboat arrived in St. Louis. We hailed it as the day of small things, but the glorious consummation of all our wishes is daily arriving. Who would or could have dared to conjecture that in 1819 we would have witnessed the arrival of a steamboat from Philadelphia or New York. Yet such is the fact. The Mississippi has become familiar to this great American invention and another new avenue is open.

A month later when the Independence had returned from the first navigation of the Missouri by steam the Gazette said:

This trip forms a proud event in the history of Missouri. The Missouri has hitherto resisted almost effectually all attempts at navigation. She has opposed every obstacle she could to the tide of emigration which was rolling up her banks and dispossessing her dear red children, but her white children, although children by adoption, have become so numerous

and are increasing so rapidly that she is at last obliged to yield them her favor. The first attempt to ascend her by steam has succeeded, and we anticipate the day as speedy when the Missouri will be as familiar to steamboats as the Mississippi or Ohio. Captain Nelson merits and will receive deserved credit for his enterprise and public spirit in this undertaking.

When Missouri entered the Union there was not a steamboat owned in the state although this improvement in transportation was in use on the Ohio and Lower Mississippi. Above St. Louis the navigation was by barges. A decade after the Pike crept up to the St. Louis bank and half paddled, half floated away St. Louisans looked with conservatism upon steamboating. Along the Ohio nearly one hundred steamboats had been built and put in operation before this city became to the trade anything more than a landing place. Steamboats came up to St. Louis, unloaded, loaded and left. In 1825 the Missouri Republican commented on the surprising fact that the two boats, the Brown and the Magnet, were lying up at this port for repairs: "We believe this is the first instance of a steamboat remaining here through the season of low water."

The primitive conditions of pioneer steamboating were described by Captain Joseph Brown in a paper read before the Missouri Historical Society. Captain Brown wrote of what he had seen and known as boy and man:

They had but one engine, and no "doctor" or "donkey engine." The boats themselves, and particularly those for the upper rivers, were small, sometimes made like a flatboat, with broad bow and stern, and a stern wheel.

There was nothing above the boiler deck but the pilothouse and the chimneys, or rather one chimney, for they had cylinder boilers; that is, there were no flues in the boilers. Having but one engine, the shaft ran clean across the boat, and when at a landing the engine had to run the pump to supply the boilers with water, the wheels had to be uncoupled to let the engine work. As I said before, the "doctor" engine had not been invented, and I do not doubt that many explosions occurred for the lack of it.

The cabin was a very primitive affair. It was on the lower deck, back of the shaft, in the after part of the boat. There were no staterooms then, but, like a canal boat, there were curtains in front of the berths. It was quite common to see a bowsprit sticking out in front of the boat, such as are used on ships, but, being useless, they were soon dispensed with. Stages had not been invented then. Two or three planks were used, and, if need be, tied together. Whistles were unknown, but bells were rung, and the captains were very proud of a big bell. For a number of years there was no signal for passing or meeting boats, and the result was many collisions.

There were no regular packets then. A boat started from Pittsburg was just as likely to go to St. Paul as anywhere, or up any of the other rivers, and they had no regular hours or even days of starting. I have known boats to have steam up for a week, telling people and shippers the boat was going in an hour, and even have their planks taken in, all but one, and then launch their planks out again. All this was done to decoy people on board. The clanging of bells, the hurrah of agents and the pulling and hauling of eabmen and runners were most confusing, more particularly to unsophisticated emigrants.

There was no fixed price for anything; it was all a matter of bargain, and very often great deception was practiced. The engines being small and very imperfect in those days, the boats were very slow. I have known some of the boats in the case of a sudden rise in the river and consequent strong current, to be unable to stem it at the old waterworks point, which was at the foot of Carr street. They would have to go over to the other side of the river and fight it out there, sometimes for hours, in sight of the city.

The Eagle was one of the first boats to run between here and Alton. She had one engine, was a side-wheeler, about 18 feet beam and 75 feet long. She carried about 50 tons, and it took her about seven hours to go to Alton. She was commanded by that veteran steamboat man, Captain Lamothe.



CAPTAIN JOSEPH F. CONN



CAPTAIN J. G. PRATHER



A TOW OF COAL—THE EQUIVALENT OF FORTY-SIX TRAINLOADS





John C. Swon may be called the father of St. Louis steamboating. He was the son of a Maryland pioneer who had settled in Scott county, Kentucky. His father dying, the boy was placed under the guardianship of Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson, whose friends claimed he killed Tecumseh in the Battle of the Thames. When he was sixteen young Swon came to St. Louis and made a trip up the Missouri as far as Council Bluffs. He was enamored of the river life. When he returned to Kentucky he persuaded Colonel Johnson to let him try steamboating. As a clerk, John C. Swon made several trips between Louisville and St. Louis on boats owned by Ohio river people. In 1825,—he was then twenty-two years of age—John C. Swon decided to make St. Louis his permanent home. Here he resided, acquiring and commanding successively some of the most famous boats on the river for twenty years. When the Ohio and Mississippi railroad went into operation Captain Swon was chosen superintendent but declined. History gives him the credit of doing as much as if not more than any other one man to develop the steamboat interests of St. Louis.

St. Louis business men were slow to go into steamboating as a business. Cincinnati and Louisville were far ahead in the tonnage owned or controlled. Not until steamboats had been coming to the St. Louis levee a dozen years did St. Louis capital venture. As late as 1833 not more than two or three boats actually were owned in St. Louis. But when this conservative city awoke to the possibilities of river transportation, other steamboat centers were quickly left behind. In 1850 St. Louis owned or controlled 24,955 tons; Cincinnati, 16,006 tons; Louisville, 14,820 tons. Three years later St. Louis had increased steamboat holdings to 45,441 tons. Cincinnati had decreased to 10,191, and Louisville to 14,166 tons.

Samuel Wiggins and William C. Wiggins came to St. Louis about 1818. Samuel Wiggins was the financier. He established on the east bank of the river what he called Washington, consisting of a hotel and three or four houses. He obtained between 800 and 900 acres of land lying along the river, south of what is now the town of Brooklyn. He secured the ferry right from the Illinois Legislature. William C. Wiggins took charge of the ferry and continued in the active management thirty years, long after the Christys and others had bought out Samuel Wiggins. The Christys, Andrew and Samuel C., were natives of Warren county, Ohio, sons of a farmer who moved to Lawrence county, Illinois. They came to St. Louis when quite young, mined lead at Galena with the Jarrot boys, and in 1832 joined a syndicate of St. Louisians who bought out Samuel Wiggins' ferry boats and rights. When Samuel Wiggins ran the ferry boats he gave them taking names. One of the first was the Sea Serpent. Then came the Rhinoceros and the Antelope. These boats were operated by the horsepower, one horse to a boat. The paddle wheels were turned by a tread mill.

When the first steamboat arrived at St. Louis the commerce of the Mississippi was carried on with twenty barges of 100 tons and 160 keel and flat boats of thirty tons. In 1834 there were 230 steamboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries, 285 in 1840; two years later, 450; the next year 672; in 1846 the number of steamboats was 1,190. The steamboat arrivals at St. Louis in 1839 were 1,474. The number increased to 1,721 the year following; to 2,105 in 1844.

Not until 1831 did the repairing of steamboats become an important industry at St. Louis. That year Peter Lindell, John Mullanphy, D. D. Page, J. Clemens, Jr., and John O'Fallon organized the St. Louis Marine Railway company. Ten years later the newspapers had a great deal to say about building St. Louis boats for St. Louis trade. Calvin Case opened a boat yard. In June, 1836, there arrived at St. Louis seventy-six steamboats. In April, 1837, there were at the St. Louis river front in one day thirty-three steamboats. In March of that year the steamboat North St. Louis was turned out by a local boat yard. She was declared by a newspaper to be "a splendid specimen of the enterprise, the genius and the art of our western citizens." She was pronounced "the finest boat that has ever floated upon the Mississippi."

On the 11th of November, 1835, eight steamboats arrived at the wharf of St. Louis. This was considered a matter justifying self-congratulation on the part of the community. The newspapers commented upon it. One of them printed an interesting review of the development of the city's business. It said:

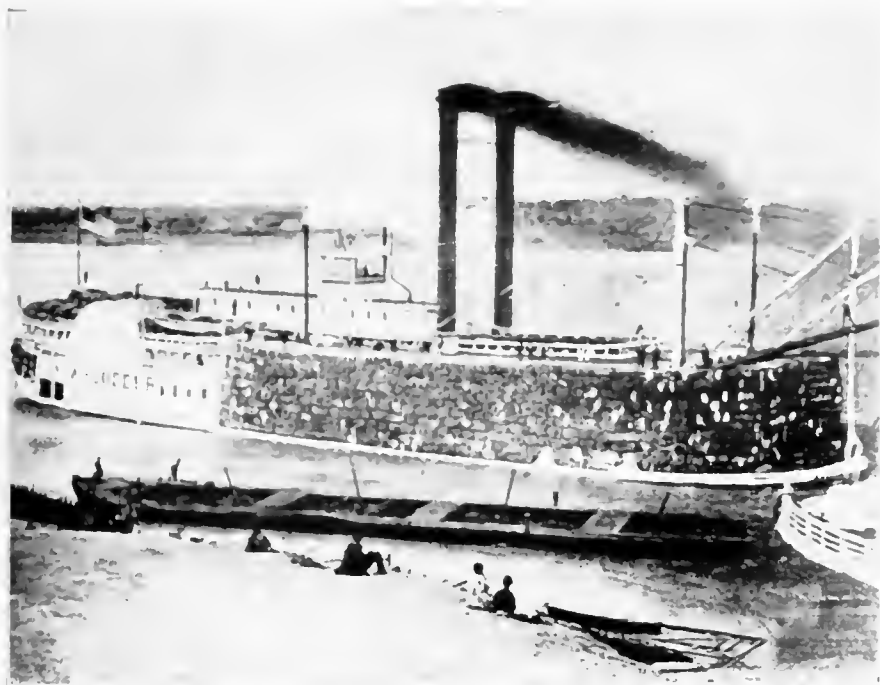
We cannot refrain from drawing the attention of the reader to the number of arrivals of steamboats during the past year, which shows an increase on the former, as does the amount of revenue secured, which is commensurate with the activity and enterprise of our citizens. Every successive year, for the last ten, has shown a like increase. In referring to the statement furnished for 1831, we find that in that year sixty different boats arrived in our harbor, and the number of entries was 532; the aggregate amount of tonnage, 7,769 tons, and the amount of revenue accruing from the same, was \$2,167.45. Thus it will be seen, that in this comparatively short period, our commerce has more than doubled. Our advancement has not been stimulated by a feverish excitement, nor can it be said to have increased in the same ratio as many other places, but it has been firm and steady, and nothing is permanent which is not gradual. The prosperity of our city is laid deep and broad. Much as we repudiate the lavish praises which teem from the press, and little as we have heretofore said, we cannot suffer this occasion to pass, without a few remarks on the changes which are going on around us. Whether we turn to the right or to the left, we see workmen busy in laying the foundation, or finishing some costly edifice. The dilapidated and antique structure of the original settler is fast giving way to the spacious and lofty blocks of bricks, or stone. But comparatively a few years ago, even within the remembrance of our young men, our town was confined to one or two streets, running parallel with the river; the "half-moon" fortifications, the bastion, the tower, the rampart were then known as the utmost limits. What was then termed the "hill," now forming the most beautiful part of the town covered with elegant mansions, but a few years ago was overrun with shrubbery. A tract of land was purchased by a gentleman now living, as we have understood, for two barrels of whiskey, which is now worth half a million of dollars. Here and there we meet a few of the early pioneers, men who, like those who possessed the land before them, are fast fading away, and their places are taken by another generation. But we cannot do justice to those "who have gone before us," prolific as the subject is. Our object is to speak of the present. No one who consults the map, can fail to perceive the foresight which induced the selection of the site on which this city is founded. She already commands the trade of a larger section of territory, with a few exceptions, than any other city in the union. With a steamboat navigation more than equal to the whole Atlantic seaboard, with internal improvements, projected and in progress, with thousands of emigrants spreading their habitations over the fertile plains which everywhere meet the eye, who can deny that we are fast verging to the time when it will be admitted that this city is the "Lion of the West." We do not speak from any sectional bias, nor would we knowingly deceive any, but we firmly believe that any one who will candidly weigh the advantages we possess, will admit that our deductions are correct. We have no desire to see our citizens making improvements beyond the means they possess. As we have before remarked, nothing is permanent which



CAPTAIN JOHN A. SLEDGE



CAPTAIN E. SWON



A STEAMBOAT LOAD OF COTTON -THE EQUIVALENT  
OF SIX TRAINLOADS



is not gradual. We take pleasure in bearing testimony to the prudence and foresight which have characterized our citizens. They have avoided, in a commendable manner, the mania which has too fatally prevailed in many places. It has a deleterious influence on the ultimate success of a community.

The improvements which are contemplated in the spring, will have a decided effect on the appearance of the city. Many of the buildings will be of a superior order of architecture. Among the latter will be a theater, a church, and hotel. We fear that the scarcity of competent workmen will deter many of the improvements contemplated, from being completed.

Intimately connected with the prosperity of the city, is the fate of the petition pending in Congress, for the removal of the sand bar now forming in front of our steamboat landing. It is a source of no inconsiderable importance to every one, and connected as it is with the commerce of the western section of the valley of the Mississippi. We cannot but hope that Congress will give a speedy ear to the petition, and grant an appropriation which will effectually remove this growing obstacle. There can be but one opinion in regard to its justice. Relying, as we do, on the good faith of the government, we cannot harbor the idea that we shall be defeated.

How crude the early theory of Mississippi river improvement was, the first experiment on the bars showed. Several of the wealthy citizens raised by subscription a sum of money. General Bernard Pratte headed the paper. Thomas Fiveash Riddick, who always found time to give thought to public interests, suggested a plan. This was to plow the sand bars when the river was very low. Riddick argued that when the water came over the bars it would carry away the loose sand. Citizens thought the suggestion was worth trying. In 1833 John Goodfellow took charge of the work. He got oxen and the heaviest plow he could find. Up and down the bar, opposite the north end of the city, Goodfellow's oxen were driven, dragging the great plow until they had thoroughly loosened every foot of sand which showed above the water. The citizens turned out to observe the novel spectacle of plowing the Mississippi. When high water came the current showed no tendency to carry away the loosened sand on the bar but continued to eat away the Illinois shore above Bloody Island. The formation of the bar at the lower end of the city began shortly after the coming of the first steamboat, the Pike, in 1817. Then another bar formed at the upper end of the city. About \$3,000 was expended on the Goodfellow experiment with oxen.

When John F. Darby was elected mayor in 1835 St. Louis faced the danger of becoming inland. The channel which Pierre Laeclde found had moved. From a depth of seventy-five feet the water had shoaled. The bars were showing above the surface. Both were growing and approaching. Boats could no longer land at the foot of Olive street. On the Illinois side, above Bloody Island, the current was cutting eastward into the soft alluvial of the American bottom so rapidly that any flood season might open a channel down the east side of the island. Then the main river would be a mile or more to the eastward of St. Louis. The situation was so serious that real estate values in St. Louis were affected. Every week seemed to make the conditions worse. The prediction was common, that the river would cut through what is now almost the heart of East St. Louis, and leave St. Louis without any channel.

When the city took up the consideration of this problem through the new municipal administration in the spring of 1835, every alderman had his remedy. General William H. Ashley was the member in Congress from the St. Louis

district. He had gone to Washington with the reputation of great achievements as an explorer and fur trader in the Rocky Mountains; he had accumulated what was much wealth for that period. He gave entertainments which were the talk of Washington. Although he was no orator he obtained great influence in the House, through which he was enabled to obtain an appropriation for the improvement of the harbor of St. Louis, the first of the kind. At that time Thomas H. Benton was in the senate but belonged to the Democratic party which denounced internal improvements by the Federal government. To be consistent Mr. Benton could not exert himself in behalf of the St. Louis appropriation. Two sessions of earnest work by General Ashley and his friends secured \$15,000. There was no telegraphing in those days. When a letter brought the news to Mayor Darby, there was general rejoicing in St. Louis.

General Charles Gratiot was chief of the engineer corps. As a boy born in St. Louis, he witnessed the transfer to the United States. He was one of the four young men of the Louisiana Territory honored by President Jefferson with appointments as cadets to West Point. He served with honor in the war of 1812, received the vote of thanks of Congress, and rose to the highest position in the engineer corps. As soon as the appropriation for the harbor was made, General Gratiot came to St. Louis to see what must be done to save his native city. He was a straightforward, unpretending man, although he had reached the head of the corps. The engineering profession considered him one of its most accomplished members. Coming to St. Louis, General Gratiot spent weeks making a careful examination of conditions. When he went back to Washington he promised to send a competent member of the corps to take charge of the work. Very soon the officer arrived with a letter commending him to Mayor Darby. He was Lieutenant Robert E. Lee, afterwards the Confederate general. From the theories of Gratiot and the practical experiments of Lee came the scientific knowledge upon which the improvement of the Mississippi from that time to this has been based. It is impossible to divide the honor. Gratiot and Lee together mastered the Mississippi. They evolved the plan of dyke and revetment control. They sent the current back to scour the St. Louis front. They made the river itself dig out the bars it had formed and restore the old channel.

The method is old now. It looks simple and easy. Seventy years ago it was a great discovery. The civilian associated with Lieutenant Lee was Henry Kayser, then just of age. The Kaysers, Henry and Alexander, had come up the river on a cholera-stricken boat a few years before. They were German youth, well educated, seeking homes in a new world. Both were to take high rank in widely different professions. Alexander Kayser became a leading lawyer of St. Louis. Henry Kayser was the foremost civil engineer in St. Louis before the Civil war.

The study which the army lieutenant and his young assistant gave to the problem was exhaustive. Far into the nights the two worked over the plans. Lieutenant Lee went daily with Mr. Kayser to the Illinois shore, where the work was being done. He was often there at sunrise. He ate the rations. He slept on the boat when the construction was at critical stages. Every survey Lieutenant Lee supervised. He watched the driving of piles and laying of stone and brush. Two years the young Virginian applied himself with devotion which

caused those who saw it to marvel. The river was saved to St. Louis. The government appropriation was expended. But before he went back, Lieutenant Lee prepared the plans to complete the improvement of the harbor of St. Louis. Further appeals to Congress for some years went unheeded. At the expense of the city and under the efficient direction of Henry Kayser, St. Louis maintained the control of the channel.

About 1845 the conditions of the harbor of St. Louis became again alarming. The new difficulty was in the lower part of the harbor. The current was setting in toward the southern end of Bloody Island; the water was shoaling off the lower portion of the city. Major Long, of the United States Engineer corps, came from Louisville to make investigation. Congress refused aid, and the city raised money on the sale of bonds. Jettying on an extensive scale was undertaken to stop the current from eating into Bloody Island. The work continued during the administration of Mayor Camden and for several years thereafter.

The possibilities of steamboating in the St. Louis trade brought to the city many strong men. William Wallace Greene, a native of Marietta, Ohio, a descendant of the Rhode Island Greenes of Revolutionary fame, was a successful steamboatman on the Ohio. In partnership with his father-in-law, Captain Joseph H. Conn, of Cincinnati, he built the *Cygnets*. Captain Conn and Captain Greene brought the *Cygnets* to St. Louis in 1834 and became residents here, operating several boats and carrying on a commission business as Conn, Sprigg & Greene. Captain Greene was one of a number of St. Louis steamboatmen who were not only strictly moral but earnestly religious. He was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church.

One of the most benevolent of the men who amassed fortunes in the river trade was Captain Richard J. Lockwood, who came here from Delaware in 1830. He was a resident of St. Louis forty years. One of his acts of benevolence was the contribution of \$20,000 for the building of an Episcopal church in 1866.

While Henry D. Bacon was on the river he became famous for his strict observance of the Sabbath. One of the boats he commanded was the *Hannibal*. Wherever midnight of Saturday found the *Hannibal*, Captain Bacon went to the bank and tied up until the same hour Sunday night.

A pioneer in the shipbuilding industry at St. Louis was Henry Adkins, who came west with his parents, New Yorkers, in 1836, and learned the trade of ship carpentry on the Ohio river when the queer looking boats were built with the cabin on the lower deck, aft of the side paddle wheels. Fifty years Captain Adkins was identified with shipbuilding and river construction work. One son followed him in his chosen work. Another went into the street railway business and a third became the water commissioner of St. Louis, during whose administration silt and bacteria were banished.

When Edmund Flagg came from Boston to be the editor of a St. Louis paper about 1838 he was much entertained with the firing of a salute:

As we drew nigh to Alton the fireman of our steamer deemed proper, in testimonial of the dignity of our arrival, to let off a certain rusty old swivel which chanced to be on board; and to have witnessed the marvelous fashion in which this marvelous manoeuver was executed by our worthies would have pardoned a smile on the visage of Heracles himself. One lanky-limbed genius held a huge dipper of gunpowder; another seizing upon the extremity of a hawser and severing a generous fragment, made use thereof for wadding; a

third rammed home the charge with that fearful weapon wherewith he poked the furnaces; while a fourth, honest wight, all preparations being complete, advanced with a shovel of glowing coals, which, poured upon the touchhole, the old piece was briefly delivered of its charge, and the woods and shore and welkin rang with the roar.

Henry M. Schreve is credited with having been among the first to demonstrate the practicability of Mississippi river navigation by steam, with profit. He was the pioneer in the work of extracting snags and trees from the bottom of the river and clearing the channel. For forty years, from 1811 to 1851, when he died at the house of his son-in-law, Walker R. Carter, Captain Schreve was identified with the river interests of St. Louis. He participated in the war of 1812, commanding one of the guns at the battle of New Orleans. President John Quincy Adams appointed Captain Schreve superintendent of western river improvements, a position which he filled not only through that administration, but through those of Jackson and Van Buren.

The development of steamboat service on the upper Mississippi and the Illinois had its effect on travel to the Atlantic seaboard. In 1839 the Missouri Republican showed that it was possible to go from St. Louis to New York in eight or nine days:

A gentleman and his family left here a few days since in a boat for Peoria. There he took another boat for Peru, and from Peru was carried overland by stages to Chicago, making the whole trip in three days. At Chicago he took a boat the same day for Buffalo. Judging from the speed of the lake boats, he would reach Buffalo in about four or five days from the time he left this place; and if he traveled from Buffalo to New York at the rate stated by a traveler in the late number of the Journal of Commerce he would reach the latter place in three days more, making the whole distance from St. Louis to New York in eight or nine days. The ordinary trip from New York to St. Louis, by the Ohio river, requires between ten and twelve days.

Thomas H. Benton became eloquent about the new era in the west. In the course of a speech he said:

The river navigation of the west is the most wonderful on the globe, and, since the application of steam power to the propulsion of vessels, possesses the essential qualities of open navigation. Speed, distance, cheapness, magnitude of cargoes, are all there, and without the perils of the sea from storms and enemies. The steamboat is the ship of the river, and finds in the Mississippi and its tributaries the simplest theater for the diffusion and display of its power. Wonderful river! Connected with seas by the head and mouth, stretching its arms toward the Atlantic and Pacific, lying in a valley which reaches from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay.

Now, indeed, the spirit of St. Louis was aroused. A steamship line between this city and some Atlantic port was proposed seriously. The business men met in the Merchants' Exchange room. Resolutions were adopted. The first of them declared "that the establishment of a line of steamships from some eastern port or ports to this city is a subject of deep interest to the citizens of St. Louis, and that in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient." Two committees were appointed—one to open correspondence with persons in the East who might be interested; the other to collate information relating to the export and import business of St. Louis, showing the profits and utility of the proposed ocean and river steamship line.

Of the conditions which succeeded the pioneer period of steamboating Captain Joseph Brown gave this description:

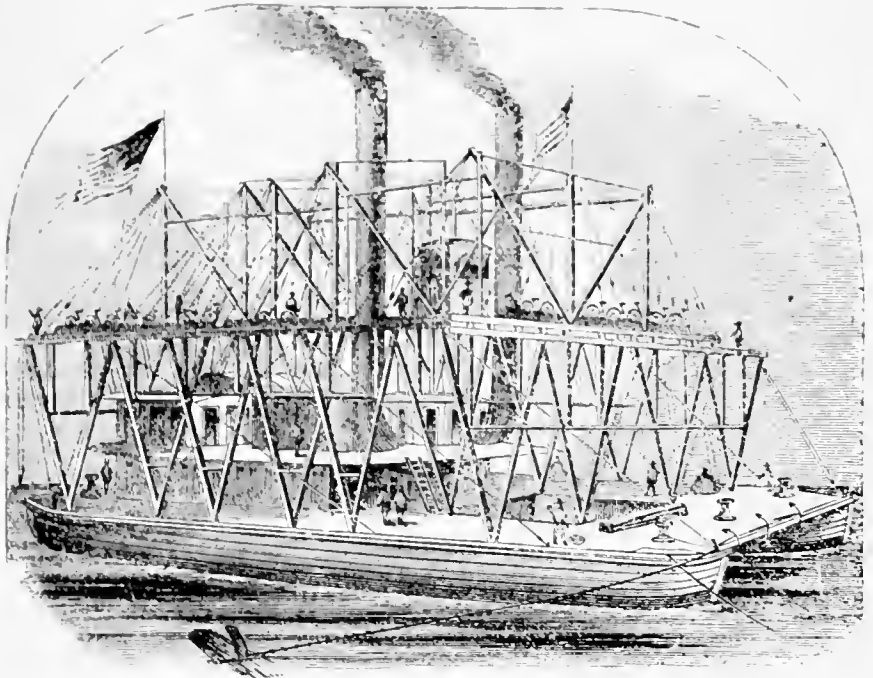




CAPTAIN JOHN SIMONDS



SAMUEL B. WIGGINS



WRECKING BOAT DEvised BY JAMES B. EADS AND IN USE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR. IT WAS KNOWN AMONG STEAMBOAT MEN AS "THE HARP OF A THOUSAND STRINGS."



From 1840 to 1850 emigration was flowing West. Everything was done in a rush, and steamboats multiplied like locusts. They were also greatly improved in the manner of construction, size and speed, so that, in 1837, there were many large boats running. While yet a boy I remember standing on the levee at Alton and seeing a large low-pressure boat, called the *Champion*, come majestically into the landing. She was the only low-pressure boat on the river, and had been brought from Lake Champlain, to run against the high-pressure boat, *Paul Jones*, that was then sweeping the river for speed. As they were both coming in together I was looking at the low-pressure boat, the *Champion*, with her walking beam, and a deckhand with a flag sitting astride the beam. As it moved up and down like a pair of scales of course he went up and down with it, waving the flag to the crowd of people on the levee, while the crowd hurraed, as the *Champion* was ahead of the other boat. I thought then that if I could have been in that man's place on that walking beam, I would be the biggest man in the country. The *Champion* was found to draw too much water for the river and was taken back to Lake Champlain, while the *Paul Jones* sank one foggy night on the chain of rocks at Commerce, and her engines and bones were a menace to navigation many years thereafter.

I could stand on the levee any night and tell almost any boat either by the sound of her escapement or the sound of her bell, long before she reached the landing. Indeed, owing to the peculiar construction of the heaters of the engines, the escapement was such that hardly any two were alike, and many of them could be heard for miles. One in particular, I remember, the *Boreas*, could be heard scream for twelve or fifteen miles on a clear night, while others had a heavy, deep sound or growl, the *Hannibal*, a big New Orleans boat, being of the latter kind. The engines of the *Boreas*, when she was wrecked, were taken out and sent to Chauwan, Mexico, and put into a silver mine to do pumping duty. It was said that they answered a double purpose, as they made such a hideous noise that they frightened all the wild beasts and even the Indians away for many miles around.

In 1849, when the gold fever was at its height, there were fifty-eight fine steamers plying regularly on the Missouri river; on the Upper Mississippi, about seventy-five; on the Illinois, twenty-eight fine steamers; to New Orleans, about one hundred; on the Ohio, about one hundred and fifty; on the Tennessee, about fifteen.

Owing to the rush of emigration at that time, boats could not be built fast enough. It was said of a certain boat-yard at Freedom, Pennsylvania, that they kept a lot of the straight bodies of boats put up. When a man wanted a boat, they took him down to the yard and asked him how long he wanted her; then just put two ends onto a body and he had a boat. But a really fast and fine boat cost about \$100,000 to \$150,000 and took about eight months to build.

The average life of a boat was about five years. After that they were either torn up to build a more modern boat, or had sunk or blown up. Need I tell you that in one bend in the river there lie the wrecks of one hundred and three steamboats, between St. Louis and Cairo!

About the year 1843 the fastest, *J. M. White*, was built, and made the time from New Orleans to St. Louis in three days, twenty-three hours and some minutes. This was the fastest time, everything considered, ever made, though in the race in 1870, between the *Natchez* and the *Robert E. Lee*, it was claimed the latter made it in less time.

The flood of 1844 again demonstrated the wisdom of Laclède's location of St. Louis. Because there are alluvial bottoms on the Illinois side, opposite the city, and because the Missouri and the Mississippi at their confluence are bordered on the north and west by a low-lying prairie of great fertility divided into numerous farms, St. Louis is a source of flood news. The city proper has never suffered seriously from high water encroaching upon it.

When the snows melt in the mountains and June rains come in the valleys at the same time, the Missouri, the Mississippi and the Illinois reach flood stages. The water creeps up the levee slowly. Sometimes it reaches the line which was the base of the limestone cliff when Laclède came to found this settlement. More

rarely, once in several years, the water comes over the roadway and into the cellars of the warehouses on Front street. At much longer intervals the flood covers the first floors of the business establishment fronting on the levee and necessitates removal of goods. But practically all of the sixty-one square miles of St. Louis area is above the highest water mark.

The flood of 1844 was greater than any that preceded it from the time the first record was made. It began early in June. The Missouri boomed gradually, covering the bottoms all of the way through the State of Missouri. At the same time the Illinois was swollen by rains. The Mississippi spread out into the American bottom. By the 16th the water reached the curbstones on Front street and ran into the cellars. Illinoistown, the part of East St. Louis nearest to St. Louis, was submerged and people moved upstairs in their homes. Steamboats went a mile inland on the Illinois side. On the 18th, reports of losses of lives and property began to reach St. Louis. Citizens flocked to the levee. They crowded the roofs and windows. They stood all day observing the houses and barns, the trees, the fences floating by. Bad news came from the American bottom. Those who had left the farms and villages early were safe in camps on the bluffs. But others, basing hope on previous floods, had remained on the higher portions of the great prairie surrounded by water which hourly cut down the island areas. These were in great danger if the flood broke records. The 19th of June found boats plying over the prairies and carrying farmers and live stock to the bluffs. The 20th of June the river level was three feet and four inches above the city directrix; it was rising on the first floors of Front street. Every boat from the Missouri came loaded with refugees. The 21st of June brought a higher level and the morning of the 22nd the report was "still rising." Business was almost suspended in St. Louis, although the city itself was in no danger. Measures of relief for the people above and across the river engrossed attention.

The mayor of St. Louis, Bernard Pratte, called on the river captains in port for volunteers. Boat after boat was sent out on relief expeditions. They went inland miles over farms where the grain only a week before had been ripened for harvest. People were taken out of second-story windows of their houses in Brooklyn and Venice and brought over to St. Louis. The new tobacco warehouse, barns, sheds, were used to shelter the hundreds of refugees. The people of St. Louis met at the courthouse, formed a relief committee and canvassed the city for money and supplies. Boats were tendered free for relief service. Crews of boats gave their time without compensation. Until the water went down and the refugees could return to their homes, the heart of St. Louis sustained them.

On the 22nd of June the upper Missouri was reported falling. On the 24th of June, about noon, the crest of the flood reached St. Louis. It marked seven feet seven inches above city directrix. Never before since St. Louis was founded had there been that height. Never since 1844 has the river touched that mark. The unprecedented volume passed slowly. The city directrix, which is the stone monument by which the river levels are measured, had been covered on the 17th of June. It was not uncovered until the 14th of July.



UPPER ROADWAY OF THE EADS BRIDGE



THE FLOOD STAGE AT ST. LOUIS



The winter preceding the flood of 1844 was very severe, attended by unusually heavy snowstorms in the northwest. The early spring was characterized by rain storms which were said to be the heaviest known up to that time. At St. Louis in May rains occurred during nine days, the amount of fall, according to a report made by Dr. B. B. Brown, being nine inches. The steamboat *Indiana*, which went to the relief of Kaskaskia, made fast to the door of Colonel Menard's house and took on board the pupils and the Sisters of the Convent. Water was from ten to twenty feet deep in the streets. The *Indiana* brought to St. Louis several hundred people. The melting of the unusual snows in the Rocky Mountains, with the continuous rains in the upper Mississippi valley, accounted for the flood of 1844.

There was some controversy as to whether the great flood of 1844 broke all previous records. Mr. Cerre, who at the time of the flood of 1844 was one of the oldest French settlers in St. Louis, said that that inundation was higher by some four or five feet than the one in 1785. According to the best testimony, the flood of 1785 left a dry spot in the town of Kaskaskia, which spot was covered in 1844 with water five feet deep. The steamer *Indiana* passed along the wagon road from Kaskaskia to St. Louis, finding from six to fifteen feet of water over that road. The American bottom from Alton to Cairo was submerged, the water covering 700 square miles of the "finest land in the world." According to Spanish and Portuguese historians all of the high ground on the west side of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio to the Red river was under water several feet at the time of De Soto's expedition in 1542. In the courthouse of Randolph county, Illinois, there was a document dated 1725, asking for a grant of land for the reason that the great flood of the previous year, 1724, had overflowed Kaskaskia, destroying the houses and driving the inhabitants to the bluffs. The bottom lands along the Mississippi from Alton to Cairo average five miles in width. These lands were submerged from bluff to bluff in 1785, 1824 and 1844. The flood at St. Louis attained its greatest height between the 24th and the 27th of June, 1844, and was 38 feet and 7 inches above low water mark.

The fame of Commodore C. K. Garrison rests mainly upon his long identification with the water transportation to California before the Civil war. The Commodore, during an earlier period, had his day in St. Louis. Captain Joseph Brown remembered this:

The hull of the *Convoy* was built by Captain Garrison, up the Big Muddy river, largely by his own labor, he handling the broadax. She was a large and fine boat for her day. I remember being on her one trip coming up, when there were quite a lot of young, jolly fellows on board. They played a joke on Captain Garrison by getting one of their number to go to the captain just before they reached Memphis and secure the privilege of ringing the bell, as was the custom, before arriving at a town. But the captain, also making a joke of it on his part, told the young fellow that it would cost him five dollars. This the young man, expecting to get even with him, readily paid. When they got within ringing distance of Memphis he commenced to ring the big bell, that weighed over a ton, and kept on until the captain, sitting on the roof of the boat, looked around and said "All right, that will do." "No," said the young fellow, "I haven't got the worth of my money yet."

"But," said the captain, "you will alarm the town; they will think the boat is on fire."

"I can't help that," was the reply, "I haven't got the worth of my money yet."

"Well," roared the captain, "stop it, and I'll give you back your money."

"No," screamed the youth, "I don't stop until you give me back my money and agree to give the party a champagne supper."

"All right," acquiesced the captain, "I see you have got me."

Commodore Garrison was a brother of Captain Dan and the other Garrisons of St. Louis.

The McCune family came from Pennsylvania originally, migrating first to Bourbon county, Kentucky, and later in 1817 to Missouri. John S. McCune, after doing business some years along the upper Mississippi river, came here in 1841. The impressions he had received from his earlier experience prompted him to organize what became in the palmy days of steamboating one of the most important transportation interests of St. Louis. Long before the railroads, Commodore McCune had in operation the Keokuk Packet Company. Up to that time the steamboatmen had not appreciated the economies and the advantages of operation in companies. A great deal of the river business was done by individual owners of boats or by single firms. Commodore McCune put on the river a fleet of six boats which ran on regular schedules between St. Louis and Keokuk, furnishing facilities for all intermediate cities and towns. The boats were so far superior to most of the steamboats between 1840 and 1855 that conservative river men predicted a collapse. Commodore McCune and those associated with him garnered fortunes on their enterprise. In 1857 the Pilot Knob Iron Company was in danger of going down. To raise money the stockholders proposed to give as collateral to eastern capitalists a very large amount of the stock for a loan of \$300,000. Commodore McCune came forward and advanced the money, taking the presidency of the iron company. That was one of the acts which went far to establish at an early date the financial independence of St. Louis.

Two Illinois boys, born in the southernmost county of that state, sons of an Irish father and of a Scotch mother, came to St. Louis to seek fortune. They found it in steamboating. They became river captains of the best type. Barton Able and Daniel Able began as clerks on the Ocean Wave. They were two of the best known men of St. Louis. They were "Bart" Able and "Dan" Able. It was said of Dan Able that in his many years of steamboating not a life was lost on any boat commanded by him. In 1851 he made a trip that is historic, taking the "Anthony Wayne" 160 miles up the St. Peters, now known as the Minnesota river, the first steamboat navigation of that river. He also took the Wayne up the Mississippi above St. Paul to St. Anthony, making another new record.

In the spring of 1853, St. Louis was given a novelty in amusement—a circus on a steamboat. The "floating palace," as it was called, drew 2,500 people to the foot of Poplar street. It had an amphitheatre in which 1,000 people could sit and see the usual circus performance, including the bareback riding, the jumping through the paper hoops and all of the other thrills of half a century ago. But the patronage far exceeded the seating capacity. "Permissions" were sold at one dollar. These entitled the holders to stand outside and view from the windows the performance. The manager was George R. Spalding, father of Charles Spalding, owner of the Olympic theater.

Government reports in 1854 showed St. Louis was the third city of the United States in enrolled steam tonnage. St. Louis had twice the steam tonnage





CAPTAIN C. S. ROGERS



HENRY KAYSER



THE ST. LOUIS LEVEE FROM THE EADS BRIDGE



that Philadelphia had, more than Philadelphia and Baltimore together had. The leading ports in enrolled steam tonnage were:

New York .....	101,487 steam tonnage
New Orleans .....	57,174 steam tonnage
St. Louis .....	48,557 steam tonnage

The entire tonnage of the great lakes was 94,326, only about double the steam tonnage of the single port of St. Louis. St. Louis in 1853 owned more steamboat tonnage than Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, New Albany, Nashville and Memphis together. The St. Louis tonnage exceeded the steamboat interests of all of these other cities 3,167 tons. The steamboat arrivals at St. Louis in 1853 were 3,307. That number was 529 more than the arrivals at New Orleans for the preceding year. The steamboat arrivals at St. Louis that year averaged nine a day for every day in the year. The cargoes ranged from 800 to 1,500 tons of freight.

The popular idol of the Mississippi travel was Captain Sellers. In his young manhood he had come to St. Louis from North Carolina about 1825. The business of piloting appealed to him. In it he developed in marvelous degree the sense of locality. During his forty years of steamboating, so the tradition runs, Sellers never sunk a boat of which he was pilot; he never wrecked another boat by collision.

Called suddenly from his state room to the pilot house in the darkest night, he knew precisely where the boat was. The twelve hundred miles between St. Louis and New Orleans he had memorized so minutely that he not only recognized houses, barns, sheds, but the dead trees which were conspicuous enough to be landmarks. He could point out exactly where state lines touched the banks. It is told that Sellers made one hundred and nine consecutive trips on one boat, the Aleck Scott, without so much of an accident as the breaking of a single paddle in the wheel house. The famous pilot kept a room at Barnum's hotel in St. Louis. When his boat arrived at the landing, he went at once to the hotel, dressed himself carefully and appeared on the streets. "Sellers is at the wheel," was the expression used to quiet the nerves of timid travelers. Over the grave of Captain Sellers in Bellefontaine was placed a monument representing the pilot at the wheel steering, with a graven map of the river course at his feet.

Successful pilots of Missouri river boats were looked upon with great respect. Navigation of the clear water, regular channel rivers was considered tame by comparison. It was said that the La Barges, Elisha Fine and navigators of their class knew where the existing sandbars were and where the next sandbars would form and could locate the snags unerringly. A feat of the pilot known as Uncle Davy was to come down stream headed direct for a sandbar, slack up, poke the prow into the bar, swing around and back down stream by the only practicable channel left.

"The big St. Louis" was one of the experiments in steamboat architecture. This boat was built at St. Louis. Her designers had great confidence in their plans. They constructed a leviathan 360 feet long and 45 feet beam with ten feet hold. The pattern was the flat-iron. The big St. Louis had seven engines. Captain George R. Taylor backed his experience with his money in building this boat. He believed he had a craft which would come from New Orleans

to St. Louis in three and one-half days and carry great loads. But when steam was increased, the big St. Louis poked her prow downward instead of upward. Seven days was the best time that could be made. Even the tremendous vocal power of Captain Taylor giving orders, which could be heard half a mile from the hurricane deck, couldn't overcome the structural defect. Captain Joseph Brown tried the big St. Louis as well as other boats. He studied the subject of river transportation facilities with the zeal and the intelligence given by few others. His conclusion late in life was that Mississippi steamboatmen "have never entirely mastered the science of building boats suitable to the trade." He said:

The Mayflower was a three-decker, and there was only one besides her built with three decks—the John Simonds. I built the Mayflower with three decks so as to furnish better accommodations for deck passengers. Her upper cabin was fitted up in elegant style, having an oil painting in each panel of the doors and a large painting of the "Falls of the Colorado" that looked so natural that many thought it was real. The staterooms were large, and yet she had accommodations for 250 cabin and 400 steerage passengers. She was 310 feet long, 50 feet beam and carried 2,500 tons. She had seven boilers, and engines 34 inches in diameter and 12-foot stroke. She had 40-foot wheels and 17-foot buckets. If she had lived she would have made me a fortune during the war, but she was burned when only 7 months old at Memphis by the steamer Geo. Collier, when on fire, coming alongside of her at the wharf at 1 o'clock in the morning. In seven minutes the whole broadside was on fire and in 15 minutes what cost \$220,000 was a smoldering wreck that sold for \$1,500. That was in 1854.

In 1847 I was a large owner in the Alton packet Luella, getting \$1 for a passage, but giving the passengers supper going up. As I was making a good deal of money, some parties concluded to put in another boat. This was the Tempest, quite a fast boat, and larger than mine. Just as soon as she began to run in the trade I put the passage down to 10 cents, still giving supper, and ran that way for nine months. It so happened that one night going up, the clerk who collected the fare at the table, came to me and said:

"Captain, there is one man down there at the table that won't pay the 10 cents for his passage and supper."

As I was pretty well riled on account of the opposition, and felt that the public was getting a great deal of something for nothing, I went down, and pulling back his chair at the table, I pushed him in front of me to the head of the stairs, and then kicked him down stairs. He fell like a log, with his head doubled up under him, and did not move. People began to gather around him. Well, I thought I had killed that man, and horror and regret took possession of me. I thought of what I had done and all for 10 cents; so I went down stairs and turned him over. As I did so he looked up and swore at me. I never was so glad to be cursed in my life.

In 1851 I built the Altona, I think the fastest boat that ever plowed the waters of the Mississippi, for the Alton trade. She paid for herself in one year, making the trip from Alton to St. Louis in one hour and thirty-seven minutes, and down frequently inside of an hour. Indeed I could land passengers in St. Louis before the railroad could.

Going back some years, from 1858 to 1848 I was engaged in milling at Alton, and as flour had been very low, only \$2.60 for superfine flour in New Orleans, I had held back from shipping until I had the mill entirely full. I came to St. Louis and chartered a boat, the North Alabama, to go to Alton and take a full load to New Orleans. I mention this circumstance to show the freaks that fortune will sometimes play. I loaded the boat to her full capacity, 18,000 barrels, and she started for New Orleans. As I then imagined bad luck would have it, she grounded at President's Island and remained there 12 days. I thought I was ruined; but just at that time the Mexican war broke out. While she lay there flour went up to \$3.50 a barrel, and I cleared \$30,000 by the boat being aground.

The steamboat era made a record for casualty and mortality which was appalling. St. Louis newspaper files show that during the eighteen years preced-

ing 1852 twenty-seven steamboats exploded their boilers, and that in the twenty-seven explosions there were killed 1,602 persons. In the eighteen years subsequent to 1852 fifty-four boats met with disaster. The number of fatalities was 3,100. The first serious explosion occurred as early as 1816. "The Washington" blew up, destroying nine lives. The climax in the series of disasters was reached when the *Sultana* exploded her boilers in 1864, killing 1,647 people, most of them returning soldiers. The explosions which cost fifty lives or more were those of the *Ellen McGregor* in 1830; the *Blackhawk* in 1837; the *Orinoco* in 1838; the *General Brown* in 1838; the *H. W. Johnston* in 1846; the *Edward Bates* in 1847; *Louisiana* in 1849; *Princess* in 1859; *Ben Sherrod* in 1861; *Pennsylvania* in 1862; *Anglo-Norman* in 1850; *Glencoe* in 1852; *W. R. Arthur* in 1871.

In his recollections given before the Missouri Historical Society, Captain Joseph Brown described the explosion of the *Mozelle* in 1837:

She was really ahead of the times as to speed and accommodations. She had an upper cabin and staterooms, and many other improvements and was quite fast. As there were at that time no restrictions as to the amount of steam a boat might carry, it was quite common to carry 180 or 200 pounds to the square inch, with only three sixteenths of iron to hold it. The *Mozelle's* engineer was perfectly at liberty to do as he pleased, and quite often the captain and passengers urged him on like the woman who gave up her bacon to burn so as to beat the other boat. The *Mozelle* started out on her third trip from Cincinnati to Alton, and went above the city to take on some emigrants. After doing so, and being anxious to make a fine run past the city, where a large crowd was watching for her, she came along fairly flying, with 250 passengers on board. All at once all four of her boilers exploded, tearing the boat to pieces and burning and sinking what was left of the wreck, so that no part of the boat worth saying was ever found afterwards. Both sides of the Ohio river were strewn with legs and arms, and different parts of the bodies of human beings, while a few persons were blown ashore miraculously unhurt, or only maimed.

For proper appreciation of the paralyzing shock to the trade of St. Louis which the Civil war inflicted, the part which the steamboats performed in the city's commerce must be taken into account. Captain Joseph Brown told in a graphic way how this shock came to him:

I was in New Orleans when the United States flag was hauled down from the Custom house, and the state declared out of the Union. I happened to be sitting on the boat next to mine, the *Natchez*, a *Vicksburg* packet, Captain Tom Leathers. We entered into quite an animated discussion on the subject of secession. He took the grounds that there would be no war; that the Southern Confederacy would be acknowledged within three months, and that, anyway, one Southern man was equal to five Northern men, etc.

"Well," I said, "I don't agree with you. I know the Southern men are brave and impetuous, and have been fixing for this thing, and you may get the advantage at first, but, I tell you, the ingenuity of the north, the man who made the 'wooden nutmegs,' will win, for science is going to play a large part in this war. They will finally overrun you like an avalanche."

So we parted; I to try to get back to St. Louis, and he to take his part with the Southern Confederacy. I loaded up the *Louisiana* with pine knots and rosin, enough to carry the boat to Cairo without stopping, and shoved out for St. Louis. As the river bank was full, we fairly flew along. I remember the exclamation of one old darkey as we rushed by the place where he stood. He said, holding up his hands, "De Lo'd's sake, what's de matter wid de *Luzan*. She just runnin' like a skeered wolf."

Still I had my doubts of getting past Napoleon, for we saw two cannons planted on the bank, on our way down. I told the pilot when we got there to get by if possible without landing. But it was no use, for when we got opposite there, off went one of their cannons, firing a blank cartridge across our bow. I stopped the boat and called out:

“What do you want? We have no business at Napoleon.”

The response came:

“Come in here.”

I said: “Does anyone want to come aboard?”

“Yes,” 100 voices called at once. “Come in here; we want a drink, and if you don’t come in, we will blow you to pieces.”

Of course I had to land the boat, and as soon as she touched the shore, at least 400 thirsty men jumped on board. In less than twenty minutes the bar was empty, and the bar-keeper got nothing, but was glad to get out with his life.

The next question came up, “Shall we confiscate the boat?” While the discussion was going on, I mounted a table in the cabin and said: “Gentlemen, this boat belongs in St. Louis, which is in a slave state, and if you want Missouri to join the Southern Confederacy, you had better not confiscate her citizens’ property.”

“The captain is right,” cried one big fellow, half drunk, and waving his hat over his head; “but the Cincinnati boats we will confiscate, every one of them.”

And they did, for my boat was the last that got out of the Southern Confederacy.

The value of the steamboats registered or controlled at St. Louis in 1871 was \$5,428,800. Probably the most ambitious consolidation of steamboat interests was attempted at St. Louis just after the close of the war. The Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company was organized. It owned a fleet of twenty-eight of the finest boats on the western rivers. Leading spirits in the enterprise were the Scudders, John J. Roe, the Ames family, the Ables, John N. Bofinger and several other St. Louisians with a few stockholders from the Ohio. The stock was \$2,500,000. If the South had not been so impoverished, if recovery had been as rapid as expected, the consolidation might have been successful. Captain Joseph Brown said of the collapse:

The Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company was organized in 1866, after the war, and owned 28 steamers, most of which were 300 or more feet long. They plied between St. Louis and New Orleans. In fifteen months that company lost fifteen of the twenty-eight, either by explosion or sinking, and with no insurance. I was made president of the company after these disasters, and remedied the evils to some extent, but the company’s back was broken. Inside of two years I was instructed to sell out at auction the balance of the boats, eleven in number. While no one but the stockholders lost any money, it fell hard on them, for out of \$70,000 that I had in stock I only got \$2,600.

A thirteen-year-old boy, James B. Eads, sold apples on the streets of St. Louis. He did it so well that Barrett Williams, the merchant, gave him a place in his store. The employer discovered a bent in the young clerk for mechanics and turned him loose during leisure hours in a good scientific library. Before he was of age Eads knew what the books of that day could teach him of engineering. He went on the river as steamboat clerk. That was the promising vocation of 1835-40. River commerce boomed. The disasters were terrifying. Case & Nelson, the leading shipbuilders of St. Louis, organized in 1842 a wrecking company to raise sunken boats, to recover cargoes. Eads joined in the enterprise. His natural engineering talent found exercise in the field of salvage. He invented machinery and appliances for the new industry with such effect that the profits of the business in ten years were half a million dollars, a great fortune in 1850. All of the time the born engineer was studying the great river, its character and eccentricities. In 1855 he had devised a plan to clear the Mississippi of all obstructions and to keep it open a period of years. The House passed the bill to put the plan in operation. Jefferson Davis blocked the legislation in the



CAPTAIN JOHN S. McCUNE



A SCENE ON THE LEVEE, 1850





Senate. Four years afterward the Lincoln administration called Eads to Washington. The engineer told what kind of armored gunboats he could build to operate on the Mississippi and its tributaries. He came back to St. Louis with a commission to build seven ironclads in sixty-five days. On the forty-fifth day the first of the fleet went down the ways at Carondelet. Six others followed. The DeKalb, Carondelet, Cincinnati, Louisville, Mound City, Cairo and Pittsburg were ready when the river campaign opened and the advance was made on Island No. 10.

Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War when he wrote rather tartly to Luther M. Kennett, who was in Congress from St. Louis, what he thought of the Eads theory of river improvement. He said:

"Unless the improvement of western rivers is to be conducted under a general system, supported by adequate means for many consecutive years, only partial benefits can be expected to result."

The home of Mr. Davis, at that time, was on a plantation with a Mississippi river frontage, below Vicksburg. Mr. Davis added:

I cannot hope that this can be obtained by partial and occasional appropriations, even when expended by the most competent engineers, according to the best digested plans, but there is still less hope of its being attained by contracts to be executed according to the conceptions of men whose previous pursuits give no assurance of ability to solve a problem in civil engineering—than which none is more difficult—a problem which involves the control of mighty rivers flowing through alluvial valleys, the volume of whose waters varies irregularly with every year and every season.

This view of the necessity of continuous effort Mr. Davis reiterated when he addressed the commercial convention in New Orleans twenty-two years later, in 1878. What prompted Secretary Davis to write a letter to Congressman Kennett was the proposition already mentioned from the firm of Eads and Nelson to keep the Mississippi river clear of snags for a period of years by contract. Mr. Davis had the regular army idea of the civilian engineer of that day. He thought it would be a waste of government money to enter into the arrangement which James B. Eads and William S. Nelson proposed. At that time Eads and Nelson had been for a decade engaged successfully in raising sunken steamboats and in recovering cargoes when the boats could not be raised. They had established at St. Louis a large wrecking plant with boats and machinery constructed for the special purpose. Many of the devices were the fruits of Captain Eads' ingenuity and study of the Mississippi river problems. The proposition of Eads and Nelson was kept from consideration in the Senate largely through the course of Judah P. Benjamin, then a Senator from Louisiana, who took the view of it that Mr. Davis did.

When the war was over St. Louis saw the railroads crossing the upper Mississippi and pushing westward across the continent. Military necessity was helping the northern development. The first route to the Pacific should have been by way of St. Louis. It would have been but for the war's diverting influence. It would have been in spite of the war, but for legal legerdemain. But what would a transcontinental line be with a mile break at the crossing of a river. Eads began to plan the bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis. Sinking piers in the shifting sands of the Mississippi channel was a new problem. Its solution was found. So, also, were discovered the devices which brought together the

gigantic steel arches, controlling artificially contraction and expansion until the tubes from the east met tubes from the west and the splendid creation was perfected. In the literature of the engineering profession the story of the Eads bridge told by Calvin M. Woodward is one of the great books.

At the mouth of the Mississippi was a problem of increasing difficulty. Ships were being built of greater draft. The silt-laden water flowed out through the delta with depth growing less year by year. Government engineers wrestled over canal routes from New Orleans to deep water in the gulf. Eads said jetties. He was derided. His plan was met with scoffing. Congress remembered the plan to make the channel safe, the ironclads and their record of service, the bridge which stood like the foundations of the city. To Eads was given the South Pass to experiment with, the compensation to be measured by the success. The jetties solved the problem.

While the army engineers were arrayed almost solidly against the jetties, Mr. Eads wrote, in 1874, to the Senate: "That they will ultimately be resorted to is as certain as that commerce or agriculture will increase in the valley." A year later the bill passed and Mr. Eads was given authority to go ahead on South Pass, the mouth where his expected failure in the opinion of the army engineers would do the least harm. Largely contributing, if not vital to the success of this legislation, was the fact that the city of St. Louis was represented in the House of Representatives at the time by three strong business men, one of the ablest trios of congressmen this city has sent to Washington. E. O. Stanard, Erastus Wells and W. H. Stone made it their business to get through the House the jetty legislation, and they were successful.

The St. Louisian studied the Mississippi as no other man ever did. He began with the alphabet of river knowledge—machinery to raise the snagged boats. He solved the great problem of the opening of a channel through the shoaling delta. Addressing a gathering of citizens of St. Louis who had faith in him, Mr. Eads, following the passage of the jetties bill by Congress, said:

Every atom that moves onward in the river, from the moment it leaves its home amid the crystal springs or mountain snows, throughout the fifteen hundred leagues of its devious pathway, until it is finally lost in the gulf, is controlled by laws as fixed and certain as those which direct the majestic march of the heavenly spheres. Every phenomenon and apparent eccentricity of the river—its scouring and depositing action, its eaving banks, the formation of the bars at its mouth, the effect of the waves and tides of the sea upon its currents and deposits—is controlled by laws as immutable as the Creator; and the engineer needs only to be assured that he does not ignore the existence of any of these laws, to feel positively certain of the ends he aims at. I therefore undertake the work with a faith based upon the ever-constant ordinances of God Himself; and, so certain as He will spare my life and faculties, I will give to the Mississippi river, through His grace and by the application of His laws, a deep, open, safe and permanent outlet to the sea.

St. Louisians had faith in Eads. They financed the company organized to build the jetties under the legislation enacted by Congress. Julius S. Walsh was president of the company; Web M. Samuel, vice president, and Richard Smith Elliott, secretary. Among other St. Louisians who participated in the financing were D. P. Rowland, John B. Maude, John Jackson, James Lupe, Mason G. Smith, Isaac Cook and E. P. Curtis. The faith of the St. Louisians was redeemed. Investments were returned with ten per cent interest and the profit which had been promised if Mr. Eads succeeded.



CAPTAIN GEORGE H. RHEA



A. CHRISTY



THE ROUSTABOUTS' LEISURE HOUR



After the jetties were completed and in operation at the mouth of the Mississippi, E. L. Corthell, the engineer, said of them:

There is no instance in the world where such a vast volume of water is placed under such absolute and permanent control by the engineer, by methods so economic and simple as those adopted at the head of the passes of the Mississippi. The works are composed almost wholly of light willows, with a large portion of the mattresses standing on edge, simply as screens to check the current and cause deposit. They constitute a remarkable illustration of how completely the immense forces of nature may be controlled by the wise use of the most inexpensive and unsubstantial materials which nature seemingly places within convenient reach of man for the very purpose.

When the boy who had peddled apples on the streets of St. Louis visited London in 1881 the greatest scientists of the United Kingdom showered honors upon him. The British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sir John Lubbock presiding, invited Captain James B. Eads to attend the sessions, elected him a member and called upon him for an address. By a vote of the association Captain Eads' explanation of the jetty treatment of the mouth of the Mississippi and his description of the proposed Tehuantepec ship railway were incorporated in the proceedings of the association. He was given prominence as one of the great civil engineers of his generation and was the guest of honor at a series of entertainments by the most distinguished scientists of Great Britain. When the news of the remarkable reception given Captain Eads in England reached St. Louis it inspired a movement to erect a memorial at the entrance to the great bridge. Unfortunately the movement did not progress far beyond the newspaper columns:

Shortly after the census of 1890 Robert P. Porter, the commissioner, said to the Commercial Club of this city:

It behooves the people of St. Louis to see that there is no inertness in their conservation and care of the traffic opportunities afforded by the mighty rivers which flow out here.

He emphasized his warning with these significant figures:

The statistics show that in 1879 there were received here by river 947,185 tons of freight and lumber, while in 1889 the receipts were 732,185 tons.

In 1879 the shipments from St. Louis by river were 689,225 tons and in 1889 they were 721,424 tons. There is an increase here as you may have noted, in the shipments, but not sufficient to overcome the decrease in receipts.

The total river traffic of St. Louis in 1879 stands at 1,636,580 tons and in 1889 at 1,453,659 tons, being a decrease of 182,921 tons. There are many lessons to be learned from these statistics.

The record may be brought down to date. The freight received by river at St. Louis in 1908 was 293,180 tons and the shipments were 72,740 tons. The total river traffic at St. Louis in 1908 was 365,920 tons.

The St. Louisian who solved more Mississippi river problems than any other man was James B. Eads. He failed on none of them. His theories stood the test of trial. This is to be borne in mind when the message of suggestion to the National Commercial convention at New Orleans, many years ago, is read. To that body, Mr. Eads said:

I beg respectfully to call the attention of the convention to the importance of iron barges and iron steamers on the Mississippi river. As these vessels are being used in all parts of the world except in America, I would suggest that inquiry be set on foot by the convention to discover why the grain growers and planters of this valley are not enjoying the advantages afforded by the introduction of such boats and barges upon the Mississippi.

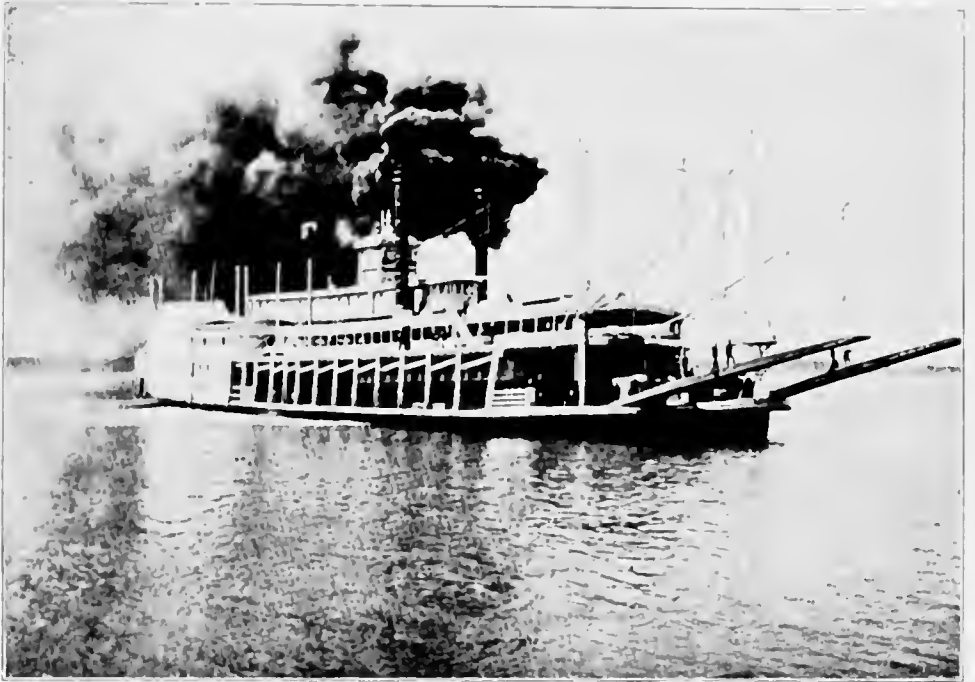
They are used on all the chief rivers in Europe and Asia, several streams of which countries are far more rapid and dangerous than the Mississippi. Numbers of them are being constructed in Great Britain for the rivers of India, for the Nile and the Danube, and, indeed, for streams in almost every quarter of the globe, save America. These vessels will carry from twelve to fifteen per cent. more cargo than wooden hulls of equal size, strength and draught, and never have their carrying capacity lessened by being water-soaked. They cannot be destroyed by fire, are made with water-tight compartments and are almost absolutely proof against sinking.

Mr. Eads had built iron gunboats at St. Louis and had seen their successful navigation of the Mississippi.

The convention resolved "that the building and employing of iron barges and steamboats in transporting produce and freights generally on the Mississippi river and its tributaries is highly recommended as a sure means of lessening the cost of freights and insurance, and increasing the amount of transportation on our rivers."

In 1906 the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway association was formed. There came together in St. Louis 1,100 delegates representing eleven States on both sides of the Mississippi from Minnesota to Louisiana. Fifteen governors of states attended that convention and spoke on the necessities of their respective states for better waterway transportation. Under the old way of agitating waterway improvement a memorial to Congress would have been adopted, a small committee would have been appointed to go to Washington and to have a hearing before Congressional committees. There the effort would have been suspended until a new movement was inaugurated. With the Deep Waterway association a new policy was adopted. No sooner was one convention over than plans for the next were put under consideration. At the same time the organization began to make itself felt in Washington. One day early in 1907 the officers of the association appeared at the White House with an invitation signed by seventeen governors of states asking the President of the United States to join them in a tour of observation down the Mississippi and to address the second annual convention at Memphis. The invitation was supported with such forceful argument that the President accepted, viewed the river and addressed the convention. In attendance upon the Memphis convention were 2,300 delegates representing eighteen states, from seventeen of which the governors were present.

St. Louis was the place of beginning of Mississippi river improvement, as already told in the story of Captain John Goodfellow and the sandbar plowing. St. Louis has originated several river improvement movements but none of this thorough organization. In this city was started the Deep Waterway association. Here has been the central office of the association. St. Louis men have given time and thought unsparingly to the promotion of the association. Quite properly St. Louis sent to the convention at Chicago, in 1908, a delegation larger in number and stronger in character than any other which the city has sent to a similar convention. The delegates represented the municipality and the leading business bodies of the community. They included the mayor of the city and two former mayors. The candidates of the two great political parties suspended their campaigning in the high tide of it to come before that Deep Waterway convention and to address the 3,500 delegates.



"THE BIG ST. LOUIS"





There was excellent method in the management of the Deep Waterway movement from its beginning at St. Louis. Naturally the first convention was held in St. Louis, the place of origin, the dividing point from the earliest steamboating days between upper and lower river navigation. Properly and for the maximum effect the second annual convention of the movement was held at Memphis and preceded by the tour of observation on the part of the President and the governors of states. The best of reasons designated Chicago for the meeting point in 1908. St. Louis inaugurated and Memphis gave the movement impetus. At Chicago the Deep Waterway passed a crisis almost vital to early action. Illinois was about to vote on a proposed constitutional amendment to issue \$20,000,000 in bonds to complete the second section from the completed canal to the Illinois river connection.

Is the Deep Waterway plan practicable? St. Louis obtained an affirmative answer before the movement was launched in 1906. How thorough and convincing the preliminary investigation was the general public did not know. There was no such phrase as a false start in the lexicon of the Business Men's League of St. Louis. Before the first Deep Waterway convention was called the pioneers solved to their satisfaction two phases of the proposition. They pursued inquiry along these lines:

1. The engineering problem.
2. The question of cost.

The opinions of the engineers most familiar with the course from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico were obtained. Army as well as civilian experts were consulted. And when the investigation, carried on without publicity, was finished, James E. Smith, W. K. Kavanaugh, William F. Saunders and the others had become fully satisfied as to these conclusions:

1. There is nothing insurmountable, from the scientific standpoint, in the way of a channel fourteen feet deep from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico.
2. The waterway, fourteen feet deep, from lakes to gulf, can be completed for less than \$75,000,000 within five years from the beginning of the work.

With the ways well greased by such convictions, St. Louis shoved the movement into deep water. The government at Washington was a little shocked when the first ripples from the launching hit the White House and splashed on the marble steps of the capitol. Up and down the valley the agitation spread. Not until after the first Deep Waterway convention with its fifteen governors and 1,100 delegates, in 1906, did the seriousness of the proposition enter and occupy the minds of business men in the Mississippi valley. Not until after the second convention, attended by the President of the United States, seventeen governors and 2,300 delegates, did the Deep Waterway take on its national importance. Congress took notice when the President made waterway improvement the subject of a special message in February, 1908, and said:

"Running water is the most valuable natural asset of the people.

"The Mississippi should be made the loop of the sea, and work upon it should be begun at the earliest possible moment.

"Adequate funds should be provided by bond issue if necessary."



## CHAPTER XI.

### OUR INDIAN RELATIONS

*Visit of the Missouris—Auguste Chouteau's Labor Problem—Hurry Call for Laclède—A Diplomatic Crisis—Foundations of Profitable Friendship—The Nudarches—Pontiac Buried with Honors—The St. Louis Indian Policy—Aboriginal Vanity Recognized—"Gratifications" Never Omitted—The Shawan, Village—Narrow Escape of Governor Piernas—The Official Gunsmith—Auguste and Pierre Chouteau Commissioned—Execution of Tewanage, the Mascoutin—Transfer of Indian Allegiance—Tactful Address of Governor Delassus—Pike's Expedition to the Osages—Chief Blackbird and the Fur Traders—Conway, the Hero of the Border—The Faith Which St. Louis Kept with the Tribes—British Schemes of 1812 Checkmated—Lisa and the Proposed Confederacy—The Influence of Auguste Chouteau—Treaty Making at Portage—Big Elk's Oration—William Clark, "the Friend of the Indian"—The Council Chamber and the Museum—Pilgrimages of the Red Men to "Red Head"—Rapacity of the British Traders—The Prince of Wied at an Indian Reception—Kekuk and Black Hawk at Jefferson Barracks—Epidemics of Small Pox Along the Missouri—Father DeSmet, the Wonderful Peacemaker.*

The old French wars, and wars on this continent since then, amply prove how much better Frenchmen conciliate the natives, than the English. The English and the Americans, when they come in contact with the untutored savage, most commonly fight. But not so the French; they please and flatter the Indian, give powder and balls and blint and guns, and make a Catholic of him, and live in friendship with the red man and woman in the wilderness. The French have always had a stronger hold of the affections of the Indians than any other people.—*Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth.*

No Indians were to be dispossessed when Auguste Chouteau made fast at the foot of Walnut street. The trees were cleared away. The goods and tools brought in the first boat were unloaded and put under a temporary roof. Young Chouteau had begun the assembling of the stone and timber for Laclède's house when the tribe of the Missouris, men, women and children, arrived. The Indians did not manifest hostility. On the contrary they were too friendly. They informed the youth that they were going to form a village close to the house he was building. They begged food. They helped themselves to the tools. Chouteau was disturbed; the more so because some of the people who had come over from Cahokia to join the new settlement took alarm and began to move back to the east side of the river. The Indians numbered 125 warriors. The women and children made quite a community. Feeling that the situation was too serious for him, Chouteau sent for Laclède. In the meantime he put the Indian women and children to work on the cellar for Laclède's house. He paid for the labor in trinkets. Before the problem was settled the Missouris had about finished the excavation.

Laclède came up from Fort Chartres. He held a council with the Indians. He listened to their plans to live near neighbors to him. He heard what they had to say in favor of the location for their proposed village. He took a night to think over what they had said. The next day he made a speech which so impressed young Chouteau that years afterwards he wrote it down. Laclède said:

You told me yesterday that you were like the ducks and bustards, who traveled until they found a fine country, where there was beautiful open water, that they might rest

there and obtain an easy living; that you, the Missouris, who were worthy of pity, resembled them because you traveled to find a place to settle yourselves; that you did not find any more suitable than that where you are at present; that you wished to form a village around my house where we should live together in the greatest friendship. I will reply to you in a few words and I will say that if you followed the example of the ducks and bustards in settling yourselves you followed bad guides who have no foresight, because if they had they would not put themselves into open water, so that the eagles and birds of prey could discover them easily, which would never happen to them if they were in a woody place and covered with brush. You Missouris, you will not be eaten by eagles, but these men, who have waged war against you for a long time past, who are in great numbers against you who are few, will kill your warriors because they will offer resistance, and will make your women and children slaves. Behold what will happen to you if you wish to follow, as you say, the course of the ducks and bustards, rather than the advice of men of experience. You women, who are here present and who listen to me, go, tenderly caress your children, give them food in plenty; also, to your aged parents, press them closely to your arms, lavish upon them all the evidences of the tenderest affection, until the fatal moment which shall separate you from them. That moment is not far distant, if your men persist in their intention to settle here. I warn you, as a good father, that there are six or seven hundred warriors at Fort de Chartres, who are there to make war against the English—which occupies them fully at this moment, for they turn all their attention below Fort de Chartres from whence they expect the English—but if they learn you are here, beyond the least doubt they will come here to destroy you. See now, warriors, if it be not prudent on your part to leave here at once rather than to remain to be massacred.—your wives and your children torn to pieces, and their limbs thrown to dogs and to birds of prey. Recollect, I speak to you as a good father; reflect well upon what I have just told you, and give me your answer this evening. I cannot give you any longer time, for I must return to Fort de Chartres.

Auguste Chouteau thought he had reason to be apprehensive about these Missouris. There was a tradition that a party of the tribe had been taken to France many years before to bring back to the Mississippi valley impressions of the nation to which they owed their allegiance. The daughter of the chief, who was a member of the party, became converted and married a French soldier. Not long after the return this party participated in an attack on a French post and murdered the people. The bloodthirsty character given to these Indians by the tradition was not borne out by the events of that day on the site of St. Louis or in the subsequent relations between the settlers and the tribe. Laclède's address to the Missouris proved effective. Auguste Chouteau said of the result:

In the evening, the whole nation, men, women and children, came to M. de Laclède and told him that they had opened their ears wide to his discourse, and that they would follow in all things, his advice; and they prayed him to have pity upon the women and children, and give them provisions and a little powder and some balls for the men, that they might hunt while going up the Missouri and defend themselves if they were attacked. M. de Laclède told them that he would have pity on them, and detained them until the next day. He could not give them anything that day, for he had not enough corn, which he was obliged to send to Cahoe for. As soon as he had received it he gave them a large quantity—some powder, balls and knives and some cloth; and the day after all the Missouris went away, to go up the Missouri and return to their ancient village—having remained here fifteen days, in the course of which I had the cellar of the house, which we were to build, dug by the women and children. I gave them in payment vermilion, awls and verdigris. They dug the largest part of it, and carried the earth in wooden platters and baskets which they bore upon their heads.

The Missouri Indians were known by that name from the day of their first visit to the settlement of St. Louis. At an earlier period they were called the

Nudarches. The name of the Missouri was given to the tribe by the Illinois or Illini tribe because they lived in the Missouri river country. The Nudarches established a record of friendliness with the white people long before they made their overtures to locate a village alongside of Pierre Laeclède's settlement. The tribe welcomed Marquette one hundred years before the coming of Laeclède. This friendly disposition of the Nudarches or Missouri was noted by other early explorers. It is history that in 1712 the tribe was one of several which marched to the relief of the white settlement at Detroit. Seven years later the Missouri or Nudarches ambushed and destroyed a Spanish expedition sent up from Old Mexico. The Missouri distinguished between the white nations. They were most kindly disposed toward the French. Notwithstanding their frequent manifestations of good feeling they did not incline to civilized ways. The French attempted to instruct the Missouri. The priests of that early period, encouraged by the disposition of the Missouri, directed missionary efforts toward them, but these were unsuccessful. The case affording the basis for the tradition was, probably, the only one in which these Indians attacked the French settlers.

One of the notable days of the ad interim administration of St. Ange de Bellerive was the military funeral given to an Indian. Pontiac was a chief of three tribes in his youth. He ruled over the Ottawas, the Ojibways and the Potawatommies. He constantly sided with the French and fought the British. In one of his orations he called the English "dogs dressed in red who have come to rob you of your hunting grounds and to drive away the game." That was the year that Laeclède came up the Mississippi to found St. Louis. France was surrendering by treaty her possessions east of the Mississippi to England. Pontiac led an uprising against the new authority. "Pontiac's war" continued until 1766. The chief was compelled to make a treaty with the English. He came west to the Illinois country and found a congenial retreat in the French community of St. Louis. He was still in his prime; but disappointed, he became a hard drinker. St. Ange de Bellerive had known the chief in better days and treated him kindly. While in his cups Pontiac was enticed across the river to the vicinity of Cahokia by a Kaskaskia Indian and killed from ambush. It is tradition that an English trader bribed the Kaskaskian with a barrel of rum to get Pontiac out of the way. St. Ange went after the body of the chief. Upon the return to St. Louis Pontiac was dressed in the uniform of a French general, a gift to him by Montcalm. The body lay in state, guarded by the French soldiers who had come from Fort Chartres after the evacuation. At the hour of burial military honors were paid. Pontiac had never been baptized. His body could not be placed in consecrated ground. A grave was dug for him a short distance west of the cemetery. Its precise location as determined by the Missouri Historical society was twenty feet east of Broadway and fifty feet south of Market street. The full garrison paraded at the funeral and the entire population of the settlement attended.

When Don Antonio Ulloa sent Rui up the Mississippi to fortify the mouth of the Missouri in 1767 he gave him an Indian policy in these words:

The two main objects in establishing this fort are, first to keep the friendship of the savages in harmony with the colony, and second to prevent the British neighbors from intruding on the lands which belongs to his majesty. To attain this purpose, it is necessary to use the best sagacity with the savages and to give the English no reason for complaint. In regard to the savages; what they wish is that they shall be treated as brothers, without

giving the slightest reproach or jest or mockery at their expense. Especially no offense should be given them about their wives because they are very sensitive on this point. They consider this a grave offense, more serious than civilized nations do.

Sometimes the Indians go to excesses; they drink and steal. When they come back to themselves they give satisfaction and make the apology asked of them. If advantage is taken of them they get angry; they forget the friendship to the colony; they become very cruel enemies. Their revenge is bloody. It is impossible to check them.

When they act unreasonable, when they insult you, then is the time you must act with great prudence, avoiding them and not considering their actions as crimes. When their anger is past, complaint can be made to the chief. This will be the greatest punishment; it will be harder on them than anything that could have been done when they were angry. Angered they are just like beasts, as brutal. They are guilty of most atrocious acts. The best possible way to subdue them is to use the influence of their own people upon them. This is the principal reason why brandy should not be taken to the colony; the Indians love liquor but it is against public interest to let them have it.

The Indians are people who like to have lots of things given them. They will give their friendship for anything that is offered them. They are never satisfied. Things must be given them every time they come to ask, even if it is only a trifle. For this reason we must not give all of the presents we have at once. Something must be reserved in case they call again.

Don Antonio's analysis of Indian character is interesting. He believed in catering to the aboriginal vanity.

Some of the chiefs of some of the tribes may come to the fort. They will be given the distinction of wearing the medal of the king. Report must be made to the government of the chiefs who come and of the reason for their coming. Medals must be given to other chiefs in case they wish to come to offer friendship. This was the course pursued by the French government. We must continue doing it. They thus understand that we want to do everything they have been accustomed to.

It must be understood that no weapons must be used or violence exercised against the nations which belong in his majesty's kingdom. Everything must be settled with kind and reasonable words. The Indians must be induced to realize the injustice and unreasonableness of any disturbance or theft perpetrated by them. It is also very important that the tribes on the English side of the Mississippi must not be offended. We must keep on good terms with them whenever they come into our territory. Those who come to our side to change locations, as they often do, must be admitted with kindness, watched with care. By allowing them to settle where they please we will gain their good will. It is very important to try to keep peace between the tribes. Great care must be exercised when there is any dispute among them to pacify. Call them together in meetings and try to reconcile them by making some small present.

The liquor traffic was a matter upon which Spanish authority imposed stringent regulation:

The introduction of brandy is strictly forbidden, not only among the savage tribes but also in the establishment. The quantity that must be brought in for necessities will be under special license. Any quantity brought in above the amount mentioned in the special license will be thrown in the river by the storekeeper, the assistant surgeon and the controller. These officials must send to the government a certificate stating the amount thrown away. The party who brings in the extra quantity will be fined \$25 for each pint extra. Half of the fine collected will be turned over to the orphans and the hospital and the other half will be retained by the commandant of the establishment.

American historians have charged Cortez and Pizarro and other Spaniards with atrocious treatment of the Indians. They have never given credit where due for the tactful course pursued toward the natives by white men who settled and governed at St. Louis for more than sixty years. In all of the relations with



A TYPE OF THE SHAWNEES  
WELCOMED BY GOVERNOR PERAZ



PONTIAC



TABLET TO PONTIAC PLACED IN SOUTHERN HOTEL BY THE DAUGHTERS  
OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION





Indians during the pioneer generations of this country, there is no period, no place which can offer comparison with the good record established at St. Louis.

In the years of Spanish dominion at St. Louis there were times when financial stringency was felt. Salaries were reduced. Soldiers were not paid for months. Retrenchment was ordered. But the annual presents or "gratifications" as they were called for the Indian nations were not passed by.

In the winter of 1800 Governor Ramon de Lopez at New Orleans wrote to Governor Delassus at St. Louis that Josef Ferdon, master of a vessel, was en route with the annual gratification, and added:

I will appreciate it if upon making the distribution you will exercise the most care possible and be economical, not only because His Majesty wishes it, but also on account of the demands for cash made on this department and the lack of funds for same; we have to be very careful how we use up this money.

If the French fur traders and merchants accepted Spanish sovereignty easily, the same was not altogether true of their Indian constituents. Down the Missouri came a chief of the Osages to see the new flag and its representative. Governor Piernas had established cordial relations with Laeledi and with St. Ange. It didn't occur to the Spanish don that the red chief expected the courtesy of one governor to another. Governor Piernas was dignified. The Osage went home and returned with a band. He met a Shawnee chief who was in St. Louis to see the governor about moving to some land south of St. Louis. The Shawnee looked inquiringly at the war bonnet. The Osage was drinking. He confided to the Shawnee his intention to avenge the slight the Spanish governor had put upon him; he was going to kill him at the first opportunity. The Shawnee saw the way to win favor for himself. He provoked the Osage to quarrel and killed him with a blow of the knife. The Osage chief was buried on Grand Terre, or Big Mound, which gave the name to Mound street, and there the Osages came year after year in the colonial period to mourn and to decorate the grave.

One of the schemes of the Spanish governors was the settlement of Shawnee and Delaware Indians near St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. They thought the Indians could be partially civilized and made useful as allies to ward off attacks from wilder tribes in the west. The Shawnees and Delawares professed to like the arrangement. They formed villages and raised corn. But the young bucks would get out and commit depredations. One day a band of these Indians came upon a St. Louis settler named Duchouquette, who was alone in the vicinity of what is now Lafayette Park. They killed the white man. Francis Duchouquette was some distance away, and saw the attack. He ran to the village and gave the alarm. Officer Tayon called for help and led a posse in pursuit. The Frenchmen came upon the Indians. Duchouquette saw the one who had killed his brother and who was wearing the fresh scalp tied to his belt. He shot him. Four other Indians were killed. This discouraged the Spanish governors. The civilizing policy was given up. The Delawares were encouraged to move on—westward.

At the time of the American occupation the presents made by the Spanish government to the Indians in Upper Louisiana amounted to \$12,000.00 a year. An official gun-smith was located at St. Louis to repair the guns of the Indians. He received \$140.00 a year from the government. The Indians made visits to St. Louis to have their fire-arms put in order.

The relations which the French residents of St. Louis maintained with the Spanish authority in regard to control of the Indian situation is shown in the commission which Baron Carondelet issued to Pierre Chouteau in 1794. The baron is described as governor, lieutenant-general and viceroy of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida. The commission read:

In consideration of the services rendered by Don Augusto and Don Pedro Chouteau, they having proposed to erect a fort in the nation of the Great Osages and to maintain order and discipline among them as well as in the nation of the Little Osages, preventing raids and incursions,—as they have already accomplished—it being essential to appoint a commander of this fort, the influence of these brothers over said Osages is such that I have appointed Don Pedro Chouteau, lieutenant of militia to be the commander of the fort with military powers subject to the lieutenant-governor of the Illinois. Besides these qualifications he has valor and the necessary fitness for the position. Therefore I order the lieutenant-governor, commanders, citizens, and inhabitants of the establishments of the Illinois to obey him as such commander and give to him the obedience, honors, privileges and exemptions which belong to him as such, and will best serve his majesty and the tranquillity of these provinces.

To illustrate how discreet the St. Louisans had been in their Indian relations, Captain Stoddard, who raised the American flag, told of the speech made by a truculent chief at a peace conference in St. Louis a few years previously. This chief said:

We have come to offer you peace. We have been at war with you many moons, and what have we done? Nothing. Our warriors have tried every means to meet you 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 to 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.

Spanish authority was thrifty, if it was punctilious, in the dealing with the Indians in the Louisiana Territory. A man named David Troter and his son, living on the Meramec river near St. Louis, were killed by a band of Mascutins in March, 1800. The band was captured and brought in by two hundred Osages under the chief, Chevreux Blanc. Governor Delassus did what he thought was the right thing by the red posse but when his report of the affair reached Marquis de Casa Calvo, his superior, this answer was returned:

The talk and statements you made to the Indians were very good. But it seems to me the reception and presents you gave them were too much. Not even the commandants at Pensacola and at Mobile do so much, as you have done, considering the number. You have given one hundred guns to two hundred Indians. The most that are given here are to the chiefs or to some captains. We can treat with four hundred or five hundred Indians without giving more than five guns. I feel that this action you have taken will prove unsatisfactory.

The treatment of Tewanaye, the Mascutin, is an excellent illustration of the Indian policy which prevailed in the early days at St. Louis. When the Osages had delivered to Governor Delassus the band of Mascutins responsible for the massacre of David Troter and his son and for the burning of their home on the Meramec, investigation showed that Tewanaye was guilty and that five others who were brought in were not guilty. Two accomplices of Tewanaye had not been taken. The Indian confessed his participation. Results of the inquiry were sent by Delassus to Governor Manuel de Salcedo, at New Orleans, who replied:

I have thought that the quickest and best way to restore peace in that jurisdiction will be, as soon as you receive this, to have the party of Mascutin Indians appear before

you and to inform them of the confession of Tewanaye. Make them understand the unreasonable proceedings in which they respond to the good will and benefits they continually receive from the Spaniards. Try to persuade them to give up the two mentioned by Tewanaye as accomplices in his cruel murder of David Troter. If they are willing to give up the accomplices, then you can impress on their minds the importance to justice and to themselves to execute the three murderers in the presence of the army, as we have done in the case of the Spanish soldier who killed the Tallapuses chief named Sancho.

If you can by reasoning and without getting them angry convince them that this is the thing for them to do you can order that the execution take place before the army and before the largest number of militia that can be assembled. Of course you will take all possible precautions to the end that no insult pass and that only justice be done. Afterwards you will by flattery try to get the Indians to go away to their nation.

If you cannot persuade the Mascutins to give up the accomplices, or if the other two Indians having been given up shall deny any part in the crime, you will insist only on the death penalty for Tewanaye. This must be carried out with the formality as directed above.

It may be that the Indians will refuse to kill Tewanaye. Then you must order the execution by the soldiers, but with the same solemnity as directed above, and in the presence of the Indians. You must try to make them understand it is only an act of justice to themselves as well as to us and in accordance with the reciprocity we have mutually agreed upon. You can also mention this to the other Indians who are connected with or friendly to the Mascutins, so that they will be more careful with their incursions. It is very necessary to bring all of them to a sense of justice. You can execute the sentence of Tewanaye at St. Louis or at New Madrid as you think best. Make the Indians understand the goodness of this government. Make them understand that without fearing them, we punish their crimes and pardon with generosity their acts of drunkenness, without having any feeling of revenge. It is indeed a hard commission. It is difficult to bring understanding to people who have no intelligence. But through facts and example, although with difficulty, we may bring understanding to the most hard headed people.

The execution of Tewanaye took place in January, 1803. It was attended by a great demonstration. The militia companies of half a dozen posts marched under command of Governor Delassus to New Madrid. Tewanaye was unshackled. The sentence of death was read and translated to him in his own language. The militia paraded in front of the standard. The execution took place by shooting. The other Indian prisoners were so placed that they could see all that occurred. The body of Tewanaye was placed in the coffin. The soldiers with drums beating, marched by. The Indian prisoners were unshackled, taken to the governor's headquarters and turned over to their chief, Agyponsetchy, of the Mascutin nation. The governor returned to St. Louis. The militia companies marched back to Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon and Platin.

In March, 1804, three days after he had absolved the habitants of St. Louis from further allegiance to Spain, Governor Delassus formally told the Indians assembled at St. Louis of the change. He did so at the request of Captain Stoddard. The American captain knew how well St. Louis had fared with the Indians. He appreciated the friendliness that had existed between Spanish authority and the nations of the Missouri. He asked Governor Delassus to make known in his own way to the Indians that they had a new father. The governor complied. To a formal assemblage of Indians in front of the government house, in the presence of Captain Stoddard and Meriwether Lewis, Governor Delassus delivered in a very impressive manner this address:

Delawares, Abenakis, Saquis and others:

Your old fathers, the Spaniards and the Frenchmen, who grasp by the hand your new father, the head chief of the United States, by an act of their good will, and in virtue of their last treaty, have delivered up all of these lands. The new father will keep and defend the lands and protect all of the white and red skins who live thereon. You will live as happily as if the Spaniard was still here.

I have informed your new father, who here takes my place, that since I have been here the Delawares, Shawnees and Saquis have always conducted themselves well; that I have always received them kindly; that the chiefs always restrained their young men as much as possible. I have recommended thee, Takinosa, as chief of the natives; that thou hast always labored much and well to maintain a sincere friendship with the whites and that, in consequence of thy good services, I recently presented to thee a medal with the portrait of thy great father, the Spaniard, and letters patent reciting thy good and loyal services. For several days past we have fired off cannon shots that we may announce to all the nations your father, the Spaniard, is going, his heart happy to know that you will be protected and sustained by your new father, and that the smoke of the powder may ascend to the Master of Life, praying him to shower on you all a happy destiny and prosperity in always living in good union with the whites.

The American occupation was followed by an act which did much toward retaining Indian good will. In April, 1806, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, back from his exploration of the Upper Mississippi, was ordered to get ready for an expedition westward. The object was to escort to their tribes fifty-one Osages and Pawnees. These Indians had been taken prisoners by the Pottawattomies. They had been redeemed by the United States government. They were to be restored to their people with military escort. At the same time that he went on this diplomatic mission, Pike was to conduct an exploration to the far southwest. The Osages and Pawnees never forgot Pike. For many years any St. Louisan was sure of welcome among them. When one of the fur traders got the best of Long Hair, the Pawnee chief, the latter let him leave for St. Louis with his catch but he relieved his mind with this bit of scathing eloquence:

Now Dorion, I know you are a bad man. I have no doubt that you have a quantity of such goods as we want concealed in those packs and could reward me if you were liberal enough, but I ask nothing. You have a torked tongue. You have abused me to the whites by calling me a rascal, saying I robbed the traders. But go; I will not harm you. Tell the Red Head that I am a rascal, a robber. I am content.

Blackbird, or Oiseau Noir, as he was called by the fur traders of St. Louis, was the chief of the Omahas. About the time of the American occupation he died. In accordance with the instructions he had given them his people put his body on horseback and led the horse into a cave near the summit of a hill overlooking the Missouri river. The mouth of the cave was stoned up. In 1810 there was current in St. Louis the story of a remarkable fur trade with Blackbird some time before his death. According to this story as John Bradbury preserved it, a St. Louis trader arrived with his goods at the Omaha village. He asked Blackbird for the privilege of trading with the Omahas. The chief told the trader to bring to his lodge all the goods he had to offer. When the stock had been displayed Blackbird went over it thoroughly, picked out a fourth of the best and placed this portion to one side of the lodge.

"Now, my son," said the chief, "the goods which I have chosen are mine. Those you have are yours. Don't cry, my son, my people shall trade with you for your goods at your price."



18

HOME OF MANUEL LISA



Blackbird sent the herald to the top of the lodge to summon the tribe, directing that every warrior bring in all of the beaver, bear, otter, muskrat and other furs in his lodge. He compelled them to take for their furs whatever the St. Louis trader offered. When he got back to St. Louis, the trader declared that the voyage was the most profitable he had ever made.

Mr. Bradbury said he was given by Mr. Tellier at St. Louis the explanation of Blackbird's power over his people. Tellier had been Indian agent. He said a trader gave the Indian chief a package of arsenic and instructed him how to use it. The unscrupulous chief was accustomed to prophesy the death of any member of the tribe who disobeyed him. With his arsenic and the knowledge of a fatal dose he saw that his prophecies came true.

Captain Joseph Conway was the hero of St. Louis in the esteem of the boys of 1810-1820. He had been scalped three times. He had been tomahawked. He had been shot. He had been left for dead. The stories that were told of Captain Conway rivaled those about Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton. Boys got behind the captain and looked with admiring awe at the spots from which the Indians had cut the scalp locks. Captain Conway was a Virginian. He came west early in life and fought Indians. When the Spanish governor, Trudeau, was encouraging American settlers to come west of the Mississippi, he extended a special invitation to Captain Conway. About the time that Daniel Boone moved over from Kentucky Joseph Conway accepted a grant of land from Trudeau and became a resident of what is now St. Louis county. That was in 1798, six years before American authority was established in St. Louis. Conway was an Indian fighter from the time he could carry a gun. He accompanied Boone and Kenton on their campaigns against the Indians. Of Conway it was told that being hard pressed he ran from tree to tree, loading and firing until he had killed seven Indians. He fought with Harmer and with Wayne. In three different battles he sustained wounds. At one time, when he had been scalped, he was made a prisoner and with his undressed wounds was compelled to walk from the Ohio river to Detroit. He was barefooted. The blood ran down his back from the scalp wounds. A white woman, who was a prisoner, bound up Conway's head. On the Canadian border Conway was held in captivity four years. Those experiences preceded the settlement in the vicinity of St. Louis. For years after he came here Captain Conway held himself in readiness for service against the Indians whenever trouble threatened. The fame of the old borderer was worth a regiment of unknown men for restraining effect on a tribe that was inclined to be ugly. Captain Conway left descendants who held public offices in St. Louis. One of his sons became sheriff. A thoroughfare in the suburbs of St. Louis was named in honor of Captain Conway.

The faith which St. Louis kept with the Indians from Laclède's day was worth more than an army when war came in 1812. British influence was directed to the border, and was at work among the tribes from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the upper Missouri long before a gun was fired. To Governor William Clark in St. Louis, Manuel Lisa, far up the river more than a year before the war, sent word "the wampum was being carried along the banks of the Missouri." The British scheme, Lisa said, was "a universal confederacy" of the Indian nations preparatory to an overwhelming movement on Missouri when war came.

A grand character was William Clark in many ways. But even his share in the expedition of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific was not a greater service to his country than his management of the Indian situation in the northwest during the war of 1812. One of the first acts of Clark was to make Manuel Lisa a sub-agent of the tribes. No man had such influence over the Indians. Lisa was an American by acquisition. He came under the United States flag when St. Louis did in 1804. He was thoroughly American.

"I have suffered enough in person and property under a different government," he wrote, "to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live."

"Captain Manuel," as the Indians called him, began the organizing and arming of the tribes to fight, not against "The Republic," as he liked to call the United States, but against the Indian allies of Great Britain. When the war ended Lisa was fairly ready to begin. He had forty chiefs and several thousand warriors ready to go against the British Indians on the Upper Mississippi. The Missouri frontier had been saved from the Indian nations on the upper Mississippi. Governor Clark sent trusted representatives with messages of conciliation. Among these emissaries was the One-Eyed Sioux, a famous chief who visited St. Louis frequently and was a great admirer of General Pike, the explorer. The One-Eyed Sioux came to St. Louis with the information that a party had been made up to attack the American frontier. He undertook, at Governor Clark's request, to visit a number of tribes and to use his influence against the British. He was imprisoned, maltreated and threatened with death by the British, but was true to the confidence Clark placed in him. When the war was over the One-Eyed Sioux came back to St. Louis and was honored. As long as he lived he treasured and showed with great pride the commission he received to represent Governor Clark in his diplomatic efforts with the Upper Mississippi tribes.

In May, 1812, General William Clark assembled at St. Louis chiefs of the Great and Little Osages, Sacs, Renards, Delawares and Shawnees and took them to Washington to make a treaty. They made peace with each other before starting. These chiefs were received by President Madison just before the war with Great Britain. They were taken to eastern cities and made much of. The act was wise for settlers were crowding into St. Louis and scattering in the Indian country.

Clark made Manuel Lisa sub-agent among the Indians of the Missouri. Lisa went up the river 1,400 miles and started the Yanktons and Omahas after the Iowas, who were allies of Great Britain. The Omahas got a number of scalps and sent them down to St. Louis as evidence they were at work. Then Lisa put 900 Yanktons on the field and they took twenty-seven scalps of Iowas. Peace was declared; Lisa brought forty-seven chiefs to St. Louis to meet General Howard. He handled the situation with splendid skill. But calumnies were put in circulation. Lisa came back to his home to find that his reputation was assailed. He wrote this indignant letter, a masterpiece for one who had passed most of his life with the Indians and trappers in the fur trading territory:

St. Louis, July 2d, 1817.

Sir: Last year I arrived from the Missouri the 22d of June, and learned that scandalous reports were circulated against me. I wrote and published an article in the Gazette



of this town. The calumny was refuted, and the authors refused to unmask themselves. On the first of September, I re-entered the Missouri, and ascended it to my upper establishment, a distance of twelve hundred miles. Returning to this place on the 14th instant, I learned from you the day before yesterday, that certain scandalous reports were again on foot to my prejudice.

1. That I had disposed of the merchandise of the government to my own account.

2. That I had not brought down the Panis to treat with the Commissioners at St. Louis, upon their requisition.

3. That I had prevented the Omahas from revenging upon the Sioux the murder of Pedro Antonio.

4. That I had misapplied the provisions given to me last year, for the Sioux and Omahas returning home.

5. That I had sold whiskey to the Indians.

I owe to you, sir, from whom I received the appointment of sub-agent, to exculpate myself from these charges, which I propose to do in a few words.

I received your order the 24th of August, 1814, to receive from Mr. Sibley, \$1,335 of merchandise, prices of St. Louis, to be distributed among the Indians of the Missouri, to engage them in offensive operations against the enemies of the United States. The 20th of August, the same year, General Howard, in his official letter, wrote to me, saying, "I hope you will be able to raise the Sioux against the other Indians of the Mississippi. If you succeed in exciting them to war, it is important, at least, that one of the principal chiefs of each band should come to St. Louis."

I distributed the merchandise. I raised the war parties. The presents were made among the Omahas and the Yanktons. The former made some scalps, which were brought to St. Louis, in February, 1815. I gave rendezvous to the Yanktons, at the entry of the river Jacques, where there met me about nine hundred warriors, and went and took twenty-seven scalps from the allies of Great Britain, the Iowas of the Upper Mississippi; and completed the request of General Howard, by bringing down to St. Louis forty-seven warrior chiefs. This is all of the merchandise I have received from government; it has all been distributed and the objects of the distribution have been accomplished.

2. The Panis were not brought down. That is true. I did not bring them because the official letter of Mr. Sibley prevented me from doing it. I wrote to you on the 29th of June past, and enclosed this letter, and consider no other details necessary to my justification; as I could not doubt the official statement of an accredited Indian agent that the treaty was closed, and that it was not the wish of the commissioners that any more Indians should be brought down.

3. I did prevent the Omahas from revenging on the Sioux the murder of Pedro Antonio. The case was this: Antonio, a Spaniard in my service, was killed nine miles from my establishment. His comrades fled, and gave me intelligence. I took one hundred and ninety-two warriors of the Omaha tribe, and went to the spot. Those who did the mischief had fled. The Omahas, impatient for blood, were eager to follow. I stopped them with my own presents and my own influence, and I take honor to myself for having done it. The body of Antonio was not mutilated; it was covered with a blanket, and his face with a hat; his comrades might have been killed—they were not hurt. The death of Antonio, then, was a case of simple murder, and not an act of national hostility on the part of the Sioux. For one guilty act, must I turn loose two hundred warriors upon the innocent? Forget all moral principle, and turn barbarian myself, because in a country called savage? Besides, I had among the Sioux at my upper establishment, two Americans and a Creole, who must have felt the tomahawk if I had revenged upon the innocent the death of Pedro Antonio. I rejoice that the stupid calumniators have made this charge. In attempting to render such conduct criminal, they show the business of which they are capable, and the crimes they are ready to commit to injure me.

4. I had a contract for a certain sum, \$1,100, and a certain quantity of provisions, to conduct the Omahas and the Sioux, the last fall, to their respective homes. There were forty-seven men of them, and the voyage was of three months. I received from the clerk of the commissioner, Mr. Wash, the order for the provisions, and the papers of his office

will show the quantity. It will, then, be easy to calculate that barely enough was allowed to conduct the chiefs to their homes, and they were conducted there; and thus there is no room for misapplication of a surplus which did not exist.

5. That I have sold whiskey to the Indians.

If this charge be true, it is capable of being proved. There are in this town at present, many persons who have been in my employment, characters of the first respectability; also five nations with whom I have traded; among them can be found witnesses to attest the fact, if it be true. On the contrary, I appeal to the whole of them, and pronounce it a vile falsehood. At the same time it is an act of hospitality indispensable in his intercourse with the Indians, for the trader to treat his hunters with small presents of liquor. They look for it, and are dissatisfied if they do not receive it. The permanent trader makes such presents with discretion. I have made them, and urged the necessity of them to your excellency.

Thus much I have been induced to write and publish, to refute the slanders against me, because I have but just arrived, and my affairs will require me soon to depart again, and I cannot be here to contradict them in person.

I have the honor to be, with respect and consideration, etc.,

MANUEL LISA.

His Excellency Wm. Clark.

Everybody trusted Auguste Chouteau. Laclède put the boy at the head of "the first thirty" and sent him forward to establish the settlement. Maxent and the New Orleans partners put the affairs of the firm in Auguste Chouteau's care to settle when Laclède died. The highest Spanish authorities at New Orleans, when they sent the lieutenant governors to St. Louis, told them they could depend upon Auguste Chouteau. The government of the United States, after the acquisition of the country, made Auguste Chouteau a colonel and looked to him to solve immediate Indian problems. Having stirred up the hostility of the tribes as a part of the campaign of 1812, the British government, under the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, imposed upon the United States the responsibility of making peace among the Indians. And the United States selected Auguste Chouteau as one of the commissioners to bring about a general treaty. Always influential with the Indians, Colonel Chouteau achieved his greatest feat in diplomacy with the redmen at the council held at Portage des Sioux, across the Missouri river a few miles above St. Louis. He made a telling talk at that council, using with rare judgment figurative speech so effective with Indians. He said:

Put in your minds that as soon as the British made peace with us they left you in the middle of a prairie without shade or cover against the sun and rain. The British left you positively in the middle of a prairie, worthy of pity. But we Americans have a large umbrella which covers us against the sun and rain and we offer you, as friends, a share of it.

Auguste Chouteau was a man of pleasing countenance, light-haired, with high forehead and a straight nose, always smooth shaven and carefully dressed. At Portage des Sioux, while one of these Indian conferences was in progress, a chief, Black Buffalo of the Teton Sioux, died. This might have been interpreted as a bad omen by the Indians. The white men were disturbed over the event. But Big Elk, chief of the Omahas, averted the danger by an oration. He said:

Do not grieve—misfortunes will happen to the wisest and best men. Death will come, and always comes out of season; it is the command of the Great Spirit, and all nations and people must obey. What is past and cannot be prevented should not be grieved



MISS BRIGGGS



MR. H. C. CURK



MR. BENJAMIN G. ALTON



MR. ROBERT FORSYTH



for. Be not discouraged or displeased then, that in visiting your father here you have lost your chief. A misfortune of this kind may never again befall you, but this would have attended you perhaps at your own village. Five times have I visited this land, and never returned with sorrow or pain. Misfortunes do not flourish particularly in our path—they grow everywhere.

(Addressing himself to Governor Edwards and Colonel Miller.) What a misfortune for me that I could not have died this day, instead of the chief that lies before us. The trifling loss my nation would have sustained in my death would have been doubly paid for by the honours of my burial—they would have wiped off everything like regret. Instead of being covered with a cloud of sorrow—my warriors would have felt the sunshine of joy in their hearts. To me it would have been a most glorious occurrence. Hereafter, when I die at home, instead of a noble grave and a grand procession, the rolling music and the thundering cannon, with a flag waving at my head, I shall be wrapped in a robe, (an old robe, perhaps,) and hoisted on a slender scaffold to the whistling winds, soon to be blown down to the earth—my flesh to be devoured by the wolves and my bones rattled on the plains by the wild beasts.

(Addressing himself to Colonel Miller.) Chief of the soldiers—your labors have not been in vain; your attention shall not be forgotten. My nation shall know the respect that is paid over the dead. When I return I will echo the sound of your guns.

Officially William Clark was "Indian agent." In fact he was "the friend of the Indian." A part of the life of St. Louis were the pilgrimages of the red men to visit "Red Head," as all of them called him. When rivers ran clear of ice in the spring the canoes began to come. They were beached along the then unoccupied river front above St. Louis. From Morgan street to Bremen avenue there were only five houses. Little camps were formed. At some time of the open season every tribe at peace sent the head men to St. Louis. If the tribe was small a canoe, or two, was sufficient. Delegations from the larger Indian communities required a flotilla. With the chiefs came their squaws and paposes. When the camp site was chosen, a member of the party went down to notify General Clark. That meant rations. In the morning the chiefs and their retinues, painted and decked out in full ceremonial dress, came down for the formal council. These assemblages were held in a large hall which General Clark had built near his home. "The Council Chamber," it was called. It served the purpose of a museum of Indian dress, manufactures, utensils and curios. These things covered the walls. They added to the impressiveness of the formal receptions. In the council chamber the general met the Indians, exchanged salutations, giving without stint the time which these taciturn people seemed to think the dignity of the occasion demanded. He listened to the speeches. He replied through the interpreters, using the native figures of speech, which meant so much to the visitors. He met their aboriginal dignity with the suave courtesy of the Virginian. He was patient and kindly with them. After the talk the Indians looked over the museum, pointing out and commenting on those things best known to the tribe to which they belonged. Week after week General Clark held these receptions as the successive delegations arrived. In the long history of Indian affairs of the United States there is no other line of policy which is quite similar to this which General Clark adopted. And it may be added that there has been no other course of official action which surpassed this in effective results.

Having paid the visit of ceremony, the delegation enjoyed for a few days the freedom of the city. Every morning the chiefs and their families painted

and put on their feathers and robes. They stopped at house after house, beating upon their drums, singing their chants and doing dances. Ceremonial from the Indians' point of view, these calls might be, but somewhat disconcerting to the new comers in St. Louis they often were. Indian etiquette made it proper to raise the latch and walk in without using the knocker or speaking a word. Standing within, the Indian looked about him, and after a few moments' deliberation, uttered his "How!" Then followed a hand-shake with each person in the room. A small gift was expected, and then, as the interest of the involuntary host waned, the proud Indians took the hint and moved up the street. Here and there they came to the house of a hunter or trader who had known them in the wilderness. There the entertainment was elaborated. "Indian Coffee"—coffee with just enough of the bean to give color, a very weak imitation,—was served. Fat slices of bacon were cooked and handed round. Fire water,—hot stuff,—was the stirrup cup. Two or three days, perhaps a week or ten days, the visits and the hospitality continued. Then at daybreak the canoes were pushed into the water and the prows were turned up stream. St. Louis saw no more of the head men of that tribe until the following year. So long as General Clark lived this coming and going of the chiefs of a hundred tribes was of yearly occurrence. Westward up the river and over the prairies pioneers pushed their picket line of settlement. They slept peacefully. Not a war whoop disturbed the night. Red Head's Indian policy was mightier for protection than an army of soldiers would have been.

Schoolcraft spoke of Clark's collection as "arranged with considerable effect."

Edward James Glasgow at the age of eighty-eight told Thwaites, the historian, he well remembered General Clark's Indian museum, which he visited when a boy. General Clark lived at Main and Vine. He had four other houses in the block, fronting Main. One of these houses was the large hall, in which were displayed the curiosities, open to the public. The collection included bows and arrows, battle clubs, stone axes, birch bark canoes which were suspended from the ceiling, Indian dresses, decorated with feathers, bones of mastodons.

When General Clark died, his houses were divided among his heirs. The collection was sent for safe keeping to a public museum. After a while the showman shipped his curiosities, including the Clark collection, by way of New Orleans to England. The Clark family learned of it too late to recover. Many years afterwards a member of the family thought he saw some of these things in London. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar visited St. Louis in 1825 and examined with much interest the collection. He wrote of it:

We then went to see Mrs. Clark, who, through the secretary of her husband, Mr. Alexander, exhibited to us the museum collected by the governor on his travels, and since considerably augmented. Mr. Alexander showed us articles of Indian clothing of different kinds, and various materials. Except the leather, the larger part of these materials were American, or rather entirely European in their origin. A single garment alone was made by the Cherokees of cotton which was pulled, spun, wove on a loom, made by an Indian and even dyed blue by them. Besides, several weapons of different tribes, wooden tomahawks, or battle-axes, in one of them was a sharp piece of iron to strike into the skulls of their prisoners; another made of elk-horn, bows of elk-horn and of wood, spears, quivers, and arrows, a spear-head of an Indian of the Columbia river, hewed out of a flint, a water-proof basket of the same people, in which cooking can be performed, several

kinds of tobacco pipes, especially the calumet, or great pipe of peace. The heads of this pipe are cut out of a sort of argillaceous earth or serpentine; in time of war the spot, where this earth is dug out, is regarded as neutral, and hostile parties, who meet each other at that place, cannot engage in anything inimical against each other. The pipe, which the commissioners of the United States use at treaties with the Indians has a heavy silver head, and a peculiarly handsome ornamented wooden stem.

Farther, Mr. Alexander showed us the medals which the Indian chiefs have received at different periods from the Spanish, English and American governments, and the portraits of various Indian chiefs who have been at St. Louis to conclude treaties with the governor, who is also Indian agent. Among the remarkable things in natural history, we noticed an alligator, eight feet long; a pelican; the horns of a wild goat, shot by the governor in his tour among the Rocky Mountains; the horns of a mountain ram, and those of an elk, several bearskins, among others, of the white bear; buffalo, elk, skunk, were sewed together in a robe, skins of martens, ferrets, etc., etc.; moreover several petrifications of wood and animal subjects, among others, of elephants' teeth, a piece of rock-salt, tolerably white, yet not shooting in crystals, as the English; various crystals; a large piece of rock crystal; very handsome small agates, which are here taken for cornelians, etc. Among the curiosities, the most remarkable were two canoes, the one of animal hide, the other of a tree bark, a peace-belt which consists of a white girdle set with glass beads, two handsbreadths wide; farther, snowshoes, nets which are drawn over an oval frame, also the rackets, which they use in playing their game of ball.

In his management of Indian affairs, General William Clark encountered and combatted influences more subtle and dangerous than the savage natures of his wards. General Clark's jurisdiction extended over tribes everywhere west of the Mississippi river. Near the British border there were the bloody evidences of intrigue in the years when there was supposed to be complete peace between Great Britain and the United States. Benjamin O'Fallon was the United States agent for Indian affairs up the Missouri. He reported to General William Clark at St. Louis. In the summer of 1823 after General Ashley and his party of fur traders had suffered severely from the attacks of the Arickarees, Captain O'Fallon sent word that General Ashley believed from many circumstances "the British traders (Hudson's Bay company) are exciting the Indians against us to drive us from that quarter." Captain O'Fallon added his own view to General Ashley's suspicions. He wrote:

I was in hopes that the British traders had some bounds to their rapacity; I was in hopes that during the late Indian war, in which they were so instrumental in the indiscriminate massacre of our people, that they had become completely satiated with our blood, but it appears not to have been the case. Like the greedy wolf, not yet gorged with the flesh, they guard over the bones; they ravage our fields, and are unwilling that we should glean them. Although barred by the Treaty of Ghent from participating in our Indian trade, they presumed and are not satisfied, but being alarmed at the individual enterprise of our people, they are exciting the Indians against them. They furnish them with instruments of hell and a passport to heaven—the instruments of death and a passport to our bosoms.

Captain O'Fallon forwarded to General William Clark a letter from Doctor Pilcher, who was then with the Missouri Fur Company on the Missouri river. Doctor Pilcher wrote:

I met an express from the Mandans bringing me very unpleasant news—the flower of my business is gone. My mountaineers have been defeated, and the chiefs of the party both slain. The party were attacked by three or four hundred Blackfoot Indians in a position on the Yellowstone river, where nothing but defeat could be expected. Jones and Immell and five men were killed. The former, it is said, fought desperately. Jones killed

two Indians, and in drawing his pistol to kill a third, he received two spears in his breast. Immell was in front; he killed one Indian and was cut to pieces.

The Jones referred to was a resident of St. Louis, known to the whole community. Immell had been an officer of the United States army, and after leaving the services had become an Indian trader of considerable note. He was a very large man and of great muscular strength.

Maximilian, Prince of Wied, while in St. Louis about 1833, attended one of the Indian receptions at the council chamber, and gave this description of it:

General Clark invited us to a small assembly, which he was to hold in his house with the Indians. We accordingly repaired thither. This meeting took place in the apartments, which are ornamented with a highly interesting collection of arms and utensils, which the general had secured on his extensive travels with Captain Lewis. The rooms contain, likewise, portraits of the most distinguished Indian chiefs of the different nations. General Clark, with his secretary, was seated opposite to the Indians, who sat in rows along the walls of the apartment. We strangers sat at the general's side, and near him stood the interpreter, a French Canadian. The Indians, about thirty in number, had done their best to ornament and paint themselves; they all looked very serious and solemn, and their chief sat at their right hand. The general first told them, through the interpreter, for what reason he had assembled them here; on which Keokuk rose with the calumet in his left hand, gesticulating with his right hand in harmony with his thoughts; he spoke very loud in broken sentences, interrupted by short pauses. His speech was immediately translated and written down. The conference lasted about half an hour. General Clark had introduced us to the Indians, telling them that we had come far over the ocean to see them. They all testified their satisfaction in a rather drawing "hah!" or "ahah!" Before and after the sitting all of the Indians passed us in a line, each giving us his right hand, and looking steadfastly in our faces. They then withdrew, headed by their chiefs. The general had told them that they should persevere in their amicable sentiments as hitherto; and they had expressed the wish that their brothers might soon be set at liberty, because their wives and children at home were suffering hunger and distress. Upon this the general advised them, when Black Hawk and his associates should be set at liberty, to keep a watchful eye over them. On this condition he would intercede for the prisoners.

The conference followed the Black Hawk war in Northern Illinois. The Indians had come down the Mississippi to St. Louis, seeking for the release of the prisoners who were confined at Jefferson Barracks. Prince Maximilian described Keokuk:

The chief, or leader of the Indians assembled here was the Saukie chief, Keokuk, a slender man of middle size, with agreeable features, not very different from those of a European, though of a darker color. He wore a colored calico shirt, and on his breast a large medal, which he had received from the President of the United States; and likewise wore a figured handkerchief around his head, and was wrapped in a green blanket. He carried in his hand a calumet ornamented with feathers. His face was not painted, his ears not disfigured, and it was affirmed that he was not of pure origin. He wore brass rings round his neck and wrists.

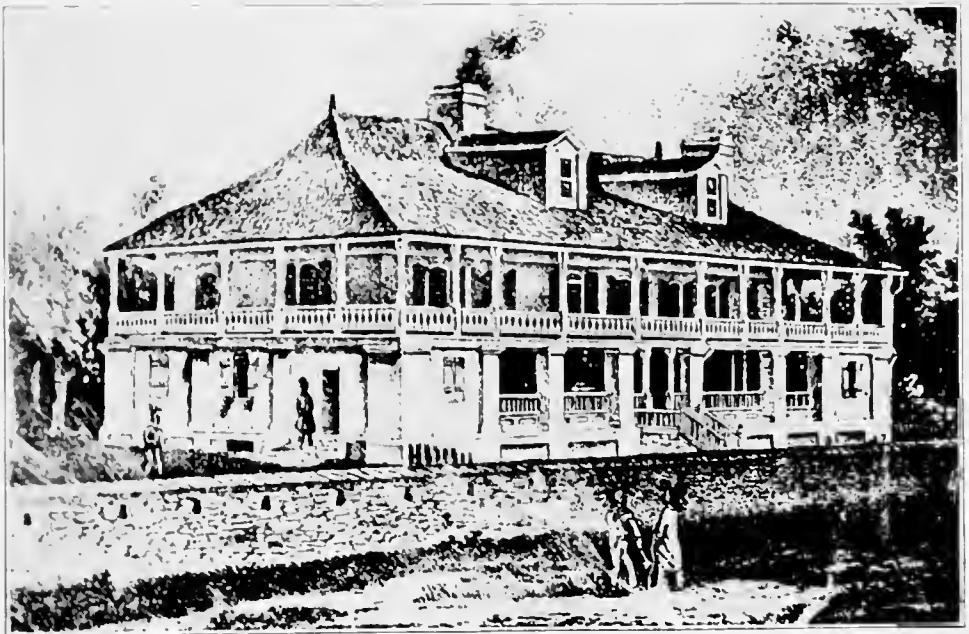
The visiting Indians were allowed to go to the Barracks and to see their kinsmen. Prince Maximilian took advantage of the opportunity to witness the meeting:

General Clark introduced us to General Atkinson, the commandant of the place. After resting a short time in his house we proceeded to a spacious empty hall in one of the adjoining buildings, where the Indians were already seated in rows. The general sat opposite to them surrounded by the spectators, among whom were several ladies. When all were assembled, Keokuk, with the aid of the interpreter, delivered an address to General Atkinson, who replied; after which the prisoners were introduced. First of all Black Hawk appeared, a little old man, perhaps seventy years of age, with gray hair, and a light yellow





INDIAN VILLAGE  
Near Fur Trading Station



THE CHOCTEAU MANSION AS IT APPEARED WHEN FORTIFIED FOR  
DEFENSE AGAINST INDIANS



complexion; a slightly curved nose, and Chinese features, to which the shaven head, with the usual tuft behind, not a little contributed. These poor men entered with downcast looks; and though no Indian betrayed any lively demonstration of emotion, such feelings were very manifest in many of them. The prisoners gave their hands to their countrymen all round and then sat down with them. Two of the Indians, known as particularly dangerous men, one of them the celebrated Winnebago prophet, who has a repulsive countenance, had chains with large iron balls at their feet. The other prisoners were not chained and we were told that they were taken out every day by the guard to walk. The speeches now recommenced. Keokuk spoke often and interceded for the prisoners. General Atkinson repeated to them pretty nearly what General Clark had already said, on which the Indians again uttered their "hah!" or "ahah!" When the speeches were ended the company withdrew and left the prisoners alone with their countrymen to give free vent to their feelings. The sight of old Black Hawk and the whole scene of the prisoners and their friends was affecting.

The Winnebago chief was known better as White Cloud. He was the bad medicine man who encouraged Black Hawk to repudiate the treaty by which Illinois had been given up to white settlement. White Cloud was a Winnebago on his mother's side. He lived on Rock river in Illinois. While he was a prisoner at Jefferson Barracks the medicine man was painted by the artist, Catlin. Soon after the visit of Prince Maximilian, the Indian prisoner Black Hawk was sent on a tour to eastern cities in order that he might be impressed with the strength of the white people.

General Henry Atkinson was prominent in the military life of St. Louis for many years. He was a North Carolinian and rose through the grades to be a brigadier general. He was connected with the expeditions which went out from St. Louis to the Yellowstone in 1819 and 1825. His most notable service was command of the United States troops in the war against Black Hawk when that warrior and his followers invaded Illinois in 1832. After that war General Atkinson was stationed at Jefferson Barracks until his death in 1842. General Atkinson was known among the Indians as "White Beaver."

The American Fur Company's St. Peter, which carried the annual supplies up the Missouri, in 1837, also carried the smallpox. Disease broke out on the boat after the departure from St. Louis. An express was sent ahead warning and commanding the Indians to keep away from the boat. The deaths which resulted among the Indians were estimated at from 15,000 to 30,000; Mandans, Arickarees, Assiniboins and Blackfeet suffered.

To St. Louis the government looked for controlling influence of Indian troubles long after the border line had been moved far westward. Among the prized papers of St. Louis University is a letter from the Peace Commission giving credit and thanks to Father DeSmet for preventing an Indian uprising in the Northwest as late as 1868. The St. Louis missionary left a bed of sickness to go among the Sioux and pacify them. He addressed one war council of 30,000 braves. Father DeSmet repeatedly rendered most valuable service in averting Indian troubles. He went out as commissioner at the request of the government when an outbreak was threatened. On one of these occasions General Harney was at the head of the expedition; when the forces reached that part of the west where the outbreak was threatened, Father DeSmet left the camp and went alone among the Indians. Assembling a party of chiefs, he brought them with him to General Harney and was the chief agent in bringing about a treaty of

peace. He crossed the plains eight or ten times. He made half a dozen trips to Europe in the interests of the Indians. He was devoted to the theory that the Indians might be civilized. The purpose of his trips abroad was to enlist sympathy for the Indians and to obtain for them agricultural implements and money, and to influence the young men on the other side of the water to take up the mission of civilization work among the American tribes. In 1859 Father DeSmet took a small skiff at Fort Benton and with three oarsmen descended the Missouri river, making as many as eighty miles a day.

## CHAPTER XII.

### ST. LOUIS, THE GATEWAY

*Starting of the Expeditions—The Last Spanish Governor's Warning—American Trade with Mexico in 1804—Zebulon M. Pike's Discoveries—Finding the Peak—The Sphere of St. Louis Influence—Major Sibley's Aptitude for Indian Negotiations—Opening the Santa Fe Trail—Thomas Nuttall's Scientific Explorations—Across the Plains in 1811—Sylvester Pattie and His Son—John Mason Peck on the "New Comers"—Daniel Boone's Colony—The Milk Test of North and South—Long's Expedition—The Awe Inspiring "Western Engineer"—Origin of the "Great American Desert"—Atkinson's and Snelling's Expeditions—Marvelous Experience of Bonneville—Gottfried Duden's Fascinating Book—Coming of the Giessem Society—Muench and Follenius—The Adventurous Bent Family—Natty Bumppo of the Harvard Party—Town Meeting at Pierre's Hole—A New England Disappointment—Bull Boat of the Fur Traders—Friendly Offices of the Sublettes—The Borderers of 1834—Thomas Jefferson Farnham's Oregon Memorial—Fremont's Expedition to the Pacific—The Part Jesse Benton Fremont Played—A Cannon Which Conquered California.*

The New Comers, like a mountain torrent, poured into the country faster than it was possible to provide corn for breadstuff.—*Rev. John Mason Peck.*

Within six months after the flag was raised over St. Louis the new Americans of 1804 were looking thoughtfully far to the southwest. It is history, written in the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the mouth of the Columbia, that statesmanship at Washington contemplated extension to the Pacific coast on the northwest before the ink was dry upon the treaty which secured the acquisition of the Louisiana territory. It is history, preserved in old Spanish and French correspondence files of the Missouri Historical society, recently translated, that before the Spanish garrison had floated down the Mississippi, the planning to extend American boundaries far beyond the limits of the Louisiana territory was going on at St. Louis. While he waited for the building of the boats which would take him and his cannon and his grape-shot and handful of officers, the Spanish governor, Delassus, in August, 1804, wrote from St. Louis to Senor Marquis de Casa Calvo at New Orleans, marking his communication "private," this remarkable message:

I am in a position to observe the movements and hear the conversations of the Americans regarding this region that has become a part of the United States. One can plainly see that the general opinion is that the limits will go into Mexico taking the line to the River Bravo. Many people think it would be of advantage to include that land. They have already had enough benefit out of the mines to reach this conclusion. You can judge this from their conversation.

I am informed that they are getting ready to send troops to the Upper Missouri. Although I do not know this surely, yet they talk it very much. If they do not carry out their project it will be because their army is not large enough. They want to come as soon as possible and take that part of the kingdom. All of the appearances indicate this. Here, at St. Louis, officers of the United States are all of the time trying to get information from the Indians of Missouri, from the white hunters and from the traders as to the roads and the shortest way to get to New Mexico by way of Santa Fe.

I know positively that in the month of July of this year they sent from here a man called Jeanot Metayer with several good boats of merchandise, accompanied by another man called Batista la Conde. These goods have been entrusted to the men I have mentioned by a merchant of the post of the Cabokias called William Morison, who is rich enough to undertake these enterprises. These two parties are going there with the purpose of meeting another man named Josef Gervais who is waiting for them in that territory and he is going to guide them until they reach Mexico. It is said that this Gervais knows the way very well; that he is the same man who conducted parties last year and also this spring to make peace with the governor or the commander of the frontier.

At the same time there is another man, Laurent Daroher, who although he is old is a very good and bright man—he can show those who are to start shortly after how to go. I understand that the commanders know all about the trip of Daroher. I have learned that they believe he is taking with him private instructions and orders from Captain Stoddard. I also know there is a man known as Jacque d'Eglise who for many years has been in these enterprises without any success, as he is a very ignorant man. Last year he was commissioned by Santiago Morgan to deal with the nations of the Missouri. This year he has not returned here and everybody is sure he has gone to Mexico with the rest of the merchandise.

I am sure that you know it takes about two months to go to Mexico. The trip is hard. It is very dangerous to meet with the Indians there. The Indians are very numerous and they are always ready to go to war, but I feel that if arms and presents are taken there will be no trouble for those Americans to get past them. These Indians are beginning to get accustomed to these people. Very soon they will begin to talk to them and will help them on their trips to Mexico. There is the probability that these Indians who have been friendly with the Spaniards will become enemies, excited by the Americans. This can be presumed from a conversation I heard. I am indeed surprised that the civil commander, Captain Stoddard, and the military commander, Major Buff, had such a conversation with the Osage nation. Answering several questions which these officers asked, the Indians said that several years ago a part of their nation went to Mexico and captured a caravan. Those in the caravan gave up to the Indians their horses and other animals which were loaded with white iron (silver). You are well aware that this is true. The American officers have asked the Indians to go down there again and to bring back as much of this silver as possible. I have learned of this through a friend whose name I cannot mention because I have given him my word that I would not. This action in all appearances seems to be against Spain.

At present there are enough dry goods of all kinds here and yet everyday new goods arrive. It seems to me the object is to take the goods to the frontier of Mexico. I am of the opinion we must take steps to stop this as soon as possible or later we will see that the traders will come to St. Louis with the silver of the Mexican mines in great quantities. I think it is my duty to inform you of all these things. I assure you that while I remain I will watch carefully everything that these people do against Spain.

St. Louis was the starting point of two expeditions quickly following that of Lewis and Clark. The year after the American occupation Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike went up the Mississippi, under orders to discover the source of the river. He left St. Louis August 9, 1805, and returned in nine months, having traced the river to Lake Itasca. The next year Pike led a second government force almost due westward to the Rocky Mountains and discovered Pike's Peak. Both expeditions furnished the government with a great deal of information about the newly acquired territory. Subsequently there was some controversy about the exact source of the Mississippi. In later years it became necessary to take the Great American Desert off the map. Nevertheless Pike was an interesting and popular explorer. What he reported served to stimulate public interest in St. Louis and beyond. In his journal Pike said he caught sight of the peak on the 15th of November, 1806, when it "appeared like a small blue cloud." The



EDWARD DE LAREAL.



AN EMIGRANT'S CAMP



PETER LINDELL'S RESIDENCE AT COLLINS AND BATES  
STREETS, LOOKING OUT OVER THE RIVER





next day he "marched at the usual hour, pushed forward with the idea of arriving at the mountain; but found at night no visible difference from yesterday." Finally on the 25th, nine days later, he "marched early with the expectation of ascending the mountain but was only able to camp at its base."

Within five years after Laclède marked the trees for the location of the settlement St. Louis had a population of about 1,000. When Stoddard raised the United States flag forty years after the founding there were not many more inhabitants. But the settlement had grown. It had rooted deeply and broadly. The view that St. Louis had waxed slowly between 1764 and 1804 was superficial. It failed to note and measure a development which meant more than the census. Every year saw the radius of the St. Louis sphere of influence lengthen. Up the Missouri crept a line of outposts tributary to St. Louis, each far more important to the settlement than hundreds added to the populations. The traders established and cultivated friendly relations with the Indians. They learned the great country of the lower Missouri intimately. St. Louis was to become the gateway of the stream of migration, the starting point for the expeditions. The four decades from Laclède to Stoddard were so many years of efficient, important preparation for what was to follow.

Out from St. Louis in all directions moved the expeditions. Some were military, to establish forts. Some were scientific, to explore and to exploit. More were to establish communities, to open commercial avenues. It was a peaceable movement for the most part. Troubles with the Indians were not frequent or general in those days. The real Indian wars of subjugation or extermination west of the Mississippi came two or three generations later. The Frenchmen of St. Louis paved the way well for the American occupation of Louisiana. A branch of the Chouteaus started Kansas City with "Chouteau's landing." Robidou, another St. Louisian, established a post which became St. Joseph. One of the Menards founded Galveston. A full score of western cities owed their beginning to St. Louisians.

Three men, headed by James Parsley, an American, went west from St. Louis in 1802. Their purpose ostensibly was to hunt along the Osage. But when they reached the headwaters, across the border in Kansas, they continued to journey westward. They penetrated New Mexico to the vicinity of Santa Fe. This trip gave Parsley the distinction of being the first American to cross the plains.

One of General William Clark's best agents in the handling of the Indian problems was Major George C. Sibley. He was Massachusetts born but was reared in North Carolina. His father was a surgeon in the American Revolution, afterwards settling in Natchitoches, Louisiana. George C. Sibley came to St. Louis as an attache of the Indian bureau. His aptitude for dealing with the Indians prompted his advancement. When the Hunt expedition went up the Missouri in 1811, Major Sibley was in command at Fort Osage, the most important Indian post on the Missouri. The place known today as Sibley, in Jackson county, is near where Fort Osage, afterwards Fort Clark, was located. Major Sibley was one of the three commissioners who went out from St. Louis in 1825 to negotiate the opening of the Santa Fe trail and held a very successful meeting with the Indians at Council Grove, Kansas. After he retired from public service

Major Sibley settled in St. Charles county. He is remembered for his liberal gifts to educational institutions. General Sibley's associates on the commission were Thomas Mather of Connecticut, who had come out to Kaskaskia in 1818, and a Mr. Reeves. The secretary was Captain Gamble. At Council Grove the commissioners assembled representatives of the Osages and made a treaty securing travel privileges free from interference over the Santa Fe trail. They gave in return for the privilege, merchandise to the value of \$800 from the stock carried in the seven wagons. A surveying corps accompanied the commission from St. Louis and laid out the trail from Independence to Council Grove. The surveying party was under command of Joseph C. Brown.

A scientist who came to St. Louis and participated in several of the early expeditions was Thomas Nuttall. He had been a journeyman printer and was from Yorkshire. The story ran that while setting type in Philadelphia Nuttall became acquainted with Dr. B. S. Barton, a scientist of high repute. The doctor inspired the young printer with his enthusiasm for natural history. Nuttall as soon as he had mastered the rudiments in books took to the country. He was in St. Louis frequently during the time he was exploring the west. Afterwards he became a professor at Harvard and was curator of the botanical gardens. As early as 1811 and as late as 1835 he was engaged in scientific journeys through the west. After that he returned to England and lived on an estate.

Brackenridge, the staff correspondent of the Missouri Gazette described Mr. Nuttall's enthusiastic investigation during a trip to the upper Missouri with the fur traders:

There is in the company a gentleman of whom I have spoken already, Mr. Nuttall, engaged in scientific pursuits, to which he appears singularly devoted and which seem to engross every thought to the total disregard of his own personal safety and sometimes to the inconvenience of the party he accompanies. To the ignorant Canadian boatmen who are unable to appreciate the science, he affords a subject of merriment. "The fool" is the name by which he is commonly known. When the boat touches the shore, he leaps out, and no sooner is his attention arrested by a plant or flower than everything else is forgotten. The inquiry is made, "Where is the fool?" "He is gathering roots." He is a young man of genius, and very considerable acquirements, but is too much devoted to his favorite pursuit, and seems to think that no other subject deserves the attention of a man of sense. I hope should this meet his eye, it will give no offense; for these things often constituted a subject of merriment to us both.

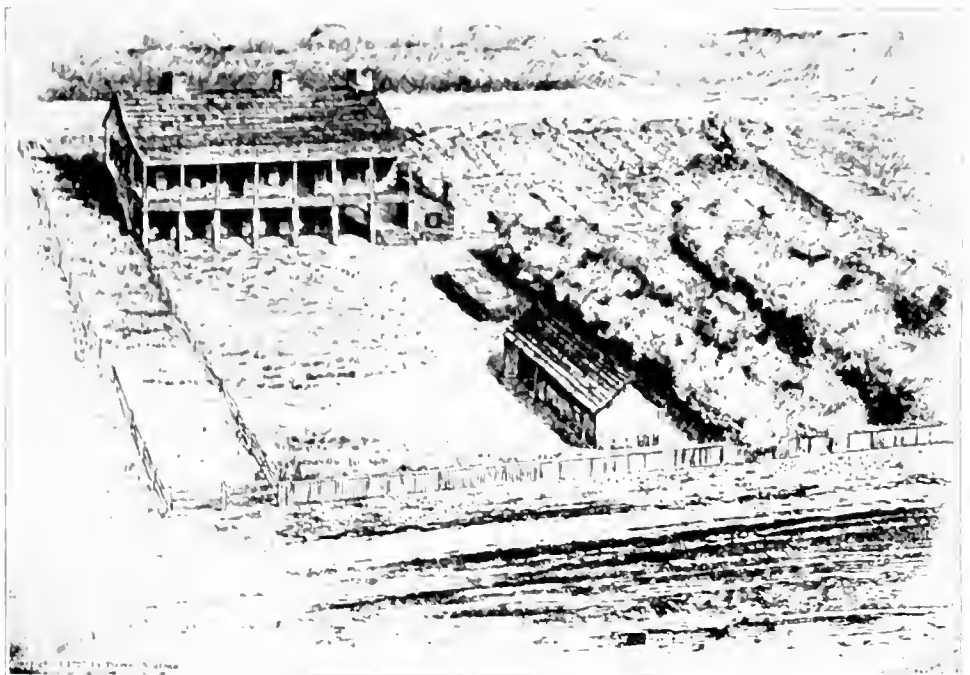
Chambers, Beard, McKnight and ten or twelve other young men left St. Louis in 1811 to cross the plains. They were captured in what is now the southern part of Colorado, taken in chains by the Mexicans to Santa Fe and sent down to Chihuahua where some of them were kept prisoners until 1821, when Mexico gained her independence of Spain. McKnight and Beard became wealthy through interests in copper mines west of the Rio Grande.

A little later another party was fitted out by Chouteau and Gratiot and started west under command of Auguste P. Chouteau. This expedition was captured by the Mexicans and the members were imprisoned.

A third party, much larger than the others, left St. Louis in 1824 and reached San Diego, California, where the members were thrown into prison and held until seven of them died. John Ohio Pattie was one of the members of this expedition. He was so young, a mere boy, that the Mexicans permitted him to



WEST FRONT OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR., RESIDENCE ON MAIN STREET,  
NEAR WASHINGTON AVENUE, SHOWING FIRST CITY  
HOUSE BUILT IN ST. LOUIS



EAST FRONT OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR., RESIDENCE, SHOWING ORCHARD,  
GARDEN, STABLE AND LANE BY WHICH COWS WERE DRIVEN TO  
STABLE. THIS FRONT LOOKED UPON THE MISSISSIPPI



go at liberty. His father died in prison. The Patties were from Ohio, coming to St. Louis in 1812. Building had created a demand for lumber. Sylvester Pattie, the father, went to the region along the Gasconade, cut and sawed pine, and rafted to the St. Louis market. In the War of 1812, Sylvester Pattie was a lieutenant in the St. Louis command, which was surrounded by the enemy at Cap-au-Gris, up the river. Pattie put on a British uniform, got through the line and reached Fort Bellefontaine, from which post McNair headed a rescue party. The expedition which left St. Louis in 1824 consisted of one hundred and sixteen men, of whom not more than sixteen survived. Sylvester Pratte headed the expedition at first and afterwards Sylvester Pattie was given command. Members of this party were the first Americans to reach the Gila river. They visited the Colorado canyon. John Ohio Pattie, after the collapse of the expedition in California, worked in the Santa Rita mines, made his way to the Yellowstone, fought the Blackfoot Indians, and got down to Sonora and Chihuahua. He wrote an almost incredible narrative of his personal experiences. From St. Louis went the earliest explorers of Colorado, New Mexico and California. Most of them, who survived the hardships, became the pioneer settlers of that region. Several continued to advance on the picket line of settlement and civilization until they reached Oregon and made homes there.

In the memoir of Rev. Dr. John Mason Peck the immigration which passed through St. Louis to the regions beyond is likened to an avalanche. These intending settlers were called "new comers." In their every day talk of all the new country west of the Mississippi was "the Far West." The Mississippi was the "great river." The memoir reads:

The "new comers" like a mountain torrent, poured into the country faster than it was possible to provide corn for breadstuff. Some families came in the spring of 1815; but in the winter, spring, summer, and autumn of 1816, they came like an avalanche. It seemed as though Kentucky and Tennessee were breaking up and moving to the "Far West." Caravan after caravan passed over the prairies of Illinois, crossing the "great river" at St. Louis, all bound to the Boone's Liek. The stream of immigration had not lessened in 1817. Many families came from Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, and not a few from the Middle States, while a sprinkling found their way to the extreme west from Yankeedom and Yorkdom. Following in the wake of this exodus to the middle section of Missouri was a terrific excitement about getting land. My first visit in 1818 was at this crisis, and I could not call at a cabin in the country without being accosted: "Got a New Madrid claim?" "Are you one of these land speculators, stranger?"

A traveler in the acquired territory told of the surprises to be met. He said it was impossible to form an idea from the exterior of some of the houses what might be found within. Speaking of the arrival at a rather unprepossessing habitation, he said:

Here we were politely received and entertained in the house of a gentleman formerly of New York. A large and splendid collection of books, several articles of costly furniture and, above all, manners and conversation like those of the better classes in our cities, formed a striking contrast to the rules in solitary cabin.

To Daniel Boone was credited the expression, "I think it time to remove when I can no longer fell a tree for fuel so that its top will be within a few feet of the door of my cabin." Brackenridge, as he traveled through the region west of St. Louis, observed the extraordinary qualities of the new settlers and wrote about them:

The frontier is certainly the refuge of many worthless and abandoned characters, but it is also the choice of many of the noblest souls. It seems wisely ordered that in the part which is weakest, where the force of the laws is scarcely felt, there should be found the greatest sum of real courage, and of disinterested virtue. Few young men who have migrated to the frontier are without merit. From the firm conviction of its future importance, generous and enterprising youth, the virtuous, unfortunate and those of moderate patrimony, repair to it that they may grow up with the country, and form establishments for themselves and families. Hence in this territory there are many sterling characters. Amongst others I mention with pleasure that brave and adventurous North Carolinian, who makes so distinguished a figure in the history of Kentucky, the venerable Colonel Boone. This respectable old man in the eighty-fifth year of his age resides on Salt river, up the Missouri. He is surrounded by about forty families, who respect him as a father, and who live under a kind of patriarchal government, ruled by his advice and example. They are not necessitous persons, who have fled for their crimes or misfortunes, like those gathered about David in the cave of Adullam; they all live well and possess the necessities and comforts of life, as they could wish. They retired through choice. Perhaps they acted wisely in placing themselves at a distance from the deceit and turbulence of the world. They enjoy an uninterrupted quiet and a real comfort in their little society, beyond the sphere of that larger society where government is necessary; where without walls of adamant and bands of iron, the anarchy fiend of the monster despotism would trample their security, their happiness and their dearest possessions under foot. Here they are truly free; exempt from the vexing duties and impositions, even of the best governments; they are neither assailed by the madness of ambition, nor tortured by the poison of party spirit. Is not this one of the most powerful incentives which impels the wandering Anglo-American to bury himself in the midst of the wilderness?

In the early days when the new comers were flocking to St. Louis, the keepers of hotels and boarding houses had a way of classifying them as northerners or southerners. If one of these strangers called for sour milk to drink, he was at once identified as from a southern state. If he asked for sweet milk that meant he was from north of the Ohio river, from New England or a middle state. Sweet milk sold in St. Louis then at twenty-five cents a gallon and sour milk at eighteen and three-quarters cents a gallon.

Great expectations attended the government expedition which left St. Louis in 1819. The destination was the upper Missouri. The purpose was a comprehensive military and scientific exploration of the country between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains. In an editorial, the Missouri Gazette of April 21, said:

The importance of this expedition has attracted the attention of the whole nation, and there is no measure which has been adopted by the present administration that has received such universal commendation. If the agents of the government who have charge of it fulfil the high expectations which have been raised, it will conspicuously add to the admiration with which the administration of James Monroe will hereafter be viewed. If the expedition should succeed, as we fondly hope and expect, and the views of the government should be carried into effect, the time will not be far distant when another nation will inhabit west of the Mississippi, equal at least if not superior, to that which the ancient remains still found in this country lead us to believe once flourished here, a nation indeed rendered more durable by the enjoyment of that great invention of American freemen—a Federal Republic.

Long's expedition traveled on the most wonderfully designed craft which had landed, up to that time, at the St. Louis water front. "White man bad man, keep great spirit chained and build fire under it to make it work a boat." This was an Indian's description of the Western Engineer. The Indians thought



OLD McNAIR HOUSE MAIN AND SPRUCE STREETS  
(From "Decorative Paper" taken in 1850)



RESIDENCE ON MAIN STREET WHICH PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR., SOLD FOR  
\$37,000 WHEN HE MOVED TO NEW YORK - A RECORD PRICE FOR  
RESIDENCE REALTY IN ST. LOUIS ABOUT 1850





they could see a long tongue dart out when the steam puffed forth from the serpent's head. They were horror stricken. The reporter of the *St. Louis Enquirer* described the *Western Engineer* in this graphic manner:

The bow of this vessel exhibits the form of a huge serpent, black and scaly, rising out of the water from under the boat, his head as high as the deck, darted forward, his mouth open, vomiting smoke, and apparently carrying the boat on his back. From under the boat, at its stern, issues a stream of foaming water, dashing violently along. All the machinery is hid. Three small brass field pieces mounted on wheel carriages stand on the deck. The boat is ascending the rapid stream at the rate of three miles an hour. Neither winds nor human hands are seen to help her, and, to the eye of ignorance, the illusion is complete that a monster of the deep carries her on his back, smoking with fatigue and lashing the waves with violent exertion. Her equipments are at once calculated to attract and awe the savages, objects pleasing and terrifying are at once placed before him—artillery, the flag of the Republic, portraits of the white man and the Indian shaking hands, the calumet of peace, a sword, then the apparent monster with a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with portholes and bristling with guns. Taken altogether, and without intelligence of her composition and design, it would require a daring savage to approach and accost her with Hamlet's speech: "Be thou a spirit of wraith or goblin damned."

To add to the realism the head of the river serpent was painted black and the projecting tongue was red. While the expedition is known to history as Long's, the officer in immediate command of the *Western Engineer* was Captain Swift. An attaché of the expedition, who afterwards became a notable character in St. Louis was General Nathan Ranney.

The Long expedition gave to American geography "the Great American Desert." Long and his party of scientists explored Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma. They left the Missouri near Omaha. They went as far as the Rocky Mountains. They divided into groups and covered considerable territory, before they arrived at Fort Smith. In summing up his conclusions on the expedition, Major Long included in his sweeping condemnation northern Texas and the Dakotas. He wrote to the government:

In regard to this extensive section of country we do not hesitate in giving the opinion, that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. Although tracts of fertile land considerably extensive are occasionally to be met with, yet the scarcity of wood and water, almost uniformly prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country. This objection rests not only against the immediate section under consideration, but applies with equal propriety to a very much larger portion of the country.

And then Major Long applied his desert theory to parts of Texas and the Dakotas:

Agreeably to the best intelligence that can be had, concerning the country northward and southward of the section, and especially to the references deducible from the account given by Lewis and Clark of the country situated between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, above the river Platte, the vast region commencing near the sources of the Sabine, Trinity, Brazos and Colorado, extending northwardly to the forty-ninth degree north latitude, by which the United States is limited in that direction, is throughout of a similar character. The whole of this region seems peculiarly adapted as a range for buffaloes, wild goats, and other wild game, incalculable multitudes of which find ample pasturage and subsistence upon it.

Major Long found reason to congratulate the government that this Great American Desert was where, according to his observation, it was:

This region, however, viewed as a frontier, may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations or incursions of an enemy that might otherwise be disposed to annoy us in that quarter.

Long was an officer of the engineer corps of high attainments. He had in his party a botanist, a zoologist, a geologist, a naturalist, a painter and topographers.

Besides the scientific exploration of Major Stephen H. Long, two other expeditions organized and left St. Louis in 1819 upon missions of importance. Colonel Henry Atkinson, with the Sixth Regiment of Infantry, left St. Louis to go up the Missouri and to establish Fort Atkinson on the Iowa side where Council Bluffs is. Colonel Josiah Snelling organized his expedition and with the Fifth Infantry ascended the Mississippi to establish Fort Snelling in Minnesota. St. Louis was the headquarters, the outfitting capital for the investigation and occupation of all the country west and northwest.

When Bonneville started on his expedition from St. Louis in 1833 he got leave of absence from the army. After exploring the northwest he came back as far as the Big Horn mountains and sent an agent, Mr. Lane of St. Louis, to Washington for further instructions. Receiving nothing, Bonneville acted upon his own notion and went back to the Columbia. He was gone so long that the War Department gave him up for lost and struck his name from the army rolls. When the captain appeared in Washington, Lewis Cass was Secretary of War. The department hesitated to restore the captain to his rank. President Jackson waived aside the red tape and ordered the name of Bonneville restored.

General Bonneville came of a family of notable longevity. His grandfather was 102 years of age when he died on the church steps at Everux, in France. His father was a bosom friend of Lafayette. When the latter was visiting the United States, Bonneville was a captain in the Seventh Infantry. A furlough was obtained and the captain sailed with Lafayette on the steamer Brandywine for France. Admiral Farragut was a lieutenant. The ship was old and in bad condition. Water began coming into the hold. At one time during the voyage word was sent to the cabin where Lafayette, Bonneville and others were playing whist that there was danger of going down. Bonneville insisted that the play go on; he declared he would not leave the cabin until the game was finished. His coolness reassured the rest of the party and the warning was entirely ignored.

Gottfried Duden, a young German physician, passed through the St. Louis gateway into the Missouri country about 1824. He found an ideal home in what became Warren county, and wrote a book. The descriptions of Duden were pleasant reading. The narrative was published in 1829. It prompted a large immigration from southeast Germany and the upper Rhine to the hills along the lower Missouri.

To St. Louis in 1834 came the 500 members of the Giessen society. They were from all parts of Germany. They were organized into two divisions headed by Friedrich Muench and Paul Follenius. Prompting the emigration was much more than the ordinary desire for change or physical betterment. Here was ardent aspiration for political freedom. These were men and women of ideals. The leaders were men of education. They had belonged to patriotic organizations at the universities. They had labored among the masses to arouse ambition for



OLIVE STREET LOOKING WEST FROM FOURTH STREET IN 1848



OLIVE STREET LOOKING WEST FROM FOURTH STREET IN 1908



self government. Friedrich Muench was a pastor with a love for philosophy and for politics. Follenius was a lawyer. He had married Muench's sister. Having quite a following among the educated, the intelligent, Muench and Follenius determined to head an emigration movement and set about the enrolment of members. Their original plan was to seek some part of the United States not yet occupied and to found a German state which should be settled by the great numbers who would follow. They went so far as to frame a set of laws for the proposed colony. Gradually this idea of exclusive occupation of territory was abandoned. A commission sent over in advance reported in favor of Missouri as offering the most encouraging opportunities. St. Louis was chosen as the destination. One division of the party under Follenius came by way of New Orleans. Muench brought his people to Baltimore and down the Ohio.

At St. Louis the plan of a united colony was abandoned. The division headed by Follenius had encountered cholera and had lost many members. Expenses had been heavier than was expected. Muench and Follenius gave from their own funds to replenish a depleted common treasury and made a distribution as equitable as possible. The society disbanded at St. Louis. Some of the members became residents of the city and attained prominence. Others went into St. Louis, St. Charles and Warren counties and acquired homesteads. Warren county, from which Duden had written his glowing accounts of country life in America, was chosen by Muench, Follenius and a few others, and there they formed their "Latin Settlement," always cultivating close relationship with St. Louis. They maintained through newspapers, through books and through correspondence an influence which drew to Missouri multitudes of German immigrants. They introduced the vineyards which they hoped to see transform the hillsides along the Missouri into another Rhine country. Sons and daughters of these first German pioneers sought the city. Friedrich Muench was a frequent contributor to the German press of St. Louis. When he came here he was received with profound respect and was known as "Father Muench." He was the type of patriarch, tall with a strong nose and piercing eyes and a great bushy head of hair. His influence among the Germans of St. Louis was strong.

To the administration at Washington, St. Louis was indebted for the Bent family. The Silas Bent who came to St. Louis in 1806 was a son of the Silas Bent who commanded the party which threw overboard the tea in Boston harbor. He had been one of the pioneer settlers in Ohio and had married Martha Kerr in Virginia. In 1806 Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, selected Silas Bent, because of his experience and trustworthiness, to be surveyor general of Louisiana Territory and sent him to St. Louis. He became a judge and was presiding the day incorporation was granted to the town of St. Louis. He served on the bench in St. Louis until Missouri was admitted to the Union. After that he held office in the local government until his death. This Massachusetts father and Virginia mother gave to St. Louis a family of six sons and four daughters. The daughters married men of prominence—Lilburn W. Boggs, Joseph McClelland, James Russell, and Judge William C. Carr. The six sons had the pioneer, exploring spirit of their father strongly developed. They were leaders in pushing the frontier westward to the Rocky Mountains. William,

Charles, Robert and George formed a partnership with Cecil St. Vrain and built Fort Bent high up the Arkansas. William Bent defeated 200 Indians in a three days' battle. A traveler told of meeting one of the Bents in 1839 with a caravan on the Santa Fe trail for St. Louis. The train consisted of ten wagons loaded with peltries and 200 Santa Fe sheep. It was guarded by thirty-nine men. Dr. Adolph Wislizenus, of St. Louis, on a scientific expedition, was entertained by the Bents at their fort.

About 1830, St. Louis began to realize the Oregon immigration movement. A Boston man named Hall J. Kelley, a teacher and a philanthropist, started what he called the "American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of Oregon Territory." Among the earliest responses to Kelley's propoganda was Captain Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth's expedition. Wyeth and his brother were Harvard men. They arrived in St. Louis with a company in April, 1832. Their men were uniformed in coarse woolen suits. Each of them had a bayonet and a small ax attached to his belt. But what amazed all St. Louis were the vehicles in which the company transported a full camping outfit and a large stock of goods to trade with Indians on the way. These vehicles were designed by Captain Wyeth. The body was shaped partly like a canoe, and partly like a gondola. It was thirteen feet long and four feet wide. This boat was firmly connected with the axle-trees. Wyeth's idea was to take off the wheels and use the boats for crossing the streams between St. Louis and Oregon.

St. Louis had seen many queer moving outfits, but never before anything like these "nat-wye-thiums" as they were called. The boat wagons were piled high with axes, glass beads, looking glasses and miscellaneous notions, for which the Indians, according to what Wyeth's party had read and heard, were waiting to exchange unlimited quantities of skins. Soon after their arrival in St. Louis the Wyeth company became convinced that the boat wagons would not do; they sold them for a fraction of the cost of construction.

Wyeth and his companions soon realized that the fur trade was altogether different from what they had supposed. They were received cordially. The goods suitable for the trade were shown to them. The conditions of the business were explained. William L. Sublette was about departing with the stock for the trading rendezvous at Pierre's Hole in the Rocky Mountains. He permitted the Wyeth party to accompany him, and saw that they crossed the plains and passed the mountains. About half of Wyeth's company turned back, leaving him at various stages of the journey. When the party left Boston for St. Louis, they expected to trade their notions to the Indians for enough furs to load a ship when they reached the mouth of the Oregon. Wyeth got through. The vessel which left Boston with supplies, and to take the furs, was wrecked.

At the same time that Wyeth's company left St. Louis for Oregon, five missionaries went through. They were going out from the east. A delegation of Flathead chiefs had appealed to General William Clark at St. Louis for religious instruction. General Clark had forwarded the request to the Methodist organization in New England. Here were the missionaries with Jason Lee at the head of them. They, too, were given escort by Captain Sublette.

John B. Wyeth was one of those who turned back when Captain Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth called his own town meeting at Pierre's Hole. He kept a journal



THE BUSINESS CENTER IN 1879  
(Birdseye View from Courthouse Northwestward)



THE BUSINESS CENTER IN 1909  
(Birdseye View from Courthouse Northwestward)





in which he told of the mistakes made and the hardships endured. Some of these young men, the flower of Boston and Cambridge, worked their way homeward by helping to "wood up" for steamboat deck passage. When the young men got back to Massachusetts, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Cambridge promoted the publication of John B. Wyeth's journal in order "to discourage wild schemes of western immigration." In the journal, Wyeth told how the easterners' eyes were opened to the true character of the St. Louis fur trade:

The next day we descried a number of men on horseback approaching us at full speed. Captain Sublette had an apprehension that they might be hostile Indians. He therefore ordered every man to make fast his horse as quick as possible, and prepare for battle on foot. But on their near approach we found them a body of white men called trappers, whose occupation is to entrap the beaver and other animals that have valuable furs. Captain Sublette has for about two years had about two hundred of these trappers in his pay, in and around the Rocky Mountains, and this troop was a party of them. His place of rendezvous for them is at Pierre's Hole, by which name they call one of those deep and verdant valleys which are to be found in the Rocky Mountains from the eastern boundary of them to their extreme edge in the west, where the Oregon or Columbia river commences under the name of Clark's river, some branches of which inscuate with the mighty Missouri on the east. It is to Pierre's Hole that his trappers resort to meet their employer every summer. It is here they bring their pelts and receive their pay, and this traffic has been kept up between them a number of years with good faith on both sides, and to mutual satisfaction and encouragement. When Sublette leaves St. Louis he brings up tobacco, coffee, rice, powder, shot, paint, beads, handkerchiefs and all those articles of finery that please both Indian women and men. And he, having established that sort of traffic with his friends, the Indians, on and in the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, what chance was there that any small band from Boston, or even Cambridge, could supplant him in the friendship and confidence of his old acquaintances, the Shoshones, the Blackfeet or any other tribe? He must have seen this at once and been convinced that nothing like rivalry could rise up between him and the New England adventurers. He, therefore, caressed them, and in a manner incorporated them with his troop.

By way of comparison with the nat-wye-thiums, John B. Wyeth gave a detailed description of the bull boat of the fur traders:

They first cut a number of willows, which grow everywhere near the banks of all the rivers we had traveled by from St. Louis, of about an inch and a half diameter at the butt end, and fixed them on the ground at proper distances from each other; and as they approached nearer one end they brought them nearer together, so as to form something like the bow. The ends of the whole were brought and bound firmly together, like the ribs of a great basket. And then they took other twigs of willow and wove them into those stuck in the ground, so as to make a sort of firm, huge basket of twelve or fourteen feet long. After this was completed, they sewed together a number of Buffalo skins, and with them covered the whole. After the different parts had been trimmed off smooth, a slow fire was made under the bull boat, taking care to dry the skins moderately, and as they gradually dried and acquired a due degree of warmth, they rubbed buffalo tallow all over the outside, so as to allow it to enter into all the seams of the boat, now no longer a willow basket. As the melted tallow ran down into every seam, hole and crevice, it cooled into a firm body, capable of resisting the water, and bearing a considerable blow without damaging it. Then the willow-ribbed, buffalo-skin, tallowed vehicle was carefully pulled up from the ground, and behold a boat capable of transporting man, horse and goods over a pretty strong current. At the sight of it we Yankees all burst out into a loud laugh, whether from surprise or pleasure, I know not. It certainly was not from ridicule; for we all acknowledged the contrivance would have done credit to old New England.

"Why! The word of these trading Indians is as good as the Bible," a member of the Sublette party said to Wyeth, when the New Englander marveled

at the confidence the fur traders showed in the business relations with the tribes. Wyeth wrote of it:

We were surprised to find the Indians in the vicinity of the mountains, and all around Pierre's valley and the Blackfoot tribe, and the Shoshones so well provided with muskets, powder and ball, woolen cloth and many other articles, until we were informed that Mr. McKenzie, an established and wealthy Indian trader, had long supplied them with every article they desired. Had the captain of our band been acquainted with the fact, and also been informed of the trading connection between the Indians and the two brothers, William and Milton Sublette, before he started from home, we should have avoided a great deal of trouble, and he escaped a great deal of expense. From all I could learn, St. Louis was the depot, or headquarters, of the commerce with the Indians. McKenzie I was informed, has a steamboat called the Yellowstone, by which he keeps up a trade with the natives inhabiting the region watered by the river of that name

Captain Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth wasn't satisfied with one experience. He came back to St. Louis the next year floating down the rivers. In March, 1834, he astonished St. Louis with a company of seventy men organized in Boston to cross the plains and mountains to Oregon. This time he brought no boat wagons. He had with him the Harvard professor, Mr. Nuttall, and another naturalist, John K. Townsend. Milton G. Sublette started with Wyeth's party on this second trip. He was going out to the rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. After traveling for several days he was compelled, by reason of injury to his leg, to return to St. Louis, where he died. Townsend wrote an account of the second expedition of Wyeth. He described the favorite apparel of the fur traders of that period as consisting of "leathern pantaloons and enormous overcoats made of green blankets." The head covering especially impressed the naturalist. It appears that the Missourian of later generations came well by his liking for the broad-brimmed hat. Townsend said the borderers of 1834 wore "white wool hats with round crowns fitting tightly to the head; brims five inches wide and almost hard enough to turn a rifle ball."

Thomas Jefferson Farnham, a Vermont lawyer, probably a relative of the intrepid fur trader of an earlier period, arrived in St. Louis about 1839 and passed on. His avowed purpose was to take possession of Oregon under the United States flag and to resist the British fur companies. Farnham was accompanied by nineteen bold spirits. On the way out to his destination he met a trapper who was from New Hampshire and had been educated at Dartmouth. This college graduate, who had chosen the wilderness for his home, was dressed in deerskins and wore moccasins. He had not a shred of cloth on his person. Reaching Oregon, Farnham got up a memorial, which was signed by the seventy residents, to Congress asking that the United States take that region under its care.

When Fremont set out on the expedition which resulted in the acquisition of California, Jessie Benton Fremont remained in St. Louis. The secretary of war was James A. Porter, a Pennsylvanian. It was Mrs. Fremont's business to forward mail from St. Louis to Fremont at Leavenworth where the expedition was preparing to leave. Secretary Porter sent an order directing the lieutenant not to take a howitzer. Mrs. Fremont held the order at St. Louis. Fremont took the cannon and went on to the conquest of California. The moral effect of the cannon was very great. Fremont came back to St. Louis a national char-



Courtesy of James C Travilla

FOUNTAIN SQUARE



acter, to bear through the rest of his life the title of "The Pathfinder," to be chosen the first Republican nominee for president of the United States. He made great use of the opportunity to explore, but that opportunity came about through a conversation between President Tyler and Dr. Silas Reed, then surveyor general of Missouri. The President was trying to organize his Tyler party. Henry Clay would have none of it. Dr. Reed suggested to President Tyler that he might conciliate Senator Benton and obtain his support in the senate by doing something for Lieutenant John Charles Fremont. Although the young army officer had run away with the daughter, Dr. Reed argued that the senator would be pleased if Fremont was sent to explore the Rocky Mountains.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### WHEN ST. LOUISANS RODE

*Public Transit in 1813—The First Omnibus—From Old Market to Upper Ferry—Fare, One Bit—Evolution of the Street Car—Erastus Wells' Career—Rules of Success—Calvin Case, Backer of Young Men—Eleven Omnibus Lines Before the War—Sunday Issue of 1846—Omnibus Fare Boxes—Advent of the Street Car July 1, 1850—Opposition to Tracks in the Streets—Inaugural Trip out Olive Street—Rail and Flange Problems—St. Louis Gauge Accidental—Experimental Period of Car Construction—Bobtails and Double-enders—Steam Dummies Tried and Prohibited—Some Notable St. Louis Managers—Beginning of the Transfer System—'The Third Parallel Law'—Provisions of the Act of 1860—Disappearance of the Lafayette and Tower Grove Line—Street Railroad Activities of Julius S. Walsh—Five Elevated Projects—State Constitutional Bar of 1875—The Shaw Law—Costly Experiments with Cable—Popular Demand for More Rapid Transit—The Record Breaking Broadway Line—The Mistakes of Five Years—Storage Battery Trials—Era of the Trolley—St. Louis the Pioneer in Electrical Equipment—Overhead Wires on Probation—Public Approval Fairly Won—Progress Toward Heavier Rails and Larger Cars—Extension of the Transfer Privilege—Increased Travel and Increased Cost—Improvement in Operation.*

The running gear which was used for the first omnibus in St. Louis was built in the east for the government to be used in transportation across the plains. This running gear, with others, was shipped to St. Louis via New Orleans, was sunk in the river, was raised by my father's diving-bell boat and stored in his warehouse on Green street, near Main. One morning when I was thirteen years old, Erastus Wells, then a young man, came into my father's office, and after the usual salutation, said: "Captain, you have started McMurray, William Nelson Dudley and James B. Eads in business; now what can you do for me?" They came out of the office into the warehouse, and while walking there, my father's eyes fell upon the aforesaid running gear, and he said: "Erastus, you might start an omnibus line, as there are some nice running gears you can buy cheap." After figuring the cost over, young Wells said: "Captain, I have not capital enough, but if you will join me I will try it." The wagonmaker on North Second street was engaged to build the body. It was numbered 1. It was a crude affair, but was the nucleus of our present grand system of street railways.—*Recollection of George S. Case.*

Before 1843 St. Louis walked. Beginning with November, 1843, St. Louis rode. The first public transit was by omnibus. The enterprise was of such importance for the period that one of the newspapers noticed it editorially, saying:

"We observe that an omnibus has been started to run from the old market to the upper ferry. The fare, we understand, is one bit. This is a very reasonable charge for the distance, and the convenience of the vehicle will no doubt insure it a liberal support."

Public transit in St. Louis was by omnibus sixteen years. In 1859, the first horse car left Fourth and Olive streets at 10 a. m., the Fourth of July. Before it reached the present location of the postoffice, Eighth street, this pioneer car had been lifted back on the rails three times by the directors who were making the trial trip, the president of the company holding the reins. Between that date of modest beginning and 1886, a period of twenty-seven years, there were horse cars and horse cars, in variety ranging from bobtails to double deckers. In 1886, St. Louis people began to ride on the grip and the trailer of the cable. The year previous, in October, 1885, the fourth annual meeting of the American Street Railway association was held in St. Louis. More than one

hundred managers of street railways in the United States and Canada attended. They talked much and earnestly about the future of their business. They agreed that the horse car era was passing, that American cities were rapidly outgrowing that motive power. But what was to be the substitute. That was the problem. Strange to tell this generation, the sentiment of street railway management, only twenty-four years ago was decidedly against electricity. Almost unanimously these experts in street railway matters, assembled in St. Louis, agreed that the power which has since become of almost universal use for city transit was impracticable. They argued that for lines with sufficient travel to justify the investment, the cable was the coming power; the lines which could not afford the cable must get along with horses and mules.

An Indianapolis syndicate showed the way with a cable road from Sixth and Locust streets westward. Local companies followed, spending millions to cable Olive street, Broadway, Easton avenue and Fourth street. A little longer than a decade, St. Louis was jerked down town and up town by cable. Then came the trolley.

A farmer's boy of northern New York went to work in a store at Watertown for eight dollars a month. When he was nineteen, he had saved \$140. From the country west of the Mississippi and south of the Missouri, came tales of prosperity which seemed almost fabulous. The steamboat age was approaching its marvelous development. St. Louis was the focus of migration from the eastern states. The boy with \$140 heard of the opportunities. He made his journey, overland, by canal and by river. He was not twenty years old when he climbed the rough river landing and began the search for vocation in St. Louis. The year was 1843 and the month was September. Blood tells. By one line of descent, young Erastus Wells came from the Otis family of Massachusetts, patriots in the Revolution, framers of the organic act of the commonwealth and legislators through several generations. By another line, the family came from Hugh Welles, a Connecticut pioneer and ancestor to many notable citizens of that State. Erastus Wells tried several things after his arrival in St. Louis, while he studied the growing city and looked for the more permanent opportunity. Then occurred the conversation with Calvin Case and the decision to try an omnibus line. For \$75 each young Wells bought two horses, and began.

According to contemporary records, public opinion required some molding. Erastus Wells found that the community did not respond at once with enthusiasm to his enterprise. There was travel enough between the National hotel and the upper ferry. People did not prefer walking. But, the omnibus was a new proposition for the old St. Louis of 1844. "At first people were a little shy of it," said the newspaper account. "Some did not think it exactly a genteel way of traveling the streets. These scruples have entirely disappeared, and everybody now rides and is glad of the opportunity."

In the pioneer omnibus, which for nine months was the only rolling stock of the firm of Case & Wells, there was no skylight in the top through which to pass the fare. Driver and Conductor Wells got down from his seat and went around to the rear to collect the fare if the passenger did not tender the bit before he entered. At that time the strap for controlling the back door and for signaling to stop had not been invented.



During the first winter of the operation of the pioneer line from the National hotel to the North Market street ferry, there were half days when Mr. Wells drove over the route without a solitary passenger. While the ferry was the official terminus, the omnibus stopped in front of the "O. K." That was the name of a "coffee house" which stood near the river bank. In this place of refreshment persons waited for either the ferryboat or the omnibus. About a month after the Case & Wells line had been started, the horses, while standing in front of the "O. K.," took fright and ran away. They jumped over some logs. When the team was stopped, the top and several other parts of the omnibus were shattered. The line suspended about three weeks for repairs. Here was where the capitalist of the enterprise, Captain Case, perhaps proved the salvation of it. He encouraged Mr. Wells and footed the bills. The suspension was one of the best things that could have happened. While people did not take enthusiastically to the omnibus line and predicted failure the first few weeks, they missed the convenience while repairs were in progress. When Mr. Wells returned to the route with the restored omnibus, he was pleasantly greeted. Business picked up. The newspapers had something congratulatory to say about the reappearance of the "old reliable."

The present generation can hardly conceive of a demand for public transit on the route selected from Third and Market streets to the upper ferry. But in 1844 those were terminal points between which travel suggested the need of a line of public vehicles. The city was growing along the river. Expansion westward came later. The second bus line put on the streets ran southward from the National hotel to the arsenal.

The venture of Erastus Wells proved successful. Two conditions contributed to the success. Judgment as to the route was vindicated by the receipts. At the outset, Mr. Wells rigidly observed the schedule. At first he drove the bus and collected the fares. The hour and minute for departure from the National hotel and the upper ferry were established and adhered to. If when the time came to start Wells didn't have a passenger, he drove away as punctually and cheerfully as if he had a load. People going over the route learned that the time card could be depended upon. This, it is said, had as much as anything else to do in determining the gradually increasing patronage. Calvin Case went into the omnibus business with Mr. Wells extensively. Other lines were started. Never forgetting his earliest experience, Mr. Wells insisted after he became a manager of several lines, instead of a driver of one home-made omnibus, upon strictest observance of the schedules.

Several months, the best part of a year, the rolling stock of the first transit company of St. Louis consisted of the single omnibus. And that omnibus was very different from the vehicle known by the name to this generation. It had two small windows. The sides were protected by curtains, to be removed or rolled up when the weather was fair. The body was perched higher on springs than by the later concern.

The omnibus of 1844 was entered from a rear step and there was "always room for one more." Erastus Wells drove regularly the first two years. That regularity, as has been said, was the condition on which success depended to a considerable extent. For several months after Mr. Wells began to drive the

one omnibus of St. Louis, the fares averaged not more than \$2.50 a day. The fare was 12 1-2 cents, or, as Conductor Wells expressed it, in the vernacular of 1844, "one bit." If, at the end of the working day, which, in the case of the omnibus line, continued into the evening, Mr. Wells had carried twenty people between Market street and North Market street, he had done a fair business.

Evidently the St. Louis people only needed showing. Mr. Wells' object lesson was quickly effective when the first impression was overcome. By the middle of 1845, three north and south omnibus lines were running. Market street had a line out to Camp spring, just beyond where the Union station is now. The fifth line enabled the public to visit a suburban resort of that time, known as the Prairie House. Congratulatory mention was made by the press of the arrival of "a new and beautiful omnibus, manufactured in Troy, New York," to be placed in service by Case & Wells. Speaking of the popularity of the omnibus lines, a paper said: "All seem to be doing a flourishing and profitable business, and they prove to be a great convenience to persons residing in distant parts, and to those having business to attend to in remote parts of the city. They have contributed not a little to give an increase of value to real estate lying at a distance from the centre or business part of the city."

The omnibus lines were more than a convenience to the public. They stimulated home manufacture. Before the end of 1845, the city was congratulated on the appearance of an omnibus made in St. Louis. The maker was Theodore Salorgne who became one of the pioneers of St. Louis in carriage manufacture. The papers declared that the Salorgne omnibus was "in every respect equal to those used on the Case & Wells line," which were from the east. The St. Louis omnibus went into operation on Market street and Carondelet avenue.

After Case & Wells had demonstrated the fact that St. Louis would support omnibus lines, others went into the business. One of the lines was started on Franklin avenue by John C. Vogel. It was equipped with one omnibus and that was the identical vehicle with which Erastus Wells began. Vogel bought the pioneer omnibus for \$100. In five years Case & Wells had established a patronage which required from twelve to fifteen omnibuses. In 1850 a consolidation took place. Calvin Case, Erastus Wells, Robert McO'Blennis, and Lawrence Matthews formed a company and operated the united omnibus lines. They were enterprising. They put on a suburban line running between St. Louis and Belleville. One of the new lines was opened on Olive street to Seventeenth street. When the company had fully developed its plans, six principal lines were operated. They were equipped with ninety omnibuses. The motive power was supplied by 450 horses. Four stables were established. The number of men employed was 100. On the best traveled lines the omnibuses left the terminals every four minutes. On the other lines the departures from the terminals were every ten minutes. The business was not without competition. Luther Case put a line on Seventh street running south from Franklin avenue to Flora Garden, a down town resort. William Billings tried a line on Broadway, starting from Second and Market and running to Bremen. Competition brought about reduction of fare to five cents. The fares were collected by the driver, and were handed up through a hole in the roof of the omnibus just



HENRI CHOUTEAU MANSION  
(From Twelfth Street and Clark Avenue, Taken in 1870)



FOURTH STREET, FROM CHESTNUT  
(Looking North, Taken in 1870)



FIFTH STREET, FROM OLIVE  
(South, Taken About 1870)



MAIN STREET, FROM WALNUT  
(North, Showing Old Merchants' Exchange  
in 1870)



behind the driver's seat. A strap extending back from the driver, just under the roof, gave control of the door in the rear. This strap was pulled when a passenger wished to get out. Two rather high steps behind the omnibus enabled people to get in and out. But they were also very tempting to boys who dodged behind the omnibuses and stole rides. The drivers had whips with long lashes but this was only a partial means of protection against the boys. Somebody invented an addition to the door which projected downward over the two steps in such a manner as to make it impossible to stand or sit on the steps when the door was closed. This improvement was a kind of rear fender. It was of great interest to the youth of St. Louis when it made its first appearance on the omnibuses. The driver not only received the fare through the hole in the roof but he passed back the change and answered questions of passengers who were not quite certain where to get off. The lines originally established by Case & Wells were extended under the consolidation until they reached Carondelet on the south and Bissell's ferry on the north. St. Louis between 1850 and 1860 was very long on the river front and quite narrow from the river westward.

Two young men who became foremost citizens of St. Louis owed much to Captain Calvin Case. Erastus Wells was encouraged to push the development of the omnibus transit system. James B. Eads was started on the way to become a great engineer and to build the St. Louis bridge. Case, himself, was cut short in a career which promised to make him one of the most valuable citizens to the city. He came from New York state where he had learned shipbuilding. At eighteen years of age he turned out one of the finest schooners on Lake Ontario. Then he constructed and commanded steamboats on the Lakes. Coming west, he built two boats at the village of Chicago. In 1839, Captain Case took up his residence in St. Louis. He became the pioneer in a number of enterprises. The steamboat era was approaching its greatest development. St. Louisans bought and managed boats but up to that time had not built them. Captain Case started steamboat building at St. Louis. One of the first he turned out he called the Chicago. The mortality of steamboats was very heavy. Case undertook the raising and wrecking of boats. He introduced the diving bell on the Mississippi. Eads, who had been a steamboat clerk, went with Case and showed so much ingenuity in devising apparatus to improve the wrecking of sunken boats that he was made a junior partner by Case. One line of business was not sufficient for the active mind of Calvin Case. The firm of Case, Nelson & Eads was formed to build the first glass works, and to manufacture the first glass made west of the Mississippi river.

His other enterprises did not prevent ~~Case~~ Case from backing Erastus Wells in the omnibus system until the city of that day was supplied with that kind of public transportation. Captain Case was actively interested in the omnibus lines at the time of his death. He was one of those killed when the excursion train celebrating the extension of the Missouri Pacific railroad went through the bridge at Gasconade river.

Sunday observance was an issue of St. Louis politics in 1846. And the proposition was to "put the lid on," not saloons but the omnibus lines. The city was booming. Immigration was coming faster than ever known before. With certain elements of the population the Native American idea was popular.

Omnibus lines moving people about the city at all hours of the Sabbath shocked the anti-foreigners. The election went Native American. One of the earliest reforms instituted by the new municipal government was an ordinance limiting the running of the omnibuses to the earlier part of Sunday. The new law made it unlawful for an omnibus to be driven on the streets of St. Louis "on Sunday, after the hour of two o'clock of the afternoon, for the purpose of carrying passengers from point to point." The penalty, which held against owner, driver or manager, was \$25 for first offense, \$50 for second offense and \$100 for third offense. The ordinance applied to "omnibus or vehicle capable of containing more than four persons."

The comment of the press upon the anti-omnibus ordinance was sarcastic. In the Republican Colonel Chambers said:

The above is a fair specimen of the legislation of the Native American city council. The distinction drawn between the morning and evening of Sunday, making an act lawful if done before two o'clock p. m. and unlawful if done after that hour, the distinction between carriages that will hold four and those that will hold five persons, the allowing the rich and prodigal who can own or hire a carriage an unbounded latitude to ride and drive through the streets at all hours, while the laboring and less prodigal must not enjoy a ride, although it only costs a dime, is worthy of this enlightened age and the liberal spirit of the board that can sanction it.

When Calvin Case was killed in the Gasconade disaster of 1855 his partners dissolved the omnibus company and divided the property. The four omnibus lines which the company was operating were appraised. It was decided that the three surviving partners and the estate of Calvin Case should take, each, an omnibus line by lot. The distribution gave the Second street line to Lawrence Matthews, the Broadway line to Robert McO'Blennis, the Market and Olive street line to Erastus Wells and the Franklin avenue line to the Case estate.

Dr. George S. Case, the son of Calvin Case, bought the Franklin avenue omnibus line. He entered upon an active connection with the public transit facilities of St. Louis which lasted nearly forty years. Then a young student, George S. Case was one of the passengers on the first omnibus trip made in St. Louis with Erastus Wells as driver. He adopted medicine as his profession and before he graduated he startled the doctors at a meeting of the St. Louis Medical Society with a declaration of the existence of a cholera bacillus. That was shortly after the fearful cholera epidemic of 1849. Dr. Case, then not quite of age, not only made his point about the bacillus but he showed the doctors that men employed about the omnibus stables and other places where ammonia fumes abounded were immune.

When the horse car era came, Dr. Case had a line of seventeen omnibuses. He operated from Fourth street to Twenty-seventh street. The Citizens' railway company bought out the omnibus line for \$23,000. Dr. Case took half cash and half stock. He became a director in the Citizens. The road was built as two single track lines, one on Franklin avenue and one on Morgan street, the cars passing on switches. After awhile the two single tracks were joined at the ends and cars ran west on Franklin avenue and east on Morgan street. When the Union street railway was built, Dr. Case went into that, becoming a director. In 1870, Dr. Case built the Baden and St. Louis railroad. He was president of it until it was sold in 1894. During Dr. Case's administration the

Baden and St. Louis had the distinction of being the fastest horse railroad in the west if not in the United States. It maintained a schedule which gave it the record for rapid transit with horsepower.

In 1858, the last year of what has been called the omnibus era of St. Louis, eleven lines were running. The equipment was 145 omnibuses, although 87 was the minimum number in regular use. It is an interesting fact that the omnibus lines were on routes afterwards followed closely by the street car tracks. Market and Olive streets, and Franklin and Chouteau avenues were occupied by east and west lines. On Franklin avenue the omnibuses ran to 27th street, the terminus farthest west. But the greater part of the travel was on north and south lines. The route from Carondelet to Bissell's ferry was divided into four sections. Competition brought down the fare from one bit to one-half bit, or six and one-half cents, and then to five cents. In the last year of the omnibus era it was estimated that the omnibuses carried 14,000 people a day. The regular omnibuses earned from \$6 to \$9 a day. St. Louis had a population of 150,000.

The horses in the service numbered 681. The men employed were 218. Municipal regulation had been applied. On each omnibus operated was imposed an annual license fee of \$30. The distance covered by the principal lines was eleven and one-half miles. Under influence of competition the omnibuses underwent much improvement. These of 1858 were very different from the carryall with which Erastus Wells opened the omnibus era. They had glass windows along the sides, landscapes on the yellow bodies, and fair faces on the doors. They cost \$650 delivered in St. Louis by eastern manufacturers, or \$50 to \$75 more if made in St. Louis.

Introduction of fare boxes came about 1858 with the spread of the omnibus system in St. Louis. The fare box was the invention of a man named Slawson, of New Orleans. It made him a fortune. A St. Louis newspaper described the innovation:

By the use of this ingenious contrivance, the proprietors are always sure of getting their money, and the drivers are always free from the suspicion of embezzlement. The lines adopting the fare box pay from four to eight dollars a month more to drivers, than do those which do not adopt it. The latter pay about twelve dollars a month and board, and the former from sixteen to twenty dollars and board. Those lines which use the fare boxes have rules which they require every driver to sign before hiring him. Should any driver be detected in receiving into his hands money or tickets tendered by passengers, or should he fail to cause the same to be put, without touching it himself, into the box, he is immediately discharged. The driver is not allowed to smoke a cigar or pipe while driving, and he must keep sober and pay strict attention to business. The arrangement is one, we think, into which the proprietors of all lines must eventually come. The price of the fare boxes is twenty-five dollars apiece.

Men and women only fifty-three years old saw the first street car in St. Louis. To be sure, they were infants in arms and may not remember that exciting event, but they were here. The semi-centennial anniversary of the opening of the first street railroad in this city came in 1909. The Fourth of July of 1859 was the day. Olive street was the scene. The inaugural trip took place at ten o'clock in the morning and was attended with great enthusiasm. The newspaper account described this first "horse-car" as "a beautiful vehicle, light elegant and commodious, built with fifteen others of the same style for the Missouri railroad company." The place of manufacture was Philadelphia. The

cost was \$900. Plans for the opening nearly miscarried owing to the delay in the arrival of the car. On the morning of the 3rd of July the Ohio & Mississippi railroad agent sent word to the street railroad people that the first car was in East St. Louis. In those days the task of getting a street car down the bank of the Illinois side, upon a ferry boat and then up the St. Louis Levee was formidable. But the man who drove the first omnibus in St. Louis was at the head of the street railroad enterprise. The "horse-car," as the papers called it was on the track at Fourth and Olive streets before ten o'clock the morning of the Fourth. The directors of the company took the seats. President Erastus Wells stood on the front platform holding the lines over the crack team, hitched to the pole, "which," as the reporter explained in his description of the car, "can readily be shipped to either end of the car."

Only the newspaper account of the first trip of the first street car seen in St. Louis, published at the time, can properly present the scene:

Mr. E. Wells, president of the road, then took the reins, and after a jerk or two the first car moved slowly but steadily up the track, amidst loud shouts and cheers from the crowd. Troops of urchins followed in its wake, endeavoring to hang on, and we fear unless this is prevented in future serious accidents may occur. The center of the track, or footpath, being macadamized, and not sufficiently settled, small pieces of rock being detached constantly by the horses' feet, and falling upon the track materially retarded the progress of the car, in several cases throwing it from the track. The switches, or turnouts, too, require some alteration, as they do not answer entirely the purpose intended. Several times the car failed to run upon the track intended, and a general backing out was found necessary before the car could proceed. But after various delays of this nature the car arrived at Tenth street, the track having been cleared of stone only that distance. The horses were then attached to the other end, and the return trip progressed, and after but few delays, the track being much improved by the first trip, the pioneer car arrived at Fourth street, where it was again greeted by a large crowd of persons, each waiting an opportunity for a free ride. During the progress of the car through the streets, its presence was greeted by hundreds of fair faces beaming from every window and door, while shouts of joy from scores of urchins heralded its approach. The first trip has proved the enterprise a complete success, and at each subsequent trip, which was made with the car crowded to repletion, fresh laurels were won, as the horses pulled the enormous load without apparent effort.

The Missouri railroad company, which built this first street railroad in St. Louis, had been authorized by act of the legislature in 1855, but the company was not formed until 1859, when the ordinance passed the city council. There were two sides to the question of permitting street railroads in St. Louis. Omnibuses were considered good enough by many people. Just as there had been those who doubted if it was quite the thing to patronize omnibuses in 1844, so in 1858-9 opposition to street cars was manifested. People who lived within easy walking distance of the business center urged that horse railroads were not needed, that they would blockade the narrow streets, that property fronting on streets occupied by the tracks would be damaged, that the noise would prevent sleep at night and wear upon nerves in the daytime. The opposition to the street railroads even became a subject of action by mass meetings. Citizens of the Second and Third wards especially were active, declaring in resolutions against the movement to grant occupation of the streets by railroad tracks.

So spirited was the controversy over horse cars that Dr. Adam Hammer in addressing a mass meeting of the First ward criticised the citizens of the

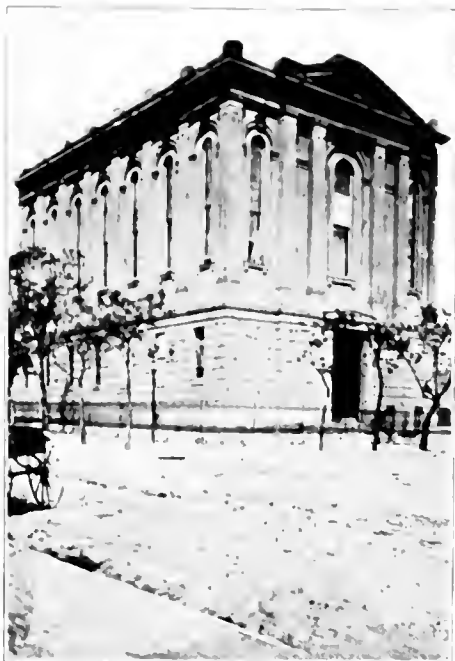




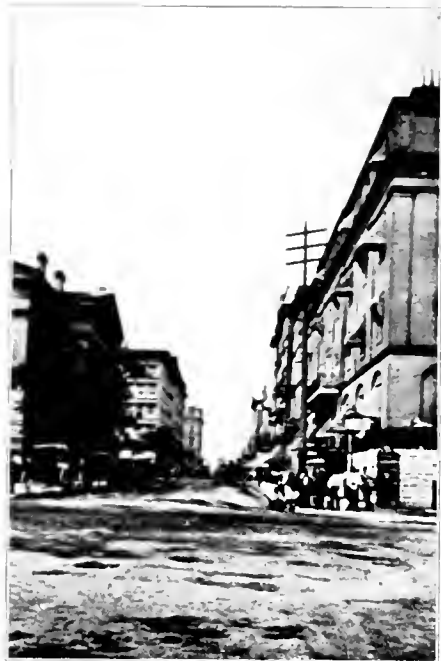
OLD LINDELL HOTEL.  
(On Washington Avenue, in 1880)



FOURTH STREET, FROM OLIVE  
(North). Taken in 1870



OLD POPE COLLEGE  
(Seventh and Clark Avenue, 1870)



CHESTNUT STREET, FROM FOURTH  
West, Showing Courthouse on the Left and Old  
Planters' Hotel on Right. Taken in 1870



Second and Third wards, "ascribing the disaffection there to the influence of a few politicians who had axes to grind." The resolutions, "adopted by a large vote," demanded "the granting of the right of way for one track on Carondelet avenue and one on Seventh street, and such other necessary facilities to city railway companies as will contribute to the speedy completion of the roads, limiting them, however, to passenger traffic alone, and surrounding them with such proper and wholesome restrictions as will insure the safety and convenience of the public."

When Erastus Wells began to lay the first street railroad track in St. Louis, he faced a problem. The rail was flat, with one side an inch or so higher than the other. Should the higher half be the inside or outside of the track? That was the question which the pioneer street railroad builders faced. After an exhaustive discussion, Mr. Wells concluded that the best of the argument was with those who claimed the higher part should be inside and that the wheel tread should be outside. The track was so laid with the result that, on the inaugural trip, the directors were compelled to get out and repeatedly lift the car on the track. For several months the Olive street cars were run with the rails in that position, the wagon tread facing outwardly. The cars could not be kept on the track for any considerable distance. Mr. Wells tore up the rails and laid them with the higher half on the outside. The cars were kept on the rail. The Citizens' company had followed the experiment of the Missouri and had laid the wrong side out. This company had not started cars when the Missouri company reversed the rails; it promptly tore up its rails and relaid them the other way. On Broadway, or Fifth street as it was then, the rails were laid wrong side out. But instead of tearing up the rails and relaying them, the St. Louis Railroad company fixed the car axles so that the flange of the wheels ran on the inside of the rails. This method of operation was continued for years on Fifth street, the wagon tread being on the outside, while on the other roads the reverse was the condition.

St. Louis came to have a street gauge of its own. It differed from steam railway gauge by an arbitrary inch and one-half. There is no engineering explanation for this difference. The St. Louis gauge came about by accident. According to good authority the intentions of the early builders of street railways was to lay the tracks to conform to the standard steam railroad gauge of four feet, eight and one-half inches. The oldest street railway tracks of St. Louis were put down under the misapprehension ~~as to~~ where the wheel tread should be. They were so poorly laid that they spread. The wheels were pressed out on the axles to keep them on the tracks. When new rails, a few at a time were put down, they were given a gauge to correspond to the width between the wheels. An average of four feet, ten inches, was thus established by practice as the street railway gauge of St. Louis. In 1860 the Legislature declared four feet and ten inches to be the legal gauge of street railways in St. Louis. Later, by ordinance, the city established the shape of the rail head and provided that the lower flange must be on the inside. In the pioneer period some of the rails used on the streets of St. Louis were brought from England. Later, when the iron industry of this vicinity developed, rails were rolled for St. Louis street roads by Chouteau, Harrison & Valle and by the Tudor iron works. It would

be difficult to describe the many kinds of rails tried upon the streets of St. Louis, in the continuous effort to find the best. In weight and in shape these rails widely varied. At first stringers were put down on cross ties. Then rails of sufficient weight took the place of stringers and the ties were placed closer together.

St. Louis has not been slow in dealing with problems of public transit. This was one of the first of American cities to introduce horse cars. Even earlier than that, the omnibus line of Erastus Wells on Olive and Market streets was considered one of the best equipped in respect to rolling stock and horses in the country. The brick stable was said to be a model. When, in 1882, horse cars ran on 119 miles of track, the city was so well provided with street railroad facilities that several of the companies were in the hands of receivers and not half of the mileage was paying a fair per cent on the money actually invested. It is said that during the period of horse car operation in St. Louis only one line continuously paid dividends. That was the Olive street line. Stockholders in some of the other lines tried to give away their shares. One day the porter of a mercantile establishment came into the Lindell office at Twenty-second street and Washington avenue and presented an order for the transfer of a block of stock to himself. The order was signed by the man's employer. The matter was referred to the executive officer of the road who sent back word to the stockholder if he would look at the by-laws of the company he would discover stock could not be transferred so long as there was an assessment unpaid. Those were days which tried street railroad men's bank accounts. John Scullin ran a street railroad in St. Louis at a loss of \$100 a day for many months. The receipts not only did not pay the interest on bonds or dividends on stock but fell \$100 a day short of meeting the operating expenses.

Cars went through the experimental stage. The earliest were for two horses. They had bodies fourteen and sixteen feet long. The horses were attached to a tongue, which was dropped loose at the end of the line and dragged around to the other end. There was another style of car the body of which was on a pivot in the center. At the end of the line, the pivot was raised and the car body was swung around, the trucks remaining on the tracks. Then came the adoption of the bobtail car, drawn by one horse. This car was from ten to twelve feet long with a platform in front and a step behind. The passenger put the fare in a box at the front end of the car. Manufacture of street cars became a St. Louis industry. Street railroad managers stood over the street car manufacturer. Maximum strength with minimum weight was the vital principle. Where an inch or an ounce could be spared, without loss to carrying capacity, it was eliminated. At one period bobtail cars exclusively were operated on the Olive and Washington avenue lines. When two-horse cars, with double platforms and conductors were put on in place of the bobtails, the patrons felt that they were obtaining metropolitan conveniences. Occasionally enterprise took the form of eccentricity. In 1874 the Northwestern, as it was then, afterwards the Mound City, put on a two-story car, or a double-decker as the newspapers called it. A spiral staircase on the rear platform gave access to the second story. The double-decker was a fair weather car. It did not last long. Steam dummies were put on Grand avenue and Easton avenue west of Grand. They

frightened the horses of the farmers coming to town. They were prohibited by the county court.

The St. Louis railroad was one of half a dozen transit enterprises which received franchises in the early part of 1859. The incorporators included names of men who were prominent in their generation. Among them were Hudson E. Bridge, the stove manufacturer, identified with the early history of the Missouri Pacific railroad; D. A. January, a wholesale merchant; Robert A. Barnes who gave a fortune to found a hospital; James H. Lucas, who presented to the city Missouri Park; John How, twice mayor of St. Louis; and George R. Taylor. David H. Armstrong, in his early life a schoolmaster and afterwards a United States senator was the first president of the St. Louis railroad. He was followed by D. A. January and Hudson E. Bridge. Then William Tecumseh Sherman, who had resigned his commission in the regular army and who had conducted the San Francisco branch of the St. Louis bank of James H. Lucas & Co., took the presidency and the active management of this street railroad for a short time before Civil war. After General Sherman the presidents of the Broadway line in turn were David H. Armstrong, again; Hudson E. Bridge, John O'Fallon Farrar, John F. Madison, Robert A. Barnes and Christian Peper. Mr. Peper served as president of the Broadway line twenty-five years, declining any salary. He made it one of the most profitable lines of street railroad in the country. When in 1888, the road was turned over to a purchasing syndicate of Chicago men and C. B. Holmes was made president, the stock was selling at about \$175 and there was \$250,000 of the mortgage bonds in the treasury. The Broadway line of horse cars took the place of two omnibus lines, one running south, the other north from the center of the city. People had been accustomed to this division of traffic. The St. Louis Railroad company divided the Broadway line into two parts and operated from the court house north and south as two roads. In 1869 the city council passed an ordinance requiring the company to run cars through from end to end instead of the old arrangement of turning back at the court house.

The associates of Erastus Wells in the incorporation of the Missouri railroad were William M. Morrison, Marshall Brotherton, Dr. William Van Zandt, James H. Parker, and Alfred A. Henry. The company built tracks on Market street and Olive street in 1859. The Olive street track stopped at Seventeenth street. The Market street track reached Twelfth street that year. Mr. Wells held the presidency from the beginning, through his ten years in Congress and until 1881, when he disposed of the control.

The Union Depot street railway had its inception under the name of the Gravois railway in 1859. It was promoted by men interested in the southern and southwestern parts of the city. Construction was begun in 1862 and made some progress during the war. The road was not profitable. It served a section that needed facilities but could not supply paying support. A foreclosure and sale put the property in the possession of Green Erskine who had large real estate holdings in that part of the city and Thatcher S. Johnson. Major C. C. Rainwater improved and extended the road. The road was sold again in 1876 to the Union Depot railroad company composed of John Scullin and his associates. Extensions were built and a great deal of money was invested. The

company saw little return for the enterprise until the road was converted into an electric system. The Gravois and its successor, the Union Depot, were built far in advance of the population to be served. Those who put in the capital were obliged to wait many years before returns came. The Union Depot company under Mr. Scullin's management took over the operation of the Bellefontaine, the Mound City and the Grand avenue. To John Scullin, more than to any other street railroad manager the people of St. Louis owed the development of the transfer system.

In 1874 a franchise was granted to the Carondelet Railway company. Vide Poche had lost its municipal identity and had become a part of the city of St. Louis. Among the original incorporators were John C. Kelly, a leading civil engineer; Fred L. Garesche, Abraham McHose, William L. Ewing, Jr., afterwards mayor. The road under the franchise obtained by these citizens extended from Chippewa street south on Carondelet avenue to Carondelet. Two years later the South St. Louis railway company acquired the rights of the Carondelet company and two years after that was authorized by ordinance to build to Sixth and Market streets. In 1884 the name was changed to the Southern and in 1894 to the Southern Electric. This road had as presidents I. C. Terry, Pierre Chouteau, Theo. Plate, William C. Lange, T. J. Minary, E. R. Coleman, W. L. Johnson, Claude Kilpatrick.

The Union railway was authorized in 1859 but was not built until after the close of the Civil war. The franchise was granted to Charles D. Coleman, C. D. Blossom, William F. Saltmarsh, Henry M. Blossom and Charles W. Horn. In 1875 the Union road reached the Fair grounds. The down town terminus was Fourth and Locust streets. B. Gratz Brown was president of the Union for a time.

The associates of George S. Case in the incorporation to build the Baden and St. Louis railroad were men of wealth having their homes and extensive interests in the northern suburbs of the city. Among them were Robert McLaran, Robert Jennings, B. M. Chambers, Jacob Bittner, John T. Walter, John H. Reel, J. H. Lamotte. The road was sold in 1892 to the St. Louis, or Broadway.

The Lindell, which took Washington avenue for its main stem, was not one of the half dozen before-the-war transit enterprises. The incorporators obtained a franchise in 1864. They began construction late in the year but the road did not get fairly into operation until the spring of 1867. The incorporators were among the most prominent citizens of St. Louis. Most of them lived in the western part of the city near the line of the road. They were John H. Lightner, Wayman Crow, Dwight Durkee, Levin H. Baker, John M. Krum, Daniel R. Garrison, William Patrick, Joshua Cheever, Bernard Crickhard, William D'Oench, Charles K. Dickson, William Meyer and Morris Taussig. The presidents of the Lindell were John H. Maxon, Robert McCulloch, J. H. Lightner and George D. Capen. The Lindell was late in starting but its management developed great enterprise in building extensions and branches. The territory claimed by other lines was invaded and competition became lively if not profitable. The Lindell operated Taylor avenue and Compton Heights lines. It acquired the Clayton line and the Midland line in the suburbs. It was the anaconda of street car corporations.

WASHINGTON AVENUE, WEST FROM KING'S HIGHWAY







The original Bellefontaine line came as near paralleling the Broadway as the old "three blocks law" would permit. It followed the up town course of the Broadway at the legal distance or a little more. In 1864 the franchise was granted. Cars ran in 1866. In 1876 the Bellefontaine was sold under foreclosure. In 1890, the road was bought by James Campbell and in 1893 was sold to the Union Depot system. It was not for want of strong presidents that the Bellefontaine did not do well in the early period. The presidents were John M. Krum, the ex-mayor; Richard Shackelford, George H. Chase, Charles Parsons, and J. G. Chapman. Eventually the Bellefontaine became the second longest division in the United Railway system forming a great arc fifteen miles long.

"The third parallel law" had much to do with transit projects of St. Louis. It was passed by the legislature fifty years ago. It prohibited the construction of parallel street railroads within three blocks of each other. When the law was taken to the supreme court of Missouri on a test case the interpretation given to it was important. On its face the law seemed to be designed primarily to prevent close competition. The supreme court did not so regard it. The court said:

The provisions of the Act of 1860, prohibiting the construction of parallel roads within three blocks of each other, were primarily intended as police regulations, incidentally affording a qualified exemption from competition to the roads coming within the scope of the act.

The court sustained the law treating it as a protection to the citizens no less than to the railroad company. The effect of the law in the long run was excellent. It resulted in a wide and general distribution of street railroad facilities. There is no other large city in the country where so large a proportion of the population lives within two hundred yards of street car lines. Ninety per cent of the residents of St. Louis reside not farther than three blocks from street cars. The average St. Louis business man has been educated to take a street car within two minutes' walk of his house door. And the third parallel law is the cause of it. The map of St. Louis was studied and studied by the street railroad builders until it obtained the present net work condition.

The Act of 1860 was peculiar. It confirmed to the St. Louis railroad company, the People's railway and the Citizens' the enjoyment of the franchises under which they were operating. These were the Broadway, the Fourth and Chouteau avenue and the Franklin avenue lines. It declared that "no street railroad shall hereafter be constructed within the City of St. Louis nearer to a parallel road than the third parallel street from any road now constructed, or which may hereafter be constructed, except the roads hereinbefore mentioned."

Several times the supreme court was called upon to interpret the third parallel law. The decisions enforced the law "on the ground that it was designed for the benefit of the public and to preserve their use of two streets out of three from being disturbed or interrupted by the laying down and operation of street railroads; that this law was an exercise of the police power of the State for the benefit of the city of St. Louis and to protect certain of its streets from invasion by street cars." When, of later years bills were pending in the municipal assembly to grant franchises to elevated roads, opposing property holders in-

voked the third parallel law, claiming that it applied to elevated as well as to surface street railroads.

The first street railroad company which received a franchise from St. Louis did not build. Quite appropriately the promoters gave to their enterprise the title of "the Laclède Railroad company." The terms of the franchise serve to recall the time when St. Louis was an aggregation of separate communities. By the ordinance the stockholders of the Laclède company were "authorized to construct their railroad in the city of St. Louis, from the city of Bremen, on Ninth street, to Howard street or Cass avenue, thence on Howard street or Cass avenue to Seventh street, thence on Seventh street to Carondelet avenue, and thence on Carondelet avenue to the southern limits of the city of St. Louis, with a double track for the entire distance." The southern limit of the city was then a short distance below the arsenal. This ordinance was approved in the winter of 1856. The road was not built. Three years later, when the epidemic of horse railroad construction came, franchises for routes were granted without regard to the Laclède.

In the consolidations and rearrangements of the street railways, only one of the original enterprises was annihilated. In 1866, Compton Hill was coming into recognition as a high class residence district of St. Louis. It wanted horse car communications with the business center. A franchise was obtained for the Tower Grove and Lafayette railroad. The original incorporators were men of large property interests in the southwestern suburbs. They were H. N. Switzer, John J. Roe, the pork packer and steamboat owner; James B. Eads, the bridge builder; C. K. Dickson, and John S. Cavender, one of the principal real estate men of that generation. The road was built and opened in 1866. It did not reach the terminus which the incorporators contemplated. The tracks were laid on Third and Second streets to the arsenal. That part of the proposed line was operated several years. A single track was laid on Lafayette avenue from Second Carondelet avenue to Grand avenue and a lonely bobtail went over the route to Compton Hill every fifteen minutes. Before the two ends of the Lafayette and Tower Grove were tied together the People's company came in and absorbed the unfinished and unprofitable line. The downtown tracks along Third street were torn up and the cars connected with the People's at Chouteau avenue and came over Fourth street to Morgan. For a number of years little green cars were operated from Morgan street to the arsenal, as a division of the People's. The latter connected with and subsequently absorbed the line out Lafayette avenue to Grand. It would have been a roundabout way for Compton Hill people to reach the shopping and office district by way of Second and Third streets to Olive. The city began growing away from the original route of the Tower Grove and Lafayette railroad almost from the year of its incorporation. In 1888 the Fourth street and Arsenal railway was authorized by ordinance to acquire the rights and privileges of the Tower Grove and Lafayette. An electric system was put in and trolley cars were operated. In 1891 an accumulation of gas blew up the Mill creek sewer at Third and Chouteau avenue. The tracks were scattered. When the sewer was restored and the tracks were relaid the suspension of operation continued for some time. In 1896 poles were put up and wires strung. Electric cars were

put on the road. They did not run long. Operation was unprofitable and was discontinued. Later the franchise became a subject of controversy when the growth of manufacturing created a demand for steam railroad facilities. Some of the most experienced street railroad managers of the city handled the Arsenal line at different periods. The first president of the road was G. W. Dreyer. Then followed in succession J. H. Lightner, who at one time was presiding justice of the county court before the separation of the city and county; James H. Britton, a resident of the Lafayette Park neighborhood and president of the National Bank of the State of Missouri; J. R. Lionberger, at one time president of the Third National; Daniel E. Walsh, Julius S. Walsh and Charles Green.

The People's obtained a franchise in 1859. The promoters had great faith in the future of the Lafayette Park neighborhood. And that faith was not misplaced. The incorporators were some of the best known financiers and business men of the decade before the Civil war. They were Robert M. Renick, the banker; Barton Able, the close friend of Francis P. Blair and of B. Gratz Brown; Peter L. Foy, one of the proprietors of the St. Louis Dispatch; Hiram Crittenden, John H. Lightner, J. B. Siekles and John S. Cavender. The route authorized was from Fourth and Morgan, along Fourth street, Chouteau avenue, St. Ange and Park avenues to Lafayette Park. The road was built immediately. It went into operation in the fall of 1859. The first president was Robert M. Renick. In the early days of horse railroads the People's was one of the most promising from the investment point of view. Because of its desirability the stock changed hands. Consolidation with the Lafayette and Tower Grove to protect its territory put a load on the People's as originally planned. Later the Union Depot line cut into the business. In 1889 the People's line was cabled. This added greatly to the investment burden. In 1897, the road having failed to pay interest on its bonds, was placed in the hands of a receiver. The presidents of the People's, in succession after Mr. Renick, were G. W. Dreyer, J. H. Lightner, James H. Britton, John R. Lionberger, Daniel E. Walsh, Julius S. Walsh, and Charles Green.

Three families have had much to do with the transit problems of St. Louis,—Erastus and Rolla Wells, the Cases and the Walshes. Three generations of the Walsh family were identified with the development of transit facilities. The Citizens' railway was authorized in 1859. One of the principal stockholders was Edward Walsh, whose name headed the list of incorporators. Associated with Mr. Walsh were Henry T. Blow, afterward Minister to Brazil; B. Gratz Brown, nominee for vice president in 1872; James B. Eads, the eminent engineer; George S. Case, son of Calvin Case, builder of the first steamboat at St. Louis; John Doyle, Cary Gratz, William J. King and B. Crickard. The association was a remarkable one. The first president was B. Gratz Brown. He was followed by James B. Eads, Alton R. Easton, for whose family Easton avenue was named; and Julius S. Walsh.

Of all who have been connected with the transit facilities of St. Louis, Julius S. Walsh has had the most comprehensive experience. Edward Walsh, coming to St. Louis in the late twenties, prospered in merchandising and milling. He put his profits into steamboats, steam railroads, horse railroads, banks and insurance companies. His faith in the future of St. Louis was very strong.

When he died in 1866, he was largely interested in street railroads. Julius S. Walsh, educated to be a lawyer, gave his attention to the varied interests left by his father. Street railway management and development appealed to him strongly. In 1870, Julius S. Walsh became president of the Citizens' and of the Fair Grounds and Suburban. He was at later periods president of the People's, the Tower Grove and Lafayette railway companies. In 1873, Mr. Walsh became president of the Union street railway. In 1885 he built the Northern Central and about the same time acquired the control of the Cass avenue and Fair Grounds. The St. Louis street railway companies of which Julius S. Walsh was the head at that time operated seventy-five miles of track.

There was a rush of street railroad building in St. Louis just before the Civil war. During the war, these enterprises were not active. But war alone could discourage the dealing in transit problems of St. Louis. Panics cut little figure in the calculations of street railroad promoters. In the winter of 1874, when the financial troubles of 1873 were still fresh in the public mind, adventurous spirits projected the Northwestern. The railroad was built to the northwestern part of the city in 1874. The first president was William F. Wernse. In a short time the road went into the hands of a receiver. The affairs were straightened out by James Campbell. In the summer of 1876 the Mound City company was organized and authorized to acquire the franchise. Under the Mound City reorganization John Scullin became the president of the road.

The Cass Avenue and Fair Grounds railway was another enterprise which was put forward on the heels of the panic of 1873. A franchise was granted. The building of the road was pushed. At that time, 1874, the city was building up rapidly in the northwest. Both the Cass Avenue and the Mound City went after the new traffic. The first president of the Cass Avenue line was William K. Patrick. The stock changed hands. W. R. Allen succeeded Mr. Patrick. Capital has never been timid about taking hold of transit problems in St. Louis. Horse, cable and trolley cars have been operated in advance of profitable conditions. Street railroads have been built in St. Louis for future rather than for immediate needs. Twice have capitalists come in strength from other cities to show St. Louis how to solve transit problems. They have retired in some disorder.

In 1882 the horse car lines were approaching the maximum of efficiency. St. Louis had at that time 119 miles of track. The equipment consisted of 496 cars and 2,280 horses. The employes numbered 1,010. The lines transported 19,600,000 people in a year. Agitation for rapid transit became active and importunate. St. Louis papers told their readers what the cable was doing for San Francisco. Chicago and Indianapolis were introducing the new system. Mechanical motive power in place of horses and mules was demanded. The elevated projects took on some enthusiasm and promoters were busy with schemes.

Every movement for an elevated railroad started in St. Louis aroused strong antagonism. When the franchise of the Rapid Transit Railway company was obtained, there was immediate organization to fight it. The St. Joseph Convent of Mercy, located on Morgan street, brought action to restrain the company. Evidence was taken. The case was argued. Briefs were filed. An array

of lawyers appeared for the convent, including Lee and Ellis, Smith P. Galt and Sim T. Price. Before any decision was rendered the company failed to comply with the ordinance and the movement ended. Prominent in the enterprise were the Scotts of Kansas City. They were real estate men who had participated in the boom period of that city. Coming to St. Louis, the Scotts acquired, with their associates, by purchase or option, considerable tracts of ground in what were then the outskirts of the city. Later the Scotts returned to Kansas City and one of them became the postmaster there.

If the road as contemplated twenty-one years ago had been built it would be today small help toward solution of the transit problems of St. Louis. Third and Washington avenue was the starting point. The main stem was on Morgan street from Third to Twenty-third street. From Morgan street the central branch went down Jefferson avenue to Chouteau avenue, over Ohio avenue to Park avenue, west on Park to the New Manchester road, which is in the immediate vicinity of Shaw's Garden. From the Manchester road the route was westward and northwestward to the city limits near West End Heights or the southwest corner of Forest Park. There was to be a northern branch from Twenty-second and Morgan to and beyond the Fair Grounds and a southern branch down Ohio avenue to Carondelet. The legal obstacles proved to be formidable.

The framers of the present constitution of Missouri a third of a century ago took what the lawyers called "an advanced position" for the protection of the individual against the corporation. They went farther than the constitution makers of many states. They framed provisions which bore directly upon the transit problems of St. Louis. The Missouri constitution of 1865 was modeled upon the general provisions applicable to uses of private property for public purposes. That instrument, in its first article, provided:

"No private property ought to be taken or applied to public use without just compensation."

This was the common form of protection. The statutes of 1865, as was the practice of the states, set forth the method for determination of the value of private property taken for public use and also secured the payment to the private property holder.

The constitution of 1875 was quite different from that of 1865, the place of which it took. The constitution of 1875 was framed by men of independent views and considerable originality of thought. It did not follow closely the constitutions of other states. It contained provisions which were distinctive. The framers exalted the individual and put the curb on the corporation. The framers enlarged the protection to private property. The Missouri constitution of 1875 declared:

"Private property shall not be taken or damaged for public use without just compensation."

The constitution of 1875 went even farther than this declaration. It prescribed that the just compensation must be paid in advance of the taking or the damage of private property. The compensation, the constitution declared, should be ascertained "in such manner as may be prescribed by law, and until the same shall be paid to the owner, the property shall not be disturbed, or the proprietary rights of the owner therein divested."

The statutes as revised in 1879 made provision of the method for ascertaining "just compensation" for property to be taken, but not for property damaged. In 1887 the Legislature enacted the Shaw law to supplement the revised statutes of 1879 and to provide the method of ascertaining just compensation for private property damaged for public use. The law stipulated that before an elevated road can be built the damage it may be to private property "shall be paid to the owner, or into the court for the owner, before his property shall be disturbed or his proprietary rights therein divested."

One section of the Shaw law defined what was meant by damages. It said: "Damages in this act is hereby defined to be the depreciation in the value of the property that may result from the construction and operation of the proposed railroad."

Five movements toward elevated railroads in St. Louis have made some progress. Engineers have worked out the plans. Once the franchise was granted by the municipal assembly. Three times elevated railroads have been built upon the map. At Third street and Washington avenue many years ago, with due formality the concrete foundation for the first pier of an elevated railroad was put in, while those assembled about the hole in the ground exchanged congratulations. Construction did not go beyond that. Capitalists abroad became interested in the St. Louis field to the extent that they sent an expert to make a thorough examination in 1891. John R. Thomas, for many years a member of Congress from the Cairo district of Illinois, acted as financial agent. This was his explanation of the failure of the project:

A syndicate was formed which was prepared to find all the money. It was backed by manufactrners who made a conditional contract to deliver the material necessary for the construction of the road on the Levee at St. Louis at a price far below the estimate. The steel was to have been shipped from Antwerp to New Orleans and thence up the river. The contracts were all drawn up and signed, and the only condition was a favorable report by two experts, one of whom was selected by the Belgian capitalists, and the other by me. The Belgians selected for their expert, Mons. Le Sage, one of the best known engineers in Europe. I had no complaint to make as to the selection, Le Sage's reputation being of the highest. I selected as my representative on the inspection and investigation, Edward Bates Dersey, the celebrated New York engineer, and upon the report of these two men the fate of the project rested. I advanced the money required for the investigation with the most absolute confidence, and they started off with the blue prints, reports and other documents. It was expressly stipulated by the agents of the investors that the investigators should visit St. Louis incognito. It was desired that the gentlemen should form an opinion as to the reasonableness of the project and the probabilities of its paying, not upon the estimates of St. Louis people, but upon their own individual judgment alone. This stipulation was observed, and the two engineers went to St. Louis, stopping for about a week at the Southern Hotel. They drove in carriages over the proposed route and the intersecting streets, and then in order to make their investigation thorough in every detail, they rode from terminus to terminus of every street railway in the city. As I understand, they asked no assistance or advice, but just made a cold-blooded examination of the situation as it presented itself to them. Their report was unanimous, and it knocked me out, the elevated road dying with my hopes of a good-sized fortune for my services in engineering the deal. There was no appeal from the report, it being really a part of the contract, and so far as I was concerned the matter was at an end. I have long since washed my hands of the entire transaction, and turned over every paper bearing upon it. But I remember the purport well. The report began by confirming my statements and went on to verify the blue prints and to speak highly of the prospects of St. Louis, and of the excellence of the proposed route. Then it demolished the hopes it had built

MIDDLE BOULEVARD STRAIGHT TO FOREST PARK







up by an arbitrary statement to the effect that St. Louis was better equipped with surface roads than any other city in the world; that the said surface roads provided ample accommodation for present travel and all that might be expected in the near future, and that it would be folly to invest \$7,000,000 in an elevated road in view of this fact.

St. Louis companies went into cable railroad construction with courage and energy worthy of better results. The St. Louis, Cable and Western, as it was called, began operation in 1886. Within five years it had fallen into such uncertain ways that advantage was taken of the permit to turn it into an electric road. The franchise obtained by the Indianapolis company granted the right to build from Sixth and Locust to Vandeventer. The power house was located on Franklin and Channing. Beyond Vandeventer, connection was made with the former narrow gauge steam railroad built by Erastus Wells to Florissant. For two or three years the cable road did a great deal of summer business. Kensington Garden was established at Union avenue. Spectacular and pyrotechnic exhibitions were given. The pleasure travel was enormous during two or three summers. From the patrons of the horse cars arose importunate demand for rapid transit. Although the first cable road proved anything but reliable, other companies, in 1887 and 1888, let contracts for cabling their lines. About the time the Locust street cable began to show signs of wearing out, the other cable lines were starting. The Franklin avenue cable was built from Fourth street to King's Highway and from Easton avenue to the Fair Grounds. Cable cars began running in November, 1887. The operation was so irregular and unsatisfactory that in January following the horse cars were put back into service. During the winter and well into the spring the overhauling of the Easton avenue line went on. Not until May were the cable cars tried again.

Twenty-three years ago, in February, 1888, the first electric railroad in this country went into operation. It was in Richmond, Indiana. Up to that time electricity applied as a mechanical motor had been in the experimental stage. Worse than that, many inventors guarded rigidly against publicity of their efforts, the effect of which was to give the fakir and unscrupulous promoter a country-wide opportunity to do the credulous. In those days, electric factories were guarded and locked. Visitors were barred. Dynamos were painted a brilliant red. Individuals and companies dealing in electrical motors surrounded their business with mystery. The trade abounded in secrets. Many street railroad companies looked forward to storage battery cars as the probable substitute for the horse cars. St. Louis railroad men spent money freely to solve the problem. In 1887, the Lindell company experimented for months with a storage battery car built under the Julien plan. This car was run over the road several times. The directors were passengers. There was no certainty when the car left the stable on Washington avenue that it would get back there on its own power. The Broadway line went even farther. A power house was built, poles were put up, and wires were strung for a mile on Broadway between Keokuk and Wyoming streets. Six cars were built. Various methods of application of the current were tried. The experiments were not satisfactory. The results were not satisfactory. After spending a great deal of money, the Broadway management reached the conclusion in 1888 that the trolley was impracticable, abandoned it and proceeded to cable the line at enormous outlay.

The cabling of the St. Louis railroad or Broadway line made a record. At that time the Broadway cable was the longest which had been constructed. It occupied what was then the busiest street in the city. It was seven and one-half miles of double track. Extraordinary difficulties were overcome. From one end of the line to the other it was necessary to move gas pipe and water pipe. At Washington avenue the crown of the railroad tunnel was so near the surface that the cable conduit could not be given the full depth it really required for normal operation. The Broadway cable crossed every other cable but one. This meant frequent "let gos." In spite of the unusual difficulties the Broadway cable, with two power houses and the longest cable road in the country, went into operation in 1891.

The same year that the cable record was broken by St. Louis, 1891, the longest electric road then in existence was put into operation. Curiously, the electric railroad record of that date was made on what had been the pioneer cable road in St. Louis. The St. Louis Cable and Western was converted into an electric road. Its life under the cable was five years. Those people who rode on it toward the end of the five years realized that it was worn out. The power house at Channing and Franklin was abandoned. An electric station was built at De Hodiament. The old cable track was torn up. The conduits were filled. The trolley wires were strung from Sixth street to Florissant. A new name, the St. Louis and Suburban, was adopted. The distance from the downtown terminus to Florissant was eighteen miles. This longest of electric roads of that time attracted the attention of street railroad men all over the country.

Twelve months the trolley was put on probation. Union depot cars came eastward over the California avenue division as far as Chouteau avenue and then turned back. The Lindell cars ran on Finney avenue west of Vandeventer. The average citizen looked with distrust and foreboding on that naked overhead wire carrying sure death if the circuit was made through a human link. It was even contended stoutly by some theorists that the wire carrying current sufficient for moving street cars would kill the shade trees. The St. Louis papers printed in their public opinion columns the prediction that so much electricity in the air would cause much sickness, especially nervous ailments. There was no apparent damage to the trees. No epidemic or increase of sickness occurred.

The trolley era dates from 1891. It came with tribulation. In 1843 St. Louis was reluctant to patronize the omnibus because "it wasn't genteel." In 1859 some pioneer improvement people held indignation meetings and instructed their aldermen to vote against horse car tracks because they would damage the streets and infringe upon the rights of property holders. The clanging cable was denounced as a nuisance and some people moved to get away from the sound of it. And then came the prolonged and bitter opposition to the trolley. Not until 1890 was permission given to try the poles and overhead wire on certain streets in the western part of the city. St. Louis was gradually convinced that the trolley was not the menace to human existence that had been imagined. The first permits gave such satisfactory results that in a few months the overhead wires were allowed to approach the business center. Before a year had passed the trolley car reached Fourth street. But it was not until 1894 that the use of the trolley became general.



THE BOULEVARD, KIRK'S GARDENS, McPHERSON, MINN.

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The American Street Railway association came to St. Louis again in 1896. The last horse car disappeared from the streets that year. The cable system which had come in eleven years before was going out. The trolley was the thing. But not until 1899 was the last of the cable roads transformed and equipped for electrical service. The trolley has been in universal use by St. Louis street railroads ten years.

The trolley meant new and heavier rails throughout. In 1909 there was not a mile of the horse car track in St. Louis. Not only heavier rails but new roadbed was required. The first electric cars were diminutive compared with the rolling stock which came later, but they were very much heavier than the horse cars. The first electric cars in St. Louis had bodies only sixteen feet long. The seats were on the sides. Double reduction motors drove the cars. The Bellefontaine line was reconstructed for electricity in 1892. The company showed its enterprise by increasing the length of the electric cars to twenty feet. Then came the Suburban with a car twenty-eight feet long, with the floor four feet above the rail. These cars had cross seats upon a center aisle. These imposing cars were welcomed as a great improvement on the old side seats. The Lindell company was well stocked with the cars sixteen feet long. It adopted the novel plan of splicing two cars of sixteen feet together and mounting the elongated car on double trucks with a side as well as a rear entrance. Other roads supplied themselves with longer cars, until nearly all in use were from twenty-six to twenty-eight feet long. Cross seats became the rule.

In the matter of rails, St. Louis experimented not only for the local traffic but for the benefit of the whole country. The flat rails, spiked upon stringers, were not enduring. Stringers of pine were short lived. The Bellefontaine road was laid with Bessemer steel rails weighing forty-five pounds to the yard. Five miles of this kind of rail was put down at a time when no Bessemer steel was rolled in the United States. These rails were imported from England. The South St. Louis railroad put down a mile of track on Sixth street, using a rail weighing fifty-two pounds to the yard. It was a girder rail, doing away with the necessity of stringers. It came into general use by street railroads, because it gave a track more solid than the flat rails. Heavy girder rails were laid generally by the street railroads of St. Louis. Rails previously in use were torn up and disposed of as old metal. The new rails were four and one-half inches high and weighed from fifty-two to sixty-three pounds a yard. These were the heaviest section rails rolled at that time.

In 1860, two companies put in still heavier rails. The St. Louis, on Broadway, and the People's, on Fourth and Chouteau, preparatory to cable operation, laid a rail six inches high which weighed seventy-five pounds per yard. For several years, between 1890 and 1900, St. Louis street railroads used these six-inch, seventy-five-pound rails as the standard. Then with hard paving of streets there came into use a rail seven inches high and weighing eighty pounds per yard.

The spring of 1893 brought another improvement of track, in which St. Louis pioneered the way. The Baden and St. Louis track, six and one-half miles was laid with a rail six inches high, weighing seventy-eight pounds a yard. The joints, 2,200 of them, were welded so as to make the rail continuous. The welding was done by electricity. That same year the St. Louis railroad company,

as an experiment, cast-welded 800 joints of the rails on Chippewa street. That was the first track ever laid with cast-welded joints. The effect was to give a roadway over which the cars passed without any jolting to indicate where the joints had been.

The year 1895 brought rail reconstruction of the Citizens' line on Franklin and Easton avenues. This road had been laid with a rail weighing sixty-three pounds to the yard in 1887. Only eight years later the rails were torn up. The whole road from Fourth street to Kings Highway was laid with rails seven inches high and weighing eighty-five pounds per yard. These rails were sixty feet long, the first of that length rolled for street railway uses. To put in these record breaking rails, the company cut away a concrete roadbed, employing steam drills and dynamite. All of the joints of these sixty-foot rails were cast-welded. The result was a solid roadbed, a stiff rail, an imperceptible joint, a track that was a model of smooth riding.

Cast-welding came into general use after the Franklin avenue trial of it. In 1896 Market street and Laclède avenue, the Suburban and the Vandeventer avenue tracks were cast-welded. In 1897 new rails sixty feet long were laid on Olive street and cast-welded. Since that date Olive street tracks have been laid again and cast-welded.

The United Railways in 1911 was laying rails nine inches high on paved streets, and in addition to the heaviest of rails cast-welded, was putting in a concrete base. On macadamized streets the United Railways used rails six and seven inches high. The track was being reconstructed by these methods at the rate of twenty-five miles a year.

Through the periods from omnibus to trolley can be traced the advancement in the standard of men employed. The omnibus lines paid twelve dollars a month and board. In the days of the horse cars the drivers and conductors were paid from thirteen to fifteen cents an hour. The hours were long. After 1880, the pay was seventeen cents an hour. With the cable and trolley, requiring men with clear heads and steady hands, the pay was advanced to nineteen and twenty-two cents an hour.

Beginning January 1, 1908, a graded system of pay was introduced. The minimum rate of pay for conductors and motormen who were in service prior to that date was made twenty-three cents an hour. Those who had been continuously in the service of the company for four years received twenty-four cents an hour. Those who had been continuously in service five years received twenty-five cents an hour. As conductors and motormen reached the four and five years' classes their pay was increased in conformity with this rule. Beginners received below twenty-three cents an hour, being advanced as their service lengthened. The pay has doubled since the early horse car years.

A condition which had its relation to rapid transit for St. Louis was the universal transfer. Away back in the period of extravagant extension, when sixteen companies were gridironing all St. Louis to secure territory ahead of the city's growth, the transfer was the chromo thrown in to induce travel. It was not enforced by legislation. It was entirely voluntary on the part of the railroad companies. If the Lindell, invading Olive street territory with a lateral, could secure travel by giving transfers it did so. If the east and west road had a north

and south division, it gave transfers. Weak lines were absorbed by stronger. The transfer field extended. Thus it came about by 1898, without concession being demanded by the city therefor, that one passenger in four on lines granting this privilege made use of a transfer to continue his journey without cost on the second car. The companies which issued transfers found that they were carrying from one-fifth to one-fourth of their passengers free.

When all the lines except the Suburban were consolidated the transfer privilege was made to apply. When the Suburban was absorbed the transfer became of universal application throughout the city. In no other of the half dozen largest cities of the country was the transfer system so general or so liberal as in St. Louis. Nearly one-third of the passengers transported in 1908 rode on transfers. That is to say, nearly every other man, woman or child who paid fare on a street car in St. Louis that year took and used a transfer.

With the introduction of the cable in the period between 1885 and 1890 the number of people who rode on the cars doubled and trebled. With the general application of the trolley between 1890 and 1900 the number of fares doubled again. The patronage increased from 19,600,000 in 1882 to 112,000,000 in 1898. In 1910 the number of passengers carried was 335,595,813.

St. Louis street cars in 1908 carried five and one-half times the number of people they did when the city was just half as large. Revenues have not increased correspondingly. The passengers ride longer distances. Of the 335,595,813 carried in 1910, 101,904,281 used transfers. The average fare was less than three and one-half cents. In the days of the omnibus lines, three fares of six and one-quarter cents each were required to go from Carondelet to Baden. Three changes were made en route and only one of the end lines was operated free.

Every change for the better in transportation facilities found prompt response in increased patronage. Horse cars carried more people than omnibuses did. There was another very marked advance when the cable came in. But the greatest advance followed the trolley. Each time the increase was far beyond the growth of population.

For twenty-five years after the street railroad era began Fourth street was the down town terminus of all east and west lines. When the Southern and the St. Louis Cable and Western were built they were obliged to stop at Sixth street. The former was halted at Sixth and Market. The latter came to a down town end at Sixth and Locust. Both companies felt that this worked a hardship. They were too far from the business center. They struggled in the courts for the privilege to run over other lines in order to get nearer to what was then the commercial heart of the city. When the Cass avenue line, with its vivid green cars, sought the best down town entry that remained, it could only avail itself of Seventh and Eighth streets and Walnut to Fifth street. Then came the joint use of tracks under judicial decision. Looping was a partial solution of a situation which was becoming serious. When the consolidation of all the roads but the Suburban encouraged an adjustment of the down town routes, conditions were improved. The loops were so arranged as to distribute the cars to be handled with the greatest expedition and with the maximum of convenience to the public. The system was made as nearly perfect as study of the traffic and long experience with operation could make it.

In 1907 the street cars carried 23,000,000 passengers more than they did in 1906, and the last three months of 1907 were part of the period of financial stress. Since 1900 the traffic has been growing according to these figures:

1900 .....	126,813,033
1901 .....	163,905,942
1902 .....	185,077,940
1903 .....	210,238,108
1904 .....	285,291,034
1905 .....	244,241,161
1906 .....	291,522,786
1907 .....	313,945,149
1908 .....	310,589,278
1909 .....	320,758,081
1910 .....	335,595,813

In 1900 there was a strike which cut down traffic for several weeks. The year 1904 was World's Fair year.

In the past nine years the number of fare-paying passengers much more than doubled. At the beginning of that period one passenger in four took and used a transfer. In 1908 two in five, or a fraction above that, took advantage of the privilege. The street railroad experts accounted for the growing patronage in various ways. St. Louis people have become more social; they patronize amusements winter and summer more than they did a few years ago. They live farther from their places of business and employment than they did. To what extent the street car has become an absolute necessity in St. Louis was illustrated during the month of March in 1908. The first quarter of 1908 showed a falling off in fares of the United Railways amounting to \$32,403, as compared with the first three months of 1907. When the losses were located it appeared that they were to be accounted for in the main by the temporary stoppage of factories. Divisions carrying the greatest number of people employed by industrial establishments were those which suffered the most of the decrease in travel.

The street railroads of early days in St. Louis cost \$4,500 a mile of single track. The cars which were hauled over them cost \$1,000 each. Long before either railroad or cars were worn out, the public demand and the competition between rival lines prompted the construction of heavier and better track, costing \$7,000 a mile, and of cars costing \$1,500. Then came the cable experiments at \$50,000 a mile, with grip cars at \$1,000 and trailers at \$1,500. St. Louis expended millions on the cable roads and their equipment, only to discard them in a few years for the trolley. The electric road such as is built in St. Louis today, costs \$30,000 a mile. The first electric cars in St. Louis cost \$4,000. The present standard type of car is built at a cost of \$8,000.

People who travel much credit St. Louis with the most comprehensive, the best managed street railway system in the United States. In the era of competition among several companies, street railway building was somewhat overdone. It anticipated growth. Consolidation has been followed by reconstruction of track according to the highest standard at the rate of twenty-five miles a year, by the establishment of a uniform type of car, by the perfection of a system of universal transfers, by an arrangement of schedules and routes which is as efficient as can be obtained from surface operation. The street railway system







of St. Louis is managed by men who have received their training in St. Louis and who are looked upon by the street railroad men of other cities as possessing superior qualifications. Notably this is true of the head of the system, President Robert McCulloch. The street railroad system of St. Louis was created by local capital. It is, in large part, owned by St. Louisans.

In 1911 every member of the United Railways board of directors was a resident of St. Louis. Several of them were natives of St. Louis. All of them had other interests in St. Louis. They were far more concerned, even from the personal interest viewpoint, in the upbuilding and general prosperity of the city than they were in the prices of United Railways stocks and bonds. They were manufacturers, merchants, bankers and professional men, first; directors of the United Railways, second; as individuals they were respected by the community; their business judgment commanded confidence. The policy which governed the management was set forth officially in these words:

Rapid transit in sixty-two square miles of city is a necessity, not a luxury. First class street car service redounds to the credit of the city. It must convey its passengers comfortably, safely, speedily, to destinations. No community can do its best, the individuals of which are given less than the best of transportation to and from their business. The best service demands good management and co-operation. The public, the municipal government and the United Railways management have mutual duties and obligations.

The requirements of the United Railways to perform its duty toward the St. Louis public were:

- 1,200 cars,
- 2,800 trainmen and 3,000 other employes,
- 453 miles of track and 90 bridges,
- 100 buildings,

On which property was paid \$662,500 in taxes.

To render the best service within the ability of the company during 1910 required:

- \$3,929,500 in wages,
- 64,000 horsepower,
- 450,000 tons of coal, or 33 carloads a day,
- 181,000,000 transfers printed from 141 tons of paper,
- 81,000 cubic yards of rock,
- 6,500 cubic yards of sand,
- 97,000 barrels of cement.

Of every five-cent fare received, between three and four cents went to pay cost of operation and repairs; the funded debt took for interest on bonds one cent; the floating debt absorbed the remaining fraction of a cent.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE ERA OF RAILS

*When St. Louisans Paul to See a Locomotive—The First Railroad Convention—Beginning of Railroad Legislation 1836-7—The Iron Mountain Charter—Northern Cross and the January Brothers—A Railroad to St. Louis Ridiculed—Benton at First Opposed "Internal Improvements"—The Old Roman's Reversal—National Convention of 1839—"There is the East, There is India"—From St. Louis to San Francisco—Loan of \$500,000 Voted to the Ohio and Mississippi—Ground Broken in East St. Louis in 1852—Daniel R. Garrison's Strategy—Beginning of the Missouri Pacific—A Popular Subscription to Stock and a Bonus—A Fourth of July Celebration—In Four Years St. Louis Contributed \$6,400,000 to Four Railroads—In 1853 the Missouri Pacific Opened to Pacific—The Gasconade Disaster—Starting of the Overland Mail—Thomas Allen Fathered the "Pacific Railroad"—The Question of Gauge—How "Old Dan" Narrowed 300 Miles in a Day—Reputation of the Feat by W. D. Griswold—Diversion of the Union Pacific to the Northern Route—St. Louisans and the Kansas Pacific—Agricultural Pathfinder of the Plains—Rise of St. Louis Railroad Managers—The Ends Bridge—Past and Future of the Tunnel—Subway Speculation.*

I have means to live a life of leisure but I can't stand it. I must have occupation for all my energies and I must find it by extending the railroad.—*Thomas Allen, in 1867.*

St. Louis people were given early a small object lesson in railroad operation. A little railroad was brought to the city and put on exhibition. The Baptist church at Third and Market was rented. A circular track was built on staging. The rolling stock was a miniature locomotive and one car which held a single person. Steam was raised in the locomotive and the little train was sent around the track at a lively rate for such a short circuit. This was the summer of 1830. Probably not twenty people in the city had seen a railroad previously. An admission fee was charged and a small amount was collected for a ride in the one-passenger car. The object was educational, for St. Louis was just at the beginning of agitation for railroads. At the same time admission was charged to cover expenses. A newspaper said:

The public will be much gratified by a visit to the miniature railroad exhibited at the old Baptist church. This combination of art and science, although in miniature, is complete in all its parts, and exhibits in one view all the apparatus necessary for railroad traveling. With a few ounces of coal, and a small measure of water, it winds its way round on a circular track of one hundred feet at the rate of seven miles an hour, carrying a person of the largest size in the car.

St. Louis had 10,000 inhabitants when Mayor John F. Darby sent a railroad message to the board of aldermen. That was the first formal railroad project in Missouri or anywhere west of the Mississippi. The time was February, 1836. The road then proposed was to run from St. Louis to Fayette in Howard county. Acting on Mayor Darby's message, the board of aldermen called a meeting of the citizens. The meeting appointed a committee to draw up an address. In effect the address was a call to the counties interested to send delegates to a railroad convention to be held in St. Louis in April, 1836. Eleven counties were represented. The delegates were entertained at the expense of the city and were

banqueted. Two projects were endorsed. One of them was a railroad south from St. Louis to Iron Mountain. The other was for a railroad to St. Charles and westward through the counties north of the Missouri river.

At the next session of the legislature, 1836-7, George K. McGunngle, a representative from St. Louis, introduced a bill to charter the St. Louis and Iron Mountain and the bill passed. That was the beginning of railroad legislation in Missouri. The legislature declined to vote aid to the enterprise.

A little locomotive, the first real iron horse that St. Louisans saw, was brought up the river on the Chariton in 1838. The boat went on to Meredosia, a town with considerable expectations on the Illinois. There, in the summer of 1838, eight miles of railroad was built, in an easterly direction toward the Athens of Illinois, Jacksonville. The civil engineer, who ran the lines and superintended the construction was George P. Plant, the son of a Massachusetts cotton manufacturer. Mr. Plant came to St. Louis a couple of years later and became the head of the great milling firm. The contractor who did most of the construction work was T. T. January, who also came to St. Louis soon afterwards with his brother Derrick A. January. The Januarys were Kentuckians, brothers-in-law of the Massachusetts man. The little railroad was given the high sounding name of the Northern Cross. Two men who became prominent in St. Louis a few years later participated in the opening of the railroad in November, 1838. They were Charles Collins, in honor of whom Collins street was named, and Miron Leslie.

In the winter of 1839, a governor of Pennsylvania, David R. Porter, sent to the legislature a message dwelling on the importance to that state, of "a continuous railroad to the city of St. Louis." He was ridiculed for such a wild suggestion. The next year a burlesque message, purporting to come from the governor, was printed and widely circulated in Pennsylvania. At that time, 1840, Texas was a country of refuge for some Americans as well as an attractive region to the good settlers. The bogus message contained this paragraph which was esteemed an excellent joke at the expense of Governor Porter:

During the last session of the legislature, in a special message, I took occasion to recommend the construction of a continuous railroad to St. Louis in the State of Missouri. As there are few spectacles more sublime than the voluntary retraction of an erroneous opinion by a public officer, I have determined to present that spectacle to the world. I therefore withdraw my special recommendation and in its stead recommend a continuous railroad to the Republic of Texas. This is done because more of our party friends are traveling in the latter direction.

For ten years after St. Louis began the agitation for railroads Benton and his following opposed government aid to them. Coming back from Washington in 1839, the senator said in a speech:

Ever since the day when General Jackson vetoed the Lexington and Maysville road bill, internal improvement by the general government was no longer to be considered as among the teachings and doctrines of the Democratic party. It is the old, antiquated, obsolete and exploded doctrine of Henry Clay's "American system." Look at Illinois, where whig rule obtained for awhile, overwhelmed in debt, unable to pay the interest on her bonds. Look at Missouri, a state free of debt—a state governed by democracy.

In 1849 Benton reversed himself. He made the speech more frequently quoted than any other in what he liked to call the "six Roman lustrums"



V. A. FALMAGE



J. W. PARAMORE



THOMAS ALLEN

From a Picture taken when he was Promoting Railroads for St. Louis before the Civil War



J. H. MAXON



JOHN C. BROWN





of his great senatorial career. The occasion was the national convention held in St. Louis to promote the building of a transcontinental railroad from the Mississippi to San Francisco. Benton participated. Enthusiasm reached its highest pitch when with all of his oratorical magnetism, he pointed toward the west and exclaimed: "There is the East. There is India." That pose and the words of prophecy gave Harriet Hosmer the inspiration for the statute of Benton which stands in Lafayette park. Advocacy at last of that which he had most strenuously opposed won for Benton his greatest renown.

The invitation to Benton to participate in the convention was carried by John F. Darby, one of the leaders in the movement. He said to the senator, as he afterwards narrated:

Colonel Benton, we expect you to aid us in this matter. St. Louis from her central position is entitled to have the road start from here. We shall have opposition and much to contend with. Douglas is striving hard for the presidency, and he will try to have the Pacific road start from Chicago instead of St. Louis, run through Iowa, and give us the go-by. Should Douglas succeed in his presidential aspirations, it will give him additional power and influence.

The reply of Senator Benton, as Mr. Darby reported it, was: "I shall be there, sir; I shall attend the convention, and advocate the building of the road from St. Louis to San Francisco. Douglas never can be president, sir. No, sir, Douglas never can be president. His legs are too short, sir. His coat, like a cow's tail, hangs too near the ground, sir."

Miss Hosmer's conception represents Benton holding a map and looking down to it. One who was present described Benton as assuming his most impressive pose, throwing back his head and stretching out his right arm to indicate the course, as he said in deep tones:

Let us beseech the national legislature to build the great road upon the great national line, which unites Europe and Asia—the line which will find on our continent the bay of San Francisco at one end, St. Louis in the middle, the national metropolis and great commercial emporium at the other end—the line which will be adorned with its crowning honor, the colossal statue of the great Columbus, whose design it accomplishes, hewn from the granite mass of a peak of the Rocky Mountains, overlooking the road—the pedestal and the statue a part of the mountain, pointing with outstretched arm to the western horizon and saying to the flying passenger, there is the east—there is India!

After Mayor Darby's message and the convention, ten years went by with only agitation to mark development of railroad sentiment in St. Louis. On the 20th of December, 1847, wires reached the Mississippi. St. Louis was put upon the telegraph map. This stimulated the railroad movement. A committee of citizens was appointed to ask the legislature for authority to vote on a subscription of \$500,000 by St. Louis toward the building of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad. The route had been surveyed from Cincinnati through Vincennes to the Mississippi. After some delay the legislature provided for the submission. The proposition passed. That was the first of many contributions by St. Louis toward railroad construction.

By mass meeting in the rotunda of the court house popular sentiment in St. Louis was committed to the project. Mayor John M. Krum presided. An address to citizens favoring a loan of \$500,000 was adopted. It was prepared by Thomas Allen, Frederick Kretschmar, John McNeil, Willis L. Williams, Samuel M. Bay, Isaac H. Sturgeon, Samuel Hawken, Trusten Polk, Daniel D.

Page, Lewis V. Bogy and A. L. Mills. The mass meeting led to the appointment of a vigilance committee, as the body was called, of ten men from each ward "to attend the polls on Monday and secure favorable consideration of the subject." The \$500,000 loan to the Ohio and Mississippi went through by a heavy majority carrying five of the six wards.

"This vote may be hailed as a new era in the history of St. Louis," said the current newspaper account. "It is the first instance in which she has put forth her efforts to the accomplishment of a great enterprise and she has come up to the full amount desired with a promptness and a heartiness which evince that she understands her interest in the proposed work."

The citizens as well as the municipality promoted the building of the first railroad eastward. St. Louis was strongly represented by Mayor Luther M. Kennett, John O'Fallon, James H. Lucas, Andrew Christy, Daniel D. Page and others among the incorporators who obtained from the Illinois Legislature in the winter of 1851 the incorporation of the St. Louis and Vincennes railroad. This was the western half of the Ohio and Mississippi. The directors held meetings in St. Louis. They chose John O'Fallon the first president. They added to the St. Louisans on the board Charles P. Chouteau and Robert Campbell. While the city of St. Louis aided with \$500,000, St. Louis bankers carried the financial load.

The Ohio and Mississippi railroad enterprise received no encouragement from Illinois in the beginning. Cincinnati and Vincennes were anxious for the extension of the road to St. Louis. They sent Abner T. Ellis and Professor O. M. Mitchell, the noted astronomer, to St. Louis to obtain encouragement. Illinois was worse than indifferent. The state had a well defined policy not to encourage railroads which would build up cities outside of the state. To obtain permission to build a railroad across Illinois from Vincennes to St. Louis it was necessary to overcome this opposition. Not long afterwards Illinois became liberal with charters to build railroads anywhere. Isaac H. Sturgeon was strong in public life when the Ohio and Mississippi movement started. He suggested the subscription of \$500,000 by the city of St. Louis, and later as state senator put through the legislation which permitted the county of St. Louis, which included the city, to subscribe \$200,000.

On the 7th of February, 1852, St. Louis inaugurated the building of the first railroad eastward. Headed by the mayor, Luther M. Kennett, and escorted by the directors of the company, the participants in the ceremony and a large number of interested citizens crossed by ferry boat to the east side. The celebration was distinctively a St. Louis affair. Charles D. Drake, the St. Louis lawyer, afterwards United States senator, called the assemblage to order and announced the programme. President O'Fallon spoke and so did Abner T. Ellis, representing Vincennes. Mayor Kennett, always happy in his references, reminded the audience that St. Louis had previously crossed over to the Illinois side to build first sand and then stone dykes. Now the city proposed to add iron bands to its relations with Illinois. The officers of the Pacific railroad were present. Thomas Allen told how much it would mean to the first railroad west from St. Louis to have this first railroad east. Charles D. Drake loaded a wheelbarrow with sand and gravel. Mayor Kennett trundled to the place which the contractor pointed out. The work was begun.

When Daniel R. Garrison had completed all but seven miles of the Ohio and Mississippi he ran out of rails. A shipment from England had been made but it might be months enroute. The Terre Haute railroad was in course of construction. On the levee at St. Louis lay a consignment of rails for the Terre Haute. There wasn't money enough in the bank of Page & Bacon, the institution which was financing the Ohio and Mississippi, to buy a ton of these rails from the competing road. The consignment was being conveyed across the river. In some manner, never fully explained, a sufficient quantity of these rails to lay the seven miles was loaded on Ohio and Mississippi cars. This had been done before the owners discovered the mistake. The sheriff of St. Clair county, with a posse, came after the Terre Haute rails. Mr. Garrison received the officer courteously and invited him and his party on board of the train to take a short ride while they talked about the claim to the rails. A railroad ride was a novelty. It appealed to the sheriff and the posse. But when the train approached the eastern boundary of St. Clair county, it did not stop. Imperative business prevented Mr. Garrison from returning with the train. The legal papers were of no effect beyond the county line. Before the sheriff got within his jurisdiction again the rails were down and the last spike had been driven. Very properly, when the Ohio and the Mississippi opened, the business men of St. Louis presented to Mr. Garrison a fine set of silverware.

The Pacific railroad movement was born in St. Louis the year that flames swept the business district and 6,000 deaths from cholera decimated a population of 60,000. In May of that year Isaac H. Sturgeon introduced in the common council the resolution calling the national convention and in October the convention met. The movement reached the legislative stage in Congress thirteen years later while St. Louis was under the Civil war cloud. Political expediency moved the line far to the northward of the city where the campaign of education for a transcontinental railroad had received its earliest and greatest impetus. St. Louis not only lost the transcontinental railroad but for many years saw it operated to its disadvantage.

Popular was the movement which led to the building of the first railroad for Missouri. Public meetings were held. A charter was obtained. At the meeting held on the 31st of January, 1850, the project passed beyond the stage of addresses and resolutions. Subscriptions were called for. James H. Lucas offered to be one of three to make up \$100,000. John O'Fallon and Daniel D. Page promptly joined him. These gentlemen subscribed \$33,000 each and tossed a coin to determine who should have the privilege of taking the odd \$1,000. John O'Fallon won it. Thomas Allen, J. and E. Walsh, Joshua B. Brant and George Collier signed for \$10,000 each. A subscription list was opened at the Merchants Exchange and committees were appointed to canvass the several wards of the city. Within two weeks, before the middle of February, citizens of St. Louis had subscribed for stock in the Pacific railroad as it was then called to the amount of \$319,000.

There were 165 contributors to the bonus of \$96,950. These subscriptions were gifts outright, not for shares of stock. James H. Lucas headed the list with \$11,000. Edward J. Gay gave \$5,000. One of the subscribers was living until the spring of 1909—J. B. Gazzam, who was a member of the firm of

Douglas, Gazzam & Co. The name of Peter Richard Kenrick appeared; the archbishop's contribution was \$1,500.

As work progressed subscriptions continued to come in. The building of the Pacific railroad was a popular movement through the ten years before the Civil war. St. Louisans made overland journeys along the projected route and held mass meetings in the counties. In 1855 the individual subscriptions had reached nearly \$1,000,000. The city of St. Louis had subscribed \$500,000 and the county of St. Louis the same amount. The county of St. Louis had issued \$875,000 in bonds to aid the construction. Actuated by the public spirit which attended every step in the building of the first railroad from St. Louis westward, the president of the company served the first year without salary. The next year he accepted a salary of \$1,500. After that he resigned, arguing that change of presidents would contribute to maintain popular interest in the project. In four years of the decade beginning with 1850 the people of St. Louis subscribed \$6,400,000 to four railroads. About one-half of this amount was voted in corporate capacity. The other half was subscribed by individuals. The four enterprises thus encouraged were the Missouri Pacific, the Iron Mountain, the North Missouri now known as the Wabash, and the Ohio and Mississippi now the Baltimore and Ohio.

The Fourth of July was ground breaking day for the first steam railroad out of St. Louis. Captain Henry Almstedt fired his national salute at sunrise. Shortly after seven o'clock, the military and the civic bodies began to report to Grand Marshal Thornton Grimsley on Fourth street. Flags were flying everywhere—from the engine houses, the newspaper offices, the hotels, the business houses. Shortly after eight o'clock officials of the state, the governor and his staff wheeled into Washington avenue and the long column started for Mincke's ground on the edge of Chouteau's Pond just west of Fifteenth street. At the head of the procession were escorted officials of the state, the president, directors and engineers of the Pacific railroad, the orator of the day, the judges and officials of the courts, the mayor, the aldermen and city officials and the editorial corps of St. Louis.

Then came the Grays and the Dragoons, and the Missouri Artillery, and the Yagers and the Swiss Guards. The Fire Department and a long line of civic societies followed. At the speakers' stand near the pond, the band played the Grand Pacific Railroad march which Mr. Balmer had composed for the day. Thomas Allen, the president of the company, told of the popular movements which had led up to the event they were celebrating. His estimate of the cost of the road from St. Louis to Kansas City and of the business it would do is interesting. He said:

We have found our distance across the state to be about 300 miles, and our grades easy, the maximum not exceeding forty-five feet to the mile and that occurring only on a short distance. The cost is estimated below the average cost of railroads, at about \$20,000 per mile, or about \$6,000,000 for the whole completed.

President Allen said that the investigation made indicated that the road the first year after completion would do passenger business of \$457,900 and freight business of \$470,200, a gross profit of fifteen per cent on \$6,000,000. It was thought the cost of operation might be forty to fifty per cent of the gross



D. R. GARRISON



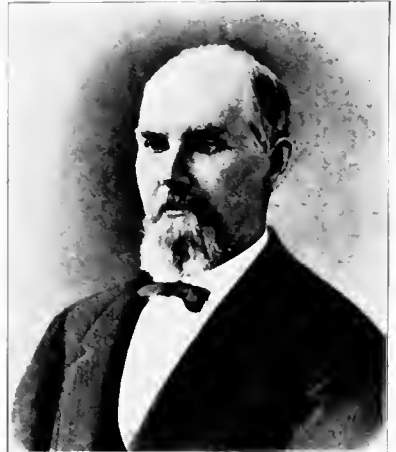
CHARLES GREEN



GEORGE D. CAPEN



ERASTUS WELLS



WILLIAM J. LEWIS

FACTORS IN TRANSPORTATION

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TRUST FOUNDATION

earnings. When Mr. Allen concluded a prologue in verse composed for the occasion by A. S. Mitchell, the newspaper man who had become secretary of the railroad company, was recited by J. M. Field, the brilliant writer and actor. Edward Bates delivered the oration of the day. He dwelt upon the resources and possibilities of the Mississippi Valley, but before he finished he emphasized the ambition of these first St. Louis railroad builders:

But whither does it tend? When you have constructed the road to the frontier of the Missouri, what power can stop it there? Beyond lie the extended plains of the Missouri and the Arkansas, New Mexico, Utah, California, Oregon, the Pacific and the old Eastern World.

The governor of the state, Austin A. King, was prevented by illness from being present. To the mayor of St. Louis, Luther M. Kennett, fell the duty of throwing the first dirt. President Allen presented the spade. Saying he would proceed "to make the first cut in the line of the Pacific railroad," the mayor, with the band playing the "Governor's March," led the way to the edge of the pond and began to dig. As the first dirt was thrown the crowd cheered lustily.

From 1850 to 1860 every beginning of a new railroad and completion of a division and every progressive step of consequence in railroad building were celebrated with enthusiasm by St. Louis. The Alton and Chicago—mark the order of the names,—was opened from Springfield to Alton in 1852. Mayor Kennett and the aldermen of St. Louis went by boat to Alton and thence to Springfield, where a banquet was served in a freight house. When the North Missouri, now the Wabash, was built to St. Charles there was another celebration. When ground was broken in 1852 at Hannibal for the Hannibal and St. Joseph, now the Burlington, a boat load of St. Louisians went up to the barbecue. In those days all men of affairs in St. Louis were holders of railroad stock. They subscribed because it was considered a civic duty. At the opening of the Missouri Pacific to Hermann, ladies attended the feast. When the old North Missouri extension from Macon to Iowa was started Mrs. Isaac H. Sturgeon lifted the first shovel of dirt.

Notable days for St. Louis were those of 1852 and 1853 when the first railroad went into operation. On the first day of December, 1852, the first locomotive whistle west of the Mississippi river sounded at seven o'clock in the morning. The locomotive stood on the Pacific railroad track just west of Fourteenth street. Thomas Allen, president of the Pacific, T. S. O'Sullivan, Mr. Copp, secretary of the company; William R. Kingsley, and a few others connected with the road climbed on board for the initial trip. Charles Williams, the machinist, operated the engine. The train was run out to the end of the track laying a short distance beyond the Manchester avenue crossing. This was the beginning of railroad operation at St. Louis.

A little later St. Louis celebrated the formal opening of the first completed section. The directors of the company, members of the legislature who were passing through St. Louis on their way to Jefferson City and a few others were invited to have what was for many of them their first experience in "riding on the rail." The section of road then opened was from the St. Louis terminus to Sulphur Springs as it was then called,—afterwards Cheltenham. Two coaches were occupied by the guests. The distance traveled was about five miles. At

Sulphur Springs lunch was served and speeches of congratulation were made. Mayor Kennett, Edward Bates and James H. Lucas made speeches. "For a new road, we may say advisedly that there is not a better built road in the Union," the paper commented next morning.

The next railroad red letter day for St. Louis was the 19th of July, 1853, when twelve passenger cars carried over 600 official guests out to Franklin, as it was then called, to celebrate the opening of the first division, thirty-nine miles long. A couple of months before that the road had been put in regular operation to Kirkwood, named after the first chief engineer. The board of directors had resolved that "the fare for passengers from this time forth is not to exceed three cents per mile, with proper and liberal deduction for in and out passengers." The board also ordered that trains should stop at Rock Spring, "Cheltenham," about five miles; the River des Peres, a little beyond Sutton's; and Webster College, which is two and one-half miles this side of Kirkwood." The St. Louis Grays, with Jackson's band of the regular army accompanied the excursion train to Franklin, now Pacific. Franklin consisted of a depot building in a forest of large trees. Those passengers who had watches timed the journey from St. Louis and expressed their agreeable surprise that the time, allowance being made for all stops, was one hour and fifty-nine minutes. Newspaper history preserves the comment that this was considered "a fair speed for a new, partially unballasted and untried road." After the banquet there were speeches of course. One of the most significant was made by Hon. Luther M. Kennett, who congratulated the audience that the cars were of St. Louis manufacture and "drawn by a locomotive made in St. Louis and by St. Louis mechanics, Palm and Robertson, to whose enterprise and public spirit the company and the citizens of St. Louis generally are indebted for so important a movement toward our city's advancement to wealth and prosperity." The cost of the construction of the thirty-nine miles Mr. Kennett stated had been "a trifle over \$1,600,000."

Two years and three months after the July day in the woods at Franklin, the next division was ready for the formal opening. It extended from Franklin to Jefferson City. On the 1st of November, 1855, a train of fourteen passenger coaches left the St. Louis station, carrying the official party to celebrate the opening of the road to the state capital. The company included the military, musicians and St. Louisans representative of the entire city. Fall rains had set in. The day was not pleasant. When the long train reached the bridge over the Gasconade river the wooden trestlework between the east bank and the first pier went down. The fall was about thirty feet. Only the last car in the train kept its place on the rails. Seven of the coaches made a plunge through the broken timbers; others rolled down the embankment. The killed and fatally hurt numbered over thirty. Those injured more or less seriously but not fatally were hundreds. On the engine were Hudson E. Bridge, who had succeeded Thomas Allen as president of the company and Thomas S. O'Sullivan who had succeeded Mr. Kirkwood as chief engineer. The president escaped without serious hurt; the chief engineer was killed. Two of the best known clergymen of the city, Rev. Dr. Artemas Bullard of the First Presbyterian church and Rev. John Teasdale of the Third Baptist church, were among the dead. Washington King, the mayor of St. Louis, was badly cut. When he got back to St. Louis he made





CHARLES G. WARNER



S. H. H. CLARK



R. P. TANSEY



J. B. MOULTON



JOHN D. PERRY

FACTORS IN TRANSPORTATION



"the awful and inscrutable dispensation of Providence" the subject of a proclamation appointing Monday, the 5th day of November "a day of cessation from all labor as a tribute of respect to those who are most deeply stricken by this terrible blow, and a day of heartfelt thankfulness and gratitude to God by and on account of all who are saved from death." Business houses were closed and the churches were opened for worship.

For proper conception of the horror of the Gasconade disaster as experienced by St. Louis, it is to be remembered that railroad travel was just beginning. Those who had ridden any distance on the steam cars were a small minority in the community. The newspapers had contained accounts of very few railroad accidents up to that time. Richard Smith Elliott's description of the Gasconade disaster was graphic.

I was sitting in the middle car, seventh from front and rear. The train was going at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles an hour. There was a bump, a check to the motion, an exclamation from some one near, "We're goae." Except the fizzing of the engine, there was a moment of dead silence, save the patter of the rain on the roof of the ear, and then cries and groans to rend the heart.

The car I was in had gone down after passing the abutment and rested sloping to the left side on dry ground; and another car lapped on the front side of ours, crushing to death fourteen persons. Dr. Bullard, Mr. Dayton and others of the best citizens of St. Louis among the number. I had earlier in the day occupied a seat forward of the middle of the ear and relinquished it to a friend who came on at Washington, Elisha B. Jeffries, who was killed. My politeness led to his death. Thirty-one persons in all were killed and a great many wounded.

After the crash the first thing I did was to join others in trying to lift the roof of the ear, in order to relieve those yet alive in the front end of it. The absurdity of our efforts, with another ear resting diagonally across ours did not suggest itself. There was only a sad feeling that we could for the time do nothing. Soon those of us unhurt got out through the windows. Strong arms were already at work to relieve the wounded, but many men were moving about with dazed looks, as if bereft of their senses. Ten ears had gone down, but the last three remained on the track and many of their uninjured occupants at once devoted themselves to the sufferers. The shanties near were soon filled with men in agony, to some of whom death came as a relief. Judge Samuel Treat was requested to take command and soon brought about some degree of order. To Captain George West was assigned the duty of getting from the wreck of the baggage ear whatever eatables could be rescued and also stimulants for the wounded.

The storm, which had begun with a drizzling rain early in the day, seemed to have reserved its fury for the catastrophe. Fierce blasts of wind and heavy dashes of rain, with lightning and thunder, added to the horrors of the scene, as darkness came on; and imagination can scarcely picture a night more wretched than that of November 1, 1855, at the Gasconade river.

Next day the dead and wounded were all put on a train of flat and box cars, and started toward St. Louis. The temporary bridge at Boeuf Creek was considered unsafe, and the cars were pushed down by engine to be crossed by hand. As the first ear, with several wounded men in it, was about to go on the bridge, the flooded stream swept the insecure structure away. The train then went back to Miller's Landing to wait for a boat. Another night of wretchedness, during which thirty-one rough coffins were made, and the bodies of the dead were put in them. In the forenoon of November 3rd a ferryboat from Washington arrived, the dead and wounded were put on board, and together with the uninjured soon reached Washington, and there took cars for St. Louis.

The arrival of the first overland mail made the 10th of October, 1858, a notable day for St. Louis. When the Missouri Pacific train steamed into the Seventh street station, there was great cheering from the assembled crowd. John Butterfield stepped from a car. He was overwhelmed with congratulations. The Honorable John F. Darby delivered an address of welcome. Butter-

field responded. The mail was escorted to the postoffice on Third and Olive streets and with ceremony delivered to the postmaster. It had come through from San Francisco in twenty-four days, twenty hours and thirty-five minutes, a great achievement for that period. Previously the mail service between the Pacific coast and the states had been by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Shorter time was demanded. The government established the overland mail with Butterfield as agent. The first mail stage left San Francisco September 16, 1858. The route was from San Francisco to Los Angeles, 462 miles in 80 hours; to Yuma, 282 miles in 72 hours, 20 minutes; to Tucson, 280 miles in 71 hours, 20 minutes; to Franklin, 360 miles in 82 hours; to Colbert's Ferry on Red River, 282½ miles in 65 hours, 25 minutes; to Fort Smith, 192 miles in 38 hours; to Tipton, Missouri, the railroad terminus, 318½ miles in 48 hours, 55 minutes; to St. Louis by railroad, 160 miles in 11 hours, 40 minutes.

"Tom, I'll give you twenty dollars and you can go and make your fortune," a man said to his son at the old home in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He had given him a good education. The young man went to New York and became a journalist, while preparing to practice law. His magazine and newspaper work attracted attention. At Washington, a Democratic coterie, hostile to Martin Van Buren, started a paper—the *Madisonian*. The "conservatives," as those democrats called themselves, wanted an editor to fight Van Buren's financial policy. The young magazine writer was called from New York to Washington. That was in 1837. Two years later the editor of the *Madisonian* was the most talked of newspaper man in the country. He had created in the capital an anti-administration paper which was quoted everywhere by the Whig press. When the young men's national convention was held in Baltimore, May 1840, there was great curiosity to see the man who had made the *Madisonian*. And so, from the same platform upon which appeared Daniel Webster and William C. Preston, the young editor spoke. He was no inconsiderable factor in the downfall of Van Buren. After the death of President Harrison and the organization of the Tyler administration, Thomas Allen gave up the *Madisonian* and came west to enter upon his forty years of usefulness in building up St. Louis.

Nine years later, then a St. Louis member of the Missouri legislature, Mr. Allen fathered an act incorporating the "Pacific railroad," the first legislation in that direction. The following year he traveled on horseback west of St. Louis from settlement to settlement, along what is now the line of the Missouri Pacific telling the farmers what his railroad act meant. He stood under the locust trees in front of North's store at Gray's Summit facing farmers who had come twenty-five miles to hear him. He told them that when the railroad was built they would neither drive, even though they owned horses, or walk to St. Louis. The use of the team for the time required to drive would be worth more than the railroad fare. Mr. Allen said that if a man's wages were only seventy-five cents a day it would be cheaper for him to ride on the cars, than to lose the time, wear out his shoes and pay for food while walking to St. Louis. With such homely illustrations Thomas Allen reconciled the farmers of St. Louis and Franklin counties to the railroad.

Soon after the war, when he had retired as he thought from active life, Thomas Allen took up the building of the Iron Mountain railroad then but eighty miles long.

"I can't stand it," he said, "I must have occupation for all my energies, and I shall find it in extending the railroad."

The question of gauge was one in which all St. Louis felt great interest and to which the St. Louis newspapers gave much consideration. The Ohio and Mississippi people in the earlier years took great pride in their broad gauge—six feet between the rails. When competition eastward set in, they advertised the Ohio and Mississippi as "the only broad gauge" route out of St. Louis.

The builders of the Pacific, now the Missouri Pacific, decided on five and one-half feet as their gauge. The minority protested and urged the adoption of the gauge of George Stephenson, which was becoming general in the eastern states—four feet, eight and one-half inches. This was met by the unanswerable argument that the Mississippi would never be bridged at St. Louis and the city might with entire safety adopt its own railroad gauge. Within a little more than a decade, the bridge was in course of construction. St. Louis was agitated over suggestions of methods to reduce the Missouri Pacific to standard gauge—four feet eight and one-half inches. Daniel R. Garrison—in railroad circles they called him "Old Dan," because there was a nephew Daniel—found the way. And when the thing was done the whole city marveled at the ease of it. The conditions were economy and minimum of interference with business. In a single day the 300 or more miles of track was reduced from five feet six inches to the standard. Only one rail was moved inward. Before that was started, the track layers drove the new inner line of spikes into the ties the entire distance. Early one morning the tracklayers drew the old inner line of spikes, moved the rail inward against the new line of spikes and fastened it there. The road was ready for operation before night.

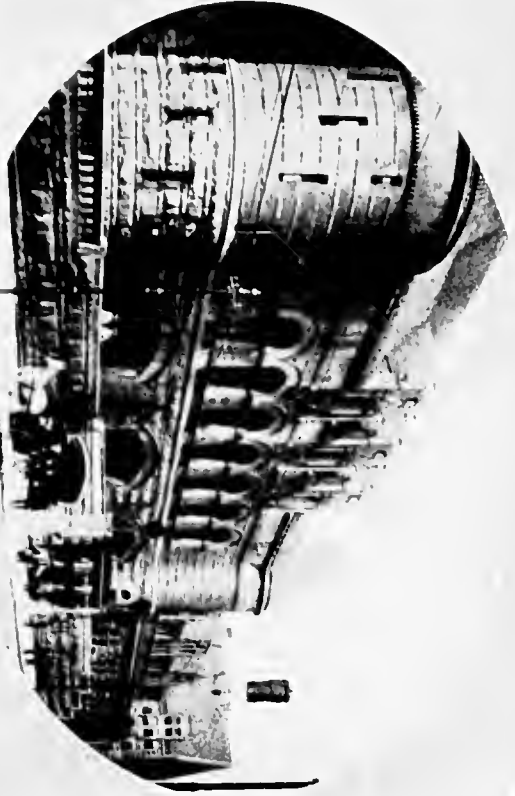
Not long afterward W. D. Griswold, of St. Louis, superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi, repeated the feat of gauge changing, occupying only part of one Sunday for it. His gangs moved so rapidly that when he started eastward from East St. Louis about ten o'clock in the morning sitting with newspaper men on a flat car pushed by a locomotive he traveled without delay over a standard gauge road which had been broad gauge the night before.

The Union Pacific railroad, as Congress planned in 1862, was to be a trans-continental line with a fork at the east end. It was to start from Kansas City and Omaha, the two branches uniting at the one hundredth meridian. The company first reaching the junction was to have authority to go across the continent and to receive the subsidies. The rivalry between the Kansas and Nebraska builders was sharp. It went beyond the mechanical problems of railroad construction. The Kansas men came to St. Louis for help. John D. Perry was the first man of means who listened to the appeals. He advanced money. He was joined, in the organization of the Kansas Pacific Railway company by Carlos S. Greeley, Adolphus Meier, Giles F. Filley, William M. McPherson, Stephen M. Edgell, Robert E. Carr, Sylvester H. Laflin, John How, James Archer and Thomas L. Price. Later George D. Hall and Daniel R. Garrison became associates of the others. It was a St. Louis organization, through and through, even to the messenger boy in the general offices of the company at Lawrence, who was Lilburn G. McNair.

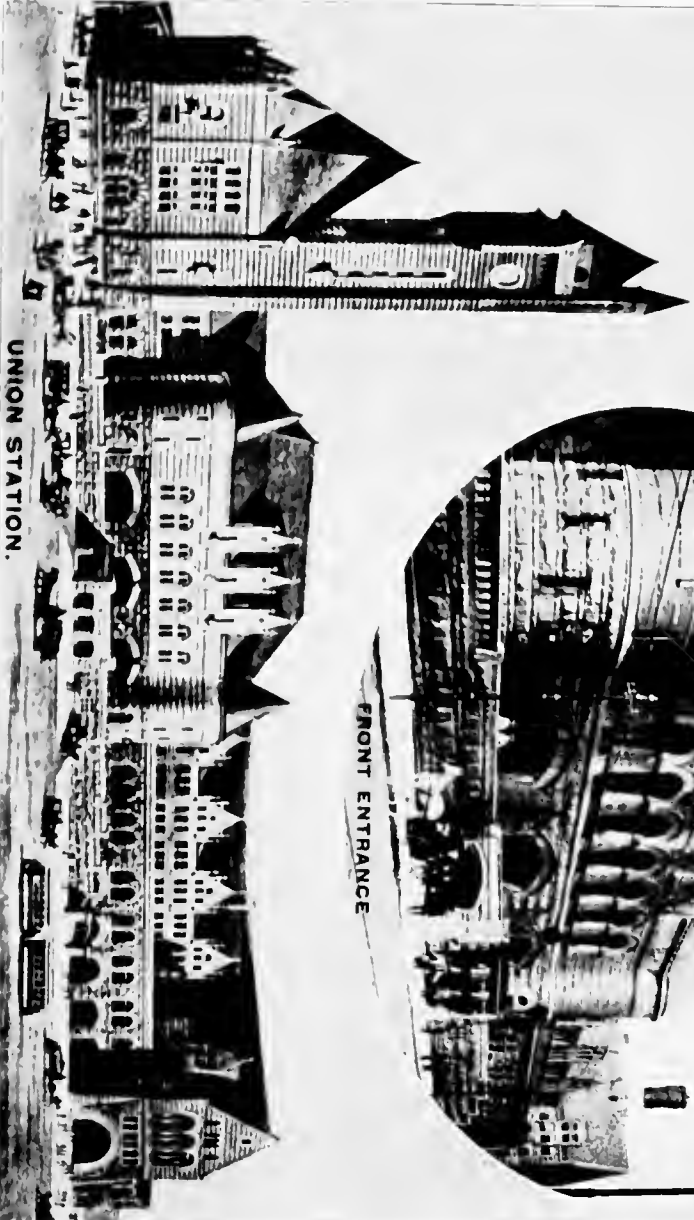
When the St. Louisans reached Fort Riley, they decided not to turn northward to the proposed junction with the Omaha line, at the one hundredth meridian, but to build on through Kansas to Denver. The bond subsidy only aided them to Monument, 400 miles from Kansas City. From that point to Denver the road was completed without government help in 1870. Three years before, Mr. Perry and his St. Louis associates had put surveying parties in the field to run the lines for a transcontinental line through New Mexico and Arizona to the coast. With the engineering information showing the advantages of the route the St. Louisans went to Congress offering to build through to the coast if given the encouragement which had been extended to the Union Pacific. Again influences at the capital, operated in favor of the northern route. If the proposition of Mr. Perry, Mr. Meier, Mr. Greeley and the other St. Louisans had been accepted, the reduction in army expenses would have offset, almost, the subsidies; a southern line to the coast would have been put through ten years earlier than it was. The purpose of the enterprising St. Louisans was to build from some point on the Kansas Pacific, in western Kansas, southwesterly through southern Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona to San Diego and thence to San Francisco. Boston capital subsequently took up the plan and the route and built the Santa Fe. St. Louis waited, through no local fault, for the transcontinental road which she had nursed in 1849.

One more act of injustice was done St. Louis when the Kansas Pacific reached Denver and connected with the Union Pacific. The Kansas Pacific was entitled to interchange of traffic. The obligation was repudiated by the Union Pacific management. St. Louis directors carried through the panic of 1873 a floating debt of the Kansas Pacific which would have been taken care of easily if the Union Pacific had followed the act of Congress. Through cooperation of foreign bondholders the St. Louisans bore that burden and the expected sale to which other interests were looking for the acquisition of the road was averted. This arrangement with the bondholders followed a visit of the president of the road, Robert E. Carr, to Europe, and a frank presentation of the situation. In the history of railroad financing in the United States there is no more admirable chapter than that of the handling of the Kansas Pacific by John D. Perry and his St. Louis associates.

When the Kansas Pacific was completed through to Denver, a St. Louisan went up the Kaw valley and over the plains teaching the world that there was no Great American desert. In 1870, Richard Smith Elliott began the series of demonstrations. He broke prairie in Kansas with buffalo staring at him from the dunes. He carried on his little experiment stations where nobody else believed things would grow. He sowed the first grain in a belt which now sends many millions of bushels of wheat to market. He started the tree growing which has since dotted central and western Kansas with groves. Henry T. Mudd and Charles W. Murtfeldt, president and secretary of the Missouri state board of agriculture, Elliott's neighbors in Kirkwood, went out, saw the results of the experiments and reported on them with confidence. Eastern agricultural editors traveled out to Kansas, saw Elliott's green patches on the plains and came back marveling. Their editorials encouraged the migration of tens of thousands to farms west of the Missouri. Elliott of St. Louis was the agricultural pathfinder of the plains.



FRONT ENTRANCE



UNION STATION.





When Paramore built 700 miles of three-foot gauge road through Missouri and Arkansas and into Texas with only \$12,000 a mile bonded debt, it seemed as if standard roads with larger indebtedness could not compete. There was much sentiment in St. Louis favorable to the narrow gauge idea. But it died out and the narrow gauge became standard. Samuel W. Fordyce, first receiver and then reorganizer of the Cotton Belt, as the road was called, worked out the railroad problem demonstrating that a standard gauge was best.

In the evolution of the railroad systems of St. Louis were developed men of talent for managing them. Archibald Alexander Talmage, son of a Presbyterian minister of New Jersey, was a young conductor on the road from East St. Louis to Terre Haute when he began to attract attention. He came to St. Louis in 1871 to be general superintendent of the road running from Pacific to Vinita, now part of the Frisco, and was advanced to general manager of the Missouri Pacific system. It was in Talmage's day that the Missouri Pacific was considered the most valuable railroad property west of the Mississippi.

The first railroad job of President Alfred James Davidson of the Frisco was station baggage master, at Decatur, in Illinois, where he was born. Between trains the seventeen-year-old boy studied telegraphy. He filled twenty different kinds of railroad positions on his way to the top.

An Ohio boy, with a college education, Charles G. Warner, began business life as clerk in an Alton dry goods store. He tried farming after he had served in the Civil war, but got a railroad clerkship. After that a natural qualification for railroad business took him by rapid promotion to the vice presidency of the Missouri Pacific.

Warren Samuel McChesney, Jr., was a plain railroad agent in his native Kentucky before he began to advance by a series of promotions toward the head of the great St. Louis Terminal association.

E. B. Pryor studied theory and practice of railroading through the medium of a private secretaryship to prepare himself to be vice president of the Wabash.

Phillip W. Coyle, the traffic commissioner and railroad expert of the Business Men's League, was at the age of fifteen a railroad telegraph operator on the Erie in New York state, where he was born.

A native of Texas and a St. Louisan by adoption is Benjamin F. Yoakum. The Yoakums were old settlers of Texas. Two brothers went out from Tennessee with the pioneers. Dr. F. L. Yoakum, the father of the railroad builder, was the president of the Cumberland Presbyterian College before the Civil war. Henderson Yoakum was a leading lawyer and became an historical writer of authority. Benjamin F. Yoakum first came to St. Louis as a young man in charge of an exhibit of Texas products to be installed at the St. Louis annual exposition on Fourteenth and Olive streets.

Sidney Carter Johnson, one of the St. Louis born and bred railroad general officers, began as an office boy for the Iron Mountain auditor.

From telegraph operator to vice president, Carl Raymond Gray, of Arkansas birth and education, advanced in the Frisco service.

From messenger boy in an Illinois railway telegraph office to president and general manager of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway system, Andrew A. Allen passed through the grades of telegraph operator, clerk, ticket agent, train dispatcher, city agent, train master, superintendent and assistant general manager.

John P. Ramsey, a Pennsylvanian, entered upon a railroad career through the engineering department. Before he became a general officer at St. Louis he had seen varied service from the Alleghanies to the Rockies.

All parts of the Union and all kinds of experience are represented in the men who have risen to control of the St. Louis railroad systems.

The terminal problem became important in St. Louis as early as 1872. Barton Bates was president of the North Missouri Railroad, now the Wabash. He wrote a letter to James S. Rollins at Jefferson City, sending with it a bill to enable the railroads to make connections in St. Louis with various warehouses, elevators and industries. He argued the importance of this legislation at considerable length. In the course of his letter he wrote:

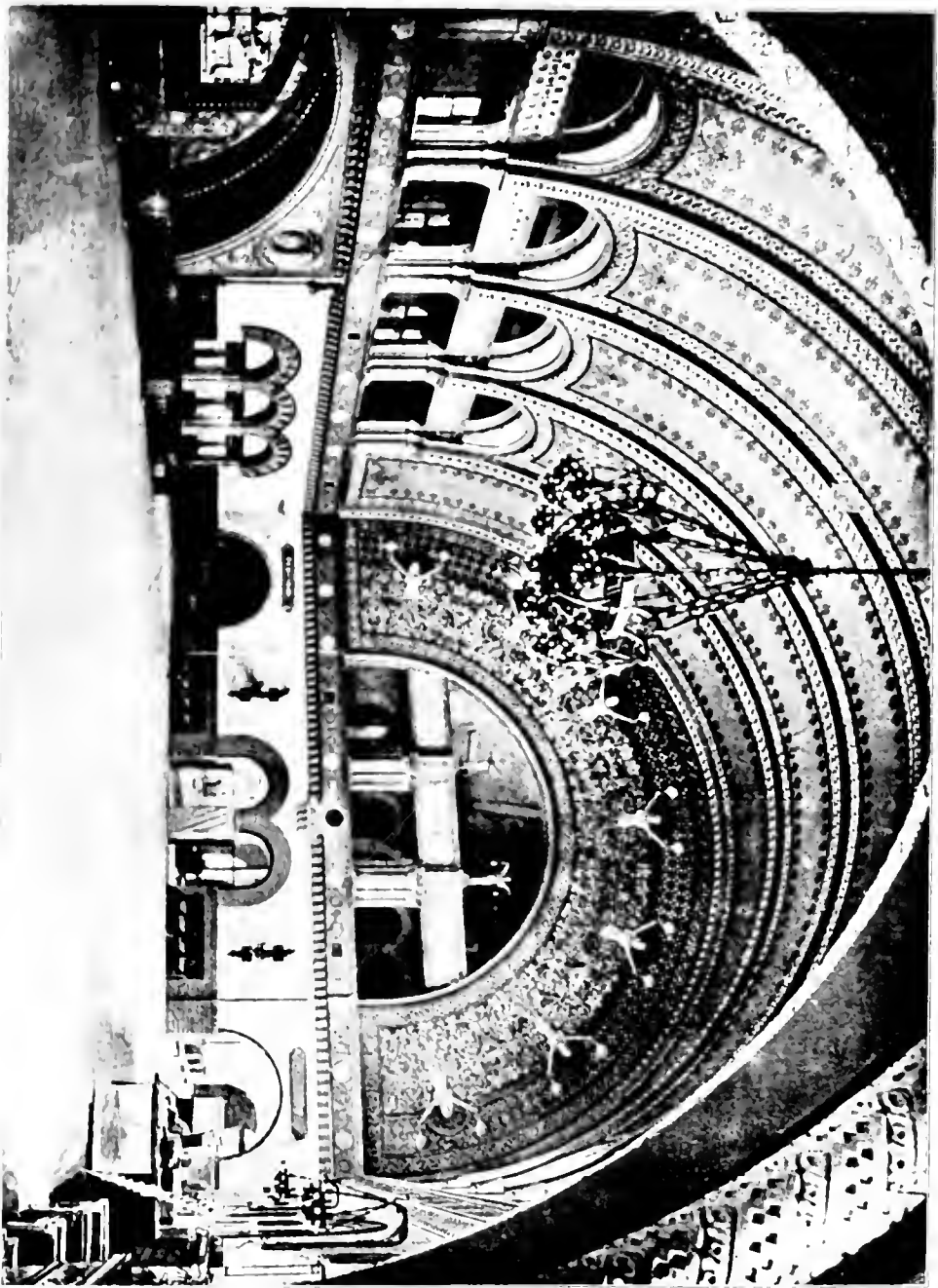
With lines of railroads connecting throughout the city with the private stores of public markets many kinds of business would take advantage of the new arrangement to enable them, with profit, to pay more and sell for less than heretofore, and thus compete with other cities in buying and selling to the manifest advantage of customers throughout the country. In such event not only would grain come to elevators and warehouses without unnecessary and expensive handling, but other productions would reap the same benefit. One of them is the great tobacco interests of the state. It is clearly probable that tobacco warehouses would be so arranged that spurs would be run into them from all the railroads, and the heavy expense of hauling be saved. In like manner slaughter and packing houses, board yards, foundries and other kinds of heavy business would have their separate tracks with like benefits. Likewise earloads of goods would pass through the city without the expense of unloading and reloading.

At that time the railroads had great difficulty in obtaining permits or ordinances from the city government to cross or to occupy streets.

One of the great days of St. Louis was the Fourth of July celebration of the completion of the Eads bridge thirty-four years ago. With a nine-million-dollar highway spanning the Mississippi the city felt that it was indeed on the map of the eastern part of the United States at last. Within three years the Board of Trade, which met evenings in Mercantile Library hall with Chauncey I. Filley as president, was thundering against the bridge arbitrary. The bombardment continued from various batteries of large and small calibre, with occasional intervals to let the guns cool off, from that time. At considerable intervals some concession was made but the appreciable impression did not come until Mayor Rolla Wells, with little heralding of his purposes, got up a bridge and terminal commission. A body of representative business men proceeded to talk business to railroad men. The results were evident as there appeared new rate schedules in successive editions on various classes of freight and for various zones. The Mississippi counted in them for no more than so much level prairie. The bridge was no longer an arbitrary; it was mileage. The experts figured that through the work of the terminal commission the commerce of St. Louis had begun to save a couple of millions of dollars a year. This came about with so little noise and fuss that many good people refused to believe that it had been done. But the schedules spoke for themselves. There was St. Louis as plain as print on the map and the rates from and to St. Louis and East St. Louis failed to show the arbitrary.

The tunnel was an immense undertaking for its day. It is a little short of a mile in length. Exactly the distance is 4,880 feet. In the construction, streets were excavated from curb to curb. Massive side walls of masonry were laid. That was before the era of concrete. Through the center of the tunnel is a third

MAIN WAITING ROOM, ROYAL LONDON STATION, ST. LOUIS.





wall. Practically the tunnel is double. Each half of the tunnel is fourteen feet wide, except at the curves where the width is increased to fifteen feet. Heavy brick arches span the space from the side walls to the center wall. They are of sufficient strength to support the roadway above and the traffic thereon. The interior crown of the arch is sixteen feet, six inches above the railroad track.

To create the tunnel it was necessary to remove 215,000 cubic yards of earth. The stone masonry laid was 50,000 cubic yards. The bricks used in the arches numbered 13,000,000. The cost was about \$3,000,000. Like the bridge, the tunnel which was built by a separate company was sold under foreclosure and the company was wiped out. The new company organized with a capital of \$1,250,000, and leased the tunnel on an agreement which provided for six per cent on the capital and an allowance of \$2,500 a year for office and organization expenses.

Under Eighth street, between Olive and Locust streets, the tunnel widens considerably. It was confidently intended by the engineers and builders that connection should be made on that block with the post office for the delivery and receipt of mail. The plan contemplated the delivery of mail in thirty seconds from incoming trains. That was the time the trains would stop opposite the postoffice basement for the purpose. The delivery was to be accomplished by placing the mail bags in hoppers. Outgoing trains were to stop the same length of time to receive the mail bags. The tunnel builders had no conception of the growth of the mail service. They did not foresee the smoke and gases which would make the post office connection impracticable. They increased the space on Eighth street between Locust and Olive by putting in great iron pillars. On these pillars rested ponderous sills of iron which, in turn, supported strong lateral girders. Between the girders were built the brick arches which sustained the street above. The west side of the tunnel at first opened into the basement of the postoffice. As soon as the tunnel went into use, the smoke and gases poured into the basement of the postoffice. It was realized immediately that the proposed transfer of mail bags was wholly impossible. Communication between tunnel and post-office was shut off.

Soon after the completion of the tunnel connecting the Eads bridge with the railroad tracks and yards in Mill Creek Valley, a thoughtful writer congratulated St. Louis in this way:

In the future, even more than now, will the selection of a location for the bridge, which necessitated a tunnel, be esteemed the wisest that could be made. The great traffic of the railways can go on and the thronging myriads of the city's population will rush along undisturbed by the trains that carry the products of a vast continent underneath the ground.

If St. Louis had it to do over again there would be no tunnel, for steam traffic at the west end of the bridge. Railroads, so far as practicable, have routed passenger trains around by the Levee and over the Merchants' bridge to escape the tunnel. Two eminent engineers who have given a great deal of study to transit and terminal problems of St. Louis have put themselves strongly on record that the tunnel should be abandoned for steam railroad traffic. They predict that this will be done within the near future and that the present route of the tunnel will be taken into a subway system. This is in their opinion the civil engineering solution of the present situation.

"There is little doubt," say Robert Moore and Albert T. Perkins, "that the main stem of the first passenger subway will be, or at least ought to be, built under Washington avenue."

These engineers point out forcibly that the downtown loop of the subway should pass "under the square at the west end of the Eads bridge." They would have, as soon as practicable, the Eads bridge relieved of all steam traffic. With the subway built under Washington avenue to Third street, the engineers say, "the trolley lines from the east, by simply transferring them from the upper to the lower roadway of the bridge, can be brought into direct connection with the tracks of the subway—an arrangement which will not only permit of higher speed and greater service by the electric cars, but will have a further and very important advantage of leaving the upper roadway wholly free for wagon and foot traffic."

The engineers condemn the further use of the tunnel for steam traffic. They say:

Even for light traffic the smoke of this tunnel has always been a source of discomfort and possible danger, both to livestock and passengers. For the dense traffic of crowded hours it is almost intolerable. This great disadvantage, inherent in any tunnel, is heightened by a sharp curve near the center and a grade of one and one-half per cent against eastbound traffic, both of which limit the load and the speed of trains and lengthen the time needed to pass through. The least time allowed for any train is four minutes; but as safety requires that no train be permitted to enter the tunnel until the train preceding it has passed out, the result is that all trains passing through the tunnel in either direction must be kept at least four minutes apart. This means that the greatest number of trains that can pass in one direction over the bridge in and through the tunnel is fifteen trains per hour. Or to put it in another way, it means that if, as not infrequently happens, a number of trains, say five, meet at East St. Louis, bound for the Union Station, the shortest possible time before the last train can start is sixteen minutes after the departure of the first train—a delay which any derangement or misunderstanding increases. This limitation added to the necessary discomfort of a passage through the tunnel makes a situation which is highly unsatisfactory and which ought not to be borne any longer than is necessary.

the tunnel for steam cars should cease. Railroad officials have been for years trying to get away from the tunnel. One road sends its passenger trains nine miles additional in order to avoid the tunnel. Two main lines east add five miles to their routes to escape the "noxious gases" of the tunnel. Over the bridge without a tunnel trains could be sent one minute, or even three-quarters of a minute apart. The safe capacity of the bridge is sixty trains an hour for each track. With the tunnel attachment this capacity is reduced to fifteen trains an hour. Railroad managers understand this. Six years ago they had the plans drawn and were ready to let contracts for an elevated levee approach to the railroad tracks on the bridge so that they might turn their trains off the west end without entering the tunnel.

No other city in the country has such an opportunity as is presented to St. Louis to inaugurate a passenger and freight subway system. Such a work can be begun and will become of utility as it progresses. The subway built in Washington avenue to Jefferson avenue and connected with the tunnel would afford the beginning of a revenue producing freight subway system.

Nearly sixty years ago the city of St. Louis awoke to the necessity of ending forever the perennial scare that the Mississippi would cut a channel east of Bloody Island and leave this city two miles inland in Missouri. The city of St. Louis went to the Illinois legislature and got authority to invade Illinois for the purpose of building a dyke across the low level between Bloody Island and the mainland. In high water a part of the river flowed over this low level and there was always the danger that the river would cut out a channel and leave a slough or bayou between St. Louis and Bloody Island. The city acted thoroughly on authority. The "St. Louis Cross Dyke" was built broad and high. It ended all possibility of the channel leaving the front of St. Louis. This dyke was an extension of Washington avenue to the Illinois side with a gap caused by the river. The Eads bridge closed the gap. The St. Louis Cross Dyke determined the location and building of East St. Louis. It became the Broadway of the east side. The whole platting and development of East St. Louis is based on the dyke which St. Louis constructed. Broadway, East St. Louis, is a part of Washington avenue, St. Louis, with a line of different state jurisdiction in the middle of the bridge. The interurban cars which converge at East St. Louis should come over the lower level of the bridge and meet a subway system under Third and Washington avenue on this side. The Eads bridge will be demanded very shortly for a highway and for electric cars to the exclusion of steam railroads. "If its use for purposes of this kind be properly fostered and developed," say the engineers, Colonel Moore and Mr. Perkins, "it will be of great and ever increasing value to both cities."

The engineers express the expert opinion that the building of subways for passengers and freight "cannot be very far distant." They add:

"The reclamation for uses of this kind of the streets now occupied by the tunnel is a matter for immediate and serious attention on the part of the city authorities and of the people."





## CHAPTER XV.

### LAWYERS AND COURTS

*St. Louis Presidents of the American Bar—A Century of the Profession—Early Standards High—Edward Hempstead's Admirable Advice to a Young Lawyer—Procedure with the Spanish Governors—Pounce's Case Against Choutrau—Arbitration in 1782—No Law's Delay Countenanced—The Bartons and the Code of 1816—Pioneer Marriage Ceremony—Oratory of "Little Red"—A Bench that "Split"—"Big Bob" Moore's Hung Jury—Brackenridge's Celebrated Indian Case—Frederick and Edward Bates—A Commission to Watch Aaron Burr—"The Dailer's Daughter"—Luke E. Lawless' Sensational Career—Attempt to Impeach Judge Peck Thwarted by William Wirt—The Stokes Divorce an Echo of a Royal Scandal—Nathaniel Beverly Tucker—A Proposition to Bar the "Universal Yankee Nation"—Marie P. Leduc's Many Offices—Election of Benton to the Senate—Circuit Judges Widely Representative—Malicious Attempt to Impeach Judge Carr—Protest Against Lawless—Trial of William P. Darnes—Judge Bryan Mullanphy's Eccentricities—Henry S. Geyer on Cross-examination—The Krums, Father and Son—Britton A. Hill as a Champion of the People—Strong Groups of Judges After the Civil War—Lawyers as Duellists—The Gratz Brown-Reynolds Controversies—Benton and the Code.*

No man without an upright mind, no man who has not preserved his integrity, has ever died leaving the reputation of a great lawyer.—*James Overton Broadhead.*

Four times the American Bar association has come to St. Louis for its president. With the exception of New York, the bar of no other city has been honored in this measure by the general representative body of American lawyers.

James O. Broadhead,  
Henry Hitchcock,  
James Hagerman,  
Frederick W. Lehmann,—

they have been the St. Louisans selected for the exalted position. This did not come about as a result of chance. The legal profession of St. Louis stands for a hundred years of development unlike that of any other city. Conditions which have wrought a composite population for this city have gone even farther in the evolution of the bar. During the century young men have been coming to St. Louis to engage in the practice of law. They have come from all parts of this country and from other nationalities. Many of them, enough of them to produce the effect, have come after receiving not only the higher general education but the professional education in many widely scattered institutions. They have brought to the profession and practice in St. Louis the training and the traditions of all of the great law schools of the United States and Europe. It would be strange indeed if this commingling of men of all sections and nationalities, prepared for their profession by the best teachers everywhere, had not created for St. Louis a legal profession of superior character, of extraordinary standards.

The advice of Edward Hempstead, who began the practice of law in St. Louis in 1805 to a younger brother was this:

Fall not into the habit many have of drinking. Be free and sociable with your equals in age and standing, but be circumspect with those older than yourself. Be careful in avoiding

a misunderstanding with any man. If, however, it cannot be prevented, when you are right, stick to it to the end.

Touching your profession, close and constant study and reflection are now very necessary, more especially, as you will have to contend with gentlemen of long standing and of high reputation at the bar. Trust more to books for forms and to memory for principles. Let all your declarations and pleadings be taken from established precedents. Encourage no one to commence a suit when he is wrong, nor where he cannot succeed.

Lawyers of later generations who have looked into the legal procedure in the days of the Spanish governors at St. Louis speak well of the quality of justice which was dealt. There were very few criminal cases. Not infrequently the habitants brought civil disputes to the governor for settlement. The governor called for arbiters. These arbiters were chosen from among the habitants. Plaintiff and defendant had voice in the selection. The arbitration was sustained by the governor. This course relieved the governor from the responsibility of individual decisions which might have rendered Spanish authority unpopular with French and American habitants. It provided what approached a jury system in civil litigation. It was in keeping with the very liberal, not to say semi-independent, forms of local government with which St. Louis was favored before the American occupation. The case of Pouree against Chouteau is a good illustration.

In 1782 Pouree was a shipmaster on the Mississippi. He started a bateau from New Orleans on the 22nd of March. The cargo was made up of consignments for several parties. At the mouth of the Yazoo near Vicksburg the bateau was attacked by a party of English. Pouree dropped down the river to Natchez to save his boat and cargo. There his men demanded more wages and he had to yield before proceeding. Joining forces with the masters of other bateaux, Pouree went up the river to the mouth of the St. Francis where he met Labbadie's bateau which had been stopped and robbed at Margot's Bluffs. To escape the brigands at the Bluffs, Pouree put into Arkansas Post, about forty-five miles above the mouth of the Arkansas river. There warehouse room was rented, the cargo was stored and the men discharged. Margot's Bluffs was the name in those days for the site of Memphis. After a time Pouree learned that the brigands had departed from the Bluffs, going into the interior to the Chickasaw Nation. Making up another outfit with difficulty, Pouree brought the cargo through to St. Louis. He tried to collect extra charges on the consignments, and met with difficulty. Setting forth the circumstances as narrated, Pouree asked the intervention of the Spanish authority at St. Louis to compel payment. His paper was addressed to "Francis de Cruzat, lieutenant-colonel of infantry, lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of the western part of Illinois," as the Spanish possession west of the Mississippi was then known. It concluded:

But what was the surprise of the plaintiff, after having labored as he had done for the preservation of the said cargo, to see Mr. Chouteau refuse to contribute his part in the expense of said equipment. Is he ignorant that if a shipmaster is obliged by superior force to lay up on the voyage the shippers are obliged to pay to the master the entire expense just as if the voyage had been completed, and if the master makes a second equipment the shippers are obliged to pay the expenses in proportion to that which they had in the ship? Or does he wish to elude by false arguments a payment which is so fairly due to the plaintiff? This is why, sir, the plaintiff has recourse to your justice; for if it pleases you to order Mr. Chouteau to pay without delay his part of the said expenses, that will be justice.



F. C. LUCAS



LUKE F. LAWLESS



THE FIRST COURTHOUSE AT THIRD AND PLUM STREETS

It was used for some time after the American occupation. It was built in 1770 and inhabited until 1870.



To his prayer, Pouree attached an itemized account of the extra expenses. One of the items was "4 casks of rum for the men at 80 piastres." The amount claimed from Chouteau was \$245. Cruzat passed the paper to Demers, the huissier, with this indorsement:

Make known the present memorial to Don Auguste Chouteau that he may answer to its contents.

Don Auguste did answer. He was a man of exactness in business affairs. He did not write much but his answer covered his side of the case admirably. Having stated the facts of the prepayment on the shipment, Don Auguste added:

The defendant prays you, Monsieur, to please observe that it would be a great wrong to shippers to have to pay a second time the freight upon a venture embarked in a bateau, upon which freight had already been paid before it left port. Wherefore the defendant hopes, Monsieur, that you will dismiss the claim.

Cruzat was wise. He neither dismissed the claim nor found for the plaintiff. He disposed of the case by sending it to arbitration:

Having examined the foregoing, it is ordered that Don Eugenio Pouree and Don Auguste Chouteau each name an arbiter who shall choose a third, for this tribunal which shall finally decide and determine the cause according to the right of each party.

The arbiters chosen were Benito Vasquez, J. M. Papin and Cerre. Their decision was communicated to the lieutenant-governor. After stating that they had heard the parties, considered their demands and inspected the accounts, the arbiters report:

We have unanimously decided after mature deliberation that the shippers ought not to pay for freight and portage upon each hogshhead belonging to them and shipped upon the bateau of Mr. Beausoleil at New Orleans excepting sixteen livres, four sols and four deniers, over and above the freight accorded to him, for augmentation of freight caused during the time only of his detention at Arkansas.

That was to say that the arbiters believed "Pouree called Beausoleil" was entitled to something for the delay at Arkansas Post, but they did not believe he was entitled to the charges that he made. They reduced his bill to about one-sixth of the original amount. Cruzat endorsed the finding of the arbiters:

Having examined the above, it is ordered that Don Eugenio Pouree and Don Augustin Chouteau conform to the foregoing decision given by the arbiters named.

Demers, the venerable huissier, was called into service again. He made his return:

Made known these presents to the parties; speaking to them in person in their domiciles, making the said declaration.

Not the least interesting feature of this case is the absence of the law's delay. The shipmaster, who called himself Pouree and who was called Beausoleil by Chouteau in his answer, presented his petition to Cruzat on the 14th of November. Service was had that day on Chouteau. The arbiters were appointed and held their hearing on the 15th. The decision was confirmed and communicated to Pouree and Chouteau on the 16th.

The bateau, according to Pouree's expense account, had a cargo which made 75 cartloads. The shipmaster estimated the freight as equivalent to 112 hogshheads. To man the bateau a crew of twenty-two men was necessary. The decision of the arbiters settled the case. Pouree was a well known character of St. Louis. His nickname, Beausoliel, meant sunflower.

Very complete and accurate the records of litigation under the Spanish governors appear to be. "All of this was recorded by the methodical and indefatigable Labuscieri," writes an early historian who was impressed by the fine clerical work. The huissier was the officer whose position corresponded to marshal or constable of the later day. Demers, the constable, like Labuscieri, the notary, was born to official life. He performed his duties with admirable regard for detail and praiseworthy degree of intelligence. For example, Sylvester Labbadie and Alexis Marie had an acrimonious dispute about the boundary between their home lots on the block east of Main and between Chestnut and Pine. Governor Leyba found against Labbadie and gave to Demers, the decision to serve. The constable made return on the papers in these words:

I executed the above decree this 13th of March, 1779, by delivery to Mr. Labbadie in person, at his own residence, a copy of the sentence with a notification to conform thereto, so that he may not pretend ignorance.

Hard nuts to crack the habitants of St. Louis occasionally handed to their Spanish governors. Joseph Marchetaud bought a lot from Claude Tinon and gave in payment a heifer. After three years he discovered that Tinon's title was bad. Lardoise Vocharde was the real owner of the lot. Marchetaud asked the governor to compel Tinon to return the heifer, adding "she has now become a mother cow, having had a calf last spring."

"Furnish a copy of this petition to Tinon for reply within three days," indorsed the governor.

Tinon's reply was that Marchetaud was too stingy to pay the costs of getting a deed; that he permitted the fence to go to ruin and that through his negligence the property went back to the public domain. He said it was true he received a heifer but he was also to receive a pair of cart wheels.

"He sees," continued Tinon, "that by his own neglect he has lost his lot, and that by the care of your suppliant the heifer has become a cow and a mother, and this is why he seeks by unlawful means and subtlety to surprise justice."

The case went against Marchetaud. "We decide," wrote the governor, "the cow to be the property of Tinon and direct Marchetaud to deliver to him the pair of cart wheels and to pay the cost of this suit."

The stone row of rooms erected for the Spanish barracks, just north of the Southern Hotel site, became law offices after the American occupation. In one of them Mathias McGirk, who became chief justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri, had his office. Isaac McGirk had his law office in the same locality on Fourth, near Walnut, and died there.

David, Joshua and Isaac Barton had a great deal to do with framing the first laws and organizing the first courts of St. Louis. They were three of the six sons of a Baptist minister of North Carolina. The Rev. Isaac Barton was an associate of John Sevier's patriots who won the victory at King's Mountain, a battle of the Revolution which impressed the British government more than almost any other engagement with the invincible courage of the Americans. David Barton became the first judge of the circuit court of St. Louis; Joshua the first United States district attorney of St. Louis; and Isaac the first clerk of the United States district court of St. Louis. David was elected to the United States Senate. Joshua Barton was killed in the duel with Rector. Isaac Barton

continued clerk of the United States district court more than twenty-one years. The brothers had read common law and were acquainted with the English system. When they arrived in St. Louis they found themselves disqualified to practice under the civil law which had been continued in force. A territorial legislature was elected. The Bartons with the half a dozen other American lawyers who had come to St. Louis had influence enough to wipe out the old code. They got through an act which was made the basis upon which the statutes of Missouri are founded. What they did was to pass an act making the common law of England and certain British statutes not inconsistent with the Constitution and statutes of the United States, the law of Missouri Territory. That was done in 1816. The American lawyers were then ready for clients.

Circuit judges were authorized to perform the marriage ceremony when the courts were established under American authority. David Barton, the first circuit judge had a form which was marvelously brief. The parties stood up.

The judge—"— —, do you take — — to be your wife?"

The man—"I do."

The judge—"— — do you take — — to be your husband?"

The woman—"I do."

The judge—"The contract is complete. I pronounce you man and wife."

David Barton came to St. Louis just about the time the rangers, who were the rough riders of the war of 1812, were being organized. He joined the command and served with it. Barton was chosen without opposition the first United States senator when Missouri was admitted. The legislature deadlocked on the second place. Barton was allowed to name his associate and chose Benton. Thus it occurred that, although there were several strong men from other states, the two United States senators chosen at St. Louis were from North Carolina.

Barton was known as "Little Red." He got the name when he delivered a speech which made him famous throughout the country. The senate chamber was crowded. Barton had taken sides against the Jackson policies. His arraignment and condemnation of the administration for years ranked as one of the greatest speeches heard in the senate. The audience became intensely excited. At the close, while people were crowding out of the gallery, there came a mighty shout, "Hurrah for the little red!" This was repeated again and again in the corridors of the capitol by the Missouri frontiersman who had been a listener. When the man became calm enough to explain he said the original "little red" was a game rooster he owned which could whip any fighting cock pitted against him. When he heard Senator Barton "putting his lies" in the Jackson crowd and "bringing them down every flutter" he couldn't help thinking of the victories of his "little red." The newspapers took up the application. Barton went by the name of "Little Red."

Brackenridge, who practiced in the courts of the new territory a year or two, about 1810, told the story of a trial before two of the recently appointed judges. The third judge was absent from the bench that day. No jury was required. The case was elaborately presented, and exhaustively argued. The judges retired for consultation. When they came back there was an embarrassing pause. The counsel looked expectantly toward the bench. The judges bent over the papers. At length one of them said: "We are prepared to announce the finding of the court. We've split."

John F. Darby was definite in the details of a somewhat similar experience. When he was a young lawyer he had a case before Justice Patrick Walsh. The court was on Olive street near Main. John Newman was the opposing counsel. Constable Dan Busby went out to get a jury. He reported that everybody he asked refused to come. In those days the constable could not compel attendance. The lawyers offered to waive the jury. Old Judge Walsh said the record called for a jury; he wouldn't try the case otherwise. Constable Busby said he had seen "Big Bob" Moore on the corner; he thought he could get "Big Bob" to serve. The trouble with the rest of the people was they wanted to see the St. Louis Grays, a parade having been announced for that day. The lawyers agreed to go ahead with one man for the jury if "Big Bob" Moore would serve. "Big Bob" was willing. The case was tried and submitted. As the justice had only one room the court, counsel and witnesses went out on the sidewalk to let "Big Bob" make up the verdict. Time slipped by with no call from the lone jurymen. Constable Busby opened the door and asked Moore if he had agreed on a verdict. "Not exactly," replied "Big Bob." The delay ceased to be humorous. The justice led the way back into the room and reopened court. Mr. Moore was called on to explain.

"Squire," he said seriously, "the jury is hung. When I look at one side of the case I think I ought to give it that way; but when I come to look at the evidence on the other side, I see I cannot give the verdict for that side, and so the jury is hung, for I cannot make up a verdict."

"Big Bob" was discharged and the case was continued.

Brackenridge's Indian case gave the St. Louisans a subject for much discussion about 1811. It raised a new question as to jurisdiction of the United States courts over the aboriginal citizen. The case, as Brackenridge described it, was this:

One day while sauntering along the high ground, or second bank, which overlooked the narrow plain at that time containing the town of St. Louis, my attention was attracted to one of the towers near the old fort, in one of whose ruined barracks the court was still held,—by an Indian who sat near the iron grate, confined as a prisoner for some high offense. The poor fellow beckoned to me to approach, which I accordingly did. He sat between the iron door and the grating with a checkerboard between him, to which he directed my attention, and then asked me with a few broken words, part French and part English, to take a game with him. Willing to gratify him in a request so harmless, I stepped forward and took a seat on a large stone. His only covering was the blanket fastened around his waist, leaving his breast and lower limbs perfectly bare. There was no paint on his body. His head had none of the adornments of the warrior; but his wire tweezers had not been idle, for his beard was plucked as clean as usual. His complexion was that of very light olive; in some European countries it might pass for white, the consequence of long confinement. The game was played and lost by me. It was played again, and still the same result. Although I was not remarkably expert, I had never been beaten quite so easily.

The Indian was of the Mascoutin tribe, now nearly extinct, and generally living among the Kickapoos. He had married a woman of that tribe, who had gone off with another Indian and left him; but he met her accidentally in the streets of St. Louis. She fled; he pursued, overtook her, and in his fury stabbed her to the heart. He was immediately seized and committed by the magistrate to this prison. In the meantime the Indian agent had given information of the affair to the government, and requested to be informed whether he should be brought to trial. Eighteen months had elapsed before it was determined to turn him over to the court of the territory to be tried for the murder. In the meantime, in order to pass away the listless hours, he amused himself with the game of checkers, and by dint of practice had acquired such skill in it that persons came on purpose to play with him. The time





RICHARD A. BARRETT



CHARLES A. GIBSON



ALEXANDER KAYSER



MELVIN L. GRAY



FREDERICK BATES

THE BAR OF ST. LOUIS



for his trial was now fast approaching. I informed him that it was my business to speak in favor of people in his situation, when brought before the chiefs at the council about to be held over him, and wished to know whether he wished me to speak for him. He nodded his head with a smile and said he was thankful. "Tell the chiefs," said he, "that I am a warrior and wish to be shot and not hung like a dog."

Brackenridge did not deliver the message. He went into court, defended the Indian and secured the dismissal of the case. Brackenridge's argument was that the courts of the white man had no jurisdiction over crime committed by an Indian against an Indian. The young lawyer urged and the court sustained this point:

He is neither a citizen nor a denizen. By our Acts of Congress, he is expressly excluded from the tax list, militia roll, from the census, and of course from all the duties as well as privileges of citizenship. He may set up his wigwam ~~on a common~~ in the vicinity of a town, or he may establish his village or his hunting camps in the body of a country, without any more notice being taken of him than if he were a thing *ferae naturae*. So long as he does no injury to the white man, he may live and die in his own way, without attracting the least notice, or incurring the slightest responsibility.

Edward and Frederick Bates were from Goochland county, Virginia. The Quaker descent did not restrain their father from serving under Washington in the Revolution. Neither did it stand in the way of the son of Edward Bates, Lieutenant General John C. Bates, choosing the profession of a soldier and rising to the highest rank in the United States army. When not of age Edward Bates enlisted as a private soldier and served in the war of 1812. After his discharge from the army he came to St. Louis, following his brother, Frederick, who had come some years earlier. It is one of the traditions that Frederick Bates was given one of the earliest Federal appointments at St. Louis and was sent here by Thomas Jefferson to watch Aaron Burr and to report confidentially what he was accomplishing in the new territory.

Edward Bates was a seventh son. There were twelve children in his father's family. The genealogical tree of the Bates family in this country went back to the colony at Jamestown. Edward wanted to go into the navy. His mother opposed him. He compromised with her by serving six months in the army during the war of 1812. When he was twenty he came to St. Louis. With a good academic education obtained at Charlotte Hall, with but little means, went into a law office, Rufus Easton's, on Third street, and studied law. His rise to distinction after his admission in 1816 was very rapid. He had so much to do with the framing of the Organic Act, under which Missouri was admitted to the Union, that for a long time it was called "the Bates Constitution." In 1823 Judge Bates was married to Miss Julia D. Coalter. He had seventeen children. Within a short time after his admission to the bar he was district attorney for Missouri. Among the positions he filled while a young man were delegate to the state constitutional convention, attorney general for the state, member of the legislature, United States district attorney, and member of Congress. He held other official positions afterwards, but he refused many, preferring to practice his profession. President Millard Fillmore nominated Edward Bates to be his Secretary of War and the Senate unanimously confirmed the appointment but it was declined. Devotion to the cause of the Union prompted acceptance of the place in the Lincoln cabinet. Missouri had

presented the name of Edward Bates for the Presidential nomination at Chicago in 1860.

The manners of Edward Bates were most pleasing. In stature the great advocate was not large. He wore ruffles, blue broadcloth and brass buttons in the days when that style of dress was fashionable in the legal profession. He was smooth shaven, had bright black eyes and made friends who were devoted to him. With all of his years at the bar and in politics, Edward Bates never fought a duel nor was challenged. When he was in Congress, Bates was the recipient of attention which seemed insulting from McDuffie, the South Carolinian. He sent a demand for an explanation and was given one that friends deemed entirely satisfactory.

The court house block in 1820 was open ground, unoccupied except for a curious structure about ten feet square near the northwest corner. This frame work of stocks was called "the jailer's daughter." Malefactors were put in the stocks and if the penalty called for it they were whipped. The jailer's daughter disappeared after a few years.

Vocations were not closely defined when St. Louis was young. A man who afterwards attained an important position in the community inserted this business announcement in the Missouri Republican of January 31, 1828:

Clement B. Penrose has removed his office to No. 83 Church street, next door above the Green Tree Inn, where he will thankfully receive employment in his line of justice of the peace, notary public, scrivener and sworn interpreter. He has opened a register for the sale and hire of slaves; for procuring employment for journeymen mechanics and others, and for the sale and rent of property. He will investigate titles to lands and lots. Each registry he will enter for the moderate price of 12½ cents, and all his other charges will be moderate if he succeeds. He will attend daily at Paul's coffee house from 10 to 11 o'clock a. m. to receive orders.

After filling an important position in St. Louis Clement B. Penrose went back to Pennsylvania, became a political leader in Philadelphia and an office holder in Washington.

The bar of St. Louis early came into national prominence through an impeachment trial. Luke E. Lawless, a Dublin University man, who had served in the British Navy and who had been a colonel in Napoleon's army, came to St. Louis to practice law in 1826. Mr. Lawless felt prompted to publish a criticism of a federal judge, James H. Peck. The judge declared Lawless guilty of contempt of court, sent him to jail for a day and a night, and suspended him from practice for eighteen months. When Congress met in December, John Scott, the member from Missouri, presented a memorial from Lawless, charging Judge Peck with tyranny, oppression and usurpation of power. Articles of impeachment were reported by the House, and the Senate tried the judge. Lawless prepared the pleadings. Half of the lawyers in St. Louis went to Washington to give testimony. The trial lasted six weeks. The judge was acquitted. Precedents as to the powers of the United States courts to punish contempt were established. Lawless seems not to have suffered any loss of popularity through the defeat at Washington. In 1831 he was elected judge of the circuit court and sat three years. The vote of the Senate was 21 for conviction and 22 for acquittal. One of the managers on the part of the House was James



JUDGE J. G. WOERNER



GIVEN CAMPBELL.



JUDGE PETER FERGUSON



JUDGE SAMUEL TREAT



JUDGE JOHN WICKHAM

THE BENCH AND BAR IN DAYS PAST



Buchanan, afterwards President. The argument of William Wirt is said to have saved Peck.

Judge Peck was a man of eccentricities. He was from the mountains of East Tennessee. While he stood six feet and was of fine physique, he had brothers who towered from six inches to a foot above him. The story followed Peck to St. Louis that because he was smaller than the other members of the family and unable to do as much work as they could on the farm, he was sent to school to become a lawyer. Peck came to St. Louis in 1818. His appointment to the Federal bench occurred just after Missouri was admitted as a state. One of the judge's customs was to appear in court with a large white handkerchief bound around his head, covering the eyes. The handkerchief was put on before the judge left his home. A servant conducted him from his carriage into the court room and to the bench. The judge sat through the session blindfolded. Whenever it was necessary to present a paper to him, the contents were read aloud by the clerk or the counsel. The explanation given for this singular procedure was that the judge believed his eyes were affected and that he would go blind if he exposed them to the light. Judge Peck was a bachelor. He had at one time paid devoted attentions to a lady of St. Louis. There was another man in the case. Peck and his rival met in the street and fought about the lady. The rival was accepted.

Luke E. Lawless had a variety of sensational experiences in his professional career. On one occasion he challenged the right of Judge J. B. C. Lucas to appear in court on the ground that he was not a licensed member of the bar. Lucas had admitted Lawless to practice some time previously when he was a member of the court appointed from Washington. To Lawless' objection Judge Lucas replied: "If the court please, I am licensed. I am licensed by the God of heaven. He has given me a head to judge and determine, and a tongue to speak and explain." After he had spoken at some length Judge Lucas closed his response to Lawless with this: "May it please the court, I did not come to this country as a fugitive and an outcast from my native land. I came as a scholar and a gentleman on the invitation of Dr. Franklin."

The scandal of George IV and Caroline had an echo in the St. Louis courts. The Prince Regent repudiated his wife. He charged her with infidelity. Princess Caroline was living away from England. When the Prince became George IV the first thing he did was to declare his charges against his wife, and to call upon parliament to dissolve the marriage. Caroline returned to England, claimed her royal rights, and appealed to the public. Sympathy was with her. It was stimulated by the methods employed to collect evidence of Caroline's alleged wrongdoing. The prosecution failed utterly and was abandoned. Not long after this there appeared in St. Louis an Englishman who was introduced as William Stokes. He brought with him a credit of 28,000 pounds sterling. That was a great deal of money in the eyes of St. Louis people. Stokes announced that he had selected this as his future home. Through General William H. Ashley and others he began to make large purchases of real estate. Away to the westward of the city as it was then, near what is now Olive street, he bought two hundred acres of ground. This was laid out as the country home of an English gentleman. Extensive stables and outbuildings supplemented the

mansion. Orchard and garden, a tree-bordered driveway, a park were added at lavish cost. Stokes was made welcome. His family was shown the social courtesies which St. Louis people so well knew how to bestow. This family consisted of Miss Stokes, the sister, and a lady who was presented as Mrs. Stokes, the wife. Miss Stokes was a young woman of fine education and good breeding. In time she became the wife of John O'Fallon. Stokes had become well settled in St. Louis. Four years had elapsed since his coming. Mrs. Marianne Stokes arrived. She announced that she was the real wife of William Stokes. She told the story of his desertion in England. Her version was that Stokes had been employed by the crown to furnish evidence against Queen Caroline. For this she said his reward had been 50,000 pounds. But the conduct of Stokes, when the evidence was presented, appeared so disreputable that he was compelled to exile himself. He had taken his housekeeper with him. That he was in St. Louis had been learned through the Barings, bankers.

Mrs. Marianne Stokes took board in St. Louis and employed lawyers. She wanted alimony; she also wanted a divorce. Her chief counsel was Luke E. Lawless. Stokes was defended by an array of talent headed by Thomas H. Benton. A jury was summoned to report on the facts. It was composed of George Martin, Gabriel Cerrè, Joseph White, John R. Guy, Joseph Liggett, Jonathan Johnson, James J. Purdy, John Sutton, Dempsey Jackson, William Anderson, James Loker, James B. Lewis.

St. Louis was shocked at the revelations. Stokes was shunned. But there was not much sympathy for Mrs. Marianne Stokes. That lady was too plainly out for revenge. Moreover, she took pains to show that she considered herself very much above the society of St. Louis. It was her custom to carry to the table her own knife, fork and spoon, enclosed in a beautiful case, and to use them in preference to those furnished by the landlady where she boarded.

Lawless pressed the case with a great deal of bitterness. He got an order for \$90 a month alimony while the case was pending. The law officers were set upon Stokes every month for the alimony. If there was delay, Lawless would go before a justice and get a judgment; then Stokes would be threatened with arrest unless he paid. The litigation got into the supreme court. An opinion rendered there shows that the course of the prosecution was not viewed as entirely praiseworthy. Judge Pettibone, announcing the decision, said sensibly:

It appears by the complainant's own showing that she and her husband separated by consent in 1807, and that they had never since lived together; that in 1816 she left the neighborhood in England and went over to France. The laws of England afforded her redress; she was free to seek it there if she wished it; she was under no coercion of her husband, for she lived separate from him; she was not forced away by him before she could have an opportunity to make her complaints. If for nine years she could behold the open adultery and profligacy of her husband, I see no reason why the courts of this country should at this hour be called upon to interfere in her behalf. It is against good policy and good morals to do it. Investigating cases of this kind leaves a bad impression upon the public mind and has a tendency to deprave the public morals, and ought to be resorted to only when the due administration of justice imperiously requires it. Every offense committed within our own country against the morals and manners of society we are bound to notice and punish, whenever we can get opportunity. But it is carrying our comity very far to say that we must investigate the adulteries and family quarrels which took place in England perhaps ten years ago, when the parties had an opportunity of applying to their own courts. And I am



unwilling to establish the principle that parties may lie by in their own country under injuries of this kind, and then come here and ask us for the redress which they might and ought to have obtained there.

In the end Marianne Stokes was given judgment for a considerable sum. Stokes' property was seized and sold. Some pieces went for one-tenth what he had paid. The Mrs. Stokes who had first appeared in St. Louis died. The wife of John O'Fallon died, leaving no children. Stokes died and was buried in a little grave not far from where the mansion stood. For a time the grave was surrounded by a wooden fence. A half century later when grading was being done near the line of Olive street, the workmen came upon a part of a skull and thigh bones. The coffin and other parts of the body had gone to dust. The bones were loaded into the cart, hauled away and thrown into the depression which was being filled. There isn't so much as a grave left as a reminder of the Stokes family tragedy of eighty years ago.

The judge of the circuit court who tried the Stokes case was Nathaniel Beverly Tucker. He was a half brother of John Randolph of Virginia, a fine lawyer, but somewhat peculiar. On his country place in the Florissant valley, Judge Tucker found a great hollow sycamore tree when he bought the farm. He had the tree cut off ten feet from the ground, put on a roof, inserted a door and a window, moved in his desk and law books and made the hollow tree his law office. Judge Tucker loved solitude. He was especially averse to mingling with the "Universal Yankee Nation," as he called the northerners. When the Missouri constitution was in process of formation, Judge Tucker told the framers they ought to put in a provision to prohibit Yankees crossing the Mississippi river. Edward Bates wanted to know Judge Tucker's idea of the kind of phrasing which would accomplish that. The judge replied that every immigrant presenting himself at the ferry on the Illinois side should be asked to pronounce the word "cow." If the traveler said "keow," he should be turned back.

A useful lawyer of St. Louis in the early days was Marie P. Leduc. He illustrated the adaptability of his profession for public service by holding six offices at one time. Settling in St. Louis in 1799, Mr. Leduc became almost at once prominent in affairs. The Spanish governor, Delassus, made him secretary. This position Mr. Leduc was holding when Captain Stoddard raised the American flag. One of the first official appointments of Captain Stoddard was that of Mr. Leduc to be syndic. This gave the lawyer the supervision of the lands used in common. It also put him in charge of the streets and public places. In brief, Mr. Leduc became a temporary mayor of the brand new American community. William Henry Harrison, the governor of Indiana territory, was sent to St. Louis to organize a temporary government. General Harrison promptly appointed Mr. Leduc judge of probate, recorder and notary public. A little later the board of land commissioners was formed to adjust titles. Mr. Leduc was made translator. When the territorial government was organized, Acting Governor Bates, in 1807, appointed Mr. Leduc justice of the peace and notary. A little later, in 1810, this versatile lawyer from Paris was designated as the proper official at St. Louis to administer oaths. Two years afterwards Mr. Leduc had established such an excellent record that he was made justice of the peace, judge of probate, notary public, recorder and register of boatmen. A little later he

became clerk of the court of common pleas. In 1815 he was made clerk of the circuit court. When he resigned, in 1818, the presiding judge gave him a letter expressing "the great satisfaction with which the duties of the office had been discharged." Mr. Leduc served in both the territorial and state legislatures, framing many of the early statutes of Missouri. He retired after having been in office continuously twenty-three years. But in 1825 he was commissioned judge of probate for St. Louis, holding the office until it was abolished. When the county court came into existence, Mr. Leduc was appointed presiding judge. He held this office until 1839, when failing health compelled him to resign. He was seventy years of age when he died. Of the forty-one years of his residence in St. Louis, he was in office thirty-seven of them. He filled twenty different positions. His official life covered the period from Spanish authority to complete American organization of city and state governments. It was a record of most faithful public service throughout.

His devotion to official duties was the measure of life for Marie Phillippe Leduc. When he came from Paris to New Orleans his mother and two brothers accompanied him. Two years before the American occupation Mr. Leduc married Marguerite Papin, the granddaughter of Laclède and Madame Chouteau. Three children born of the union died, one a daughter just completing her education. The wife, mother and brothers of Mr. Leduc passed away, leaving him for twenty years the last of the Leduc family.

One night in his official experience was deeply impressed upon Mr. Leduc. That was the 30th of September, 1820. The first state legislature of Missouri had elected David Barton one of the two senators. There was a deadlock on the second senatorship. Thomas H. Benton needed another vote to elect him. Daniel Ralls, a Benton member, was dying. Leduc was anti-Benton. He had said he would sacrifice his right arm before he would vote for Benton. The election was to take place on Monday. Saturday night some of Leduc's best friends met with him. They were headed by Auguste Chouteau. In the party it is said were John P. Cabanne, Bernard Pratte, Pierre Chouteau, Sylvester Labbadie and Gregoire Sarpy. The issue with these pioneer families was confirmation of the titles to the land that had been given to them by Laclède, St. Ange and the Spanish governors. Leduc was told that Benton was favorable to confirmation by the United States government and would work to that end. As between Benton and Lucas the French people felt their property rights would be safer if the former was elected. All night the conference lasted. About daybreak Leduc yielded to the arguments, and promised to vote for Benton. Soon after nine o'clock Monday morning, the legislature assembled in the dining room of the hotel. Four negro men carried in the bed with Ralls upon it. When the roll was called Ralls voted for Benton; he could not raise his head. This was his last legislative act. At that same session a county was named in memory of Ralls.

By nativity, by education, by previous practice at the bar, the circuit judges of St. Louis were widely representative. They brought to the bench temperament, knowledge and experience of great range. These judges have been as cosmopolitan as the legal profession of St. Louis. The first occupant of the circuit bench was a North Carolinian; the second was a Virginian and the third was a Kentuckian. After Benton and Tucker came Alexander Gray, who was a cap-

Above attested by these presents that we  
 David Scott as executor and Taylor Stewart  
 as sureties have and lawfully bound ourselves  
 & our heirs in the just and full sum of  
 Two hundred dollars to be paid to the said  
 John P. Stewart administrator or assigns to  
 which payment we bind ourselves to be made  
 and to satisfy our heirs executors and assigns  
 justly and lawfully by these presents  
 made with our heirs and assigns the said  
 bond of Gray in the year of our Lord one thousand  
 eight hundred and fifty four whereas lately  
 a Circuit Court of the United States in and  
 for the District of Missouri in a suit  
 brought by the said John P. Stewart Plaintiff  
 and Plaintiff against said David Scott Defendant  
 and said David Scott having obtained a writ of  
 Habeas Corpus the judgment was affirmed  
 and said David Scott directed to the said David  
 Scott and to satisfy the same to be made  
 before a Superior Court of the United States  
 to be holden at Washington the first  
 Monday of December next & that the condition  
 of the above obligation is such that if the said  
 Plaintiff David Scott shall prosecute his suit  
 at Court to effect and recover all damages and  
 costs which he shall be entitled to by law after  
 the above obligation to be made shall be  
 made in full force and effect

Executed before me  
 appointed by Matthew  
 H. Wells

David Scott  
 Taylor Stewart

BOND IN THE DRED SCOTT CASE



DRED SCOTT

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tain in the Twenty-fourth Infantry during the War of 1812, before he entered upon the practice of law in St. Louis. The fourth circuit judge was a Virginian, Alexander Stuart. After he retired from active practice he lived on a farm near Bellefontaine. It was quite the custom for judges and lawyers in the earlier history of St. Louis to resort to country life for recreation.

A movement to impeach a circuit judge was made in 1833. William C. Carr was the judge, having held the position seven years. Investigation showed that the charges were prompted by personal enemies. The legislature went through with the trial and acquitted. William C. Carr was described by those who knew him as being somewhat taciturn in temperament. He was sober and religiously inclined, being looked upon as one of the leading Presbyterians of his day. Having no acquaintance with the French language when he came to St. Louis among the first arrivals after the American occupation, he made rather slow progress in the early years. But he advanced to a high position in the community. He built the first brick residence. He gave a block of ground for a park. He was among the most active in organizing associations for charitable, agricultural, religious and scientific purposes. When he moved to the suburbs his farm and the mansion thereon were considered one of the show places of St. Louis.

From the early days the bar of St. Louis has held to high standards of professional ethics. In 1837 Luke E. Lawless was the circuit judge. His reappointment by the governor of the state was foreshadowed. A meeting of the members of the bar of St. Louis was called "to get an expression of opinion concerning the judicial qualifications of Judge Lawless." The meeting was presided over by Henry S. Geyer. The secretary was Thomas B. Hudson. This meeting declared belief that valid objections existed to the reappointment of Judge Lawless. These objections were stated as follows:

1. That the said Luke E. Lawless, Esq., is too much under the influence of first impressions, to give to each case submitted to his judgment a deliberate consideration.
2. That he is too passionate and impatient while on the bench, to admit a calm and full examination of cases.
3. That on the trial of issues of fact before juries, his mind receives an early bias, plainly perceivable by the jury, to the prejudice of parties.
4. That he invades the right of juries, by assuming the decision of questions of fact exclusively within their province.
5. That his impatience and arbitrariness lead him to interrupt counsel unnecessarily, and frequently to preclude argument.
6. That he is wanting in punctuality in attending to the duties of the office.
7. That he is imperious, overbearing, and disrespectful in his manner to the members of the bar.
8. That he is indifferent to the faithful recording of the acts of the court wherein he is judge.

The governor, it seems, took the view that the opposition to Judge Lawless was largely on account of politics. He reappointed him. After serving a part of the term, Judge Lawless retired to private life.

Three professions—journalism, the law and medicine—were concerned in a celebrated case which monopolized public interest for several weeks in 1840. The beginning was a newspaper controversy. In the *Argus*, which was the Democratic organ, appeared an article criticising severely the participants of a meeting

where William P. Darnes was secretary. The Argus was edited by William Gilpin, the owner was Andrew J. Davis. Darnes had been the subject of severe criticism in the columns of the Argus before the publication about the meeting. He wrote to Mr. Davis, asking if the criticism of the meeting was intended to apply to him personally. At the same time Darnes referred to Gilpin with some contemptuous expression. Davis replied sharply. Gilpin came out in the Argus declaring he alone was responsible for what appeared in the paper. He denounced Darnes. This meant physical violence.

Darnes decided to hold Davis responsible, notwithstanding what Gilpin had written. He bought a cane, a small iron rod. Meeting Davis near the corner of Third and Market streets, he struck him upon the head with the cane. Davis was taken to the hospital. Three of the leading physicians of the city were called in. They determined to perform an operation to uncover the brain and to take out any broken pieces that might be found. As a result of the operation, several fragments were removed. Davis died a few days afterward. The medical profession divided upon the question whether the operation was necessary.

Darnes came to trial. He had friends. Supporters of Davis were anxious that conviction should follow prosecution. As a result, able counsel were employed on both sides. Gantt was one of the prosecutors. Geyer defended in a two days' speech. The trial lasted two weeks. It turned on the medical testimony whether Davis died from the blows of the cane or from the surgical operation. Among the doctors who took the ground that the symptoms did not require trephining was Dr. William Carr Lane, the first mayor of St. Louis. The operation had been performed by Dr. Beaumont, who was a surgeon in the United States army and who obtained world-wide reputation as a writer and authority upon the stomach and the functions of gastric juice. About the same number of doctors testified on one side as on the other. The court room was crowded throughout the trial. The jury returned a verdict of guilty of manslaughter in the fourth degree. Darnes was fined \$500. At that time personal journalism of the most aggravated type prevailed among the newspapers of St. Louis, and editors indulged in very sweeping and bitter criticism of political opponents. It was public comment that the lightness of the verdict against Darnes was due to the fact that editors went too far in their comments.

When Bryan Mullanphy was judge of the circuit court he was charged with oppression. The complaint was made by Ferdinand W. Risque. The judge had ruled unfavorably to Mr. Risque in the case that was pending. The lawyer showed his disgust in the judge's presence. Three times in quick succession the judge imposed a fine of \$50. Mr. Risque for the fourth time showed his contempt. Judge Mullanphy ordered the lawyer removed by the sheriff from the court room. On this the lawyer based his charges. The judge was tried before the criminal court and acquitted.

Judge Mullanphy had a keen sense of the proprieties when the honor of the bench was assailed. Information that he had been indicted was brought to him while he was trying a case. The marshal went to the judge and told him he had a *capias* for him. He asked that as soon as the trial was concluded, the judge come into the office and sign the acknowledgment of the service with promise to appear. Judge Mullanphy promptly declined the courtesy. Interrupting the lawyer who was addressing the jury, the judge said:



BENJAMIN THOMAS



MARJROM D. LEWIS



THOMAS J. GANT



TRUSTEN POLK



SAMUEL N. HOLLIDAY

THE BENCH AND BAR IN DAYS PAST





Stop, stop: I can't go any further now,—the court is indicted. Mr. Sheriff, discharge the jury and adjourn the court; the court is indicted. The court will not continue in session one minute after being indicted.

The Risque affair had both comedy and tragedy passages. After the judge had ordered the lawyer from the court room, Risque stood outside the open door, shook his fist and made grimaces at the court. Thereupon the judge told the sheriff to shut the door, remarking that he would not "have the light of his countenance shine upon the lawyer."

Subsequently Judge Mullanphy and Risque met on Chestnut street at the south entrance to the Planters' house. George H. Kennerly, then county marshal, was present. Risque struck at the judge. Mullanphy drew the sword from his cane and started towards Risque. The marshal stepped between and "commanded the peace" after the form of those days. "Do you command the peace in your official capacity?" asked Mullanphy. The marshal said he did. "I always obey the officers of the law," said Mullanphy, sheathing his sword in the cane and walking away.

A case to which the Bank of the State of Missouri was a party came before Judge Mullanphy. The lawyer on the other side questioned the legal competency of the court to sit. He said Judge Mullanphy was a stockholder. The judge sustained the point and ruled himself off the bench for that cause. He said that "the court was not a stockholder in the bank; but the court's mother was a stockholder, and therefore he would not try the case."

When Judge Mullanphy was examining a candidate for admission to the bar he asked a number of questions calculated to test the power of recollection. He announced his finding in these words: "You have a very particular memory, sir—very particular, and I shall grant your license with much pleasure." Judge Mullanphy was the seventh circuit judge, succeeding Lawless. He was a native of Baltimore and had been educated at the Jesuit college in Paris, with four years at Stonyhurst, England. Notwithstanding his eccentricities Judge Mullanphy was so painstaking and thorough on the bench that very few of his decisions were reversed. When he died the bar of St. Louis resolved that "all his oddities are but as dust in the balance when weighed against the uprightness of his life and the succession of his charities."

A case was won in the St. Louis circuit court by Henry S. Geyer on a single question and answer. David B. Hill, a carpenter and builder, was put on the stand to testify as an expert. The question was one of defects in the construction of an ox mill which was run by the weight of oxen. Mr. Hill gave his testimony for the plaintiff, going much into detail. He was turned over to the defense for cross examination.

"Mr. Hill," asked Mr. Geyer, "you have discovered perpetual motion, haven't you?"

"Yes, sir, I have," replied Mr. Hill.

"Stand aside, sir," said Mr. Geyer.

No testimony was introduced for the defense. Mr. Geyer devoted his time to ridicule of the invention of perpetual motion. The audience listened with keen delight. The jury found for the defendant. Hill outlived Geyer nearly twenty years. To the end of his eighty-three years he was "the man who had discovered

perpetual motion." He was a man of respectability and much esteemed in his vocation. His hobby was mechanics and he gave a great deal of time to inventions.

When John Marshall Krum came west from Columbia county in New York State in 1834, with his diploma from Union College, he thought Alton might be the metropolis of the Mississippi valley, and opened a law office. When Alton became a city, Judge Krum—he was probate judge of Madison county—was elected mayor, as a Democrat, over the next most popular man in town, a Methodist minister. In 1840, having concluded that St. Louis was the destined metropolis, Judge Krum declined further honors at Alton and moved down the river. His reputation accompanied him. In three years he was appointed judge of the St. Louis circuit court and in 1848 he was elected mayor of St. Louis. Just before he came to St. Louis, Judge Krum married the daughter of Chester Harding, the most famous artist of his time in the Mississippi valley. While he was on the bench, Judge Krum published "Missouri Justice." In 1872 the unusual record of father and son having sat on the St. Louis circuit bench was made in the election of Chester H. Krum as circuit judge. The second Judge Krum was educated at Washington University and at Harvard.

Ten days after his inauguration as governor Trusten Polk was chosen by the legislature to be United States senator. This experience of 1856 and 1857 was extraordinary in the political history of St. Louis. Trusten Polk came from his native county of Sussex, Delaware, with a Yale education, classical and law, to St. Louis in 1835. He made his impression on his professional associates as one of the mildest and yet most impressive of speakers. He was never caustic or impassioned but at the same time wonderfully effective. When the war came on he elected to go with the south.

Louis G. Picot became an authority at the St. Louis bar in the tenure and title of lands. He had carried on his law studies in the office of Bryan Mullanphy after coming to St. Louis from his home in Richmond, Va. This association led to his appointment as trustee under the will of Mrs. Ann Biddle. The estate was a large one. Mr. Picot's management of it developed his taste for legal practice in real estate. Mr. Picot acquired large means. He made one investment which did not prove very remunerative and that was the construction of the historic Broadway hotel near Biddle market.

Charles C. Whittlesey was Connecticut born and Yale educated when he joined the legal profession of St. Louis in 1841. He married a member of an old Maryland family, Miss Groome. Through his contributions to newspapers and magazines and through his law books he sustained a high literary reputation throughout the third of a century he lived here. His book on general practice, his volumes of the Missouri Reports were standard works in the law libraries long after he died. Another member of the profession whose contributions to legal literature have won him national fame is Frederick N. Judson, of historic Connecticut ancestry and a Yale man. Nathan Frank, Illinois bred, educated at Washington University and Harvard, found time in busy practice to prepare and publish a volume which became authority in bankruptcy litigation. Eugene McQuillin, of Iowa birth, reached the circuit bench in 1908 with a well earned reputation as an author of legal textbooks.

Almost a monopoly in litigation at Washington had the law firm organized in 1863 with a St. Louis connection. The partners were Thomas Ewing of Ohio, relative of the Shermans, a senator and a cabinet officer in two administrations; Orville H. Browning, who had been a senator from Illinois and who was to become a cabinet officer in the Johnson administration; and Britton Armstrong Hill of St. Louis. Mr. Hill was of New Jersey birth. He studied law in New York and was admitted to the bar at St. Louis in 1841. Of splendid physique, of intellectual independence, he became a marked character in the community as well as a great lawyer. There seemed to be no limit on the mental activity of the man. Mr. Hill took up the study of medicine in his omnivorous appetite for knowledge. When the epidemic of 1849 overtaxed the medical profession Mr. Hill became a volunteer among the poor. He prescribed, he nursed, he laid out the dead. The natural bent, encouraged possibly by that cultivation of sympathy through his practical work in the cholera epidemic, prompted Britton A. Hill to become a champion of the masses. The last two decades of his forty-seven years in St. Louis he gave much time to writing and talking on what he conceived to be the dangers threatening the American spirit. He wrote *Liberty and Law*, which attracted attention the country wide. He called a convention on a platform of opposition to monopolies, of government control of railroads. This convention declared for the postal savings bank, for settlement by arbitration of international controversies, for restoration of the land grants. It was far ahead of the times.

Alexander Hamilton, a Philadelphian of Scotch-Irish ancestry, sat on the circuit bench of St. Louis ten years. He was twice appointed by different governors and once elected by the people. While he was judge the Dred Scott case came before him. The position Judge Hamilton took was sustained by the supreme court. Nearly half a century Judge Hamilton held an enviable position in the legal profession of St. Louis. He declined to be a candidate for the supreme bench when he would have been elected. The tenth circuit judge of St. Louis was a boy eight years old when his parents moved from Maryland to a farm in St. Louis county. It is a notable fact that James Ransom Lackland who became one of the strongest men in the profession did not enter it until he was nearly thirty years old. With limited advantages in his boyhood, he taught a country school. He clerked in stores. He obtained a deputy clerkship in the court and that gave him the opportunity to read law. Two years after he was admitted he was elected circuit attorney; then judge of the criminal court and next judge of the circuit court. Samuel M. Breckenridge was circuit judge during most of the war period. He was of southern ancestry but a strong Union man. His successor was a northern man but took a position which cost him the judgeship. One of the most hostile against the test-oath was Judge James G. Moody, a Pennsylvanian who came here in 1855 and formed the law firm of Moody, McClellan & Hillyer. In the office of this firm Ulysses S. Grant, before the war, had a desk and tried collection of bills for real estate agents. Judge Moody while on the circuit bench absolutely refused to require jurors to take the test-oath and was removed by the legislature in 1866.

Charles B. Lord of Maine by birth and of New York by education, with ten years' experience at the bar in the east, came to St. Louis. Before going on the circuit bench, Judge Lord was judge of the land court two terms. He had

the judicial temperament. Samuel Reber was a native of Lancaster, Ohio. His connection with the bar of St. Louis began in 1842. From the bench of the court of common pleas, in 1856, Judge Reber was transferred to the circuit court bench where he sat until his resignation in 1867. In the latter position Judge Reber sustained the new constitution of the state and especially the feature which was of strenuous controversy in the legal profession of St. Louis—the test-oath. He made one of the ablest and most dignified of the judges.

Hungary was worthily represented on the long and honorable list of circuit judges by Roderick E. Rombauer of noble ancestry. The father of Judge Rombauer was chief of a division in the revolution of 1848-9. For his support of Kossuth, he was exiled, and brought his family to this country. Judge Rombauer had received education in the best schools of Hungary. He followed the calling of civil engineer in his early manhood and was engaged in railroad construction. Later he studied law and graduated at the Harvard Law school. His service as circuit judge was followed by a long period on the court of appeals.

Judge Irwin Z. Smith was the son of a Massachusetts farmer. George A. Madill, a Pennsylvanian and a graduate of the Albany Law school, went upon the circuit bench in 1870. He was a young man, only thirty-two years of age. The day he retired from the bench there assembled in his courtroom 300 members of the bar to present an address expressive of their esteem.

James J. Lindley went upon the bench at the same time that Judge Madill did. He was from Ohio, educated at Woodville college, and had served two terms in Congress from a Missouri district before he settled in St. Louis to practice law.

Ephraim B. Ewing only escaped being Missourian by being born in Kentucky a year before his parents moved to this state in 1820. He was secretary of state, attorney general and judge of the supreme court before he was elected circuit judge in St. Louis. He went from the circuit bench back to the supreme court and was one of the justices of that court until his death.

In 1874 came John Wickham one of the two St. Louis circuit judges who were natives of Richmond, Virginia. His grandfather was one of the eminent lawyers of the Old Dominion and his mother was a Carter. Through half a century the University of Virginia has been sending notable contributions to the legal profession of St. Louis. John Wickham was one of the earliest, graduating in 1846 and coming to St. Louis soon after.

Louis Gottschalk was one of several German born circuit judges who maintained the high standard of the St. Louis bench.

Wilbur F. Boyle was one of the young men who were so fortunate as to come under the professional training and supervision of Edward Bates. He came from Virginia with his parents when he was a child and received the finish of his education at Asbury University. His father was the Rev. Dr. Joseph Boyle, one of the upbuilders of Methodism in St. Louis, and his mother was a member of the Gist family of Virginia. When, after six years on the circuit bench contemporaneous with Amos M. Thayer, Judge Boyle announced his intention not to seek reelection, the leading members of the bar without regard to political considerations, united in a pressing call to him to continue.



HENRY S. GELP



BRITTON A. HILL



PEMBROKE R. FLETcraft



JAMES O. BROADHEAD



JOHN H. OVERALL

THE BAR OF ST. LOUIS

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A notable group of circuit judges was that of about 1885 when Amos M. Thayer, Elmer B. Adams, Shepard Barclay, George W. Lubke and William H. Horner were on the bench. Judge Thayer was a New Yorker, a graduate of Hamilton college, descended from a Revolutionary family. He came to St. Louis from honorable service in the Civil war. Eight years after he was admitted to the bar Judge Thayer was on the circuit bench. He left that position to become a United States judge and continued on the Federal bench the remainder of his life. The Henry Adams who came over from England with eight sons in 1636 and founded the most famous family in Massachusetts—two of his descendants becoming Presidents of the United States—is represented in St. Louis. Judge Elmer B. Adams is of the Vermont branch of the Adams family. Versed in the law as it was taught at Harvard and practised in New England, he came to St. Louis in 1866. His six years on the St. Louis circuit bench served to illustrate the judicial qualities which commended him for appointment to the Federal bench. Appointed under a Democratic administration to the district bench Judge Adams was promoted to the circuit bench by a Republican president, a mark of strong commendation.

With the last quarter of the legal profession's century in St. Louis came a change. The city began to produce native judges. Shepard Barclay and George W. Lubke were St. Louisans by birth. Lubke was the son of Hanover parents, with the advantage of law study in Henry Hitchcock's office. Shepard Barclay had the advantage of the principal European universities. He went from the circuit bench to the supreme court of Missouri. Another St. Louis born judge was Daniel Dillon whose parents came from Ireland. Judge Dillon was not only a native of the city but he left his studies to be a Union soldier in a St. Louis regiment and afterwards was one of the earliest graduates from the St. Louis Law school. His service upon the circuit bench was one of the longest tenures.

French, English and Scotch ancestry blended in Leroy B. Valliant. The family settled in Maryland 250 years ago. Judge Valliant was born in Alabama. He graduated from the University of Mississippi and studied for the law at Cumberland University. With the experience of four years in the war, four years as judge of a chancery court in Mississippi and ten years practice in Memphis, Judge Valliant came to St. Louis. Nature intended him for the bench. Judge Valliant went from twelve years on the circuit bench of St. Louis to the supreme court of Missouri. James A. Seddon, a native of Richmond, Virginia, and an alumnus of the University of Virginia, became a St. Louis circuit judge in 1887. His father was secretary of war in the cabinet of Jefferson Davis, having previously represented the Richmond district in Congress. The Seddons were a Lancashire, England, family. They became Virginians in the colonial period. Of German birth was Judge Jacob Klein, coming to this country with his parents when he was a small boy. His law course was taken at Harvard. Judge Klein practiced law in St. Louis ten years before he formed a partnership, a condition rather at variance with the custom of the St. Louis bar.

A native of Indiana and a graduate of Wheaton College, Illinois, Judge Daniel D. Fisher prepared himself for his profession at Ottawa, a city famous throughout northern Illinois for the standing of its bar. He came to St. Louis

just after the close of the war. Judge James E. Withrow, a native of Rushville, Illinois, saw hard fighting in the war and received a variety of honorable scars. He read law while he was soldiering, an extraordinary combination of excitement and education. Judge John A. Harrison entered upon the duties of circuit judge in 1892. Judge John M. Wood, a Kentuckian by birth, was attorney general of Missouri before he was circuit judge in St. Louis.

Judge Thomas A. Russell came from West Virginia and Judge Pembroke R. Flitcraft was of New Jersey birth. Both were educated at state universities, Judge Russell at Columbia and Judge Flitcraft at Ann Arbor. The former was greatly interested in public education. The latter made a study of Masonry. Judge Horatio D. Wood came of a family distinguished in colonial history. He was an Ohioan, with a Connecticut father and a Vermont mother. True to the traditions of his ancestry Judge Wood dropped his studies in the St. Louis high school to enlist as a private in the Union army where he served until the summer of 1865. He took his professional degree at Harvard.

Judge William Zachritz, Judge Charles Claflin Allen and Judge Daniel G. Taylor swelled the roll of native circuit judges. Judge Zachritz was St. Louis born and St. Louis educated, graduating from the Central high school and from the St. Louis Law school. Charles Claflin Allen prepared for professional life by courses at Washington University, Princeton University and the St. Louis Law school. He served in the legislature, was active in political reform movements and in literary work before he went on the bench. Judge Taylor was educated at Notre Dame University in Indiana and at the St. Louis Law school. His father was the war mayor of St. Louis.

Judge Franklin Ferriss came from New York state immediately after graduating at Cornell. Like many others of the most successful lawyers of this generation he prepared in the St. Louis Law school for his profession. Before going on the bench Judge Ferriss was a member of the upper branch of the Municipal Assembly. He left the circuit bench to become general counsel of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition company.

Judge George Howell Shields was born in Kentucky and graduated at the Louisville Law school. He performed the difficult achievement of serving as an officer in the Union army and carrying on his law studies during the war. One of the framers of the constitution of Missouri in 1875, one of the freeholders who drafted the city charter, assistant attorney general of the United States in the Harrison administration, Judge Shields brought to the circuit bench extraordinary wealth of legal observation and experience. Judge William M. Kinsey, of Ohio Quaker stock, represented a St. Louis district in Congress before he went on the circuit bench. Judge Jesse McDonald entered the legal profession after a thorough apprenticeship in St. Louis journalism. He came from Indiana and received his professional education in the law department of Washington University. From the newspaper ranks the legal profession recruited Charles P. Johnson and a long list of men who have been successful at the St. Louis bar.

The Pike county contingent has formed no insignificant element in the legal profession of St. Louis. David Patterson Dyer, United States judge, Virginian by birth but Missourian by education, came from Pike to St. Louis in 1875.





THE COURTHOUSE AT ITS BEST, ABOUT 1870



THE COURTHOUSE AS IT WAS IN 1844, BEFORE COMPLETION

From Daguerreotype of Missouri Historical Society

RECEIVED  
MAY 11 1960  
ADVISORY BOARD  
ELECTRONICS

RECEIVED  
MAY 11 1960  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
ADVISORY BOARD  
ELECTRONICS

John B. Henderson, Virginian, settled in St. Louis in 1870 following the conclusion of his service in the United States senate. With Fessenden of Maine and Trumbull of Illinois, General Henderson voted against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. This act cost his reelection to the senate by the Missouri legislature. James O. Broadhead, born in Kentucky, practiced in Pike county and joined the St. Louis bar before the Civil war. Pike county gave to the circuit bench of St. Louis a representative in the person of Matthew Given Reynolds who had the varied experience of graduating from the Naval Academy, becoming an ensign, going to the Missouri legislature and serving as United States attorney for the Court of Private Land Claims before being elected to the bench. Another native Missourian, who became a circuit judge in St. Louis was Walter B. Douglas, born in Brunswick. Besides gaining recognition for legal attainments, Judge Douglas has become known widely as an authority upon the history of St. Louis and Missouri.

Judge Selden P. Spencer came from Erie, Pennsylvania. A graduate of Yale, he studied for his profession in the St. Louis Law school. Judge John A. Talty was born in Moline, Illinois, coming to St. Louis before he was of age and reading law in the office of Johnson, Lodge and Johnson. Moses Nathaniel Sale was one of Kentucky's contributions to St. Louis citizenship. His parents were natives of Germany, who reared a family of six sons and daughters in Kentucky. Educated at the University of Louisville, Judge Sale read the law books four years in the office of James Speed who was for a time attorney general in President Lincoln's cabinet. His connection with the St. Louis bar began in 1881.

The group of circuit judges in 1909 showed, perhaps, the strongest representation of native St. Louisans in the history of the bench. At the same time there was variety of origin, education and experience. In Judges Hugo Muench, George C. Hitchcock, George H. Shields, Matthew G. Reynolds, James E. Withrow, J. Hugo Grimm, Moses N. Sale, George H. Williams, William M. Kinsey, Eugene McQuillin, D. D. Fisher, Charles Clatlin Allen, the cosmopolitan character of St. Louis citizenship was well illustrated.

A strong legal firm about 1890 was Lee, McKeighan, Ellis and Priest. The head of it, Bradley D. Lee, was from Litchfield, Connecticut, settling in St. Louis not long after he came out of the Union army and graduated from the law department of Yale. John E. McKeighan was the son of an Illinois farmer and a graduate of the University of Michigan. Henry S. Priest was born and educated in Missouri. Frederick William Lehmann was a child when his parents migrated from Prussia to this country. He graduated at Tabor college in Iowa and practiced law in Nebraska and Iowa before he came to St. Louis in 1890. There have been rare instances of a new comer advancing so quickly to a commanding position at the St. Louis bar.

With few exceptions the duels between St. Louis principals grew out of newspaper publications. Most of the principals in these hostile meetings were lawyers. Almost the last of the duels was between two lawyers; it was the outcome of a newspaper controversy. One of the principals limped through the rest of his life. Thomas C. Reynolds was of South Carolina nativity. B. Gratz Brown was a Kentuckian, grandson of the first United States senator from

the state. Reynolds graduated from the University of Virginia, went to Germany and completed his education at Heidelberg. Brown graduated at Transylvania and went to Yale for his finishing course. He came to St. Louis in 1845, entered the law office of his relative, Francis P. Blair, Jr., but devoted most of his time to the writing of editorials for the newspapers. Reynolds settled in St. Louis a year later, after service as secretary of legation at Madrid, began the practice of law, but gave more attention to local politics. In 1853 the political zeal of Reynolds was recognized by his appointment as United States district attorney. In 1854 Brown's facility with the pen justified the appearance of his name at the top of the editorial page of the *Missouri Democrat*.

These young men came to St. Louis at about the same time. Both attained quickly prominence in the community. Both were Democrats—but Democrats of factions between which the hostility was intense. Brown was a Free-soil Democrat. Reynolds was a Proslavery Democrat. Reynolds, within five years after his coming, won a position of influence in local political councils so marked that he was made the candidate of his faction for Congress in 1856, not with any expectation of election, but to swell the anti-Benton vote. Brown in the same time had written himself into such distinction that it was said his editorials in the *Democrat* were "cursed by proslavery men, commended by Free-soilers, and read by all."

In 1854 an editorial by Brown provoked a demand for explanation from Reynolds. Three times in three years the editor and the district attorney engaged in controversies over articles in the *Democrat*. Twice the challenge passed and was accepted. In 1856 the duel was fought. It was the last, in which blood was shed, between St. Louisans. It closed a record begun forty years before—a long roll of tragedies. With the meeting between these young men of superior education, of refinement, of gentlemanly instincts, the code at St. Louis passed.

In an editorial printed the 21st of April, 1854, the *Missouri Democrat* arraigned the United States marshal and the district attorney for persecution of settlers in Southwest Missouri by prosecuting them for cutting timber on government land and then charging them with "high treason" because they resisted.

Nothing in this editorial showed personal animus toward Reynolds. The *Missouri Democrat* was making much of settlers' rights. That had long been a Benton doctrine. The evolution from it was the "squatter sovereignty" of Douglas, but Benton did not follow to that development. Some of these settlers had shown resistance when the marshal tried to serve warrants on them for cutting timber on government land. They had been charged with high treason under an old statute. They were being prosecuted in United States courts by the district attorney, far from their homes. The cases gave the *Democrat* excellent opportunity and use was made of it in the interest of Benton, who was in Congress that term and a candidate for re-election.

Reynolds wrote a card in answer to the editorial, a rather mysterious card, in which he said. "My respect for the two lawyers who edit the *Democrat* forbids my believing the article was penned by either of them." And then he protested against the "comment on my official action."

The *Democrat* came back in the same issue which gave place to the card: "To satisfy his curiosity, we can inform him that the article was written by one of the editors of the *Democrat*."



B. D. LEE



W. C. JONES



J. E. McKEIGHAN



CLINTON ROWELL



JOHN C. ORRICK

THE LATER BAR OF ST. LOUIS



Reynolds' interest in the controversy subsided suddenly when Brown avowed himself the author of the articles. Possibly Reynolds thought he was on the trail of big game. He knew, as did everybody in St. Louis politics, that Benton was a frequent contributor to the editorial page of the Democrat. To the young district attorney, with his South Carolina theory of personal responsibility, an issue like this with the great Benton would be very attractive. In his card, evidently written as a feeler, Reynolds indicated his theory that the first editorial had not been written by either of the ostensible editors of the Democrat. He said his future course would depend upon his "opinion of the source" from which the editorial criticism emanated. Did he at first suspect that Benton might be the author of the editorial? If so, the readiness with which he expressed intention to avoid personalities and with which he accepted satisfaction is accounted for.

Robert M. Renck, the friend of Brown in this first affair, was a banker. George W. Goode, who acted for Reynolds, was a Virginian and had passed through his own experience with the code in his native state. He had been a law partner of James A. Seddon, afterwards secretary of war in the cabinet of Jefferson Davis. A close friend of Goode had sustained an injury which demanded satisfaction on the field of honor. He was prevented by religious obligations, possibly church relations, from sending a challenge, but Goode had acted for him. As a result of sending the challenge in Virginia, Goode moved to St. Louis. Here he was counsel in a famous land case, won a fee of \$50,000, bought an estate in St. Louis county and lived the life of a country gentleman.

In the vigorous opposition of the Missouri Democrat to that un-American creed of native Americanism, the editor and the district attorney clashed again. Know-Nothings were numerous in St. Louis about 1854-6. They had many lodges. Along Fourth street, in the court house rounda, on 'change, wherever men most congregated, bits of white paper cut in triangular form were scattered frequently. They bore not a word in print, not a mark of any kind. The St. Louisian leaving home for business in the morning saw these pieces of paper lying about, seemingly without purpose. If he was a Know-Nothing he knew at once that a meeting of the order was called for that evening. Recognizing a fellow member of the order and wishing to learn what was going on, he asked:

"Have you seen Sam today?"

That paved the way to the ~~most~~ confidential communications among members of the order. If the inquirer was a new member and not certain about the status of the one addressed, he asked in a casual tone, "What time?"

If the other looked at the sun or consulted his watch and made the answer, which the question seemed to invite, the interview ended. But the answer might be, "Time to work."

Then the first St. Louisian, dropping his voice so that he might not be overheard, asked, "Are you?"

"We are," was the proper and assuring reply. After that the conversation proceeded on safe ground.

Sometimes the triangular pieces of paper were not white, but red. That meant danger. It prompted, on the part of those who had not been informed, more than ordinary curiosity about "Sam." When St. Louisians went to lodge on red notices they carried stout canes or some other form of weapon for emergency.

One instruction given to new members directed them, when asked by outsiders about the principles and purposes of the order, to say, "I know nothing." From that came the name commonly applied to the movement and to the membership.

The Know-Nothings were native Americans. Their political watchword was: in St. Louis to carry two or three times the municipal elections. The turbulent "Put none but Americans on guard." The American party became strong enough among them started anti-foreign and anti-Catholic riots. For several years the lodges and the party organization devoted most attention to local politics.

In 1854, the year of the first controversy between Brown and Reynolds, the movement had gained strength in all parts of the United States. Several state elections were carried by the native Americans. In 1855 a national organization was effected. In 1856 eight of the thirty-two states had native American governments. But when the Know-Nothings attempted to make a nomination for president, a division among them on the slavery question occurred. The Southern Know-Nothings nominated Fillmore. Many of the Northern Know-Nothings seceded and indorsed Fremont. After that national campaign, Know-Nothingism dwindled.

In 1855, the order attained its greatest strength in St. Louis. Thousands joined, taking the first degree of "Sam." The candidate was first sworn to secrecy and then examined. To be eligible he must show that he was 21 years old; that he was born in the United States; that he believed in God; that neither of his parents was Roman Catholic; that he was reared a Protestant; that neither his wife nor he was a Roman Catholic. Having shown that he was eligible, the candidate was taken into another room and sworn into the order. He placed his right hand on the Bible and raised his left. He swore he would vote only for Protestants, native Americans and those who stood on the platform of America ruled by Americans. Then the password, the sign of recognition and the grip were given.

There was a second degree, into which the candidate was initiated when he had proven that he was loyal and deeply interested. This was conferred with much ceremony. At the conclusion the presiding officer declared solemnly: "Brother, you are a member in full fellowship of the supreme order of the Star-Spangled Banner."

A third degree was added after the success in the state elections of 1854. It was called the order of the American Union. It pledged the membership to stand against any division of the states. It aimed to suppress the agitation of the slavery question by either the North or the South. In six months 1,500,000 candidates had taken the third degree. The organization disintegrated more rapidly than it had grown.

The second affair between Brown and Reynolds enlivened the municipal campaign eleven months after the first; its beginning was a local report of a meeting held to unite various elements upon an anti-Benton ticket for the city election. Politics in St. Louis, from 1850 to 1860, was a continuous performance. At the time of these affairs between Brown and Reynolds a mayor and other city officials were elected annually. Party lines were down. Factions formed and reformed. The citizen of St. Louis could be a Benton Democrat, a "regular" Democrat, a Whig, a Know-Nothing, a reform Republican, an



Emancipationist, a Free-Soiler, an Abolitionist. Not infrequently he changed his factional affiliation from one campaign to the next. Benton was beaten for the Senate, elected to the House and defeated for governor all in six years. St. Louis had in rapid succession a Democrat, a Whig, an Emancipationist and a Republican for mayors. The young editor of the Democrat, guided by a dimly defined political policy, realizing under-the-surface rumblings of the political earthquake which was coming, endeavored to make his editorial page virile and readable; he did not shun personalities.

In March, 1855, the combination was forming to beat the local Benton party in the election for mayor. Anti-Benton Democrats, Know-Nothings and Whigs were in it. Boernstein, the German "boss," joined the coalition. This attempt to unite the Know-Nothings and the Germans gave the Democrat its opportunity. Strange to tell, just at this time Reynolds entered into a business enterprise with Boernstein. The district attorney and the German leader became partners in a brewery. Boernstein was the chief object of the Democrat's attack. Reynolds' name did not appear in the lively two-column description which the Democrat reporter wrote of the speeches and scenes of the anti-Benton mass meeting. A later generation in journalism would have called it "a good story," and would have classed it as "hot stuff." In the next column of the Democrat appeared a communication from "Anti-Know-Nothing" devoted to Reynolds and his brewery association with Boernstein. The letter assumed that the brewery was a cover for a political conspiracy "formed for the purpose of defeating Benton." In the August campaign of 1854, only a few months previous to this, when Benton was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress, Boernstein had pandered to Know-Nothing prejudices by anti-Catholic articles in the *Anzeiger*, his paper.

These articles were translated and republished in the *Missouri Republican*, credited to the *Anzeiger* to drive Catholic support from Benton. At that time the *Anzeiger* was pretending to support Benton. The Democrat's correspondent, "Anti-Know-Nothing," insinuated that by secret intrigue Reynolds had prompted Boernstein, who was ostensibly supporting Benton, to assail the Catholics; that Reynolds translated these anti-Catholic articles and furnished them to the *Republican*. Benton was beaten in that election, but the appeals to religious prejudices led to the worst election riots St. Louis had known.

Referring to the application for the brewery charter by Reynolds and Boernstein, the Democrat asked, editorially, "Is it perjury or is it not?" Reynolds demanded "a withdrawal of your editorial of today, a disavowal and repudiation of the communication of the 17th and an apology for their insertion in your columns." He sent the note by the hand of the United States collector of customs at St. Louis, W. A. Linn, commonly known as "Gus" Linn, a relative of the former United States Senator Linn. Brown replied that instead of "proceeding in the usual manner to ascertain the author of the communication by which you feel yourself to be aggrieved," Reynolds was attempting "to dictate and bully." Reynolds sent a verbal challenge by Linn. Brown replied: "I have no more intention of permitting you to brow-beat me than I have of permitting you to place me in the wrong, and, therefore, whenever you desire to make a further communication in writing, you will not find me unwilling to respond to your satisfaction."

Reynolds challenged: "Your notes are not only insufficient, but offensive. I ask the proper atonement. My friend, Mr. W. A. Linn, is authorized to act for me."

Brown accepted: "I am convinced of your determination to force a collision with me, and am, therefore, constrained to gratify your unjustifiable caprice. I will refer you for all further arrangements to my friend, Capt. D. M. Frost, who is authorized to act for me in the premises."

Capt. Frost immediately notified Linn that the weapon to be used was "the common American rifle, with open sight, round ball, not over 1 ounce, each gentleman to select his own weapon of the kind named." Capt. Frost added for his principal: "He has also chosen 80 yards as the distance, and will on Sunday next arrange as to time and place."

Then followed much letter writing on the part of Reynolds and the seconds. Reynolds demanded shorter distance. "I consider the rifle, which you have named as the weapon, to be unusual and barbarous, and generally excluded by gentlemen. With this protest, as you leave me no choice, I accept it and exercise the right (which I have absolutely) to shorten the distance from eighty paces to twenty. To show you that I do so not from caprice, but necessity, I assure you, and it is a notorious fact, that I am so nearsighted that I am unable, even with my glasses, in ordinary weather, to recognize any person, except an intimate friend, at a greater distance than thirty paces; and as you have the right to name the time of day for the meeting, I can not safely consent to a greater distance than twenty. I hope that in selecting a distance of eighty paces you were ignorant of my defective eyesight, and that you did not knowingly propose terms on which you, accustomed to the rifle, could shoot me down with perfect safety to yourself."

The correspondence carried on by Frost and Linn over the question of distance ranged through the history of the code. Rules of practice were quoted. Precedents were cited. In the end Frost declined to shorten the distance. Linn refused to proceed.

Benton still was the issue in St. Louis when the third difficulty between Brown and Reynolds occurred. The time was presidential year in politics. In the spring of 1856 there were St. Louisans who thought of Benton for national leadership, notwithstanding the futile efforts to elect him United States senator and notwithstanding his defeat in 1854 for Congress. Out of the wreck of the Whig party and between the Free-Soil and Proslavery wings of the Democratic party it seemed possible to form a new national party. The educated German patriots were especially alert for the new party alignment. Alexander Kayser, the St. Louis lawyer, representative of the best German thought and tendencies in the west, sought from Benton an expression whether he would accept the presidential nomination from the new party—the Republican party that was to be. Benton wrote back from Washington on the 12th of March, 1856, telling of his literary plans and concluding: "This is work enough for me and of more dignity (to say nothing of anything else) than acting a part in the slavery agitation, which is now the work of both parties and which, in my opinion, is to end disastrously for the Union, let which side will prevail. A new man unconnected with the agitation is what the country wants."

A few weeks later the Republican party organized in national convention and nominated John C. Fremont, the son-in-law of Benton, for president. Before the summer passed Benton was in the thick of another political fight for control of Missouri. He was running for governor and was supporting Buchanan for president against a member of his own family. In the heat of that campaign the third controversy between Brown and Reynolds had its origin.

Reynolds made a speech in German at Mehl's store, in St. Louis county. He had taken the nomination for Congress as candidate of the anti-Benton Democracy. The Missouri Democrat charged that in his German speech Reynolds "placed Germans and Irish on an equality with negroes." Reynolds sent a card to the Missouri Republican proclaiming this to be "an unmitigated lie, worthy of a sheet whose proclivity to wilful and deliberate falsehoods is only exceeded by the notorious poltroonery of its editor in defending them, or his meanness in not withdrawing them after their falsehood has been proven." Brown took notice of the card by this comment in the Democrat. "The office-holding Pierce candidate for Congress is as full of manifestoes against the Democrat as a guinea fowl is of eggs." He added: "Mr. Reynolds must certainly know that the Democrat has higher game in view in this canvass than himself or the bogus ticket on which he is running. He must also know that he, having on former occasion backed out of a challenge which he sent himself to the editor of this paper, can not be longer viewed as within the pale of those who appeal to such modes for the adjustment of personal difficulties, or expect his effusions to be noticed in that light."

Reynolds came out in the afternoon paper with another card, which concluded: "For him whom this whole community considers an unquestionable coward, and who has been repeatedly convicted of lying, to venture an opinion on my standing as a gentleman is the height of insolence, equaled in intensity only by the abject cravenness with which he has, over and over again, in private and public life, submitted to insults of the most stinging and degrading kind." Reynolds proceeded to "post" Brown by obtaining the publication of his two cards outside of St. Louis. To "post," in the language of the code, was to proclaim in the most public manner possible an adversary to be dishonorable and cowardly. Brown waited until after the election, having, as he explained in a personal note published in the Democrat, "no desire to mingle our own personal conflicts with the excitement of an election." On the 18th of August, he sent "a peremptory challenge." There was no exchange of correspondence. The acceptance was a matter of two lines.

Selma Hall, the country seat of Ferdinand Kennett on the Mississippi river bluffs forty miles below the city was chosen as the place of rendezvous. There was no interference. Benton and anti-Benton men took sides and counseled the principals. The mayor of the city was John How and the prosecuting attorney was Henry A. Clover. Brown chose for one of his seconds David D. Mitchell who had been superintendent of Indian affairs in the west, a fighter in the Mexican war, and still earlier a fur trader. Brown's other second was Leo Walker, a South Carolinian who had married into one of the old St. Louis families. It was quite well understood that Benton and Blair were sympathizing and advising with Brown.

Reynolds selected for seconds Ferd. Kennett, who was considered the best pistol shot in Missouri and Thomas B. Hudson, one of the St. Louis heroes of the Mexican war. He had among his advisers David H. Armstrong, W. A. Linn, a relative of the former senator and collector of customs at St. Louis, and Isaac H. Sturgeon.

Brown and his party went down to Selma Hall on Saturday, the 23rd of August. Reynolds passed the night before he was to leave at the home of Isaac H. Sturgeon in the upper part of the city. He slept so soundly that Mr. Sturgeon had to call him loudly in the morning. With his party Reynolds crossed to the Illinois side by the upper ferry. He was accompanied by Dr. John H. Shore, who was to act as surgeon. The Reynolds party reached the Illinois shore opposite Selma Hall on Monday the 25th of August, crossed over and became the guests of G. W. Chadbourne, the lead man, who had a country home near Selma Hall.

The next day, the 26th, two skiffs conveyed the two parties to a little island about midstream, out of jurisdiction of either state. Both of the principals were young men, Brown about thirty and Reynolds thirty-four. Brown was dressed in black, his coat buttoned. Reynolds wore light gray. The time was soon after sunrise. In fact, the sun was not high enough to give much advantage in the choice of position which Kennett won for Reynolds by the toss of half a dollar. The toss also gave "the word" to Kennett. While Kennett and Mitchell settled these preliminaries, Walker and Hudson looked on and in a few words wondered if Reynolds' luck would last until the fire was delivered. The distance was twelve paces. When Kennett and Mitchell had paced it, the nearness seemed deadly. Brown and Reynolds were placed by their seconds facing each other at the twelve paces. The pistols were loaded in the presence of all. They were of English manufacture with "London" engraved on the barrels and with mahogany stocks so shaped as to give a firm grip. They had hair triggers and double sights, and they carried ounce balls. The powder was measured with care. Cartridges came later. The pistols were placed in the raised hands with the muzzles upward for the drop shot had been named in the terms. That meant the weapons were to be held pointing upward until the word was given when they were to be lowered and fired. By the terms, the second who won "the word" was to say "Fire—one—two—three—stop!" The principals were not to lower their pistols until the word "Fire" and were not to shoot after the word "stop."

Every detail was arranged with scrupulous exactness by men familiar all of their lives with the code. While the weapons were being made ready the surgeons opened their cases, laid out instruments and unfolded bandages.

The seconds, as soon as the pistols had been handed to the principals stepped into their places. Kennett called out:

"Gentlemen, are you ready?"

"Ready," the answer came back as if from one voice.

"Fire—" cried Kennett. Presumably he finished with—"one—two—three—stop," but nobody heard or took note of the words.

Reynolds had lowered and fired instantly after the word "Fire" and before the word "one." Brown had followed so quickly that there was scarcely an

interval to mark two shots. But Brown was hit. Reynolds stood perfectly still holding his smoking pistol. Brown changed position to relieve one leg. Hudson walked up to Reynolds and said,

"I fear Brown is wounded in the groin."

"You must be mistaken," said Reynolds, "I aimed at his knee."

Reynolds was correct. Brown had been shot in the right leg, the heavy ball splitting the bone just above the knee joint. Brown insisted he was able to go on and demanded another fire. The surgeons took him to one side and administered temporary treatment and declared his condition would not permit of proceeding. The seconds conferred and decided that the duel must stop. They gave their decision to the principals. Reynolds walked over to where Brown was lying and offered his hand. There was a frank interchange of expressions of esteem which a generation unfamiliar with the code might find difficult in understanding.

Curiously, the first boat up the river after the duel was named the Editor, a packet with passengers from Memphis. Brown was carried on board and placed in a state room. His wound was very painful. The hemorrhage was considerable.

When the Editor reached St. Louis in the afternoon, the mayor and a squad of police were on the Levee, with an immense crowd drawn there by rumors of a fatal result of the meeting. When the mayor ascertained that the duel had not taken place on Missouri soil, he made no arrests. Brown was carried to his lodgings. The others scattered. St. Louis talked that day and the next of nothing but the duel. Both Brown and Reynolds were known to be good shots. With this knowledge the community had anticipated nothing short of a fatal termination for one of the principals. It became known that Reynolds had planned just what occurred. He had practiced, in the presence of William A. Linn, at a retired spot on the marine hospital grounds, schooling himself with the drop shot to fire with rapidity and with low aim. He had explained to Linn that his purpose was to get in the first fire and aim so that the ball might hit Brown about the knee. Linn said this was a dangerous chance in view of Brown's expertness with the pistol.

"I am very sure of my quickness," Reynolds said, "and were it otherwise, I would never consent to take any man's life for a mere political quarrel. If I can disturb Brown's aim by shooting him in the knee first, it will be all I desire."

Kennett always insisted that Brown's shot passed very close to Reynolds' breast and that if it had not been for the rapidity of Reynolds' firing and the wound in the knee, Brown would have hit Reynolds and would probably have inflicted a fatal wound.

The two principals had no further difficulty. They became quite friendly. Brown served in the legislature, was a colonel in the Union army, became a United States senator, governor of Missouri and nominee for vice president with Greeley in 1872. Reynolds was elected lieutenant-governor of Missouri in 1860, just before the war, went south with Claib Jackson and Sterling Price, and when Jackson died was the Confederate governor of Missouri without a capital. He was recognized at Richmond where he spent a considerable part of the war period. After the surrender of Lee, Reynolds went with Shelby and other Mis-

sourians to Mexico where he took service with the English company operating the railroad between the City of Mexico and Vera Cruz. Returning to St. Louis, Reynolds resumed the practice of law. In the Arthur administration he was made the Democratic member of the government commission which went to Central and South American countries to investigate and report on opportunities for better trade relations between the United States and those countries. His knowledge of French and Spanish and his previous study of conditions in Mexico enabled him to be of great assistance in the investigation. The report of the commission was made the basis for the development of closer relations between the nations of the western hemisphere. Reynolds came back to St. Louis and resumed professional work.

The passing of the code at St. Louis and the passing of Benton in St. Louis politics were coincident. The last duel, with bloodshed, between St. Louisans was fought in the month that Benton went down to final defeat at the polls. Intense feeling between the Benton and anti-Benton factions was the prompting cause of the last duel. Nowhere in the correspondence relating to the duel did the name of Benton appear, but it was understood that Benton was sympathizing and advising with B. Gratz Brown, the editor of the Democrat, in his controversies with Thomas C. Reynolds, the district attorney and anti-Benton candidate for Congress.

More frequently than any other is the name of Benton associated with the code as practiced through two generations in St. Louis. Benton was principal in one fatal duel. He was chief adviser in another duel which ended fatally for both principals. He was second in one of the earliest of St. Louis duels and drew up the rules and forms which served as precedents for subsequent meetings. As a lawyer he defended duelists in court. He was the historian of duels. He published a defense of dueling. But on his deathbed he wrote his regret for "all these scenes" and "had all of his papers which related to them burned."

The last of the Benton duels occurred in 1856. Forty years previously, in 1816, the year he came to St. Louis to make his home, Benton went out as second to Thomas Hempstead, Edward Bates acting for Joshua Barton, the other principal. This was not the first St. Louis duel, but it was one of the earliest and is notable for the punctilious care with which the rules were drawn. The seconds made a formal report upon the affair. Precedents were established to govern in later meetings. Although Benton destroyed all of his papers relating to dueling, the copies of the Barton-Hempstead documents are in the possession of the Missouri Historical society. The most interesting of the papers is the following:

"Rules of the meeting between Mr. J. Barton demanding and Mr. T. Hempstead answering:

"1. The ground will be measured off to six paces.

"2. The gentlemen will stand back to back at the distance of six paces from each other.

"3. At the word 'March!' the gentlemen will instantly step off three paces and turn and fire without further order.

"4. If either party reserves his fire and continues to aim after the other has fired he shall be shot instantly by the adverse second.

"5. The seconds shall decide by lot which gives the word.

"6. The only words shall be, 'Are you ready?' and being answered in the affirmative,

the word 'March' shall be the order for stepping off and turning and firing, as above stated.

"7. The meeting at 5 o'clock this evening on the island in the Mississippi, opposite LeRoy, on the upper end of the island.

"8. The weapons smooth-bore pistols.

"9. The pistols to be delivered cocked to the gentlemen after they have taken their places, and to be held hanging down by the side until after the word 'March.' "

"The island in the Mississippi opposite LeRoy" became better known as "Bloody Island."

A sandbar showed above the river's surface at low stage about 1799, in front of the upper end of what was then the settlement of St. Louis. It grew with succeeding floods, dividing the current. An increasing proportion of the river's volume each year passed down the east side of the sandbar. The part of the channel between the St. Louis water front and the western edge of the bar became narrower and shallower as time went on. The human voice easily carried across. Willows sprouted and grew in clumps and fringes. The new made strip of ground became known as "The Island." When there was need to distinguish from other islands the St. Louisans of that generation spoke of "the island opposite Roy." On the St. Louis bank, near the foot of what afterward became Ashley street, named in honor of the fur trader and congressman, a man named Roy, sometimes called LeRoy, built a large stone tower in which he operated a windmill. The tower stood out on a curve of the shore line, where it caught the breeze blowing up the river from the south. Long after the advent of steam power the dismantled stone tower, looking like an old fort, was a conspicuous landmark. Through more than a generation The Island so divided the current that neither Missouri nor Illinois claimed possession or exercised jurisdiction. This condition of no man's land favored the selection of The Island for duels.

After three lives had been sacrificed in these affairs, public sentiment bestowed the title. "Bloody Island" vied with Bladensburg, in Maryland, for the distinction of being the principal "field of honor" in the United States. To Bladensburg, a few miles from the national capital, statesmen and officers of the army and navy and newspaper men of Washington resorted to settle personal differences by the code.

Duelling on Bloody Island began as early as 1810, when Graham and Dr. Farrar went there in obedience to one of the strangest rules of the code. Graham and Farrar were very close personal friends. One day Graham saw an army lieutenant cheat in a game of cards at the hotel. He exposed him. The army officer declared he must have satisfaction. He sent a challenge to Graham by the hand of Farrar, who was a relative. Under the rules a relative could not refuse to perform this duty when asked. Graham refused to accept the challenge on the ground that the army officer, by his act of cheating, had shown himself to be no gentleman. The code required the second in such case to make the principal's quarrel his own. Farrar was compelled by the rules to challenge his most intimate friend. The two went to the island and fired at each other three times. Both were wounded, Graham so badly in the spine that he kept his bed for four months. When he got up he tried to make a horseback journey to his old home in the east, failed on the way and died.

The duels were fought at the upper end of Bloody Island. They became frequent after Benton had drawn the rules and had established precedents. Usually

the seconds selected a spot where willows and other growth screened the party so that the proceedings could not be seen from the St. Louis side. But people assembled in numbers at and below Roy's. They occupied the windows and the housetops when it was known a duel was to be fought. They could not see, but they could hear the shots. They were witnesses to the return of the duellists.

Possibly Benton did not enjoy dueling. Certainly he took intense interest in these "affairs of honor." Into his "Thirty Years' View of the History of the Workings of the American Government" he wrote a defense, or, perhaps, better, an apology for the code. Following the death of Congressman Cilley at the hand of Graves of Kentucky, Congress made the penalty for dueling in the District of Columbia death to all of the survivors when one of the principals was killed and five years in the penitentiary for sending or accepting a challenge. This legislation was the text of Benton's comment:

"Certainly it is deplorable to see a young man, the hope of his father and mother—a ripe man, the head of a family—an eminent man necessary to his country—struck down in a duel, and should be prevented if possible. Still this deplorable practice is not so bad as the bowie knife and the revolver, and their pretext of self-defense—thirsting for blood. In the duel there is at least consent on both sides, with a preliminary opportunity for settlement, with a chance for the law to arrest them, and room for the interposition of friends as the affair goes on. There is usually equality of terms; and it would not be called an affair of honor if honor was not to prevail all round; and if the satisfying a point of honor, and not vengeance, was not the end attained. Finally, in the regular duel, the principals are in the hands of the seconds (for no man can be made a second without his consent); and as both these are required by the dueling code (for the sake of fairness and humanity) to be free from ill will or grudge toward the adversary principal, they are expected to terminate the affair as soon as the point of honor is satisfied, and the less the injury so much the better."

Pronounced traits in Benton's temperament were seriousness and dignity. They enabled him to see in the code what few others of his generation and none of later generations realized.

Benton was concerned in the affair at Belleville, which some Illinois historians claim was the first and last duel fought within that state by its citizens. He defended the two seconds, going from St. Louis for that purpose. The surviving principal was hung. This Belleville duel was between Alonzo C. Stuart and William Bennett. The seconds conspired to prevent bloodshed and agreed to load the rifles without bullets. As Bennett received his rifle he slipped in a bullet. Stuart fell mortally wounded. Benton secured the acquittal of Jacob Short and Natan Fike, the seconds. The testimony went to show that with all but Bennett, whose courage was to be tested, the duel was intended to be a sham. Bennett escaped from jail and hid in Missouri. Two years later he was caught, tried, convicted and executed.

A year and a day after his first dueling experience in St. Louis and the second year of his residence, Benton was principal in a duel. Like the rest of the Benton duels, that of August 12, 1817, had its origin in politics. Many years ago Richard Dowling wrote into the minute book of the Missouri Historical society Benton's version of the trouble with Lucas:

The election which was held on Monday, the 4th of August, 1817, at which members of Congress were to be chosen, John Scott and Rufus Easton being the candidates, and the former, receiving the nomination, was known as "the military election." The United States



officers stationed at Bellefontaine, then the Western post, were quite active on the occasion, going through the streets with drum, fife and flag, Lieut. Thomas F. Smith taking a conspicuous part.

The polling took place on the west side of Third, between Almond and Spruce, at the courthouse, the judges being inside the door, and the people coming up to vote, which they did by handing in a printed ticket, which was read aloud, each name of a voter written down at the moment and on a line with it his vote. This was the only voting precinct in the county. At this time a property qualification was the law. Col. Thomas H. Benton, living in a two-story house, frame, on the north side of Washington avenue, between Second and Third, presented himself to vote. As he handed in his ticket his right to vote was challenged by Charles Lucas. Col. Benton explained to the judge that he owned slaves in St. Louis, on which he paid taxes. After this explanation he offered to vote. Notwithstanding the explanation, Charles Lucas renewed his challenge. Whereupon Col. Benton called Lucas "an insolent puppy." I had this account from the lips of Col. Benton himself on our return from Manchester, where a large political meeting had been held, I think in 1842.

Lucas, in his "Origin of State of Differences between Thomas H. Benton and Charles Lucas," penned the evening before he went out to meet Benton, said there had been trouble between them at the previous October court over the trial of a case in which they appeared on opposite sides. A question of veracity was raised and Benton sent a challenge, but Lucas declined it because the result of the trial sustained him in his view of the evidence. He added: "I will not for supporting that truth be in any way bound to give the redress or satisfaction you ask." On election day, Lucas said, "I inquired whether he had paid taxes in time to entitle him to vote. He applied vehement, abusive and ungentlemanly language to me, and I believe some of it behind my back, of which he declined to recant, to give me any satisfaction other than by the greatest extremities." Lucas did not know that Benton had called him a "puppy" until the language was repeated to him. In challenging, he wrote to Benton: "I am informed you applied to me on the day of the election the epithet of 'puppy.' If so I shall expect that satisfaction which is due from one gentleman to another for such an indignity."

Joshua Barton, who had been a principal in the duel with Hempstead the year before, when Benton was a second, was now a second himself, appearing with Lucas "at the upper end of the island opposite Mme. Roy's." Barton fell the following year in another political duel with Rector. The meeting between Lucas and Benton was held in accordance with "Articles regulating the terms of a personal interview between Thomas H. Benton and Charles Lucas, Esquires," drawn in terms similar to those which Benton and Bates had framed in 1816 for the duel of Hempstead and Barton. Lucas was wounded in the neck, too badly to permit of further exchange of shots. A few weeks later, in September, Benton demanded that Lucas meet him again. The second duel resulted fatally.

What Benton thought of the Lucas affair he wrote as he lay on his death-bed forty years afterwards, at the same time he condemned the code in general. Bound into some copies of the "Thirty Years' View," issued after his death, was an autobiographical sketch of Benton, written by him, a note said, "while he was suffering excruciating pain from the disease that, a few weeks later, closed his earthly career." In that sketch Benton, referring to himself in the third person, as was his custom, said of the killing of Lucas and of all his connections with the code: "A duel at St. Louis ended fatally, of which

Col. Benton has not been heard to speak except among intimate friends, and to tell of the pang which went through his heart when he saw the young man fall, and would have given the world to see him restored to life. As the proof of the manner in which he looks upon all these scenes and his desire to bury all remembrances of them forever, he has had all his papers burned which related to them, that no future curiosity or industry should bring to light what he wished had never happened."

## CHAPTER XVI.

# GREAT DAYS OF ST. LOUIS

*First News of the Cession to the United States—"Very Important Intelligence"—Secret Har-  
rassment Delassus Correspondence Governor Delassus' Family—The American Birthday,  
March 10, 1804—Participation by Meriwether Lewis—Public Notification of Transfer—  
Arrival of Captain Stoddard—Procession to the Martigny House—Spanish Governor's  
Farewell—The American Captain's Greeting—The Coming of Lafayette—Old Alexie's  
Welcome—"The Elegance of the Ladies" at the Ball—Bartholomew Berthold, the Lin-  
quist—Captain Hill's Wonderful Maroons—How Daniel Webster was Sighted—Meramec  
and Merrimack—Oratory of "the Godlike Daniel"—When Texas was Free—Benton's  
Tribute to Doniphan's Legion—Illumination in Honor of the Conquistadores—Anniv-  
ersary Celebration of the Founding—Pierre Chouteau's Recollection of Laclède—The Old-  
est Inhabitants in 1847—Obsequies of Henry Clay—The Reception of Kossuth—Railroad  
Day in 1857—Entertainment in an Amazing Seal—Three Days of St. Louis Hospitality  
to Eastern Visitors—When Andrew Johnson Swung Around the Circle—Formal Opening  
of the Pads Bridge, July 1, 1871—The Impressive Baptism by Mrs. Julius S. Walsh—  
Three Days of Dedication Ceremonies of the World's Fair—President Roosevelt and  
Ex-President Cleveland in Attendance.*

Thus you will perceive that you are divested of the character of subjects, and clothed with that of citizens. You now form an integral part of a great community, the powers of whose government are circumscribed and defined by charter, and the liberty of the citizens extended and secured. If, in the course of former time, the people on different sides of the Mississippi fostered national prejudices and antipathies against each other, suffer not these cankers of human happiness any longer to disturb your repose, or to awaken your resentment; draw the veil of oblivion over the past and unite in pleasing anticipations of the future; embrace each other as brethren of the same mighty family, and think not that any member of it can derive happiness from the misery or degradation of another.—*Captain Stoddard's Address, March 10, 1804*

The great days of St. Louis were not the days of disaster, of gloom, of shock. They were the days when the community was at its best. A guest of the nation was to be welcomed. An apostle of liberty was to be honored. The birthday of the city was to be commemorated. From colonists of a king to citizens of a republic the inhabitants passed with the lowering and raising of flags. Battalions returning from victorious expeditions aroused exultant patriotism to the degree of fitting celebration. The coming of the locomotive was an event that justified civic enthusiasm in its fullest extent. Great enterprises were begun with impressive ceremony. The finished work was crowned.

Great days of St. Louis are scattered along the course of the century. They were occasions worthy of the city's observance. The manner of the celebration was fitting. The community gained something with every one of these great days. Solidarity came through the union of effort to make memorable. The keeping of these great days was educational in many ways. It inspired love of country, of liberty. It taught the possibilities of accomplishment when the city arose in its might to concerted action. It broadened the view. It stimulated interest in the rest of mankind.

"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."

So the news of the Louisiana Purchase came to St. Louis in a midsummer day of 1803. William Henry Harrison, governor of the great Northwest territory, wrote to Charles De Hault Delassus, governor of Upper Louisiana of which St. Louis was the capital. These two men had jurisdiction from the Ohio to the Rocky Mountains' summit. The Mississippi river was the dividing line. East of the river was the sovereignty of the United States. West of the river the flag of Spain still floated although by secret treaty France had acquired the province, but had not taken possession.

Down toward the mouth of the Mississippi relations between the Americans and the Spanish authorities had become so strained that President Jefferson was moved to put forth extraordinary effort through diplomatic channels to avert actual hostilities. But north of the Ohio and the Arkansas the American governor and the Spanish governor were engaged in frequent interchange of most friendly correspondence.

In the letter by which Governor Harrison conveyed the "very important intelligence" was given an assurance which showed how far the relationship had been cultivated on the part of the American governor whose jurisdiction extended to the river bank opposite St. Louis.

"I do not know what the United States will do with Upper Louisiana," wrote the American governor who was to become president, not quite forty years later, "but think it probable that it will be annexed to this territory. Should this be the case it may give me an opportunity of serving some of your friends. If this opportunity does offer rest assured, dear sir, that it shall not be neglected."

General Harrison voiced the sentiments of the administration at Washington. He acted well his part in this international statecraft.

This secret Harrison-Delassus correspondence was in harmony with the state papers of the period. About the time that the governor of Old Vincennes was sending these letters by couriers to St. Louis, President Jefferson was writing to Minister Livingston at Paris deprecating the pending transfer of Louisiana territory back from Spain to France.

"There is on the globe," he wrote, "one single spot the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans—through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market; and, from its fertility, it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce and contain more than half of our inhabitants."

"The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," he continued, "fixes the sentence which is to retain her forever below low-water mark."

It was, therefore, "very important intelligence" which General Harrison hastened to send from Vincennes to St. Louis announcing the cession not only of New Orleans but of the entire Louisiana territory to the United States.

This letter is given just as it was written. The original, in the handwriting of General Harrison and loaned for reproduction, is in the Tullock collection of valuable papers relating to the early history of Louisiana territory. It covers two pages of note paper. The postscript is crowded into the lower right hand corner of the second page.

London, 2<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>r</sup> 1802.

My dear Sir,

Since I wrote to you last I have received very important intelligence no other than the entire cession of New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana to the United States. Our Government has received official information of a Treaty having been signed to that effect on the 30<sup>th</sup> of April last by our Ministers in Paris & a Minister Plenipotentiary on the part of France. enclosed is a slip from the News paper containing the information I give you the earliest information of this event supposing that it might be material to you in some way or other. of the truth of it you need not doubt. It is also certain that war was declared on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May by Great Britain against France - Spain was not included in the Declaration, & the King of G<sup>r</sup> Britain has

...agreed in the, article Court - but their  
...probably would be respected as long as it  
was preserved by them -

I do not know what the  
United States will do with Upper Louisiana  
but think it probable that it will be  
annexed to the Territory. Should this be  
the case in any given case or of particular  
of seeing some of your friends - of this  
opportunity may offer be opened my dear  
- that it shall not be neglected -

If you should consider it perfectly  
consistent with your Duty I should like  
to know the number of persons in  
your government together with the kinds -  
of facilities into the several Commands -

Please to give my sincere Respects to  
Mr & Madam De la Piere - I believe  
to be your friend

Wm. Henry Harrison

on  
Coll. De la Piere } P. S. Since writing the above  
I have received official info  
of the action of the Congress of Louisiana  
from the Secretary of War. It is believed  
now to be the Island of St. Louis

General Harrison occasionally underscored to make his meaning more impressive. For example, toward the end of the letter he drew a line under "perfectly" in the sentence beginning "If you should consider it perfectly consistent with your duty."

Vincennes, 2nd August, 1803.

Mr. Dear Sir: 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. Our Government has received official information of a Treaty having been signed to that effect on the 30th of April last by our Minister in Paris and a Minister Plenipotentiary on the part of France—enclosed is a strip from a Newspaper containing the information. I give you the earliest information of this event, supposing that it might be material to you in some way or other. Of the truth of it you need not doubt. It is also certain that war was declared on the 16th of May by Great Britain against France. Spain was not included in the declaration, and the King of Great Britain has signified to the Spanish Court that their neutrality would be respected as long as it was preserved by them.

I do not know what the United States will do with Upper Louisiana but think it probable that it will be annexed to this Territory. Should this be the case it may give me an opportunity of serving some of your friends—if this opportunity does offer, be assured, my dear sir, that it shall not be neglected.

If you should consider it perfectly consistent with your duty I should like much to know the number of persons in your government, together with their distribution into the several Commanderies.

Please to give my sincere Respects to Mr. & Madam Delassus, and believe me,  
your friend,

(Signed) WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. Since writing the above I have received *official* information of the cession of Louisiana from the Secretary of War. The British have taken the Island of St. —ia. Honble, COLO. DELASSUS.

The relations of Governor Delassus to the transfer of territory were, in a personal sense, very peculiar. Delassus was of French origin, as the name indicates. That he was serving under the Spanish Crown as the governor of Upper Louisiana calls for explanation.

Delassus was born in old French Flanders. He entered the Spanish service in 1782 as a cadet in the Royalist regiment of guards, of which the King of Spain was the colonel. In 1783, at the age of 29, Delassus was a lieutenant colonel. In 1794 he was promoted to be colonel, and was given command of a battalion of the King's bodyguard.

The Delassus family remained in Flanders until the French Revolution, when the father of Colonel Delassus was forced to flee. The elder Delassus took refuge in New Orleans in 1794. Colonel Delassus gave up his commission in the Spanish army at home and, on petition to the King of Spain, was transferred as lieutenant colonel in the "Louisiana Regiment," that he might be near his father and of service to the family, and at the same time continue in the service of the King of Spain. He arrived in New Orleans in 1794.

In 1796 Colonel Delassus was made civil and military commander of New Madrid by Baron de Carondelet, who was the representative of Spain in the Mississippi Valley.

In 1799 Colonel Delassus, on an order proceeding directly from Spain, was appointed lieutenant-governor and commandant in charge of the Upper Louisiana province, with headquarters at St. Louis. His father settled at New Bour-

bon, near Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, and was given an appointment as civil magistrate.

This narrative of the experiences of the Delassus family is essential to an understanding of the very friendly relationship which had developed between General William Henry Harrison and Governor Delassus. The latter, notwithstanding his French origin, had every reason to be loyal to Spain, and was so. From the sufferings of his family at the hands of the French government under the First Consul he was naturally open to the overtures which General Harrison, as the correspondence shows, was making. The letters which passed leave little doubt that if Bonaparte had undertaken to establish and enforce his authority in the Province of Louisiana, Delassus would have thrown all his influence in favor of American occupation. The letters of General Harrison, with the severe comments upon "the Corsican," take on new meaning in the light of this story of Delassus and his family.

March 10, 1804, was the American birthday of St. Louis. It was celebrated with formality. Three months previous, nearly, the United States flag had been raised at New Orleans. But Upper Louisiana and its capital did not pass with that delivery. Delassus, the Spanish governor, continued in authority. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark had come out to St. Louis to prepare for their expedition up the Missouri and across to the Pacific. Governor Delassus mildly expressed the preference that, as the place was still under the Spanish flag, the American camp of preparation should be made on the Illinois side of the river. Acquiescing, Lewis and Clark went up the Illinois side to the forest on Wood River, below Alton, now the site of a great oil station, and made ready for the expedition. There was no unfriendliness on the part of Delassus but the old soldier was punctilious. He thought it would look better if the Americans remained on the east side until actual transfer of authority. But this did not interfere with frequent visits to St. Louis by Lewis and Clark. St. Louis was deeply interested in the expedition. The fur traders gave all of the information they could concerning the Upper Missouri country. Lewis reciprocated with frank conversations on the coming transfer of authority and the probable policy of the government at Washington toward Upper Louisiana. This free intercourse between Lewis and Clark and their company on the one hand and the habitants of St. Louis on the other during the winter months of 1804 did much to pave the way for a matter-of-course change of government in March. Indeed, as the time approached for the formalities, Captain Meriwether Lewis acted as the American representative in arranging the details with Governor Delassus. The Spanish governor had for a short time a surprising impression, based on correspondence from New Orleans, that, possibly the United States might not take formal possession of St. Louis but might wish to negotiate with Spain to trade the territory west of the Mississippi to Spain for the Floridas. To be sure, the United States had acquired all of Louisiana territory in the treaty of April 30, 1803, but, to the governor's mind, it seemed as if possession of Florida which was still Spanish would be more desirable to the United States than the unoccupied wilds west of the Mississippi. The commissioner of France, Laussat, at New Orleans, went so far as to write a letter in which he said, "it is probable the United States will exchange with Spain the right bank of the river for Florida."





THE THREE FLAGS DAY



In February, Delassus was undeceived. Instructions came to him to get ready to deliver St. Louis. On the 19th of February the governor issued a proclamation to the people of St. Louis notifying them of the coming change.

Laussat, representing France, had received Lower Louisiana from the Spanish governor-general and had turned it over to the United States. The question arose, who shall act for France at St. Louis? Two treaties must be put into effect at one time—San Ildefonso which transferred Louisiana to France, and Paris which ceded Louisiana to the United States. The matter was discussed at New Orleans. Laussat didn't desire the trip to St. Louis to carry out the formalities. Casa Calvo, the Spanish representative, requested Laussat to name somebody to act for him. St. Louisans were discussed. Auguste Chouteau was suggested, but the reply was that he had lived in St. Louis since the founding and must be considered a Spaniard. This applied as well to all of the habitants of St. Louis. At last Commissioner Laussat suggested that it didn't make much difference who represented France on the occasion. Some one said, "Why not let an American officer act?" And so it happened that Captain Stoddard came up the river with the double commission,—first to receive Upper Louisiana from Spain as the representative of France, and second to receive Upper Louisiana from France as the officer delegated by the United States. Stoddard was accompanied by a small force of American soldiers in the old continental uniforms. The party stopped at Kaskaskia and again at Cahokia. Conferences were held by Captain Stoddard with Meriwether Lewis, who brought to Cahokia the latest intelligence from St. Louis. This information was to the effect that Governor Delassus was ready. There was posted on the church door at St. Louis the following:

PUBLIC NOTICE.

We notify the public that tomorrow, the ninth of the present month, between the hours of 11 and 12, we will deliver Upper Louisiana to Captain Amos Stoddard, Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic, in accordance with our public announcement dated Nineteenth of February last.

St. Louis of the Illinois, March 8th, 1804.

(Signed) CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS.

Published by the Public Notary.

(Signed) JH. HORTIS.

On the morning of the 9th Captain Stoddard and his small command took boats and crossed the river. Captain Meriwether Lewis acted as adjutant of the day. There was no demonstration of force. The soldiers sufficed for a guard of honor. That was all they were intended to do. With Stoddard and Lewis at the head, the little procession marched up from the landing to the government headquarters, the Martigny house, near the corner of Main and Walnut. At the door, an officer met Stoddard and Lewis and escorted them into the house. Greetings were exchanged, after which it was agreed the delivery on the part of Spain should take place at noon.

At government house had gathered, besides the small staff of Governor Delassus, some of the leading habitants, among them Auguste Chouteau, Charles Gratiot and Antoine Soulard. Outside, where the little company of American soldiers was drawn up under Lieutenant Worrall, the St. Louisans filled the street. There was manifestation of interest, but it was quiet and serious. As the hour approached Captain Stoddard and Governor Delassus looked over the papers and

placed upon them their signatures. The names of the witnesses were affixed. Just at noon the officials appeared on the gallery and faced the soldiers and the crowd. Advancing to the front, the Spanish governor read with some emotion in his tones this proclamation:

Inhabitants of Upper Louisiana:

By the King's command I am about to deliver up this post and its dependencies.

The flag under which you have been protected for a period of nearly thirty-six years is to be withdrawn. From this moment you are released from the oath of fidelity you took to support it.

The fidelity and courage with which you have guarded and defended it will never be forgotten; and in my character of representative, I entertain the most sincere wishes for your perfect prosperity.

The order of the Spanish commission directing Governor Delassus to deliver Upper Louisiana to France was presented:

The King, our Sovereign, having determined to retrocede this Province of Louisiana to the French Republic, according to the announcement in the royal order issued at Barcelona on the 15th of October, 1802, to that effect; and having also commissioned us to carry the same into effect, by his subsequent royal order dated at Madrid, the 18th of January, 1803, we have put in execution the intentions of the Sovereign, by delivering up the government of this place, and the command of the Province to the Colonial Prefect, Pedro Clement Laussat, Commissioner of the French Republic, on the thirtieth day of November of the present year, and you are hereby requested to deliver up to the agent or officer of the said Prefect who may be authorized by him to receive from you the command of the post and its dependencies, now under the orders of your Excellency, as soon as he shall present himself before you, under the formalities of an inventory and valuation to be made by skillful persons in that post, upon oath to act with due impartiality, of the buildings which belong to the King, not including the artillery and other munitions of war, which must be remitted entire to this place.

Under the same formalities of an inventory the archives with the papers and documents which concern only the inhabitants of the district and their property shall be delivered, taking for the whole a receipt, in order that there always may be evidence of what has been delivered upon our part to the French Republic and cause the same to appear on the general inventory.

We particularly enjoin upon your Excellency the punctual execution of the foregoing for which you are authorized to avail yourself of all the means that may be found in the district under your charge.

THE MARQUIS de CASA CALVO.  
MANUEL de SALCEDO.

To DON CARLOS DELASSUS, Comdte de Illinois.

Next the document of delivery and receipt combined was offered in formal evidence:

In consequence of a letter sent from New Orleans of the 31st of December of last year (1803) by the Marquis de Casa Calvo and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, Brigadier General of the royal armies and commissaries for his Catholic Majesty, for the transfer of the Colony and Province of Louisiana to the French Republic, addressed to Don Carlos Delassus, Colonel in the same armies, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana and Commissioner appointed by the said Casa Calvo and Salcedo for its transfer, according to the contents of said letter requiring him to give full and entire possession of said dependencies, to wit: Pedro Clement Laussat, appointed by the French Republic to take possession of the said colony and Province of Louisiana, or any other persons which may have been named to that effect, according to the treaty of cession, and as by letter also sent from New Orleans, dated 12th of January of the current year, the said Commission of the French Republic appoints, constitutes and nominates as sole agent and commissary in behalf of the nation Amos Stoddard, captain of artillery of the United States of America, for the purpose of demanding and receiving the said Upper

Louisiana, comprehending the said post St. Louis and its dependencies in virtue of the respective powers as explained above:

Now be it known that I, the above Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, in quality of Lieutenant Governor of the same, at the requirements duly made to me by the said Amos Stoddard, agent and commissary of the French Republic, have delivered the full possession, sovereignty and government of Upper Louisiana, with the military posts, quarters and fortifications thereto belonging; and I, Amos Stoddard, commissary as such, do acknowledge to have received the said possession on the terms mentioned, of which I acknowledge myself satisfied as possessed of on this day. In testimony whereof the Lieutenant Governor and myself have signed these presents, sealed with the seal of our arms, being attested with the witnesses signed below, of which proceedings six copies have to be made out, to wit, three in the Spanish and three in the English languages.

Given in the town of St. Louis, of Illinois, 9th of March, 1804.

AMOS STODDARD.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS.

In presence of: Meriwether Lewis, Captain First United States Regiment Infantry; Antoine Soulard, Surveyor General; Charles Gratiot.

The deed was done. At a signal from the government house soldiers stepped to the flagstaff, in the fort on the hill, one for the retiring governor the other for the representative of France. Slowly the flag of Spain came down and slowly the flag of France went up. The cannon boomed the salute. The excited habitants rushed up to the fort to get as near the flag as possible. Charles Gratiot, the American citizen, the patriot who had given the American government his support from the days of the Revolution, made a wise suggestion. He said to the American captain, as they all called Stoddard, that nothing was to be gained by haste and that it would be well received if the French flag might fly a day. The American captain was not without sentiment. He saw the point. The French flag floated until noon of the 10th. That night, the 9th, the French formed a guard of honor for the flag. They assembled in the church and sang French songs. It is tradition that there was little sleep in old St. Louis during the twenty-four hours the tricolor flew. After the transfer on the 9th, the American soldiers occupied the fort and the Spanish soldiers marched down the hill to temporary quarters in one of the houses. It had been the first intention to let the French flag fly only till 6 p. m., but when the American captain saw the sentiment awakened he followed the suggestion of Charles Gratiot and did not take possession as the representative of the United States until noon of the 10th. There was not much formality the second day. The same officials and prominent citizens assembled at government house. The soldiers paraded. At high noon, the officials came out on the porch and faced the crowd. The Lewis and Clark camp was well represented. No longer was St. Louis foreign soil to Americans. Captain Stoddard announced that as the representative of France and under instructions from the French commissioner, Laussat, he now declared Upper Louisiana a part of the United States. At a signal the French flag came down and the flag of the United States floated above St. Louis. Charles Gratiot, true American that he was, stepped forward and called for three cheers. The daughter of Charles Gratiot, years afterwards, said that the response was not hearty, that many of the habitants seemed rather to take their changed condition seriously than to exult. But there is no record or tradition of any act or manner of hostility toward the American captain and his soldiers that day.

Wise indeed was the advice given to the new Americans by Captain Stoddard when he had taken charge of St. Louis:

Admitted as you are into the embraces of a wise and magnanimous nation, patriotism will gradually warm your breasts, and stamp its features on your future action. To be useful it must be enlightened; not the effect of passion, local prejudices or blind impulse. Happy the people who possess invaluable rights, and know how to exercise them to the best advantage; wretched are those who do not think and act freely. It is a sure test of wisdom to honor and support the government under which you live, and to acquiesce in the decisions of the public will, when they may be constitutionally expressed. Confide, therefore, in the justice and integrity of our federal President; he is the faithful guardian of the laws; he entertains the most beneficent views relative to the glory and happiness of this territory; and the merit derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, without any other, will perpetuate his fame to posterity. Place equal confidence in all other constituted authorities of the Union. They will protect your rights, and indeed your feelings, and all the tender felicities and sympathies, so dear to rational and intelligent creatures. A very short experience of their equitable and pacific policy will enable you to view them in their proper light. I flatter myself that you will give their measures a fair trial, and not precipitate yourselves into conclusions, which you may afterwards see cause to retract. The first official acts of my present station, authorized by high authority, will confirm these remarks.

The order to Governor Delassus to withdraw from St. Louis was quite explicit as to the records. The Marquis Casa Calvo wrote:

I request you to bring with you the correspondence that belongs to the government which may not have any reference to the proceedings, deeds, concessions of lands, or to the fortune and interest of the inhabitants. You will ship the artillery, ammunition and goods that may belong to the King to this capital. As soon as you surrender the establishments, when the legitimately authorized party comes, you will start with the artillery, ammunition and all goods and papers that must not be left with the archives. And the priest of that parish, Don Pedro Jennin, must also come.

Having delivered St. Louis to the American captain, Governor Delassus appears to have been very careful to avoid giving offense while making arrangements to ship the soldiers and the Spanish garrison property down the river. He issued an order in which he gave explicit directions as follows:

The flag will be kept by the second sergeant, Juan Robayna, commander of the picket of the regiment of Louisiana. He will have a guard, composed of a chief and four men, who will keep guard at the door of the house where this picket is. This guard will be uniformed with a blue coat and a cockade in the hat. The one on guard will not permit any one to come into the house without orders from the sergeant. The commander of the picket will watch carefully that the soldiers do not drink, as I have noticed they have been doing recently. If the guards do not take into consideration the respect they should show the nation, they must be severely punished. The drum will not be played except in the morning and in the evening, and that after the drums of the Americans have been played. You must play the drum without going outside of the house.

Governor Delassus had serious difficulty in completing the evacuation of St. Louis. Not only did his superiors at New Orleans seem to be lacking in consideration but the ex-governor found the conditions at St. Louis not what they had been while he was in power. He wrote to Casa Calvo:

I cannot help but tell you how hard it is to see that the certificates of credit are not as acceptable as they should be. Nobody wishes to give anything for them since the last of the year. Every expense that we have been obliged to make has to be paid in cash upon presentation of the bill.

Not only was the retiring governor refused credit but he was so delayed in getting transportation he was compelled to write:



MONROE, MARBOIS AND LIVINGSTON SIGNING THE TREATY OF ACQUISITION AT PARIS, 1803

By Karl Bitter





I have tried to hire boats since I first received your orders on June 24 and have been unsuccessful. We could not have left here until fall, as the water is too shallow and will not stand heavy weight. Taking everything into consideration I feel that this is the best resolution and most convenient under the circumstances, and although I may hurry very much I will not be able to leave here until the end of October.

Ex Governor Delassus and the Spanish garrison were so slow in taking their departure that in August Mayor Buff, the American officer, addressed to the commander a rather pointed inquiry as to his plans. Nobody would furnish boats. Delassus was compelled to have the flotilla constructed. He did not leave St. Louis until the 16th of October, 1804. With the Spanish troops, he went down the river and crossed over to Pensacola which was still under Spanish sovereignty. In 1810 Colonel Delassus resigned his commission in the Spanish Army and returned to the Territory of Louisiana, where he lived until 1842—the time of his death. The family home was for many years in Southeast Missouri and a town bears the name of Delassus. Descendants today are residents of St. Louis. At the banquet given by this city to Lafayette in 1825 the last of the Spanish governors as an American citizen proposed the sentiment "the United States and France."

In his address upon taking the position of first civil commandant Captain Stoddard told the St. Louisians he believed they would very soon enjoy a permanent territorial government. But Congress was slow. In Washington were statesmen who doubted the qualifications of the new Americans for any measure of self government. They assumed that these people who had pioneered the way to self government, who had been given extraordinary freedom by Spain in the management of their domestic affairs were not fit for American citizenship. It was a grievous mistake but it was early evidence of eastern misconception of the western character. From St. Louis and from New Orleans went protests against the treatment accorded by Congress. St. Louis was aggrieved at the apparent disposition to keep Upper Louisiana under the government of officials sent out from Washington and to deny the rights which the treaty of cession promised. A memorial was drawn up and Auguste Chouteau was selected to go to Washington in behalf of the new Americans of Upper Louisiana. He opened correspondence with the good friend of St. Louis—General William Henry Harrison at Vincennes. The latter put Auguste Chouteau in communication with Congressman Eppes of Virginia. At the same time General Harrison made it his business to champion the cause of the people of Louisiana for self government. Auguste Chouteau handled his part of the correspondence so admirably as to hasten a satisfactory settlement by Congress. Congressman Eppes wrote to Auguste Chouteau:

The liberal and temperate view taken in your first letter of the feelings and rights of the people of Upper Louisiana induced me to lay it before Mr. John Randolph, the chairman of the committee to whom the petition from Upper Louisiana was referred. He unites with me in the opinion that the view you have taken of this question is liberal and correct and that the first grade of territorial government ought to be extended to the people of Upper Louisiana. I have no doubt as to a report embracing all you ask as to form of your government. A general sentiment prevails among the members of the national legislature that the people of Louisiana ought to stand upon the footing of all other American citizens. There is no doubt, also, that a liberal policy as to the land titles of your citizens will be adopted.

More residents of St. Louis saw the sun rise the 29th of April, 1825, than had seen it on any previous morning since "the first thirty" arrived from Fort Chartres with Auguste Chouteau. The evening of the 28th, a man on a pony galloped up the road from Carondelet. He brought the news that Lafayette had just landed there and would remain over night, reaching St. Louis in the morning. "Lafayette is coming!" The news spread through the community of five thousand. Couriers mounted and rode in haste up Bellefontaine road, out St. Charles road, toward Manchester, over the Gravois Creek hills. As they went they shouted "Lafayette is coming!" All night the candles burned in more than half of the houses of St. Louis. At the earliest dawn people were moving in the streets. When the sun came up across the American bottom it shone in expectant faces of thousands of people who lined the river edge, crowded dangerously near the limestone cliff, covered the Place d' Armes, and stood in clusters on the house roofs from Main to Fifth streets.

St. Louis had been preparing for the great day. The Marquis landed in New York in 1824. He was on a visit to the nation he had helped create many years before. He came by invitation. In the midst of the welcome at New York, a messenger from St. Louis was presented. He brought the invitation of his fellow citizens, adopted at a formal public meeting. Lafayette asked to come to the youngest of the American states, to the city which his fellow countryman, Laclède, had founded, to a community over which the French flag had floated. He accepted. During the closing months of 1824 and the early months of 1825, the friend of Washington visited city after city in the east and the south. He moved leisurely, for those were the days of stage coaches. As the news of the receptions reached St. Louis, interest in the coming of Lafayette grew.

The secretary of Lafayette was Mr. A. Levasseur. After the return to France this secretary wrote a book in which he spoke of the impressions made by the reception at St. Louis:

In the early morning, Gov. Clark of Missouri, Gov. Coles of Illinois and Col. Benton boarded our vessel. All three had come to accompany us to St. Louis. A few minutes later a steamboat, the *Plough Boy*, loaded with a large number of citizens, ranged itself alongside of the *Natchez*, and the guest of the nation was saluted with a triple acclamation of "Welcome, Lafayette!" which awoke the echoes of the Missouri forests. Then we weighed anchor, and at 9 o'clock we saw a considerable number of buildings, of a somewhat bizarre style of architecture, rising in the midst of beautiful groves of trees and gardens, dominating, in the distance, the course of the river. It was the City of St. Louis; its name, and the language of a part of its population, soon recalled to us its origin. But if we were struck by the diversity of the languages in which the people saluted the General, not the less were we surprised at the unanimity of their sentiments toward him. The entire population lined the shore of the river, and the people responded with their cries of joy to the resounding salute fired by our two steamers.

At the moment that the General set foot on the shore Dr. Lane, the Mayor of the city, presented himself before him at the head of the city authorities, saluted him and addressed him.

Just as the General was uttering the last words of his reply to the Mayor, an elegant carriage, drawn by four horses, approached the shore, and received him to convey him into the city, through which he was driven in every direction, amid the cheers of the people.

The inhabitants of St. Louis knew that Gen. Lafayette could remain among them for a few hours only, and they hastened to put to the best use the short time at their disposal, to enable him to see all that their city and its vicinity included that might prove most interesting to him.

In the course of the day Lafayette was amazed to see approaching an old man in the full uniform of the French at Yorktown. He was delighted when the old soldier saluted stiffly, but correctly. He was deeply moved when Alexander Bellissime identified himself as a native of Toulon who had come over with him to fight for American independence. Bellissime had become a St. Louisian. He was known to everybody as "Old Alexie." His tavern on Second street, near Myrtle, was the resort of the French boatmen. After Lafayette's departure the veteran who had been embraced by his commander, was more esteemed than ever before. He lived to be eighty-seven. On the great days of St. Louis "Old Alexie" appeared in that well preserved uniform and three-cornered cockaded hat. When "Old Alexie" died in 1833, Captain Easton turned out the crack military company, the St. Louis Grays, and gave the veteran what would have been his heart's desire—a military funeral.

Lafayette was entertained with a reception at Major Pierre Chouteau's mansion. He was given a ride about the city. He visited Governor Clark's Indian museum. Then followed the banquet and after that was given the ball. Of the entertainment Secretary Levasseur wrote:

We left the table to attend the ball, where we found the most brilliant and the most numerous company, we were told, that ever had gathered together on the west bank of the Mississippi. The splendor of the hall's decorations and the elegance of the ladies who filled it caused us to forget entirely that we were at the entrance of a desert which the Indians themselves consider as insufficient for the supply of their needs, since they never inhabit it, except by accident.

We joined in the pleasures of the evening until nearly midnight, the hour at which we retired on board the Natchez in order to take some rest, while awaiting the return of day which should lighten our departure.

At the moment when we were about to embark several citizens of St. Louis had the kindness to present us with some objects of curiosity, such as a few bows, arrows and garments of the Indians of Missouri; these we accepted with sentiments of recognition of the good will which prompted the giving of them, and these testimonials we have preserved as prized souvenirs of the happy moments passed so far from our country.

At the banquet given to Lafayette was one citizen of St. Louis who, addressing each member of the large staff in turn, conversed with him in the language with which he was most familiar. This was Bartholomew Berthold. He not only spoke in the French, the Spanish, the Italian, the German, but he was fluent and used the idioms of the cultivated of these nationalities. A merchant, Mr. Berthold had the reputation of being the most finished scholar of his time in St. Louis. The city was not without its highly educated citizens. But Mr. Berthold was more than a man of learning. He was of Tyrol birth. On his forehead was the scar of a sabre cut received in the battle of Marengo, where, a youth, Berthold fought in defense of his country against Bonaparte. He came to the United States as secretary to General Willot, when the latter, who had been in opposition to Napoleon, left France. The general went back to France after the downfall of the Napoleonic dynasty, but his secretary remained in the United States, becoming naturalized and settling in St. Louis.

Lafayette Day had its ludicrous scene. Nobody else appreciated it better than John F. Darby. David B. Hill was one of the young men of the town. With a degree of enterprise which was commendable Hill had brought together a company of young fellows to form a militia company. The name chosen for

the organization was "The Marions." By common consent this was corrupted to "The Mary Anns." By that name Captain Hill's company was known long after it became fully equipped and well drilled. On Lafayette Day, the Marions were out for a muster and drill on the court house square. The company had not reached that stage of organization which justified formal participation in the ceremonies of the day but Hill did not propose to let the occasion pass without being seen by the great man. When Lafayette was taken out for a drive, after the first reception at Major Pierre Chouteau's, the carriage was driven down Fourth street past the court house square. Darby told the story of what happened with a detail that would indicate his presence near by if not in the ranks of the Marions:

As soon as Captain Hill saw General Lafayette approaching in the barouche he became very much excited, and began to take snuff. "Gentlemen," said he, "General Lafayette, the great apostle of liberty, is coming. You must prepare to salute General Lafayette, the great apostle of liberty (taking more snuff). Attention company! All you in roundabouts or short-tailed coats take the rear rank. All you with long-tailed coats take the front rank." The captain paused to take a fresh supply of snuff. "Now," said the commander of the company, "all those having sticks, laths and umbrellas in the front rank exchange them with those having guns in the rear rank." Just then Robert N. Moore, commonly called Big Bob Moore, a noted individual about town, called out to Captain Hill, and said, "Capt'ing! Capt'ing! I say, Cooney Fox is priming his gun with brandy." "I'll be consarned," said Captain Hill, "if it isn't a scandalous shame to be guilty of such conduct right in the presence of General Lafayette,—at the most important period of a man's whole life,—when about to salute General Lafayette. If it warn't for the presence of General Lafayette, I'd put you under arrest immediately."

By this time the general had alighted from the carriage, and walked up in front of Captain Hill's company, when the captain ordered the company to "present arms;" after which the visitor withdrew and entered his carriage. It may be supposed that in all the wars in which General Lafayette had been engaged, he had never encountered a more Falstaffian military organization. This much is due to Captain David B. Hill's military genius, as showing his ready resource of mind in case of an emergency. It is proper to state that Captain David B. Hill had military taste, and that he afterwards organized a fine military company of volunteers, elegantly uniformed, which he paraded on the Fourth of July and other public occasions.

After Lafayette had left St. Louis, the pleasant memories of the occasion prompted the use of his name for many things from hats to an avenue and a park.

The coming of Daniel Webster in 1837 made one of St. Louis' great days. It was long heralded. Mr. Webster was traveling without schedule. There was no railroad to the Mississippi, not even a telegraph wire. The Whig organization had been promised a visit. Only approximately had the date been fixed. Preparations for the reception were completed some time in advance. Then while the committee waited and looked day after day, the Democrats made sport. Their paper, the Argus, declared that the Whigs kept a watchman in the tower of the Cathedral to give notice of the approach of the boat. Late in the afternoon, the lookout reported the boat in sight. The committee of reception headed by Mayor Darby, hurried to the levee. The six pounders began the salute. Front street and the house tops were covered with cheering people. Mr. Webster was taken in a carriage to the National hotel, later the St. Clair, on Third and Market streets, then the finest hotel in the city. It had been expected that Henry

July 19<sup>th</sup> 1803

Wilmington 12<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1803

My dear Sir

Since the beginning of September I have been so severely afflicted with an inflammation in the eyes as to be entirely unable to answer the several kind letters which you have written me -

I believe that my trip to your country will be postponed for some time. I have been waiting for several orders which I have not yet received but it is not impossible that I may receive orders this very day to go on immediately - Enclosed herewith you will receive the message of the President to Congress in which he communicates the purchase of Louisiana to that body - The treaty is now before the Senate whose Constitutional power it is to advise the President to ratify it or not. That it will be ratified there is little doubt but I cannot say when ratification will be taken.

There is nothing new from Europe but the probability of a revolt in France - even though seems to prepossessate it & should it be successful the restoration of Monarchy is thought to be inevitable - Bonaparte however still threatens England with an invasion & the English are

Shaming were never to be in readiness to  
receive him. It is said of late however that  
the first Consul will not command in  
person because it is supposed that the moment  
of his embarkation will be the signal for the  
encounter to rise - Spain was not yet  
that we know of taken part in the war it  
is even said that the wishes of the Court are  
strongly in favour of England - The Russian  
powers (Russia particularly) are very much  
offended at the operations of the French in  
Spain - a strong squadron of Russian  
ships of war have been put in Commission  
& were daily expected - one of the British  
Ports - what their ultimate destination may  
be is not known - but it cannot be unfavourable  
to England as they are to use the Ports of that  
Kingdom to visit -

O'clock P.M.

The mail has just arrived &  
has brought us the intelligence of the Treaty  
with France having been ratified by the  
President & Senate of the United States  
Enclosed herewith you will receive a  
Copy of the Treaty & Conventions -

From public business Demand

my attention I conclude with requesting  
you to present me in the most respectful  
terms to Madame & M<sup>r</sup> De Lussan &  
believe me

Sincerely y<sup>r</sup> friend

Will-Kenny Harvey

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>

Charles De Haut Delafosse  
X X





Clay would accompany Mr. Webster but he was not in the party. The crowd surrounded the hotel and cheered until Mr. Webster made his appearance. A ten minutes' talk from the Market street front of the hotel was opened with a local reference.

"In coming up the Mississippi river today," said Mr. Webster, "about twenty miles below your flourishing city, I passed the mouth of a stream called the Meramec. It is a name sacred and dear to me. I was born upon the banks of the Merrimack in New Hampshire, and whether a man be born upon the banks of the Meramec of Missouri, or the Merrimack of New Hampshire, I am proud to meet him as a fellow countryman, and greet him with the right hand of friendship and fellowship."

Elihu Shepard, writing of the manner in which the address of "the Godlike Daniel" affected his St. Louis hearers, said: "He was frequently cheered by the enthusiastic crowd, who in their frenzy seemed desirous of bearing him aloft, if not to the skies, at least as high as their hands could carry him, and were only restrained from attempting it by a desire to have him continue the flood from the same fountain."

A notable incident of Mr. Webster's visit was his reception at St. Louis University. At eleven o'clock in the morning, the statesman was taken out to the university buildings, then on Ninth and Washington avenue. He was met by the faculty which included Fathers Verhagen, Vandervelde, Ellet, DeSmet, Carroll and Van Nash. The students were assembled in the library hall. They gave Mr. Webster an ovation which seemed to please him very much. One of the students, Oscar W. Collet, stepped forward and delivered the oration of welcome. Mr. Webster in his acknowledgment spoke of his own school days and of his struggles to get a liberal education. Turning to the professors he told them "the sculptor and the painter worked upon marble and upon canvas, materials that were perishable, but to them was given the high privilege of working upon that which was immortal."

During weeks of suspense in 1838 all St. Louis excitedly watched for boats from New Orleans. A crowd flocked to the levee to meet each arrival. "What's the news from Texas?" was the eager question. In the fight for Lone Star independence St. Louis had more than the interest of a city of the American republic. Members of St. Louis families, scores of them, had settled in Texas while it was under the Mexican flag. Austin had led a colony from Missouri. At the opening of hostilities forty young men had gone from St. Louis to help the Texans establish independence. Boat after boat brought bad news. At Goliad there had been slaughter. Houston was retreating, retreating with his front to the enemy. He was covering the flight of the fugitive women and children from Western Texas. He was nearing the San Jacinto. A Mexican army, three times as large as that of the Texans, was pressing eastward. That was the situation on which the interest and impatience of St. Louis reached the crisis. The levee swarmed when the next New Orleans boat came in. A man with a broad brimmed hat leaned forward from the deck and waving his hand shouted:

"Sam Houston has whipped Santa Anna and got him a prisoner."

Did they cheer? One who was there said that joy coming so suddenly upon anxiety, the first response was a great "Ah!" of relief. The throng pressed forward for details. Texas was free. The Mexican leader was a prisoner. His army had gone back to Mexico. St. Louisans had given good account of themselves in the fighting. Then came the cheering. "Hurrah for Steve Austin!" "Hurrah for Sam Houston!" "Hurrah for Texas!"

"When every other land forsakes us,  
This is the land that freely takes us."

The lid of suspense was off. St. Louis celebrated the good news far into the night.

In the summer and fall of 1847 St. Louis was full of "conquistadores," strange looking, some with long mustaches, some with full beards, all swarthy. The Mexican war was over. Up to that time St. Louisans were, as a rule, smooth shaven men. They came back, outlandish in looks, with new speech, the heroes of the most marvelous campaigning the country had known. Senator Benton, at his best, in welcoming the returning volunteers told them they had even outdone ancient history. Doniphan had eclipsed Xenophon. The Senator said:

The "Ten Thousand" counted the voyage on the Black Sea, as well as the march from Babylon, and twenty centuries admit the validity of the count. The present age and futurity will include with the going out and coming in of the Missonri Volunteers the water voyage as well as the land march and the expedition of the One Thousand will exceed that of the Ten by some two thousand miles.

You did the right thing at the right time, and what the government intended you to do, and without knowing its intentions.

A form of celebration which came into much popularity with St. Louis during the Mexican War, was the illumination. Citizens determined to honor the victories which had been won over Mexico. Cannon were placed in the vicinity of the Lucas market, which was at Twelfth and Olive streets, to fire salutes. At a signal lights were displayed in nearly every window of the city. Most of these lights were candles placed upon boards. The papers of that time spoke of the illumination of the market house as being especially fine. The boats at the levee participated in the illumination, displaying rows of candles along the decks. The boys built bonfires at the street intersections and on the commons. One of the events of the illumination night took place at sundown. From the office of the "Reveille," the evening newspaper, an eagle was let loose, having attached to one of its legs a brass plate on which was engraved "Buena Vista."

The civic pride of St. Louis found unanimous demonstration on the 15th of February, 1847. That day, eighty-three years before, Auguste Chouteau and "the first thirty" had landed near the foot of Market street. Eight o'clock in the morning of the anniversary, that grandest of grand marshals in his day and generation, Thornton Grimsley, with a staff of aids and assistant marshals, was at the exact landing place as tradition had preserved it. Holzscheiter unlimbered his cannon, and pointed the muzzles toward the Illinois shore. Henry Pilkington brought Phoenix Fire Company to attention and the banner with a picture of the founding was displayed in front. Leader Barkley gave the preliminary sig-

nal to the Washington Brass Band. Drum Major Roquers faced the fifers and drummers with upraised baton. The cannon boomed. Twenty-nine guns were fired in honor of the founding of St. Louis. Two guns were fired for Laclède, two more for Thomas Jefferson and three for the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. From the boat yards which lined the river above Biddle street came answering salutes. The moment the firing ceased, the musicians played "St. Louis' Imperial March," composed for that day.

There had been apprehension that the uncertainties of February temperature might interfere but, according to the newspaper account the next morning, "the morning opened mild, with a lazy and dense atmosphere, not unlike a morning in Indian summer, and the streets generally were dry and the walking pleasant. Nature seemed to have given just such a day as suited the occasion."

The celebration began early with the salute on the levee. It was continued with the procession in the forenoon, the great popular event. Then came Wilson Primm's oration before an assemblage which filled Fourth street in front of the court house. The four Indians who had formed the escort of Pierre Chouteau sat on the platform. Late in the afternoon the banquet was given. Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening the ball began.

The "oldest inhabitants" who were asked especially to participate in the celebration were Pierre Chouteau, Paul L. Chouteau, Gabriel S. Chouteau, Simon Sanguinet, R. Dufrene, Vincent Guion, H. Sappington, Jean Baptiste Hortiz, Jean Baptiste Belcour, John Perry, Antoine Schmidt, L. S. Martin and Louis Lemonde. Chief interest centered in the presence of Pierre Chouteau, the son of Laclède, a small boy when the settlement was founded. The venerable man rode in a carriage, having as a guard of honor four Indians on ponies. He was the president of the day. At the banquet, given in the Planter's House, the presiding officer introduced Pierre Chouteau. In a few words, using his most familiar language, the French, Mr. Chouteau spoke of the purity, simplicity and honesty of the first settlers of St. Louis.

Notable and admirable were the honors paid to Laclède on this celebration. Traditions of the founder were vivid. A picture of the founding which was painted upon one of the banners showed Laclède standing on the site of St. Louis with Auguste Chouteau at his left holding a plat of the proposed settlement. Hunters and trappers stood near. In the background loomed the rocky precipice which faced the river. At the water's edge, the boat was being unloaded. At one side an interpreter was making friends with a group of Indians. A conspicuous place in the parade was given to a large model of the steamboat "Laclède," one of the finest boats on the river in its day, a product of a St. Louis shipyard. Behind this model walked Mayor Peter G. Camden and the other city officers. At the banquet Lewis V. Bogy, afterward United States senator, proposed a toast "to the memory of Pierre Liguist Laclède, the founder of St. Louis." The guests arose and drank. The band played the "Laclède March," composed for the occasion. The Laclède banner, made by the ladies of St. Louis, was presented to Pierre Chouteau. When the guest of honor, the son of the founder, arose to withdraw from the banquet hall, the company stood up and cheered. The band played "Hail to the Chief." In the parade the Apprentices Library Association, marshaled by Joseph F. Schiefer, carried the banner

for the committee of arrangements. This banner was a piece of beautiful handiwork. It was of satin, embroidered with the name of "Laclede" on one side and on the other "our city." Thus in manifold ways the memory of the founder was celebrated.

The pageant was the largest and most interesting St. Louis had seen. It combined historical sentiment with evidences of the city growth. A long line of steamboat men escorted a model twenty feet in length of the General Pike, the first steamboat which reached St. Louis. The model was on wheels, drawn by eight horses and attended by a crew picked from well known St. Louisans identified with steamboat interests of that day. Captain Throckmorton stood on deck, holding a telescope and giving orders. His crew was composed of George Ransom, mate; Thomas Nelson, pilot; Charles La Barge, steersman; J. C. Burkinbine, starboard deckhand; Charles Connoyer, larboard deckhand; John Lee and N. J. Eaton, firemen on the first watch; Hugh Campbell and John Shaw, firemen on the second watch. The men, all qualified to command steamboats, performed the duties of the humble positions assigned to them. The newspaper account of the procession mentioned especially these features:

Next came the members of the Hunting Club, enough in numbers, noise and appearance, to frighten all the game for many miles around. They were headed by the president and vice president of the club, Capt. Cohen and Green Erskine. The whole club wore hunters' costume, armed with horns, buck tails and double-barreled shotguns—altogether presenting a very unique appearance. Captain McDonough's horse supported on his head an enormous pair of buck horns.

Next came the Hibernian Charitable Society, preceded by a band of music, and bearing their banner, the Harp of Erin—the members wearing green sashes.

Following these came a large company dressed in masques, in carriages and on horseback. This part of the pageant excited no little amusement, from the grotesqueness of the dresses and the variety of the characters.

Following these came a large deputation of brewers. First, a mammoth cask, sufficiently capacious to hold about 18 barrels of beer, mounted on a car, drawn by four gray horses. On this car was a representation of the King of Flanders and Barbaut, fancifully said to be the inventor of beer, dressed in his royal robes and bearing in his outstretched hands an overflowing pitcher of the beverage. This cask was from the brewery of Mr. Lemp. This display showed something of the extent to which this department of business is carried in this city.

Next came Mr. Wyman's High School, numbering 175. It will not, we trust, be thought invidious to say that this school presented one of the most interesting spectacles in the procession. The drill of the scholars was almost as perfect in marching as that of regular soldiers, their deportment was manly and elevated, and everything indicated that they really had been schooled in their duties.

The public schools, then in their infancy, were given a prominent position in the column. School No. 3, with Principal David H. Armstrong, headed this section. On arriving at the courthouse this school sang an ode written for the day and adapted to the tune, "The Old Granite State." Educational St. Louis was further represented by 700 students from St Louis University and by the Evangelical German Lutheran school. The St. Louis Typographical Association had a float with a press in operation turning out copies of an ode which John P. Shannon had written for the printers.

The mass meeting at the courthouse in front of the courthouse was followed by the banquet. No hotel was sufficient to accommodate those participating.

The state tobacco warehouse was turned into a banquet hall. Lewis V. Bogy, Thomas Allen, John F. Darby and William C. Carr were among the speakers. The proposing of toasts was a popular practice at public dinners in St. Louis. Sometimes these were prearranged. Often they were informal. They did not necessarily call for responses. When the regular program had been finished, the volunteer toastmasters had a round. N. E. Janney, having in mind the founding of Rome, proposed "Romulus and Laclede." John F. Darby remembered "The Mothers of St. Louis." Nathaniel Paschall was remembered as "One of the Pioneers of the Press of St. Louis." A toast was offered in memory of "Joseph Tayon, the companion of Laclede, who built the first mill in St. Louis."

Henry Clay was a popular idol of St. Louis. His death was the occasion of an observance altogether unusual. "The gallant Harry of the West" died on the 29th of June, 1852. On the 12th of July the whole city of St. Louis paid formal tribute to his memory by a great torchlight procession. Houses were draped in mourning. As customary, Thornton Grimsley marshaled the long column. Following the staff came the military companies, the Grays and the Jaegers, with draped colors. The chaplain of the night was Bishop Hawks, and with him rode Rev. S. S. Gassaway of St. George's and Rev. Mr. Leech of St. Paul. Uriel Wright, the man eloquent of that generation, was the orator. Twenty carriages were filled with honorary pall bearers headed by Thomas H. Benton, who had consistently opposed the Whig leader in the Senate and in campaigns.

The funeral car was attended by three officers of the United Order of American Mechanics, M. B. McLaughlin, J. L. Faucett and J. L. Bailey, by turns carrying the American flag furled and shrouded. The car was drawn by six horses. The mayor and city officers, judges of the courts and officers of the army and navy were escorted by the committee of arrangements. Then came more military—the Union Swiss Guards, the Lafayette Guards and the Washington Grenadiers. The Lafayette Guards were chiefly of French descent. The Grenadiers were Germans. Masons, Odd Fellows, American Mechanics, the Hibernians and the German Benevolent Society had places with the German Gymnastics, the student body of St. Louis University, the steamboat engineers. The St. Louis Printers' Union carried transparencies on which were quotations from Clay and epigrammatic tributes to his character. The fire companies with decorated engines, the Missouri Dragoons and the Missouri Artillery brought up the rear. To slow music and carrying hundreds of torches, this procession passed down Fifth street to Chouteau avenue, up Fourth street, Locust and Fifth to Washington avenue, up Washington avenue and by way of Eighth, Locust and Olive to Lucas Place, where the bodies were dismissed. The next day before a great gathering on Olive street, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets, in front of Yeatman's Row, Uriel Wright pronounced the funeral oration. St. Louis had witnessed previously no like demonstration of mourning.

In a suite of a dozen or more persons which accompanied Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, through the United States in 1852 were Francis and Theresa Pulszky. They wrote "White, Red, Black." The title page explained that the contents of the book were "sketches of society in the United States during the visit of their guest." The guest was Kossuth. White, Red, Black were

the three races of people inhabiting America. It is evident that the foreigners were alive to all information of entertaining character. Somebody in St. Louis supplied a surprising story of the founding of the city. Fortunately the tradition was not wholly accepted by the visitors. The narrative devoted considerable space to the reception accorded Kossuth at St. Louis:

When our boat yesterday arrived at the landing-place here in St. Louis, people jumped from the neighboring steamboats on our deck, and poured into the state-room in such a compact mass, that the captain of the steamer requested Kossuth to proceed quickly ashore to prevent misfortune. Mischiefs had already been done, panes and lamps were broken. We pushed our way through the crowd and could scarcely escape its pressure by retiring into the next storehouse, not without losing the clogs which remained sticking in the mud. The city authorities shortly afterwards arrived and carried us in procession to the hotel.

Ever since our arrival the rain has been pouring in torrents; yet the people did not like that Kossuth's address should be delayed; they met on Tuesday and thousands of them were drenched for two hours, while listening to his eloquent voice. It was a practical demonstration of sympathy; so much the more as the Jesuits had exerted all their influence to thwart the feeling for Hungary, which manifests itself in very striking incidents; a poor clerk came the day before yesterday to Kossuth, and left his golden watch on the table, as a contribution for European freedom, and when Kossuth refused to accept it, the young man declared he would take this as an insult. A farmer called, shook hands and said: "Thank you that you allowed me to see you. I must return today to my farm, and I was determined to shake hands with you. I set my very life on it for I am a cruel man. I might have killed myself with disappointment. But now I must give you something; I have nothing in my pocket but a poor knife, but this you must keep as a keepsake of a western farmer.

The story of the founding of St. Louis, which the Hungarians did not accept in its entirety, was this:

St. Louis, next to New Orleans and Cincinnati, the most important of the cities in the Mississippi basin, was founded in 1764 by Pierre Laeलेde, the chairman of a company of merchants at New Orleans, to which the governor of Louisiana had granted the exclusive privilege of the fur trade with the Indians on the Mississippi and the Missouri. He went up the Mississippi, intending to raise a fort and trading point at the mouth of the Missouri. But, according to an anecdote, he fixed it thirteen miles below that point, only because the ladies of the party were tired of moving about, and would not proceed farther. Cincinnati, too, is said to have been laid out on its present site because the officer of the United States forces, posted in Fort Washington, fell in love with the wife of a settler, whose house stood on the bend of the Ohio. The officer, desiring to live near her, transferred the wooden fort higher up the river, where it became the nucleus of the city. But whoever examines the sites of these great emporiums will easily perceive that their romantic traditions are scarcely to be credited; the cities could not be laid out on more favorable points than those they really occupy, nor can their sites be accidental.

Kossuth and his friends were impressed with the prosperity of St. Louis at the time of their visit, 1852:

Shortly after St. Louis had been founded, the country was ceded by France to Spain, and under her dominion the city hardly increased. There was no public school in the whole colony, no regular church; the villages were sometimes visited by missionaries; the currency consisted of deerskins. The French Creoles lived here in such an isolated and primitive simplicity, that though their honesty and hospitality have become proverbial, they could not compete with the Yankees, and soon, when under the rule of the United States, they were "improved off," by sharp Tennesseans and Kentuckians. But even in 1830 the population of St. Louis was but 6,500; in 1850, it had risen already to about 100,000. In the last twenty years the States of Missouri, Illinois and Iowa have been rapidly filled with an enterprising population, and St. Louis has become the market for a back country more extensive than that of Cincinnati; and yet the land between the Missouri and Mississippi is but scantily



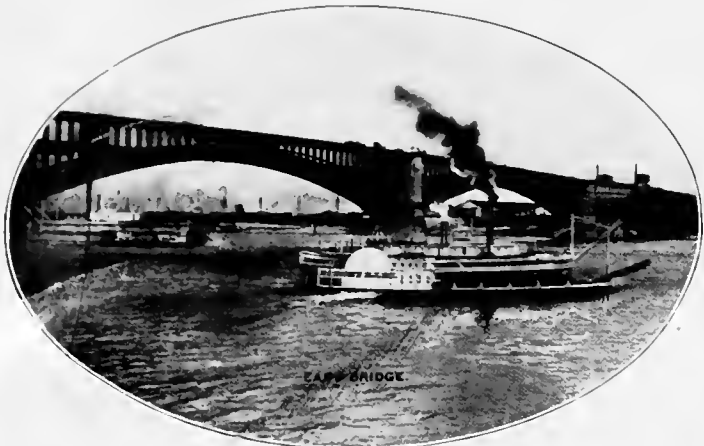
EADS BRIDGE IN COURSE OF  
CONSTRUCTION



ORIGINAL ENTRANCE TO THE  
EADS BRIDGE



EADS BRIDGE NEARING COMPLETION



THE EADS BRIDGE, COMPLETE AND IN USE





peopled; the increase of the "Mound City" is therefore likely to continue on the same gigantic scale as heretofore.

The principal articles of trade in St. Louis are—lumber, tobacco, hemp, flour, salt, beef, and pork, whiskey, the lead of Illinois, the commodities and manufactures of Europe and of the eastern states. Rich iron deposits have been discovered in the state but as yet their working remains unprofitable. The Missourians, therefore, though Democrats (in St. Louis the Whigs are in the majority), complain of the "free trade tariff" and wish to have their iron industry protected against English competition. There are in St. Louis but few manufactories, principally distilleries and flour mills. One of the most important and most promising establishments is that for the preparation of white lead. Shipbuilding is also carried on, on an extensive scale. Missouri has as yet no railways, but several lines have already been surveyed, and the great line to California must touch St. Louis, and will add to the importance of the city.

Railroad Day was the 15th of June, 1857. It celebrated the completion of the first railway eastward from St. Louis. So impressive were the rejoicings over the event that they became the subject of a book. The narrative was written by J. Prescott Smith. Excursion trains starting the day before brought to St. Louis high officials of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. One train did not arrive until the day after the principal celebration. In that case the belated delegations were received with a supplemental address of welcome and were hospitably entertained. City officials came from as far distant as Buffalo. Stephen A. Douglas was one of the guests.

Railroad Day was four days, for that was the period during which St. Louis celebrated the formal opening of railroad communications with the eastern part of the country. As the trains came into Illinoistown on the east bank of the river, the governors, senators and other distinguished guests looked out of their car windows into a forest of pine torches lighting up the midnight scene. A crowd had crossed over from the St. Louis side. The mayor, J. M. Wimer, came forward with a welcome which he made short with a reference to the "bonds of iron" that day forged between St. Louis and the rest of the United States. The excursionists were shown the way down the sandy bank to four of the largest boats on the river, the Reindeer, the Baltimore, most appropriately chosen for the occasion, the Illinois, the Di-Vernon. On these boats the guests were given staterooms for the night. There was little sleep. Across the river in St. Louis cannon boomed, fireworks exploded. The long levee was ablaze with gas lamps, torches, Roman candles, Greek fire and bonfires. Friday morning, June 15, 1857, the St. Louis programme opened formally. After breakfast the boats left the Illinois shore and steamed down to Carondelet and then up the river to the northern limits of the city. William Prescott Smith, describing the scene and the impression, said:

The view was exceedingly fine. St. Louis, with its substantial edifices, public, private and commercial; its numerous church spires; many and extensive factories, from which tall columns of smoke were wending their way continually towards the black cloud overhead; and its long levee lined for miles with steamers, and piled with every conceivable description of merchandise, exacted the wondering surprise and admiration of all who beheld it for the first time.

As the four boats neared the St. Louis levee the Missouri artillery company began the salute of one hundred guns. At the gang planks were Mayor Wimer, President George R. Taylor of the board of aldermen, Chairman John Vogel of

the board of delegates and Alderman Shore. Between the lines of the St. Louis Grays, the Washington Guards, the Mounted Rifles, the Missouri Dragoons, the Missouri Jaegers and the Union Riflemen, the visitors were escorted to carriages. "The crowd shouted with almost delirious enthusiasm" reads the account written by one of the visitors. "A holiday had been declared. All business houses were closed. The procession was 'several miles long.' The route was up Market street to Fourth, to Olive, to Eleventh street to Franklin avenue, to Grand avenue and to the Fair Grounds. Over two hours were required to move the column. Along the entire route through the city the houses were decorated with flags and streamers, garlands and wreaths, and the roofs, windows, sidewalks and streets were filled with people dressed in holiday attire. The tout ensemble formed a scene of surpassing gaiety and splendor. Amid this exciting pageant the ladies of the 'Mound City' shone with resplendent lustre as they waved their handkerchiefs and smiled a pleasant welcome to the guests."

Charles Keemle, the newspaper man, was the grand marshal of the day. The account of the celebration and the expressions of the eastern visitors are interesting as showing that in 1857 St. Louis had acquired the faculty of entertaining on a municipal scale, and had learned the art of extending hospitality in its most pleasing form.

A graphic description of the Fair Grounds as in existence in 1857 was given by one of the visiting journalists:

They are, almost unquestionably, the finest arranged grounds for the purposes of agricultural and mechanical exhibitions to be found in the United States. The land, alone, cost \$50,000. The grounds have been improved almost without regard to expense. Water, carried to the grounds from a distance, is distributed in pipes wherever convenience requires, and at night the entire place is illuminated by gaslight. The grounds are perfectly level and richly carpeted with blue grass. In the center rises a magnificent amphitheatre, 350 feet in diameter, with a center arena, the diameter of which is 250 feet. This amphitheatre will seat comfortably nearly ten thousand people. Each promenade will hold eight thousand, so that twenty-six thousand people may be sheltered under the roof of this magnificent structure. The cost was nearly \$70,000.

A collation was served on tables 300 feet long. The man who arranged to feed that multitude and still have enough to feast another crowd as large was William Wade, the merchant. He was at the head of a committee having that feature in charge. Mr. Wade desired to give the visitors from the Atlantic seaboard something distinctive to illustrate a typical St. Louis luncheon. With but one or two exceptions the things served were of local production. This was the "bill of fare"—not menu:

Boned Turkey  
 Ham, Champagne Sauce  
 Beef a la Mode  
 Tenderloin Larded  
 Stuffed Turkey and Oysters  
 Spring Chicken a la Tartar  
 Quail Patties  
 Snipe Patties  
 Chicken Patties  
 Marbled Veal  
 Beef Tongue  
 Roast Turkey  
 Spring Chicken Broiled  
 Lamb and Mint Sauce  
 Sandwiches

With this array of meats and game, the committee served vegetables and chicken salad, strawberries and ice cream in such abundance that the guests were amazed at the profusion. The committee carried out the idea of showing what St. Louis produced even to the beverages. They had sparkling and still catawba from the press of Glasgow, porter and ale and beer from the breweries of St. Louis.

Before the collation Edward Bates, who was the graceful orator of that period, extended the welcome to the visitors. After the feast came toasts in quick succession to governors and mayors of the states and cities represented. At night there was an illumination. The theaters were opened to the visitors.

Saturday night, the 16th of June, a reception was given in the Varieties theater. The house was thronged. The Honorable James Brooks of New York, a member of the delegation from that city, was unexpectedly called upon to speak. He had stowed himself away in the second tier and was surrounded by ladies. Those were the days of the enormous hoops. Mr. Brooks made his way with considerable difficulty through the throng, and began his remarks after a polite wave toward the toilettes by saying he found himself "in the outskirts of civilization."

Perhaps the speech which found most responsive chord among the St. Louisans was William Pinckney White's remark "that no gratitude was due. The kindness shown was a spontaneous outburst of native generosity which came of itself, and which the givers could not help."

Sunday, the 17th, the visitors went about the city. Monday the new Merchants' Exchange was opened with ceremonies, and Henry Ames, president of the Chamber of Commerce, offered the sentiment:

St. Louis has long been married to New York and Boston—the western people have now adopted the Utah principle, and have taken Baltimore into the alliance.

Judge Z. Collins Lee of Baltimore, responding for the visitors, quoted the prophecy of Henry Clay "that the great center of the United States would be at St. Louis and on the Mississippi."

President Andrew Johnson was escorted to St. Louis September 8, 1866, by a fleet of thirty-six steamboats, which met the party at Alton. With the President were General Grant, Admiral Farragut, Secretary of State Seward and General Hancock. Andrew Johnson was the first President of the United

States to visit St. Louis. After the reception committee had landed at Alton, the presidential party was escorted to the steamboat Andrew Johnson. President Johnson was escorted by Captain Bart Able and John Hogan; then came Secretary Seward with George Knapp; Secretary Welles with Daniel G. Taylor. On the trip down the river there was a welcoming speech by Captain James B. Eads. Following the address, President Johnson visited the room of the St. Louis Press Club on board the boat and was received by President Phil. G. Ferguson. A speech in behalf of the newspaper men was made by Mr. Clement of the "Guardian." One of the incidents was the reception by President Johnson of the survivors of the war of 1812, headed by General Nathan Ranney.

The fleet, headed by the Andrew Johnson, arrived at the St. Louis levee shortly after 2 o'clock, and was received, according to a local account, with "the wildest excitement." There was cheering and cannonading; there was ringing of bells and screaming of whistles.

Escorted by a long procession, the presidential party was taken in carriages to the Lindell hotel. In the column were regular troops from the arsenal, veterans of the Civil war, the Caledonian Society in highland costume, the city councils of St. Louis and Carondelet, the members of the press. The second division was composed of the Masons, Odd Fellows and Andrew Johnson clubs, the Hibernian Society, the Shamrock Society, the United Sons of Erin, the Total Abstinence Society, students of the St. Louis University, Butchers' Association, Draymen's Association, city police, members of the Merchants' Exchange and the fire department.

At the Lindell hotel there was another welcoming address by Mayor Thomas, to which President Johnson responded. This took place on the portico over the main entrance. Then followed a reception in the drawing room, and President Johnson made another speech.

In the evening a banquet was given at the Southern hotel, the menu for which filled a half column in the newspapers.

There President Johnson spoke again at considerable length. These St. Louis speeches were used by the House of Representatives in the prosecution of the impeachment charges. L. L. Walbridge, who reported the speeches, was summoned to Washington to testify in the trial to the accuracy of the report. The speech which gave the most offense to the Republican party in Congress was one President Johnson delivered from the Walnut street front of the Southern hotel shortly before going into the banquet. Stimulated by enthusiasm and by the encouraging interruptions of the audience, the President used very bitter language in describing his controversy with the Congress. His visit to St. Louis the President described as swinging 'round the circle.

The grandest Fourth of July celebration St. Louis had known was in 1874. That date was chosen to celebrate formally the completion of the Eads bridge. The bridge was opened to roadway traffic on the 23rd of May. The first train crossed the 9th of June. The committee of arrangements was headed by Barton Able. The grand marshal was Arthur B. Barret.

The celebration began at daylight. Simpson's battery, under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel F. W. Fuchs, marched to the river front and fired thir-



EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, DAVID R. FRANCIS  
DEDICATION DAY, WORLD'S FAIR



teen guns for the original thirteen states—the time honored custom of ushering Independence Day. At nine o'clock Colonel Fuchs divided the guns, sending two to the Illinois end of the bridge. Alternately the cannon boomed, Illinois answering Missouri; one hundred guns were fired.

The procession was an impressive demonstration of civic magnitude and strength. It moved immediately after the nine o'clock salute of one hundred guns. Huebler and the police led the way eastward down Washington avenue from Jefferson. United States cavalry, the National Guards, the Uhlans and the uniformed secret and benevolent societies formed a showy division. Officers and members of the Merchants' Exchange made one of the few appearances on parade in the history of the organization. They rode in carriages and displayed a banner with a picture of the Exchange. The German singing societies, headed by Professor Egmont Froelich, marched 600 strong, carrying banners. The Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Exchange, with Henry Milburn as marshal, demonstrated the building trades with a long line of floats, illustrating the different kinds of work required to build a complete house. There were architects, excavators, masons, stonecutters, brickmakers and bricklayers, iron-workers, carpenters, stair-builders, roofers, tinnern, lightning-rod men, plumbers, plasterers, gas fitters, painters and glaziers, paperhangers, grate and mantel manufacturers. President James Luthy and other officers of the Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Exchange, rode in carriages. The custom house officials escorted a full rigged brig, the James B. Eads, drawn by eight horses and commanded by Henry P. Wyman. The postoffice carriers accompanied a float illustrating the evolution of mail carrying from post rider to railway. King Gambrinus, personated by Jacob Schorr, had a retinue of brewers. Members of the city council were in carriages. The fire department was the last division. The movement of the procession occupied nearly four hours.

A special train crossed the bridge and delivered at the reviewing and speaking stand on Third and Washington avenue Governor Silas Woodson of Missouri, Governor Beveridge of Illinois, Governor Hendricks of Indiana, United States Senator Lewis V. Bogy and a large number of official guests escorted by the committee of arrangements. Three governors spoke; also Mayor Joseph Brown of St. Louis, Ex-Governor B. Gratz Brown, who two years before had been the nominee for vice president, and Thomas W. Ferry of Michigan. In the course of his address James B. Eads, the designer and builder, said this about the permanence of the construction:

I am justified in declaring that the bridge will exist just as long as it continues to be useful to the people who come after us, even if its years should number those of the pyramids. That its piers will thus endure few will doubt, while the peculiar construction of its superstructure is such that any piece of it can be taken out and examined, and replaced or renewed, without interrupting the traffic on the bridge. The effect of temperature upon the arches is such that in cold weather the lower central tubes and the upper abutment tubes composing the spans are so relieved of strain that any one of them may be uncoupled from the others and easily removed. In hot weather the upper ones of the center and the lower ones near the piers may be similarly removed. In the completion of the western span two of the lower tubes of the inside ribs near the middle of the span were injured during erection and were actually uncoupled and taken out without any difficulty whatever after the span was completed, and two new ones put in their place within a few hours. This is a feature in its construction possessed by no other similar work in the world, and it justifies me in saying that this bridge will endure as long as it is useful to man.

The baptism of the bridge was one of the events of the day. When Grand Marshal Barret and his staff reached the dedication stand at the west entrance, the president of the company, Gerard B. Allen, introduced Mrs. Julius S. Walsh, daughter of Charles K. Dickson, the first president and one of the chief promoters of the bridge. This lady proceeded to baptize the bridge and said:

With the waters of the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Gulf, the Lakes and the Mississippi commingled,—emblematic of the union effected by these mighty spans—I christen this structure, the Illinois bridge, and invoke the blessing of the Almighty on it, its builders and the commerce to which it is henceforth and forever dedicated.

A feature of the procession were the junior aides on ponies. Grand Marshal Arthur B. Barret was attended by a staff of fifty aides, dressed in black coats and trousers, with blue neckties, white hats and vests, narrow black bands around the hats, white linen gloves and blended red and white silk scarfs. David R. Francis was one of the aides thus attired. Others known to this generation were W. H. Thomson and Charles W. Knapp. Following the aides were the twenty-five junior aides, who were dressed in short black coats, white trousers, white cravats, white straw hats with black bands, white gloves and red silk scarfs. Among the juniors were Malcom McDonald, James Eads Dickson, George Bakewell, Frank O'Fallon, James Farish, Thomas Scudder and Sylvester Taylor. The juniors performed cavalry evolutions during the parade.

During the day all steamboats in the harbor joined in a novel movement called "the rainbow plan." They formed in three lines facing the bridge, the small boats in front, the largest in the rear. The night feature of the celebration was the burning of thousands of dollars worth of fireworks on the bridge. The spectacle drew to the boats and to the river front a large proportion of the city's 300,000 population.

The Eads bridge was tested in June, 1874, previous to the formal opening. Fourteen locomotives of the weight of that day, which ranged from thirty-five to fifty-one tons, an average of forty tons, or five hundred and sixty tons in all, were made in two trains under the direction of Captain Eads. They traversed the bridge, making stops on each span until the effects of the load could be carefully noted. With these fourteen locomotives stopped upon a span the deflection was only two and one-half inches on the center span and two and one-eighth inches on the side spans. Ten locomotives were coupled together and run over first one track and then the other in such a manner as to place the strain first on one side and then on the other side of the bridge. The results were of the most satisfactory character.

In 1872 James G. Blaine, then Speaker of the House of Representatives; Secretary Boutwell of the Treasury, and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, nominee for Vice President, visited St. Louis. They were escorted to various points of interest by Mr. Henry T. Blow. The Eads bridge, then nearing completion, amazed the visitors. Mr. Wilson said: "Mr. Blow, I had no idea that American ingenuity—that American skill or that engineering skill of any man in America—had ever conceived and accomplished anything so magnificent as this bridge."

Then Mr. Boutwell took up the conversation and remarked: "Sir, I see nothing of this bridge in your newspapers; it is the grandest work of modern times."



The Speaker of the House of Representatives, James G. Blaine, voiced the impression made upon him in this way: "Mr. Blow, show me the engineer of this bridge."

The great seal of Government sponsorship was placed upon the certificate of Dedication of the Universal Exposition of 1904. It was attested with the formality of diplomatic etiquette by the nations of the globe. More impressive, more official, more enthusiastic the dedication ceremonies could not have been.

"I dedicate these buildings," said the President of the United States. The joint committee of Congress, the ambassadors and ministers and commissioners of more than thirty foreign governments, the governors and representatives of more than forty States and Territories by their presence acknowledged and approved.

A nipping frost whitening the earth was a most extraordinary beginning for the 30th of April, 1903, centennial day of the Purchase of the Louisiana Territory. It threatened to chill early enthusiasm but was quickly forgotten in the inspiration of the morning military pageant. Those spectators who looked westward from Grand avenue or eastward from King's Highway saw a spectacle not surpassed in military pomp or splendor even by the parades of Inauguration Day in Washington.

Lindell boulevard with its parkings, its rows of trees, its fronts of stately mansions and club houses, with its gentle summits at King's Highway and Grand avenue and the gradual dip between, has passed into history with the dedication of the Universal Exposition as having furnished the setting of one of the most impressive and most perfect military scenes in time of peace that the United States has known.

When the head of the long column had passed through the mile of park between the masses of spectators, had traversed the triumphal way, had saluted the chief magistrate of the nation on the reviewing stand, the waves of armed humanity with crests of gleaming steel were still rolling along the entire length of Lindell boulevard.

The President shook his head with strenuous emphasis to the suggestion that he retire to the refreshment tent while the column was passing. That was a spectacle and an experience, a revelation of the might of arms of the nation to make the commander-in-chief oblivious to the pangs of hunger.

The next scene in the Palace of Liberal Arts! Humanity pressing forward eager and insistent for sight and hearing! Best laid plans for order and precedence of guests swept away in a few moments of good natured scramble by the thousands! Ushers engulfed and lost in the surging masses! Here and there the helpless helmet of a policeman afloat in a human sea! It was a sight for a lifetime. The twenty-eight hundred voices of the chorus sounded harmonious but not sonorous. As if a Sunday school class was chanting in the roar of the surf! President Roosevelt and Ex-President Cleveland were seen, were cheered again and again.

Shivering and shouting one hundred thousand people saw the stars come out and fade utterly in the brilliancy of the fireworks.

A day of functions varied and crowding was the first of May. In the Palace of Liberal Arts another throng more orderly, more in keeping with the dignity of the occasion assembled. The Ambassador of France and the Minister of Spain spoke words which will be historic, about the parts their governments took in that "Deed of the Pen," which made the United States to rank among the great nations of the earth. The diplomatic reception, the dinner to the press, the meeting of the National Civic Federation, the Colorado reception, the sports and amusements of visiting troops, the evening fireworks, each of these was an event sufficient to engross the attention of the city and its guests.

On the third day, the day of the states, the public entered with a sense of continued interest. Lindell boulevard saw another sight. A second grand marshal, without sword, without insignia of military rank, raised his hat to the governor of the state and to the mayor of the city and to assembled officialdom. Then followed for hours with steady step and unbroken ranks the demonstration of the city's organized strength in capital and labor, in industries, in civic and educational institutions and in municipal utilities. It was such a civic parade in character and in numbers as made the heart of St. Louis throb with pride for its solidarity and such as prompted unstinted praise from the stranger.

Again the people assembled in the immense auditorium. Again the chorus lifted up its twenty-eight hundred power voice and blended with the one hundred instruments of brass.

The Empire state of the Louisiana Purchase spoke through its governor to the Empire state of the whole country and the Empire state of the United States responded. Two chief executives of two great states, men in the prime of life, of opposite political parties, rose to the occasion and vied in patriotic speech to express the significance of that day to all of the states of the Union.

When the living streams poured out of the Palace of Liberal Arts they divided and going in many directions formed human pools among the trees, laying corner-stones, driving stakes, breaking ground and raising flags to dedicate the sites of the state buildings. The Saturday sun went down on the finished work of dedication, such dedication as has presented no other exposition in the long series of these "timekeepers of progress."

“St. Louis is the natural center of the vast fertile territory of the Southwest, and with her natural advantages must inevitably become the most important metropolis of this country.”—From the address of Hon. James Bryce, British Ambassador, before the Commercial Club of St. Louis, June 19, 1907.















