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CONTENTS.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock, by N. E. Robinson	173
Old Landmarks of Jefferson County, by Judge John L. Thomas	188
The Conquest of St. Joseph, Mich., by the Span- iards in 1781, by Clarence Walworth Alvord	195
Rufus King and the Missouri Compromise, by Prof. H. C. Hockett	211
Civil War Reminiscences, by Col. Warner Lewis	221
Notes	232
Bibliography of Slavery and Civil War in Mis- souri, by F. A. Sampson and W. C. Breck- enridge	233
Necrology	249
Book Notices	255
Program Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government	258

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GENERAL ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK:—SOME ACCOUNT OF A MISSOURI AUTHOR SOMEWHAT NEGLECTED BUT WHOSE WRITINGS WILL LIVE WHEN MORE POPULAR WRITERS ARE FORGOTTEN. *

By reason of his long continued connection with military affairs in Missouri, his residence and literary activity in our metropolis, St. Louis, his relation with families still prominent in our social, business and political circles, we may justly claim General Hitchcock as a Missourian and a Missouri author, and as such he is a most fitting subject for consideration by this Historical Society.

It has long been a source of surprise to the writer that this eminent man has been permitted to become almost forgotten by this generation. His character, his writings, his public positions, would all seem to have entitled him to great recognition, and yet he and his books are wholly unknown to many otherwise well informed citizens of our state. It is to correct this, to place his work somewhat publicly before our people, and to

*A paper read by H. E. Robinson, President State Historical Society at its annual meeting, Columbia, Mo., December, 1905.

seek to gain for him at least a partial recognition of his talents, that this paper has been prepared.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was the son of Samuel Hitchcock, a Federal Judge of Vermont, who married May 26, 1789, Lucy Caroline, daughter of Ethan Allen of Ticonderoga fame. Their first son was Henry Hitchcock, born in 1792. In 1816 the latter settled near Mobile, Alabama, and became Attornel General of that state, and Justice of the Supreme Court. He died of yellow fever in 1839. He married Miss Ann Erwin, of Nashville, Tennessee, and two of their sons became well known residents of St. Louis. Henry, born July 3, 1829, married in 1857, Miss Mary Collier, of St. Louis, and died there March 18, 1902. And Ethan Allen, born September 19, 1835, minister to Russia and at present Secretary of the Interior.

As these descendants of Ethan Allen, as well as the subject of this sketch, partake more or less of the traits of their eminent ancestor, a slight digression in his favor will doubtless be pardoned.

Perhaps no expression attributed to a public man has ever been more widely known and quoted than the one said to have been used by Ethan Allen in demanding the surrender of Ft. Ticonderoga. When its British commander asked by what authority this was called for, Ethan Allen is said to have replied—

“By authority of Jehovah and the Continental Congress!”

And yet, Prof. Davie Butler, of the Wisconsin State University used to tell with great glee that he had talked with a member of the storming party, who was near Allen when surrender was demanded and that the latter really said—

“Come out of there you damned old rat!”

Thus modern iconoclasm demolishes tradition, and yet it is to be doubted whether the high sounding declaration ascribed to Allen will ever be forgotten.

On the Sunday following his capture of Ticonderoga, Allen attended divine service in the little meeting house at Bennington, Vermont. The clergyman who was as devout as he was loyal, took occasion, during the long prayer that preceded the

sermon, to give all the credit of the exploit to the God of battles. Allen's notion of the share which Providence had in the matter did not exactly agree with his pastor's. He held his peace for some time, but finally, overcome by a passionate impulse, arose in his seat and called out—

“Parson Dewey! Please mention the fact that Ethan Allen was there!”

There were three of the Allens resident in Vermont when the Revolutionary war broke out, Levi, Ira and Ethan. Levi was a Tory, and his lands were confiscated, he always claimed through the machinations of Ira. Miss Abby M. Hemenway, in her *Gazetteer of Vermont*, preserves the following doggerel, said to have been written by Levi while smarting under this loss.

“THE THREE BROTHERS.

ETHAN.

Old Ethan once said o'er a full bowl of grog,
Though I believe not in Jesus, I hold to a God,
There is also a devil—you will see him one day
In a whirlwind of fire take Levi away.

IRA.

Says Ira to Ethan it plain doth appear
That you are inclined to banter and jeer
I think for myself and I fully declare
Our Levi's too stout for the prince of the air
If ever you see them engaged in affray
'Tis our Levi who'll take the Devil away.

LEVI.

Says Levi your speeches make it perfectly clear
That you both seem inclined to banter and jeer
Though through all the world my name stands enrolled
For tricks, sly and crafty, ingenious and bold

There is one consolation which none can deny
That there's one greater rogue in this world than I.

ETHAN AND IRA.

"Who's that?" (they both cry with equal surprise)

LEVI.

'Tis Ira, 'Tis Ira, I yield him the prize.'

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was born at Vergennes, Vermont, May 18, 1798. He was appointed to West Point from Vermont and served there as a cadet from October 11, 1814, to July 17, 1817, when he was graduated as 3rd Lieut. of Artillery. He was made 2nd Lieut. of the 8th Infantry on February 13, 1818, and 1st Lieut. October 31, 1818. He was Adjutant of the Infantry from June 1, 1819, to June 1, 1821, then being made 1st Lieut. of the 1st Infantry.

He was appointed Assistant Instructor of Tactics at West Point, February 1, 1824, which position he filled most acceptably to April 20, 1827. He was promoted to Captain 1st Infantry, December 31, 1824. He served as Commandant of Cadets and Instructor of Infantry Tactics from March 13, 1829, to June 24, 1833. Those who were under him at this time speak in the highest of terms of his ability as an instructor and his capacity for exciting the ambitions of both the careless and the dullard. Francis H. Smith, of Virginia, in his paper, "West Point Fifty Years Ago," says—

"Capt. Hitchcock was a chivalrous officer, a good tactician, a high toned gentleman, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of our class."

Hitchcock served during the Seminole war in Florida, in 1836, and was promoted Major of the 8th Infantry, July 7, 1838. In 1840 he was stationed at Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis, and ever thereafter preserved a warm feeling for Missouri and Missourians. In 1842 he was in Florida again, being promoted Lieut. Col. 3rd Infantry, January 31, 1842. In 1843 and 1844 he was in command at Jefferson Barracks, where

he established evolutions of the line, creating the greatest interest in military exercises and duties, and making this post a school of application for officers in their higher duties.

He served throughout the war with Mexico in 1847-8, being brevetted Colonel, August 20, 1847, for gallantry at Coutreras and Cherubusco, and brevetted Brigadier General September 8, 1847, for gallantry at Malino del Rey. In 1848 he was detailed for some time at Independence, Missouri, mustering out Mexican War volunteers.

On April 15, 1851, he was promoted Colonel of the 2nd Infantry, and on July 9 of the same year he was placed in charge of the Military Division of the Pacific, at San Francisco, which position he filled until May 21, 1854. While occupying this command it was Col. Hitchcock's privilege to render his country an important service, which is thus told by General Cullum in his memoir of Hitchcock, privately printed in 1882:

"While he was in charge of the Military Division of the Pacific, Col. Hitchcock broke up Walker's filibustering expedition, and thus stopped a treasonable effort to seize Sonora and extend slave territory, the scheme of disloyal plotters in California. The plotters of treason who had failed in their design, soon wrecked their vengeance through the then secessionist Secretary of War (Jefferson Davis) by ostracising this loyal soldier from his high command to a nominal one at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Hitchcock having been threatened with paralysis, asked for a four months leave of absence from General Scott. Secretary Davis had a controversy with General Scott over this, which resulted in Davis ordering Hitchcock to Ft. Pierre. Knowing this to be spite work, Hitchcock asked an extension of his leave of absence, and in event of this being refused, tendered his resignation, expressly stating however, that if his services were deemed indispensable, he, although a decided invalid, would go to Ft. Pierre at all hazards, 'as nothing would be further from his purpose than to jeopardize a reputation which had continued unblemished during a period of nearly forty years in the army.' The Secretary accepted Hitchcock's resignation October 18, 1855, having already refused his exten-

sion of leave of absence. Thus, as stated by General Scott, was a most meritorious officer forced out of service by the Secretary's oppressive orders in denying a simple indulgence at a time when there was no urgent reason for his presence at a remote post."

After his resignation in 1855, Colonel Hitchcock took up his residence in St. Louis, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits, which will be more fully detailed further on.

When the civil war came on, Colonel Hitchcock was of course ardently on the side of the Union. His advice was sought by those in power, and he was the author of the proclamation issued by General William S. Harney in 1861, denouncing the State Military bill, etc.

In 1862 he was called to Washington and appointed Major General of Volunteers on February 10 of that year. He was assigned to special duty under the Secretary of War on March 17, 1862, being a special legal military advisor to President Lincoln, and served in this capacity until October 1, 1867. He was also made Commissioner for the Exchange of Prisoners, November 15, 1862, serving as such until October 1, 1867. He was twice offered the Governorship of Liberia, which he declined. On October 1, 1867, he was mustered out of the United States service.

General Hitchcock married late in life, and after being mustered out, made his residence at Sparta, Georgia, where he died August 5, 1870, aged 72 years. His remains were taken to West Point and reinterred there December 14, 1871.

General Hitchcock inherited much of the personal appearance and military determination of his grandfather, Ethan Allen, as well as the judicial traits of his father, Samuel Hitchcock.

Perhaps the best characterization of this eminent man is that made by General Cullum in the little work heretofore referred to, and as such it is here presented.

"As a soldier for the Republic for nearly half a century, he was noted as an accomplished officer, professionally well-informed, a skillful tactician, able in administration, a rigid

disciplinarian, just as a commander, kind and genial to his comrades, and persistent in usefulness manifested in his high sphere of duty during two great wars. Whatever his position, he conscientiously discharged the functions of his office, whether instructing and governing Cadets at West Point; giving attention to the drill and discipline of his regiment in the barrens of Florida; teaching system and grand tactics at Jefferson Barracks; protecting the wild savage on the frontier; crushing lawlessness in his Pacific command; or winning by zeal and intelligence the confidence of his chiefs, both in Mexico and at the Capital.

“As a scholar, without being classically educated, he became eminent for his erudition, in ancient, mediæval and modern literature. He reveled in choice libraries, possessed a curious collection of rare volumes and never was satiated with books. Though his mind had a strong legal bias, and exhibited considerable mathematical power, his passionate fondness for metaphysical research and philosophical disquisitions led him into many original and strange investigations. When he had made of them a careful study, his conclusions were clear and precise; but such was the integrity of his mind that he was ever open to conviction, never obstinately dogmatic, and always sought for further light—till his judgment became so fixed that it could not be shaken except by irresistible logic or an overwhelming array of facts. His love of study infused its influence in his whole command, his young officers being as noted for scholarly culture as for soldierly superiority.

“As a writer, his style was remarkable for its clearness, force and precision; his pen adorned all it touched, and against an adversary’s sophistry was sharper than a two-edged sword; and his remarkable versatility, eloquence of reason, skill in dialectics, philosophical analysis, subtlety of spiritual perception and vigor of thought challenged our highest admiration.

“He was no sectarian, nor could he be shackled with Procrustean articles of faith. His own guileless life, following the guidance of the Gospel Spirit of Truth, is the best interpreter of his doctrine.

“As a man, his modest impressive manners inspired confidence and respect. In contrast to his almost childlike simplicity and womanly tenderness was a Roman’s resolution, and the martyr’s devotion to principle; and interwoven with the quick intelligence, mental dignity, and love of the ideal and spiritual pertaining to his student life, were refined tastes, a delicate susceptibility of beauty, and a passionate love for the concord of sweet harmonies, being himself an excellent musician. With these rare traits of character, were combined the finest impulses, and his heart abounding with generous emotion, would, while denying all luxuries to himself, lavishly bestow of his means to the needy, saving by his frugality what was secretly spent for the maintenance of the poor and the education of the young. His sympathy with the interests and regard for the feelings and welfare of those around him were equal to his charity; hence, he was almost idolized by those who were the recipients of his bounty, and knew the purity and beauty of his nature. He was also the center of a wide circle, embracing the good, the cultivated and the eminent, upon whom his death fell with the solemn pathos of a deep calamity.”

General Hitchcock wrote many fugitive articles, controversial papers, critical notices, biographical sketches, etc. In 1846 he issued privately a small pamphlet entitled, “The Doctrines of Spinoza and Swedenborg Identified in so far as they claim a Scientific Ground.” He points out some very remarkable resemblances between them, quoting largely from both, showing almost an identity in their doctrines and principles, especially of God, of Knowledge and of Salvation. This pamphlet was about all embodied in his “Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher” published in 1858 and 1865.

In a private letter to Hitchcock, dated December 25, 1846, Theodore Parker says of this parallel:

“I have long been aware of a certain union in their ideas of God, and of his immanency in matter and spirit; only I thought Spinoza perhaps the more rational of the two in that matter, though I think both make the world a sort of Dutch clock. I never thought the similarity extended as far as you

have shown it does. Henry Heine, the wittiest and wickedest of modern writers, says that many a philosopher when walking in a deep forest of thought, has fancied he was treading new ground, original and all alone. when suddenly he has found himself confronted face to face with the awful features of Benedict Spinoza. I think you have shown that Swedenborg must have had Spinoza upon his mind when he wrote. It is impossible that Emanuel should have omitted to read Benedict for he read everything and reveled in the mystics, old, middle-aged and modern. I like your view of Swedenborg. He was a great man, and is made ridiculous when men worship him and stop not at his limitations. I reverence his genius most profoundly, as I do that of Spinoza, though I worship neither. I hope justice will be done at length to both Spinoza and Swedenborg, and I thank you for writing this little tract to show this agreement in their Scientificals."

"General Hitchcock was on a sick leave of absence in 1849-50 which he spent in Europe and the East, returning home, as General Cullum says, "replete with mystic lore." In July, 1854, he bought in New York his first alchemical book, "Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy," which so fascinated him that he devoted his entire attention to that subject, and his works published thereafter all treat of a spiritualized hermitic philosophy, inculcating the idea that the pursuit of alchemists was not so much that of gold as it was the study of man. His researches soon bore fruit in—

"Remarks upon Alchymists, and the supposed object of their pursuits; showing that the Philosopher's Stone is a mere symbol, signifying something which could not be expressed openly, without incurring the danger of an *auto de Fe*. By an officer of the United States Army (printed for private circulation.) Carlisle, Penn'a. Printed at the Herald Office, 1855." 8 vo. pp. 40.

The advertisement to the reader is dated Carlisle Barracks, March, 1855, and signed E. A. Hitchcock, U. S. Army.

This little pamphlet had the honor of being reviewed in the *Westminster Review* for October, 1856. The dissent of this

reviewer from his views caused General Hitchcock to carefully go over his conclusions, and, indirectly at least, induced the further publication of his works, all bearing upon the same theory.

General Cullum, in his little work heretofore quoted, further says of Hitchcock—

“All his life he had been a student, whether reveling in fine libraries at West Point and Washington, or delving among his own choice volumes, ever his companions, whether among the everglades of Florida, or the wilds of the Western frontier. Of books he never had enough, and would spend his last penny to possess them. With Spinoza, Plato and the Neo-Platonists he first became familiar, then was much interested in Swedenborg’s works, and Rossetti’s Anti-Papal Spirit, and finally went into an elaborate course of reading of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Spenser, etc. In many of these writings he discovered a double sense, one for the general reader, and the other for the members of a society possessed of the key of interpretation, which ramified all over Europe and had an existence as far back at least at A. D. 1000. This society was composed of the most learned and scientific men, whose intelligence was in advance of the world, enabling them to see the errors of the Roman church, which, however, by its power, controlled and restrained these men from the free expression of their opinions. In consequence of this, the literary men of those ages avoided persecution, imprisonment and death, by the use of a controversial language, the exoteric or outward import of which appeared friendly to the party in power, while its esoteric or secret meaning was in direct hostility to the Church, and clearly understood to be so by the initiated. To point out to his friends the extraordinary evidence of this symbolism gave Hitchcock the greatest gratification and many fragments which he then wrote on these curious and interesting discoveries, were subsequently developed in his published writings.

“The result of his studies of the “Problem of Life” is given in his eight published volumes, which, though not much

read by this busy money making world, have made their lodgment in the Ethical mind of the age, and are yet destined to be more fully appreciated by coming philosophical thinkers. "Christ the Spirit" is the most profound of all Hitchcock's writings and we can scarcely think of a theologian, living or dead, who might not with profit sit at the feet of this brave soldier and listen to him as he talks about religion."

The following complete list of General Hitchcock's printed works is the first we have ever seen. All of the mentioned books are in the possession of the writer with the exception of the first one.

I.

The Doctrines of Spinoza and Swedenborg Identified in so far as they claim a Scientific Growth 1846.

The above title is as given by General Cullum. I have never seen the book. Hitchcock refers to it on page 264 of his "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher."

II.

Remarks upon Alchymists, and the supposed object of their pursuits: showing that the Philoso-Stone is a mere Symbol signifying something which could not be expressed openly without incurring the danger of an auto de Fe. By an officer of the United States Army. (Printed for private circulation.) Carlisle, Penn'a. Printed at the Herald Office 1855. 8 vo. pp. 40.

In this book he says that in July, 1854, he bought in New York his first alchemical book "The Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy" whence his studies grew. (This book was by Espagnet.)

There is a copy in the Boston Public Library.

The advertisement to the reader is dated Carlisle Barracks, March, 1855, and signed E. A. Hitchcock, U. S. Army.

III.

Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists. Indicating a method of discovering the true nature of Hermetic Philosophy;

and showing that the search after the Philosopher's Stone had not for its object the Discovery of an agent for the Transmutation of Metals. Being also an attempt to rescue from undeserved opprobrium the reputation of a class of Extraordinary Thinkers in Past Ages.

"Man shall not live by bread alone."

Boston: Crosby Nichols and Company, iii Washington Street. 1857. 12 mo. pp 307. 2nd Edition.

IV.

Swedenborg, A Hermetic Philosopher, Being a sequel to Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists showing that Emanuel Swedenborg was a Hermetic Philosopher, and that his writings may be interpreted from the point of view of Hermetic Philosophy. With a chapter comparing Swedenborg and Spinoza. By the author of Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists.

"One truth openeth the way to Another." New York: D. Appleton & Company, 346 and 348 Broadway. 1858. 12 mo. pp 352.

Second Edition. (Same title.)

New York: Published by James Miller, Successor to C. S. Francis, 522 Broadway, 1865. 12 mo. pp 352.

V.

Christ the Spirit. Being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity. (Mottoes.) By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists," and "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher. St. Louis, Mo. L. Bushnell. For sale by Charles S. Francis and Co., New York, Crosby, Nichols, Lee and Co., Boston, John Pennington and Son, Philadelphia, 1860. 12 mo. pp xvi. 375, reverse blank.

Second Edition Enlarged. (Same title.) New York. For sale by C. S. Francis & Co., New York, Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co., Boston; John Pennington & Son, Philadelphia, 1861.

12 mo. pp XXXIX, reverse blank, 465, reverse blank.

(Part Second.) (Same title.)

1861. pp XXVIII, 452.

Christ the Spirit, Being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity. (Mottoes.) By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists," and "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher." Part First, Second Edition, enlarged (cut) Third Edition. New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1864.

12 mo. pp XXXIX, reverse blank, 452.

Part Second (same title).

VI.

The Red Book of Appin; A Story of the Middle Ages .With Other Hermetic Stories and Allegorical Fairy Tales. With Interpretations. By the author of "Alchemy and the Alchemists," "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher" and "Christ the Spirit."

New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway, 1863.

16 mo. pp 297. reverse blank. Errata 1 leaf.

Second Edition—The Red Book of Appin, A Story of the Middle Ages. With other Hermetic Stories and Allegorical Tales. A new Edition. Enlarged by A Chapter of the Palmerin of England. With interpretations, and Remarks upon the Arabian Nights Entertainments. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," "Remarks on Spencer's Colin Clouts Come Home Againe," &c. New York. Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway.

M. D. CCCLXVI. 12 mo. pp 298.

The added matter to this edition begins on page 191.

VII.

Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare; With the Sonnets. Showing that they belong to the Hermetic Class of Writings and explaining their general meaning and purpose. By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy," "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher," "Christ the Spirit," and "The Red Book of Appin, with Interpretations."

New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C.S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1865. 12 mo.

Second Edition: (Same title and publisher.)

1867. 12 mo. pp XXVI. 356.

VIII.

Spencer's Poem. Entitled Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, Explained; with Remarks upon the Amoretti Sonnets, and also upon a few of the minor poems of other early English Poets. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," to which this volume is designed as a Companion.

New York: Published by James Miller (Successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. M. D. CCCLXV. 12 mo. pp 306.

IX.

Notes on the Vita Nuova and Minor Poems of Dante, together with the New Life, and many of the Poems. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," etc.

New York: Published by James Miller (Successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1866.

12 mo. pp 377. reverse blank.

HITCHCOCK'S INTRODUCTION TO ALCHEMY.

In his "Swedenborg A Hermetic Philosopher," Hitchcock gives some interesting details regarding his Alchemical Library, as follows:

"A mere accident—a very casual circumstance—some three or four years ago, (*) threw into my hands a small volume on Alchemy, the preface to which alone satisfied me that there must have been two classes of Alchemists; and the perusal of the book assured me that, while some 'money-loving

(*) NOTE—In 1854, he says in his "Remarks upon Alchymists" he bought in New York his first Alchemical book, "Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy." This was by Espagnet, much quoted by him.

sots' employed themselves in experiments upon all sorts of metals and other materials in search of gold, there was another class of men in pursuit of the philosopher's stone by very different means:—by devout contemplation upon the nature of God and of man—upon the human soul and its capacity for knowledge, for happiness, and for immortality;—and the object was a discovery of the means for attaining the true end of man; not an ephemeral pleasure, but a permanent beatitude—not a good for a day, but for all time. The impression derived from reading this one book on alchemy induced me to look further, and without much effort I obtained a considerable number of volumes, over three hundred, of a strange character, on the philosopher's stone and hermetic philosophy; some of which are of course worthless, but all of which show, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the philosopher's stone was a mere symbol for human perfection, or for something supposed to be essential to that perfection. There is not a single volume in my possession that could have been written by any one in pursuit of actual gold, though many of the works show that their authors had but very crude opinions as to the real objects of the philosophers."

HITCHCOCK'S ALCHEMICAL COLLECTION.

This library, acquired by General Hitchcock, as he says, "without much effort," less than fifty years ago, would be almost impossible to duplicate at the present time. It was presented by the family to the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, and is preserved in its entirety, one of the most valued possessions of that institution. It is beyond doubt the most complete collection of hermetic books to be found in the United States, and scholars from all over our land come here to consult its literary rarities. It is eminently fitting that the workshop of a Missouri author has found its final resting place within the walls of such a supereminent Missouri library.

H. E. ROBINSON.

OLD LANDMARKS COMMITTEE—REPORT TO THE OLD
SETTLERS' SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1906.

RIVERS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.

We behold the valleys of Big River, the Meramec, the Joachim, the Platin, the Little Rock, the Grand Glaze and other streams in our county and we naturally inquire how they were formed and when, and what races of men have lived and hunted and fought and died there. This county constitutes the northeastern spur of the Ozark Mountains, or "Ozark uplift." In the beginning the earth was "without form and void" and "darkness was upon the face of the deep." The whole of the globe was covered by ancient seas. In time the water receded and dry land, or island peaks, appeared. Among the first to appear were some in the vicinity of Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob. The rocks of those island peaks, first appearing above water, contain no fossils, which proves they were formed before there was any living thing on the earth, or at least any living thing having bones or shells. Prof. Dana, whose work on geology is in use in many schools as a text book, places the emergence of these archaic rocks from the water 48,000,000 of years ago. Some scientists, however, make the time much longer. At all events when these peaks first appeared in Southeast Missouri the balance of the United States was almost wholly covered by one vast sea. In process of time some great convulsion of nature lifted the Ozark Mountains out of the water, or at least the greater portion of it. These mountains, or "Ozark uplift," as they are sometimes called, formed an island, at first bounded by the Atlantic ocean shore line on the east, this line running from where the Missouri river is now south to High Ridge; thence to the Mississippi at the mouth of the Glaze; thence south about where the Mississippi is at present to the south line of Cape Girardeau

county, and thence a southwest course to within a few miles of Batesville, Ark. From this Atlantic shore line this island uplift extended west to the eastern borders of Stone, Christian, Greene, St. Clair, Henry, Pettis and Cooper counties. The Pacific ocean bounded this island on the west and arms of the seas bounded it on the north and south along about where the Missouri and White rivers now run. The whole Ozark region was not, at first, lifted above the sea. A spur, still under water, crossed the Mississippi at Grand Tower and extended from thence to Shawneetown on the Ohio. Portions of the uplift, still under water, extended from the west line of the island, as given above, across Southwest Missouri into Southeast Kansas, Northeastern Indian Territory and Northwestern Arkansas. The stratified rocks of the "Ozark uplift" are over 2,000 feet thick and Prof. Dana thinks it required about nineteen million of years to form them. During this period the lead bearing rocks of St. Francois and adjoining counties were laid down. Marine shells are found in the rock formations of this region, but no fossils of fishes are found in them, which proves that this uplift occurred prior to the appearance of fishes or the higher orders of vertebrate animals in the seas. This uplift, at first, was a slightly dome shaped plain, without valleys or ravines. At the time of the uplift the sites of High Ridge, Selma and Rush Tower were on the Atlantic seaboard; the site of St. Louis was several hundred feet under water, twenty miles east of the sea shore and Springfield was under the Pacific twenty miles west of its shore line.

As the rains fell upon the original plain their surplus waters were turned hither and thither by trivial inequalities as they sought their way down its gentle slopes and by the gathering of rills into rivulets, rivulets into brooklets and these into rivers, there developed upon the surface of this uplift a ramification of drainage lines, often very serpentine, which joined each other and when they were once fixed the surplus water of subsequent rains followed them and they became permanent guide ways to carry the waters into the adjacent seas. Thus the valleys of the "Ozark uplift" have been scooped out.

Prof. Dana estimates that this scooping out process in this section has been going on nearly thirty million of years and is still going on. Every rain removes material from the higher to the lower levels. The sources of the rivers are much higher than their mouths and so long as this condition exists the scooping out process will continue. How long it has taken to bring the valleys of the "Ozark uplift" to their present depth and dimensions no one can positively say, but that it has taken a long time to scoop out the valley of Big River, for instance, which is in places many miles from hilltop to hilltop, all will admit, especially when it is known the cutting down has been through solid rock hundreds of feet thick, as is evidenced by the bluffs, that buttress the river in many places. The valleys and rivers of the Ozark mountains are older than the Mississippi or Missouri rivers, for the present beds of those rivers were under the ocean for long ages after the drainage lines of big River, the Platte, the Joachim and the other streams of Jefferson county and the "Ozark uplift" had been fashioned and fixed.

After the lapse of millions of years the regions round about the "Ozark uplift" were raised above the sea, the Allegheny and Rocky mountains were formed, the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio cut out their channels and the Gulf of Mexico receded from Southeast Missouri to its present limits and our country as we see it today was finished.

It must be noted that along with the upliftings of the land areas of our country, the original Ozark island was also raised many hundred feet higher than it was at the first uplift, and we find the scooping out process has left a main ridge running from Kokomo on the Rocky mountains to Barton county, Mo., dividing the waters of the Missouri from the waters of the Arkansas and thence extending from Barton county through Dade, Greene, Webster, Wright, Texas, Dent, Iron, St. Francois and Jefferson counties, to the Meramec, north of High Ridge, dividing the waters that flow south from those that flow north. One can start at High Ridge and go to the top of the Rocky mountains and not cross a single water

course. This main ridge enters Jefferson county southeast of Valle's mines and runs thence via Vineland tunnel, Hillsboro and High Ridge to the Meramec, dividing the waters of the Joachim, Sandy, Glaze and Saline creeks on the east from the waters of Big River on the west. The highest elevation of this ridge in our county, near Valle's Mines, is 1,000 feet above sea level. Hillsboro is 800 feet and High Ridge 900 feet above the sea.

The buffalo and elk and bear were here first, then came the mound builder and he was followed by the Indian. Whence these races of men came no one knows but that they were here thousands of years before the advent of the white man is evident. The buffalo made the first trails across our hills and along our valleys. The Indian followed the buffalo and the white man followed the Indian, and many of the public roads of today are the old buffalo trails widened and improved. We drive and ride and walk along the same ways the vanished races of men and animals trod thousands of years ago.

But this report is not to deal with highways but with rivers. We have seen how and when the drainage of lines for the rivers of our county were formed. Now let us inquire as to the discovery and naming of our streams.

The most of our rivers were found and named by French explorers and adventurers. These were Catholic and Jesuit priests always accompanied them to carry the gospel of Christ to the savage tenants of the forest.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

De Soto first discovered this stream near Memphis, Tenn., in 1541, and called it "Rio Grande," he being a Spaniard. The other Spanish names for this river are: "Rio Grande Del Espiriter Santo," the Grand River of the Holy Spirit; "Rio De La Palisada" and "Rio Chuchaqua." Chuchaqua is an Indian name. The French Jesuit explorers called it Riviere de St. Louis; Messipi, Messi-sippi, and Marquette gave it the name of "Riviere De La Conception," in fulfillment of a vow

he made to the Virgin Mary if he was successful in his search for the "Great River." La Salle baptized it "Reviere De Colbert." (Colbert was a French statesman of 1682.) The Algonquin names of the river were Missi, great, and seepee, river, great river; Nomasi Lipou or Nomose Lipou, the river of fishes. The latter name is the one under which it was known to the Delaware Indians in their ancient traditions concerning their migrations from the west. It had other Indian names such as Mico, King of Rivers, Okimo, Chitto, Great Water Path (a Choctaw name), Meact Chassipi, Old Father of Rivers. This mighty river, the Father of Waters, leaves our eastern shore for a distance of about twenty miles or more and by it the first white explorers and settlers reached our borders.

THE MERAMEC RIVER.

The name of this river is Indian, and the early French explorers spelled it Merameg. It forms the northern boundary of our county for a distance of several miles.

ISLE AU BOIS.

This is a French name through and through. This is a small stream forming the southeast boundary of this county. The meaning of the Isle du Bois is Isle of the Woods and it no doubt derived its name from a wooded island in the Mississippi opposite its mouth. Marquette probably camped on this island in his descent of the river in 1673 and named it Isle au Bois, and the stream took its name from the island. We call it at this time the "Zile au Boy."

THE GRANDE GLAIZE.

This is another French name and signifies "Grand Red Earth." The clay lands of the hill country around Bulltown, no doubt, were the cause of its name. The word Grande in this case does not mean big or large, but beautiful, magnificent. And in this sense it has the right appellation, for the clay hills of the Glaize can not be exceeded for their surpassing beauty.

CALVEY.

This name is of French origin, but has been changed in its spelling. It was named after Calve, a French explorer. The Americans spell the name Calvey, as it is pronounced by the French.

BIG RIVER.

The history of this stream and its name is interesting and unique. About 1720, Francis Philip Renault, a Frenchman, set out from Ste. Genevieve with a party of adventurers with their Indian guides to explore and locate the silver and lead mines the Indians had told them were located forty or fifty meters to the westward. They took the Osage Indian trail, and when they reached a point where Big River mills of our times are located, they ascended the hills, and beholding for the first time the stream we call Big River, and being entranced by the marvelous beauty of the hills and the stream meandering its way among them, shaded by tall sycamore, walnut and maple trees, exclaimed in the French language, "Grande Riviere." Renault and his companions did not use the word "Grande" in the sense of big or large, but in the sense of beautiful, magnificent, sublime. He and his party crossed this river and passed, in the search for lead unwittingly over the rich lead mines of Bonnetterre on to where Potosi stands and beyond and opened a mine bearing Renault's name to this day. He brought to these mines in 1721 some Santo Domingo negro slaves he had bought on his way over from France and some French miners, and lead was mined and smelted, in a very primitive way, and taken to Ste. Genevieve on pack horses. The mines they worked were on the waters of what we call the Mineral Fork. They followed this stream to its mouth in Big River and thence to the Meramec. This stream from the mines to the Meramec was called "Renault's Fork of the Meramec," and the river up from the mouth of the Mineral Fork was called Grande Riviere. As late as 1800 this river, as far down as House's Springs, was

called in official documents Renault's Fork of the Meramec. Soon after this territory came into the possession of the United States, March 10, 1804, this river was known as the Negro Fork of the Meramec. How it got that name we are not advised. It may have been derived in one of two ways. In the first maps of this country under American rule, Renault was spelled as it was pronounced, Renouve. This name being copied by pen and ink, there being no type writers in those days, in the instructions sent out to the surveyors from Washington City could easily have been misunderstood for Negroe. We do not know if this was done, but it might have been and probably was done. The other way in which the name might have been changed from Renault's Fork to Negro Fork is this: About 1804-1810 lead was manufactured at what is now called the boat yard at the mouth of the Mineral Fork and carried down the river by boats to the Mississippi and thence to the markets. On one occasion a negro in the crew in charge of the boats lost his life, which caused the abandonment of that mode of transportation. This incident may have given this stream the name of Negro Fork. In the process of time the prosaic American came along and translated the word grande into big, giving the river the name of Big River, a complete misnomer, for it is in no sense big, but we can affirm without fear of successful contradiction that it is with its winding course, its settings, its castellated, cedar capped bluffs, its timber covered hills, its deep gorges and canons, one of marvelous beauty, grandeur and sublimity unsurpassed anywhere on earth, especially after the autumnal frosts have painted its forests yellow and gold and purple. Even as late as 1865 the statutes defining the boundaries of counties of the state designated this stream Big River in one section and Grand River in another.

But we must close. This report is now too long and we will leave the other streams of the county for future consideration.

JOHN L. THOMAS, Chairman.

THE CONQUEST OF ST. JOSEPH, MICHIGAN, BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1781. *

In the issue of the Madrid Gazette, March 12th, 1782, was published the following paragraph:

“By a letter from the Commandant General of the army of operations at Havana, and Governor of Louisiana, his Majesty has advices that a detachment of sixty-five militia men and sixty Indians of the nations Otaguos, Sotu, and Putuami, under the command of Don Eugenio Purre, a captain of militia, accompanied by Don Carlos Tayon, a sub-lieutenant of militia, by Don Luis Chevalier, a man well versed in the language of the Indians, and by their great chiefs Eleturno and Naquigen, who marched the 2d of January, 1781, from the town of St. Luis of the Illinois, had possessed themselves of the post of St. Joseph, which the English occupied at two hundred and twenty leagues distance from that of the above mentioned St. Luis, having suffered in so extensive a march, and so rigorous a season, the greatest inconveniences from cold and hunger, exposed to continual risks from the country being possessed by savage nations, and having no pass over parts covered with snow, and each one being obliged to carry provisions for his own subsistence, and various merchandizes which were necessary to content, in case of need, the barbarous nations through whom they were obliged to cross. The commander, by seasonable negotiations and precautions, prevented a considerable body of Indians, who were at the devotion of the English, from opposing this expedition; for it would otherwise have been difficult to have accomplished the taking of the said post. They made prisoners of the few English they found in it, the others

* Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri December 17, 1907.

having perhaps retired in consequence of some prior notice. Don Eugenio Purre took possession in the name of the King of that place and its dependencies, and of the river of the Illinois; in consequence whereof the standard of his Majesty was there displayed during the whole time. He took the English one, and delivered it on his arrival at St. Luis to Don Francisco Cruyat, [sic] the commandant of that post.

"The destruction of the magazine of provisions and goods which the English had there (the greater part of which was divided among our Indians and those who lived at St. Joseph, as had been offered them in case they did not oppose our troops) was not the only advantage resulting from the success of this expedition, for thereby it became impossible for the English to execute their plan of attacking the fort of St. Luis of the Illinois; and it also served to intimidate these savage nations, and oblige them to promise to remain neuter, which they do at present." (1)

The account of this expedition as it is narrated in the Madrid Gazette has been followed generally by historians of the West during the Revolutionary days. (2) The customary interpretation of this account may best be exhibited by quoting from a recent work: "Spain had rendered the Americans a great service by enabling Clark to hold what he had already conquered from the British, but she acted with no friendly intent, as her later movements were to show. Though she did not dare, while an ally of France, to attack the territory in Kentucky and Tennessee, where the American settlers were actually in possession, yet she did send an expedition, January, 1781, to capture St. Joseph, a Michigan fort in British hands. The daring exploit was successful, and upon the temporary possession of this single post Spain was suspected of trying to

1. Sparks, Dipl. Correspondence, IV, 425.

2. Windsor, Nar. and Crit. History, VI, 743; Windsor, Westward Movement, 188; McCoy in Mich. Pioneer Collections; XXXV, 549. An exception must be made of Hon. John Moses, who in his History of Illinois, I, 171, points out that the facts do not bear out the Spanish report.

build up a claim to the western territory north as well as south of the Ohio." (3)

Like all recent accounts this interpretation of the Spanish expedition to St. Joseph is based upon an essay by Edward G. Mason in his "Chapters from Illinois History" (4), where he tells the story of this "March of the Spaniards across Illinois" in eighteen pages with no more information on the subject than is afforded by the brief description in the Madrid Gazette; but his description gives evidence of such detailed knowledge that it has carried conviction with it.

Besides the literary importance of this event it acquired a certain diplomatic prominence from the use that the Spanish made of it. Without doubt the demands of diplomacy are responsible for the insertion of this narrative in the Madrid Gazette, for by March 12th European diplomats had become interested in the possible claims to the American soil. When in July, 1782, Mr. Jay met the Spanish Minister, the Count d'Aranda, in conference, the latter claimed for Spain all the eastern bank of the Mississippi on account of the conquest of certain posts on that river and the Illinois made by his nation. It is difficult to judge just how much confidence Spain placed in this conquest of St. Joseph, but she certainly was disposed to make the most of it in her attempt to confine the United States to the land on the Atlantic seaboard. (5)

For more than one reason, therefore, this capture of St. Joseph in the beginning of the year 1781 is of sufficient importance to warrant a new investigation of the sources of our knowledge of the event. It is to be noted that the accounts in the Spanish newspaper and in the histories, which have been based upon this source, make prominent the following points. First, the expedition was sent out by the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis. Second, that the company was composed of Spanish soldiers and Indians. Third, that the commanding officer was a Spaniard. Fourth, that some

3. Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, in *The American Nation*, 286.

4. P. 293.

5. Sparks, *Dipl. Correspondence*, IV, 478, 483, et seq.

Englishmen and property were captured. Lastly, that the country was taken possession of in the name of Spain. Historians have generally added to these their own interpretation, namely, that the Spaniard had planned this expedition solely for the purpose of acquiring a claim to the eastern bank of the Mississippi. Although the information concerning this expedition to St. Joseph is very meager, still there is sufficient warrant to suspect the truth of almost every one of these points.

Before Spain decided to declare war on Great Britain the Virginians under George Rogers Clark had already occupied the Illinois country, and by act of the Virginia Legislature there had been established the County of Illinois. The boundaries of the new county thus formed were doubtless more or less vague; but there is no evidence that the magistrates appointed to govern this territory ever exercised jurisdiction north of the Illinois river or east of Vincennes on the Wabash. (6) During the year, 1780, the county organization was still in existence, and although the greater part of the Virginia troops were withdrawn in the fall from the French villages by Clark, a small garrison was still maintained at Kaskaskia. (7)

The region north of the Illinois river was naturally claimed by both the Americans and the British, but on the whole the British lieutenant governors of Detroit and Michillimackinac regularly exercised the controlling power over the Indians as far south as the northern boundaries of the county of Illinois. Within the district of Michillimackinac was the small trading post of St. Joseph, (8) situated on the river of the same name near the present town of Niles. (9) St. Joseph was the site of a Jesuit missionary station as early as 1690, and later a fort was built by the French there, and a garrison was generally maintained for the purpose of pro-

6. Illinois Historical Collections, II, LVII.

7. Ibid, XCV.

8. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 417.

9. Consult maps printed in Mich. Pioneer Collections, XXXV, 550.

tecting the fur trade of the region. When the British first took possession of the post in 1761 it was placed in the charge of an ensign; but St. Joseph was one of those small posts, so disastrous to the British, that fell a prey to Indian treachery in the conspiracy of Pontiac. (10) After the suppression of that Indian revolt this post was never again permanently garrisoned. (11)

There has been preserved in the Haldimand Collection a census of the post of St. Joseph taken in June, 1780. At that time there were in the village fifteen houses occupied by a population of forty-eight. From the names they appear to be all French or half-breeds. The men of the village were mustered in the militia which, as in other French villages, was probably under the command of a captain of the militia, although this may not have been the case until August, 1780, at which time Governor-General Haldimand approved of Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair's proposal to send a captain of militia to St. Joseph and other places. (13)

Near the village of St. Joseph dwelt the Indian tribe of the Potawatomies. The man who exercised the most influence over these Indians was Louis Chevalier of St. Joseph, who was continually suspected of treachery by the various lieutenant governors of the region; but the latter had been obliged to maintain good relations with him because he alone was able to control the Potawatomies. (14). Although the Potawatomie Indians and the post at St. Joseph lay within the district of Michillimackinac, their relation was far closer with Detroit than with the more northern village and it was to the former place that they went most frequently. Therefore, the lieutenant-governor of Detroit was as much interested in the preservation of peace on the St. Joseph river as his colleagues at Michillimackinac. For this reason Lieutenant-Governor De Peyster of Detroit appointed, in 1780, Dagneau de

10. Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 284.

11. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 439.

13. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 567.

14. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 368, 553, XIII, 53.

Quindre lieutenant and Indian agent in the vicinity of St. Joseph. (15)

The traders of the northwest drew many of their furs from the region between Lakes Huron and Michigan and disposed of a considerable amount of their goods to the Indians. St. Joseph was conveniently situated for this trade. In 1779, the principal traders of the Michillimackinac district united to form a company whose purpose was to supply the garrison and Indians with goods. This company of traders maintained a warehouse at the village of St. Joseph in order to keep the Potawatomie Indians in good humor by offering an opportunity for trade. The representatives of the company at the village were Louis Chevalier and Pierre Hurtebisse. (16)

West of the Mississippi river lay the Spanish possessions. This territory had been ceded to Spain by France in 1762, as compensation for her losses in the Seven Years' War. Besides the villages around the mouth of the Mississippi there were few settlements within the Spanish possessions. The capital of the northern district, known as Illinois, was the village of St. Louis which had been founded about fifteen years before. The population was for the most part French, and the village was ruled by a Spanish commander sent from New Orleans. From the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War the Spanish officials on the Mississippi had shown a friendly disposition to the cause of the colonists. Ammunition was bought in New Orleans, and American traders were harbored and protected in the various French villages of the river. These friendly offices continued to be given until the declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain in 1779 made it possible for the Spanish military men of the Mississippi Valley to take a more active part in the events of the region. At New Orleans was stationed Governor Galvez in command of all the territory west of the Mississippi. He was a young man, full of enthusiasm and eager to win for himself

15. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 409, XIX, 591.

16. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 305, 499.

military renown. As soon as he learned of the declaration of war he realized the danger of his position. At none of the villages had the Spanish stationed a sufficient number of troops to guard against a well-planned invasion by the British. The province was exposed from two directions. East of New Orleans lay the British possessions of West and East Florida, from which an attack could be easily made upon the southern villages, while St. Louis at the north was exposed to an attack from Michillimackinac or Detroit. As a matter of fact a movement from both directions was planned by the British ministry for the Spring of 1780. (17) But before this plan could be put in execution, Governor Galvez, believing that an offensive would be safer than a defensive policy, opened active operations by invading the Floridas. In the fall of 1779 he took the forts at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, and the following spring he captured Mobile and Pensacola. (18)

The British plan as far as it included an expedition from the south up the Mississippi river was thus foiled; but the proposed attack upon St. Louis and the French villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, held by the Virginians, could be still carried out. It is unnecessary for our purpose to enter into the details of the British expedition that was sent out by Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair from Michillimackinac. It arrived before St. Louis and Cahokia on May 26, but the Spanish and Americans had received news of the proposed attack previously and were prepared to give each other mutual aid. On account of the preparations and also through the treachery of some Indian partisans belonging to the British company the undertaking was a complete failure; and after inflicting a slight loss, the British were forced to make a hurried retreat. (19) The consequence, however, of these campaigns in the north and south was to bring Spain into the very midst of western war

17. Can. Archives B, 43, 153.

18. Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, in *The American Nation*, 286; Gayarre, *History of Louisiana*, 121, et seq.

19. Mo. Hist. Society, Collections, II, No. 6.

and intrigue. From this time on it was her policy to maintain her position against the British, and for this purpose she was obliged to keep on good terms with the Americans and to make common cause with them. This she did throughout the summer and fall of 1780. Immediately after the failure of the British attack upon St. Louis, George Rogers Clark sent Colonel Montgomery with a company of Virginians and French to carry the war into the Indian country around Rock river, and in this the Spaniards co-operated. (20) On July 25th, the Spanish commandant sent Gabriel Cerre to Cahokia to request the court of that village to furnish twenty-five men to join a like number from St. Louis on a reconnoitering expedition to the northward. (21)

The failure of the British to surprise St. Louis and the American Villages did not deter them from other attempts. The region around the Illinois river and as far south as Kentucky was harrassed by Indian war parties so that outlying settlements could not be maintained. Peoria, on the Illinois river, where the Virginians had stationed captain of militia, was abandoned during the summer and the inhabitants sought refuge at Cahokia. (22)

Such was the situation in the West, when the series of events occurred that led to two seizures of St. Joseph, the last of which was to be raised to prominence by the Spanish in the diplomatic game played in Europe. In the summer of 1780 there appeared in the French villages of the county of Illinois a French officer, Augustin Mottin de la Balme, whose avowed purpose was to raise a company of volunteers to attack Detroit, and then to lead them on to Canada. It is probable that his mission was connected with a plan of Washington and the French allies to create a diversion in Canada in order to veil their real purpose of attacking New York. (23) De

20. Illinois Historical Collections, II, 541.

21. Illinois Historical Collection, II, 59 and 61.

22. Illinois Historical Collection, II, XCIII.

23. I have discussed this question fully and quoted all the authorities in the Introduction to Ill. Hist. Collections, II, LXXXIX.

la Balme found that the French people of the villages had been estranged from the American cause by the oppressive and tyrannical acts of the Virginian officers and troops. By carefully separating the cause upheld by Congress from that of a single state, and by laying great stress on the interests of France in his undertaking, he managed to raise a force of about eighty Frenchmen and Indians. While he was thus engaged, he received naturally no support from the Virginia officers. Colonel Montgomery, in command of the Illinois troops at the time, did not seek his acquaintance, nor did he attempt to put an end to his activities. (24) Exactly how the Spanish commandant, Cruzat, received De la Balme is doubtful. The latter was in St. Louis and probably made a formal call. Governor Galvez later commended the commandant for his "prudent conduct" toward the French official. How he showed his prudence is not actually known; but Captain McCarty, a native of Cahokia and officer in the Illinois battalion, reported that, "the Spanish Commander hath given him no Countenance whatever and is Surprised he is Suffered on our Side, he being Authorized by no State or Power in America to do what he does." (25)

De la Balme chose Ouiatanon as the place of rendezvous, and here the little band was assembled on the eighteenth of October, and the white flag of France unfurled. (26) The plan of campaign was to march to the small post at Miami, thence to Detroit, where it was expected that the French inhabitants would join them. After securing Detroit, Sandusky and Michillimackinac were to be overpowered. (27) They reached Miama the latter part of October and were successful in occupying the place. (28) But the Indians soon after assem-

24. McCarty's Journal in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 620.

25. Galvez to Cruzat, Feb. 15, 1781. General Archives of the Indies, Seville; McCarty's Journal, in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 621. Cruzat wrote De la Balme a letter on Sept. 29, Can. Arch. 184-2, 468.

26. Can. Arch. 184-2, 465, et seq.

27. Can. Arch. 184-2, 469, et seq.

28. De la Balme's Journal would indicate that Miami was occupied by October 27, Can. Archives, 184-2, 419 et seq., but Lieutenant Governor De Peyster says that this occurred about November 3d. Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 581.

bled and attacked the party, killing thirty, among whom was De la Balme. (29)

While this force was moving on Detroit, a detachment from Cahokia under the command of Jean Baptiste Hamelin was sent against St. Joseph. During the summer that village had been the general assembling place of the Indian war parties, in which the Potawatomes generally participated; but the expedition of the Americans, French, and Spanish under the command of Colonel Montgomery, which Clark had sent, immediately after the British attack on St. Louis on May 26, to make reprisals on the Indian towns to the north and which reached the vicinity of Chicago, made Lieutenant Governor Sinclair fear the loss of St. Joseph. Knowing well the treacherous nature of the principal inhabitant, Louis Chevalier, he determined to secure him, and if we are to believe the testimony of Chevalier himself, to remove all the inhabitants of the village. Sinclair himself writes concerning this: "Wishing to get over the difficulty which I foresaw would arise from the presence of Mr. Ainse, late Interpreter at this Post, I sent him to St. Joseph's to bring in his Uncle, Mr. Chevalier, and the other lawless strange class of People at that Place, for many years settled for the sole purpose of overawing Commerce and making themselves useful for whoever did most for their services." (30) That all the inhabitants were removed, as the witnesses testify, does not appear possible, and, if they were, some must have found their way back again; but the two most important inhabitants were taken away at this critical time, and finally they went to Montreal where they still were in October of the same year. (31)

We have already seen that the company of Michillimackinac merchants had a warehouse at St. Joseph. In the fall of 1780 the company had been dissolved, but, according to the statement of its members, goods to the value of thirty thousand

29. Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 581.

30. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 569; but see the testimony of Chevalier and Ainse in *Ibid*, 435, 439.

31. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 579, 658.

livres were still in the village besides property of private merchants worth thirty-two thousand livres. (32)

St. Joseph was, therefore, in a weakened condition to repel the unexpected attack of the Cahokians and offered the chance of rich booty. In the little band that threatened it there were only sixteen or seventeen men; but these were successful in surprising the village at the time the Potawatomes were absent on their hunt, and took twenty-two prisoners and seized all the property of the merchants. (33) They then began to retreat towards Chicago. Lieutenant Dagneau de Quindre, who had been stationed near the village by the lieutenant governor of Detroit, immediately assembled the Indians and pursued them. He overtook the Cahokia party on December 5th at a place called Petite Fort, near Calumet river, and, upon their refusal to surrender, began the attack. Of the Cahokians four were killed, two wounded and seven taken prisoners, the others making good their escape. (34)

We have now reached the time of the famous Spanish capture of St. Joseph. When the men who had escaped from the disaster returned to Cahokia, the excitement of the villagers was intense. The loss of their citizens called for revenge and the hope of recapturing the lost booty added another incentive. The clamor for a new expedition was probably intensified by the voices of the inhabitants of Peoria, led by Jean Baptiste Mailhet, who had been forced to desert their little settlement to seek refuge in Cahokia from the Indian war bands that had been roaming in the region all summer. (35)

32. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 367.

33. Va. State Papers, I, 465; Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 630, XIX, 591.

34. Account of Lieutenant Governor De Peyster, January 8, 1781, in Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 591. I prefer this account to that related later by Sinclair of Michillimacinac, who gives the glory of this success to one of the merchants, named Campion. Evidently the merchants of Michillimacinac spread this latter report, for they sought compensation for their losses from the government and gave as their reason the brave conduct of the traders at St. Joseph. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 629, X, 465.

35. Ill. Hist. Collections, II, consult index under Mailhet.

Cahokia was at the time practically an independent village-state. The Virginia troops had been recalled to Kaskaskia in the fall of 1779, and the village was garrisoned only for a short time in the summer of 1780 after Montgomery's expedition to Rock River. (36) In the fall of the year even Kaskaskia was abandoned by the Virginians and a small company of troops under Captain Rogers was left to watch events. Even had there been American troops to call upon, the magistrates of Cahokia were so disgusted by the previous tyranny of Clark's soldiers that they would not have desired American co-operation. This alienation of the Cahokians had been intensified by the words of De la Balme, who had appealed to their manhood as Frenchmen. Also the proposed expedition was one in which the Virginians could hardly be associated, since it was to continue the work of De la Balme whom they had never recognized.

It was not strange that the magistrates of Cahokia appealed to St. Louis for assistance in this time of need, for they had co-operated throughout the summer with the Spaniards in repelling the British. Quickly the company of troops was raised; Cahokia furnished twenty men and St. Louis thirty. To these were added two hundred Indians. They were fortunate in securing the assistance of a man well acquainted with St. Joseph and a friend of the Potawatomie Indians, Louis Chevalier, the son of that Louis Chevalier, whom Lieutenant Governor Sinclair had removed from his home and who was at this time still in Montreal petitioning for redress. (37) The company started on January 2nd, just twenty-eight days after the previous defeat. Through the negotiations of Louis Chevalier with the Indians they had little trouble in surprising the few traders in the village and seizing the plunder, which was

36. Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 541.

37. This identification is probable. Chevalier had a son, Louis or Louison, as he was called—Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 354. From the account in the Madrid Gazette it is evident that the Luis Chevalier who guided the expedition was very familiar with the Indians around St. Joseph.

divided among the party and the Indians of the neighborhood. It is evident that they did not wait twenty-four hours, for they were not in the village the day after their attack, when Lieutenant de Quindre appeared and tried without success to arouse the Indians as he had done on the previous occasion.

The sources of information upon which the foregoing account is based are not of such a character as to invalidate completely the narrative printed in the Madrid Gazette, but are certainly sufficient to throw doubt on the truthfulness of the Spanish account. We have the testimony of one unbiased witness to this affair. Captain McCarty was in Cahokia and St. Louis during the fall of the year and probably remained there through the winter. (38) In a letter to Colonel Slaughter on January 27, 1781, after mentioning the defeat of Colonel De la Balme, he continues in an incidental manner, as follows: "There now is a party of 30 Spaniards and 20 Cahokians, and 200 Indians to take revenge on the people of St. Joseph of whom we have no news as yet." (39) Besides McCarty's testimony we have a story which was told in Cahokia and which Governor John Reynolds heard from the lips of one of the survivors of the first expedition against St. Joseph. The story as interpreted by Reynolds is all wrong even to the date, but there are certain significant facts about it. The Spanish co-operation is not mentioned at all, and the expedition was entirely Cahokian, undertaken to revenge the defeat of the party which had made a previous attack on St. Joseph. The leader was Jean Baptiste Mailhet of Peoria. (40) When these bits of information are interpreted in the light of the history of the previous expedition and of conditions existing on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, a consistent story can be made out that is not in accord with the Spanish account.

Some information of value comes to us from Spanish sources. I have before me a letter written by Governor Galvez

38. See his Journal in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 620, and his letter in Va. State Papers, I, 465.

39. Va. State Papers, I, 465.

40. Paulette Meillet Reynolds calls him. Pioneer History of Illinois, 97.

to Commandant Cruzat of St. Louis on February 15, 1781. It is an answer to the several letters from Cruzat written between September 26th and December 22nd. Galvez takes up the subjects of Cruzat's letters in their chronological order, so that it is possible not only to know the Governor's opinion on the situation in the north but also the subjects concerning which Cruzat had written. The subject of an attack on British territory north of the Illinois river is not mentioned once, but instructions are given to maintain **twelve men on the Illinois river**. As late as December 22nd, eleven days before the second expedition set out for St. Joseph, Cruzat at St. Louis knew **nothing** about it, yet we must suppose that those who had escaped capture at the Calumet river on December 5th had reached Cahokia by that time. From the tone of the letter we should judge the Spanish governor had at heart the interests of the Americans and there is **nothing to indicate that** he had instructions from home to play them false. In fact his only instructions were to keep his expenses down as far as was consistent with maintaining the defense. (41)

In interpreting the facts of this expedition we must have in mind the desires of the Spanish government to gain possession of the eastern bank of the Mississippi river. There was every reason why a marauding expedition in the far west should be magnified into a Spanish military expedition by the time the account of it had reached Madrid. The game of politics demanded it.

If we turn to the English and Indian accounts of the capture of the village, there is nothing to support the theory that it was the result of a dignified military campaign such as the

41. Galvez to Cruzat, General Archives of the Indies, Seville. Shortly after the defeat of De la Balme the people of Vincennes appealed to Cruzat for assistance, but this he felt obliged to refuse, because he considered the village by right of conquest a dependency of the United States, the allies of Spain. This reply was written December 15, 1780. Of course this answer throws no light on the attitude of Spain toward British territory in the West, but it does prove that Cruzat was acting in good faith toward the Americans in December, 1780. Fac simile from Bancroft Collection, Academy of Pacific Coast History.

Madrid paper would have us believe. The most important testimony is found in a letter of De Peyster's written at Detroit on March 17, 1781. He says: "I was favoured with your Packet of the 16th Feby on the 4th Instant. Tucker is not yet arrived hence the affair in which Mons' du Quindre acquitted himself so well [sic] the enemy returned or rather a fresh party arrived at St. Josephs and carried the Traders and the remainder of their goods off. Mr. Du Quindre arrived there the day after, but could not assemble a sufficient body to pursue them. Forty Indians had got together a few days, but as the Enemy had got too much the start they insisted upon his conducting them to Detroit in order to speak to me." (42)

De Peyster regarded the attack as made by a band of marauders and of little importance, similar in kind to the earlier one executed by the Cahokians, and there is no indication that he looked upon it as a formal military occupation of the country by the Spaniards. Yet he had learned at the Indian conference which he held just previous to the date of this letter, that Spaniards had participated in the expedition. Here the Indians excused their failure to protect the traders in the following words: "Father, I am hired by the Pottewatimies at and near St. Joseph's to acquaint you with the Reasons of having suffered the Enemy to carry off their Traders. They came to St. Joseph's at a time that all the Indians were yet at their hunt, excepting a few young men who were not sufficient to oppose one hundred white People and Eighty Indians led by Seguinack and Nakewine, who deceived them by telling them that it was the Sentiment of the Indians in general to assist the French and Spaniards—had we assembled in time, we would nevertheless have given them such a stroke as we gave those who came to St. Joseph's a few moons before." In his answer De Peyster said: "I have at different times said so much to you on the subject of the Traders and Goods entrusted with you, by the Governor of Michillimackinac, that it is needless to say any more at present—The Spaniards tell you that they are

in alliance with the Virginians and the French. They therefore offer you their hands, or threaten to destroy your women and Children—Believe me—they can never destroy them until you are simple enough to shake hands with them.” The rest of the speech painted the horrors which should follow Spanish success; but this was said to deter the Indians from forming alliances with the Spaniards, as they had threatened to do, and was not inspired by what had occurred at St. Joseph. That affair seemed so unimportant that De Peyster did not think it worth while to report that Spaniards participated in it. (43)

We have now passed in review all the sources of information that are at present available concerning the seizure of the post at St. Joseph in the year 1781; and, although upon such evidence the narrative in the Madrid Gazette can not be rejected, its grandiloquent language can be considerably discounted. It is quite evident that the expedition was conceived by the Cahokians to revenge the defeat of their friends who had been sent out by De la Balme, and that a second motive was the hope of plundering the property which was known to be unprotected at St. Joseph. It is equally evident that some of the Spanish militia participated in the attack, as they had done on previous occasions. There is no evidence that the taking of St. Joseph was in accordance with instructions from the home government or even from the governor of Louisiana. In fact the contrary is true. We are still uncertain whether the Spanish flag was raised over the village and the territory taken possession of in the name of Spain. Although the English knew nothing of this, yet it may have occurred; but, if it did, the ceremony was very hurried, for the marauders did not linger at the scene of their triumph twenty-four hours. The description of the village is sufficient to show that the British resources were in no ways impaired, nor could this slight success prevent the British making other military operations in the region, as the Spanish narrative would have its readers believe.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

43. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 453. Governor Haldimand also held the matter in a like contempt. Can. Arch. 98, 46.

RUFUS KING AND THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE *

The contest over the admission of Missouri to statehood is a focal episode in American history. It has many aspects. Fundamentally it was a contest between two antagonistic social systems which moved westward along parallel lines until both sought to possess the same region west of the Mississippi. We are familiar with the story as part of the history of slavery, and as a sectional clash which foreshadowed the Civil War; but it has interesting minor aspects which have received slight attention. One of these minor phases is the relation of the Missouri question to the contemporary history of political parties.

The period of Monroe's presidency is unique in the history of American parties. With its defeat by the Jeffersonian democracy in 1800, the Federalist party began to decline, and after the War of 1812 did not even put a presidential candidate into the field, thus leaving the Democratic-Republican party without a national competitor for more than a decade. The failure of the Federalist party to recover was due to several causes. When Jefferson's party gained control of the government, it abandoned in a measure its conservative principles and acted upon the more liberal principles of Hamilton; especially, under the strong impulse given to nationalism by the second British war, its measures hardly fell behind those advocated by the Federalists. Thus the ground was in a measure cut from under the latter party. Then the Federalist opposition to the war, and the disaffection manifested in the Hartford Convention, left a stigma upon the party from which it could not free itself. Moreover, upon the restoration of peace in 1815, the United States entered upon a new course of development. Relieved from its entanglement

“This inequality in the apportionment of Representatives

* Read before the State Historical Society, December 17, 1907

in the wars and politics of Europe, which had absorbed its energies and shaped its policies, the nation turned to internal problems. In this new arena the issues were to arise which should make possible a new alignment of parties; but time was required for the realization of differences in sentiment and interest, and for the crystalization of these differences into party programs.

The country therefore presented for a time an appearance of political harmony which gave to the period the name of the "era of good feeling." But the appearance of harmony was deceptive, for the seeds of strife were not wanting. The conditions were those of unstable equilibrium, or rather, a nebulous state out of which were to be evolved new party groupings the form of which could be but dimly foreseen. The Federalists were likely, in any event, to prove a factor in the regrouping whenever it should come about. The disappearance of their central organization did not write finis to Federalist history. In certain localities they retained their supremacy for more than a decade after the war, and this local dominance was reflected by a representation in Congress which wielded an important influence. One of the possibilities, therefore, in the way of party reorganization was a regrouping around the remnants of the Federal party as a nucleus, provided ambitious and skillful leadership were at hand to discover and present to men adequate motives for so grouping themselves.

This was the status of political parties when the Missouri issue arose, and there were features of that agitation which gave it the appearance of a Federalist movement. The first of these features was the prominence of Rufus King among the opponents of the unrestricted admission of Missouri. Notwithstanding the fact that with the obliteration of party lines most of the Federalists had fused with their former opponents, so far as national politics were concerned, they were still looked upon with a degree of suspicion which did not allow men to forget that King had twice been the Federalist candidate for the vice presidency, and had ranked among the

foremost leaders of his party. Any measure championed by him was consequently likely to be closely scrutinized to discover whether it masked any partisan design; and, in fact, his attitude on the Missouri question was interpreted by many in the light of his former political affiliations. This was the more natural when the nature of his arguments is examined. It is plain that the consideration which weighed most with him was not the moral evil of slavery, but the injustice of extending and perpetuating its political power. When the question came before Congress in February, 1819, King delivered the most notable speech made in the Senate in favor of the Tallmadge anti-slavery amendment to the Missouri enabling act. In this he said: "The present House of Representatives consists of one hundred and eighty-one members, which are apportioned among the states in a ratio of one Representative for every thirty-five thousand federal numbers, which are ascertained by adding to the whole number of free persons three-fifths of the slaves. According to the last census, the whole number of slaves within the United States was 1,191,364, which entitled the states possessing the same to twenty representatives and twenty presidential electors more than they would be entitled to were the slaves excluded. By the last census, Virginia contained 582,104 free persons, and 392,518 slaves. In any of the states where slavery is excluded, 582,104 free persons would be entitled to elect only sixteen Representatives, while in Virginia, 582,104 free persons, by the addition of three-fifths of the slaves, became entitled to elect, and do in fact elect, twenty-three Representatives, being seven additional ones on account of her slaves. Thus, while 35,000 free persons are requisite to elect one Representative in a state where slavery is prohibited, 25,559 free persons in Virginia may, and do, elect a Representative—so that five free persons in Virginia have as much power in the choice of Representatives to Congress, and in the appointment of presidential electors, as seven free persons in any of the states in which slavery does not exist.

was not misunderstood at the adoption of the constitution—but as no one anticipated the fact that the whole of the revenue of the United States would be derived from indirect taxes.... it was believed that a part of the contribution to the common treasury would be apportioned among the states by the rule for the apportionment of Representatives. The states in which slavery is prohibited, ultimately, though with reluctance, acquiesced in the disproportionate number of Representatives and electors that was secured to the slave-holding states. The concession was, at the time, believed to be a great one, and has proved to have been the greatest which was made to secure the adoption of the constitution.

“Great, however, as this concession was, it was definite, and its full extent was comprehended. It was a settlement between the thirteen states. The considerations arising out of their actual condition, their past connexion, and the obligation which all felt to promote a reformation in the federal government, were peculiar to the time and to the parties, and are not applicable to the new states, which Congress may now be willing to admit into the Union.

“The equality of rights, which includes an equality of burden, is a vital principle in our theory of government, and its jealous preservation is the best security of public and individual freedom; the departure from this principle in the disproportionate power and influence, allowed to the slave-holding states, was a necessary sacrifice to the establishment of the constitution. The effect of this constitution has been obvious in the preponderance it has given to the slave-holding states over the other states. Nevertheless, it is an ancient settlement, and faith and honor stand pledged not to disturb it. But the extension of this disproportionate power to the new states would be unjust and odious. The states whose power would be abridged, and whose burdens would be increased by the measure, cannot be expected to consent to it; and we may hope that the other states are too magnanimous to insist upon it.” (1)

1. Niles' Register, Dec. 4, 1819, 215 et seq.

That the political evil of slave extension was uppermost in King's mind is even more apparent from his private correspondence, where he speaks with less reserve. Writing to his son he said: "On the whole I feel much concern for the issue, which, if decided against us, settles forever the Dominion of the Union. Not only the Presidency, but the Supreme Judiciary, at least a majority of its members, will forever hereafter come from the slave Region.....So that the decision of Missouri, will also determine whether the citizens of the free States are to hold even their actual political Rights, or to be hereafter debarred of some of the most important of them. Old Mr. Adams, as he is the first, will on this hypothesis be the last President from a free state." (2) After the passage of the compromise, he interpreted its significance in the following words, quoted from a letter to Gore of Massachusetts: "We....shall continue to be ruled by men who in the name of liberty and by the permission of power are ordained to be our masters, as they are the masters of the black men on whose labor they live." (3)

King's arguments were not novel, and the country associated them with Federalism. A similar stand had been taken by the leaders of that party at the time of the acquisition of the territory of which the prospective state of Missouri was a part. The purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803 had been violently condemned by New England Federalists, some of whom carried their opposition so far as to advocate secession and the formation of a new confederacy bounded by the Hudson river. The balance of power, which existed among the original states, these leaders declared, was being destroyed. The South, led by Virginia, governed the country, owing to the system of slave representation. The House of Representatives contained fifteen Representatives of the negro slaves of the South. In 1801 these Representatives of slaves determined the choice of President. The Louisiana Purchase would be divided into new slave states,

2. Life and Correspondence of Rufus King. Vol. VI, 267.

3. Ibid, 329.

which would give the South control of the Senate also. Massachusetts therefore proposed the amendment of the constitution so as to establish the rule of representation according to free population. (4) Similar opposition was again manifested in New England in 1812, when Louisiana, the first fruits of the French purchase, was admitted to the Union. King's speech in 1819 sounded like a voice from the tomb of Federalism.

If Federalism was dead, however, its spirit of hostility to the creation of slave states west of the Mississippi seemed to have risen again. Congress adjourned for the summer of 1819 with the fate of Missouri still undecided, but during the recess a whirlwind of anti-Missouri feeling swept over the North. Everywhere mass meetings were held and resolutions passed against the perpetuation of the moral and political evils of slavery by permitting its continued existence in new states. Notable among these meetings were those held at Trenton, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. A little later the agitation pro and con was taken up by state Legislatures both North and South, and the public excitement was shown by countless newspaper articles and pamphlets, and by the occasional burning of effigies of Congressmen whose votes during the previous session had not pleased constituents. Many of these mass meetings appointed committees of correspondence for the purpose of distributing anti-Missouri literature and organizing the opposition.

King seemed to be the center of all this furor. The resolutions of these mass meetings, the arguments of pamphleteers, the newspaper essays, reiterated the views elaborated in King's speech in the Senate. This speech, which was not reported, King himself wrote out from memory to be printed and circulated by the committees of correspondence appointed by the various mass meetings. After the Boston meeting, Webster

4. McMaster; History of the People of the United States. Vol. III, 42-45.

wrote to King saying that the memorial adopted by the meeting added little to the view taken in his Senate speech. (5)

William Tudor declared that it was owing chiefly to King that the nation had been awakened to examine the consequences of the admission of Missouri without restriction on slavery. (6) Of course, King's speech and the resolutions based on it, opposed the unrestricted admission of Missouri on many considerations. Much of King's speech was devoted to proving the constitutional right of Congress to impose conditions upon states at the time of admission to the Union. But there would have been no occasion for imposing conditions upon Missouri had there been no question as to the propriety of extending the institution of slavery. The question of the propriety of extending slavery was itself a dual one, involving both moral and political considerations, but the emphasis on the political phase of the question was so great that even John Quincy Adams recorded in his Diary that King had set on foot a concert of measures which should form the basis for a new alignment of parties on sectional grounds. (7)

If appearances led even Adams, himself once a Federalist, to believe that King aimed at a reorganization of political parties on the basis of the issues involved in the Missouri contest, it is not surprising that such was the southern interpretation of the significance of the whole affair. The South readily admitted the moral evils of slavery, but failed to see how confining it east of the Mississippi could lessen them. Jealousy of the political power of the South was, therefore, the only motive, as it seemed to southern statesmen, which could move any one to oppose the admission of Missouri either with or without slavery, as she herself might choose. Said C. Pinckney, of South Carolina in 1821: "The love of liberty, humanity, or religion" is not the cause of northern opposition to slavery in the new states. "It is the love of

5. King; *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*. Vol. VI, about 240.

6. *Ibid.*, VI, 271-273.

7. J. Q. Adams; *Memoirs*, IV, 529.

power and the never-ceasing wish to regain the honors and offices of the government, which they know can never be done but by increasing the number of non-slave holding states." (8) In a similar vein Thomas H. Benton, later Senator from Missouri, recorded his conviction that "the real struggle was political, and for the balance of power, as frankly declared by Mr. Rufus King, who disdained dissimulation....It was a federalist movement, accruing to the benefit of that party, and at first was overwhelming, sweeping all the Northern democracy into its current, and giving the supremacy to their adversaries." (9) Quotations might be multiplied to show the conviction, especially in the South, that King aimed to revive the influence of the former Federalist leaders, especially himself. If he could effect the fusion of northern Federalists and Democrats on the basis of common anti-slavery principles, such a sectional party would be strong enough to control the Union or a new northern confederation if it produced secession, and in it the Federalist leaders might hope to wield the dominant influence.

In this view, southern statesmen were doubtless wrong. There is no evidence that King had any ulterior designs; his whole program was probably set forth in his public utterances, and it did not include a reorganization of parties to further personal ambition. So far as the evidence shows, he was not even the organizer of the anti-Missouri forces, as Adams' Diary alleges, however appearances may have pointed to him as the organizer. The copies of his speeches were furnished at the request of others, and his arguments were repeated because they appealed to those who heard them. His convictions were expressed in his correspondence and conversations, and proved contagious. Many were thus led of their own initiative to become local agitators. William Tudor, who got up the Boston meeting, dated his interest in the movement from a conversation at Webster's dinner-table on an occasion when he and King were fellow-guests. The Bos-

8. Quoted in Gordy; *History of Political Parties*, II, 421.

9. Benton; *Thirty Years View*, I, 10.

ton meeting, Tudor asserted, was spontaneous, being arranged without any knowledge of similar meetings elsewhere. (10) William King, first Governor of Maine, was Rufus King's brother, and the people of that part of Massachusetts looked to Senator King as their natural champion during the contest over the united Maine-Missouri bills. These facts show King's wide influence, and explain his conspicuousness in the Missouri contest, justifying Tudor's statement that King, chiefly, awakened the nation to the significance of the issue; but they do not warrant Adams' statement that he set on foot a concert of measures which should form the basis for a new alignment of parties on sectional grounds. Evidence to this effect has not yet been produced.

A belief contrary to fact is, however, sometimes as decisive in influencing the acts of men as a belief which agrees with the facts, and there seems to be some reason for thinking that this interpretation of King's course, whether correct or not, was an important and perhaps decisive factor in bringing about the settlement of the Missouri question by the compromise of 1820. This compromise, which admitted Missouri with slavery, but prohibited it in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the Missouri-Arkansas line, was bitterly opposed by Virginia, as well as by a large majority of Congressmen from the free states. President Monroe inclined at first to the Virginia view, and even drafted a veto message to be used in event of the passage of the Missouri enabling act with the compromise amendment. Later he perceived grounds for favoring the compromise, but a mere rumor of his change of opinion reached Virginia and was sufficient to jeopardize his endorsement for re-election. Nevertheless, he sent his son-in-law at Richmond, a Mr. Hay, for publication in the *Enquirer*, what purported to be an extract from a letter written by a gentleman in Washington to his friend in Richmond, of which, it may be fairly conjectured, he was himself the writer. This letter discussed King's latest speech, and reached the conclusion that if he could not be President of the United States, he would prefer

10. In letter cited above.

to be the first man in a new confederacy including New England and New York. Compromise was recommended for the purpose of defeating these designs. (11)

With the spread of this partisan interpretation of King's conduct there came about also a reaction on the part of some who had at first supported him. This was true of a group of New England Federalists who, learning that the South believed the Missouri movement to be a stratagem of the Federalists, were unwilling to incur the hostility of the South by continuing their support of the policy of restriction. (12)

In both of these ways the belief in King's partisan aims favored the growth of the spirit of compromise. Aside from Virginia, the proposed compromise was generally acceptable to the South, but it was not acceptable to the majority of northern Congressmen, and was finally carried by the action of a few northern members who voted with the South. If it can be shown that these northern members were led to vote for the compromise by their belief that the plan of restriction was a partisan scheme of the Federalists led by King, we shall have an explanation of the passage of the compromise. And this is exactly what Benton would have us believe occurred, for when it was perceived, he writes that the agitation was a Federalist movement, "the Northern democracy became alarmed, and only wanted a turn or abatement in the popular feeling at home, to take the first opportunity to get rid of the question by admitting the State..... This was the decided feeling when I arrived at Washington, and many of the old Northern democracy took early opportunity to declare themselves to me to that effect, and showed that they were ready to vote the admission of the State in any form which would answer the purpose." (13) It may be found, therefore, when the subject is thoroughly investigated, that the passage of the famous compromise by which our commonwealth gained statehood was due to an erroneous belief in the personal ambition of an aged leader of a dead party.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Fayette, Mo., Nov. 4, 1907.

11. Congressional Globe XXX Cong. 2d Sess. app. 63-67.

12. See letter of Gore to King in Life and Correspondence of Rufus King, VI, 259.

CIVIL WAR REMINISCENCES. *

I have been requested by some of the members of the State Historical Society of Missouri to "write up" some of my reminiscences of the Civil War period during the Sixties.

My people have been identified with the history of Missouri for several generations. My maternal ancestor, Ludwell Bacon, came from Albemarle County, Virginia, and settled in St. Louis County in 1804, where my mother was born in 1814. My paternal ancestor, Warner Lewis, who was a first cousin of Captain Merriwether Lewis, the explorer, came from Gouchland County, Virginia, and settled in St. Louis County in 1819.

My father, Robert Lewis, married my mother, Lucy B. Bacon, in St. Louis County, in 1829, where they lived until 1855, when they moved to Cass County, Missouri, with their children, slaves and other property. I preceded my parents the fall before, for the purpose of preparing houses, and arranging affairs before their arrival.

Politically, my father was an old line Whig, and believed in a protective tariff system, as a permanent policy of the National Government. I imbibed his political views, to which we both steadfastly adhered until the Civil War began.

I was born in 1834, finished my education at the State University of Missouri in 1854, married Sarah M. Griffith, a daughter of a Cass County pioneer, in 1855, and was engaged in farming, stock raising and merchandising when the war began. In those days Cass County was called a border county, and so of all other counties in Missouri similarly situated, because of their proximity to Kansas Territory.

This section of Missouri and the contiguous territory of Kansas was literally dedicated to war. There were more pitched battles fought here, more lives lost, greater desolation

*Read before the State Historical Society, December 17, 1907.

wrought, and more destruction of property, than in all the balance of the State beside.

This border land extending from the Missouri River on the north to the north boundary line of the State of Arkansas on the south, was the nursery of the war of the rebellion. Here the first conflict of arms began, and it was these counties that maintained the last military organization under the Stars and Bars, commanded by Major General Joe O. Shelby, who planted the banner of the "Lost Cause" on the western bank of the Rio Grande in old Mexico, on foreign soil, rather than surrender. Here the last general engagement of the war was fought west of the Mississippi, on the Price raid in the fall of 1864, and which was a continuous battle field from Independence to Neosho. Here whole counties were depopulated, and the citizens driven from their homes, under military orders, as shown by the following order issued by Brigadier General Thomas Ewing, Jr. :

H'dq'res District of the Border,
Kansas City, Mo., August 25, 1863.

"General" Orders.

No. 11.

All persons living in Jackson, Cass and Bates Counties, Missouri, and in the part of Vernon included in this district, except those living within one mile of the limits of Independence, Hickmann Mills, Pleasant Hill and Harrisonville, and except those in that part of Kaw Township, Jackson County, north of Brush Creek and west of the Big Blue, are hereby ordered to remove from their present places of residence within 15 days from the date hereof. Those who, within that time, establish their loyalty to the satisfaction of the commanding officer of the Military Station nearest their present places of residence, will receive from him a certificate stating the fact of their loyalty, and the names of the witnesses by whom it can be shown. All who receive such certificates will be permitted to remove to any military station in this district, or to any part of the State of Kansas, except the counties in the eastern bor-

der of the State. All others shall remove out of the district. Officers commanding companies and detachments serving in the counties named, will see that this paragraph is promptly obeyed."

II. "All grain and hay in the field, or under shelter in the district from which the inhabitants are required to remove, within reach of military stations, after the 9th day of September next, will be taken to such stations and turned over to the proper officers there, and report of the amount so turned over made to district headquarters, specifying the name of the loyal owners and the amount of such produce taken from them. All grain and hay found in such district after the 9th day of September next not convenient to such Stations will be destroyed."

X X X

By order of Brigadier Ewing.

H. Hannahs,

"Acting Assistant Adjutant General."

Since all the male inhabitants of 12 years of age and over, in this district, had taken shelter in either the northern or southern army, and since the women and children had been stripped of their work animals, and had no means of transportation, public or private, and were now made homeless under this order, their condition was rendered most pitiable, and their suffering was beyond measure.

Here fire and sword did their most complete work. Here the foundation of prison houses were torn asunder and the lives of female inmates, held as hostages of war, were crushed beneath the ruins. Here met the Kansas Jayhawker and Missouri Bushwhacker in mortal combat, both fighting under the black flag. From Lexington, Missouri, to Lawrence, Kansas, and from Independence to Neosho, Mo., was enacted more tragedy than in any territory of the same dimensions elsewhere in the States. Here war was hell. This goodly land, so productive in mineral and agricultural wealth, and so beautiful to look upon, was left a dreary waste and howling wilderness by the ravages of cruel, relentless war.

In these piping times of domestic peace and fraternal good

will, when the nation's swords have been beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, those who have since come upon life's busy stage are amazed at this wonderful hostility that was wrought up between the people of the States, north and south.

In order to understand what actuated them to such apparently reckless sacrifice of life and property, and to properly understand and judge of their conduct, we must transpose ourselves to the time and place in which they lived, and ask ourselves what would we have done under like conditions.

Now, speaking especially for the people of Southwest Missouri, and which in a measure applies to the people of the entire state, at the commencement of the war, I will say of them that they were a cultivated, thrifty and prosperous people. They were the descendants of those pioneer settlers who crossed the Mississippi River in the beginning of the last century, and with ax and rifle penetrated the forests and prairies, and drove out the buffalo and Indian, and built for themselves homes beside the health giving water brooks, surrounded by the benediction of Nature and of Nature's God.

They moulded and fashioned the organic law of the State and laid the foundation for the splendid civil, religious and educational citizenship and civilization that we now enjoy. They reasonably expected that the general Government would protect them in all their domestic institutions that they had established with its sanction, including slavery.

In 1854 the Congress of the United States passed an Act known as the "Squatter Sovereignty Act," whereby it was left to the people of the Territories to determine by election whether they would enter the Union with or without slavery. This was practically a repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820, when this State was admitted into the Union, and reopened the slavery question, which had been considered as settled for nearly half a century.

About this time Kansas was making ready to apply for admission into the Union, and the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery party both undertook to colonize that territory with

voters friendly to their respective views. The Eastern Emigrant Aid Societies sent on large numbers of lawless men with Sharp's rifles, to terrorize the pro-slavery men and make Kansas a free state. A civil war ensued and many of the people of the border counties of Missouri, who were in sympathy with the pro-slavery party, rushed to their assistance. I remember that in 1857 about 3,000 Missourians assembled at Westport and elected John W. Reid, of Independence, a Mexican War veteran, Commander, and with rifles and cannon took up the line of march for Topeka. They were met by Governor Walker, and after a parley of some length, they returned to Missouri and were disbanded, with the loss of only one man.

In the meantime, several Constitutional Conventions were held in the Territory to determine the question of slavery. One at Topeka, Oct. 23, 1855, which excluded slavery. It was afterwards introduced in Congress, passed the House and was defeated in the Senate. On September 5th, 1857, another Constitutional Convention was held at Lecompton, and the convention adopted a constitution with slavery. This constitution was ratified by a large majority of the voters, but the anti-slavery party refused to participate in the election. On Dec. 6th, 1858, President Buchanan in his message to Congress recommended that Kansas be admitted as a State into the Union, under the latter constitution, stating therein that the election had been a peaceable one and conducted according to law; and that whilst the anti-slavery party had not participated in the election, they had no right to complain. In the same message he denounced the Topeka Convention as revolutionary.

Finally, on Oct. 19, 1859, still another Constitutional Convention was held at Wyandotte, which adopted a constitution excluding slavery; it was ratified by a vote of the people, but nothing further was done until Jan. 29th, 1861, when Kansas was admitted as a free state.

During these five or six years of contention in Congress and Kansas, great political excitement prevailed throughout the country. A reign of terror existed upon the western border of Missouri. Lawless bands of roving ruffians under com-

mand of Brown, Jennison and Montgomery, made frequent forays upon the inoffending people on the Missouri side; killing people, kidnapping slaves, robbing the citizens, burning houses, and carrying away their property; so that the Governor of Missouri was compelled to station a large force of militia on the border, under the command of Generals Bowen and Frost, in order to protect the people of our state. A few illustrations will serve to show the terrible condition of affairs, then and there existing:

Old man Doyle, who lived in the northwest corner of Vernon County, and his entire family of four sons were killed, and his personal property was carried away by the marauders.

Old man Jerry Jackson lived in the northwestern part of Bates County. In 1860 a band of these outlaws planned a raid upon him with intent to kill and murder, and to rob him of his property. The old man got word of their intended descent upon him. He moved out his family and stock and prepared to receive his unwelcome guests in western fashion. Sure enough, they came. The son did the loading and Uncle Jerry the shooting, until eleven of the attacking party were dead in their tracks. Seeing that they could not dislodge them in any other way, they set fire to a wagon load of hay and backed it against the house. In the confusion and darkness of the night the old man and boy both made their escape. Uncle Jerry afterwards served in the State Guard service, and finally moved to Texas. The house was destroyed, but the marauders paid dearly for their pains.

Again, George Walker lived on the Big Blue in Jackson County; he was a slave owner, a prosperous farmer and a reputable citizen. One of those lawless bands to which the famous Guerrella Chief Quantrell, then belonged, planned a raid upon him with felonious intent to kill, murder, steal and carry away his personal property. Quantrell deserted the band and came and reported the matter to Mr. Walker. The story, at first, appeared incredible. Quantrell proposed to remain at Walker's, which he was allowed to do. Sure enough, they came in the night time, with arms and wagons, prepared to carry out

their purpose. In the meantime Quantrell gathered in some of the neighbors, and arming for the conflict, a battle ensued. Several of the invaders were killed, with the loss of their wagons and teams. Like instances of daily occurrence were continually going on in these border counties.

On account of the propensity of Kansans to appropriate their neighbor's property, on the Missouri side, they were called Jayhawkers—while the Missourians were called Bushwhackers, to indicate their manner of fighting. This designation they retained during the entire war.

Incensed by these lawless acts of aggression, by the anti-slavery party, and to protect the lives and property of the people of the State, the General Assembly of Missouri, at its session in 1861, passed a law dividing the State into eight Military Districts, with a Brigadier General over each, and a Major General over all, to be known as the Missouri State Guard. General James S. Raines was appointed Brigadier General over the 8th district, which included the counties above referred to. General Sterling Price was appointed Major General over the entire state.

At the first call for volunteers the men in these border counties flew to arms as one man. To show the unanimity of sentiment, it may be stated as a fact that Vernon County had more men enlisted in the State Service during the first six months, than there were voters at the last previous election. These people were not all rebels, nor disunionists, but believed that they were serving their country best by obeying the lawfully constituted authorities of the State, in repelling invasion and in protecting their homes and firesides. Soon after this a body of State troops rendezvoused at Camp Jackson were attacked by Federal troops under command of General Lyon and made prisoners of war. Another command was sent to the State Capitol to arrest the civil authorities of the State, and to capture or disperse the state troops. General Price retired to Southwestern Missouri with the State Guard troops, and the civil authorities went with him to avoid arrest. In view of the fact that in this the Federal Government was lending aid

and comfort to the enemies of the State, as shown above, it was not possible that an honorable, self-respecting and courageous people, would tamely submit to its authority.

The Constitutional Convention that was then in session to determine the relation of the State to the Federal Government, voted down an ordinance of secession; so that the action of Federal authorities at this time toward the State seems to be without excuse or justification.

My service during the war in this border country gave me the opportunity of knowing as much of the campaign and the men engaged in it, perhaps, as any other person. I participated in all the important raids that were made in that part of the state during the war; viz.: The Lexington raid in 1861; the Lone Jack raid in 1862; the Shelby raid in 1863; and the Price raid in 1864. I was paymaster of Raines' division in the State Guard Service, and in this way made the acquaintance of nearly all the officers along the border in the beginning of the war. I served from the beginning of the war till the close, and then retired into Old Mexico with General Shelby, to whose command I then belonged.

In May, 1863, an expedition was organized on the western border of Jasper County, Missouri, under the command of Colonel Charles Harrison, who had been commissioned by Major General Holmes to proceed to New Mexico and Colorado for the purpose of recruiting into the Confederate service the men who had fled there from Missouri and other states, to avoid being drafted into the Federal Army; of whom there was then supposed to be a large number, anxious to make their way into the Southern Army. The plan was to organize them into companies, regiments and brigades, and as soon as this was done to drop down into Western Texas and then unite with the main army. The plan appeared feasible, though very hazardous; so much so, that many of those who had at first volunteered, finally refused to go.

Colonel Harrison appeared to be the man above all others to lead such an undertaking, since his entire life had been spent upon the western plains, and he had been the protege of the

celebrated Indian fighter, General Kit Carson. He was tall, athletic, and almost as brown as an Indian, of whose blood he was said to have a mixture. He knew no fear and he staggered at no hardships. On the early morning of the 22nd day of May, 1863, the mules were packed with rations for the men. The party consisted of eighteen men, rank and file. The starting point was Center Creek where it crosses the line of the State in Jasper County. The route pursued was westward over the trackless prairie in the Indian Territory about 15 or 20 miles south of and parallel with the Kansas State line. There was no human habitation to be seen and no living person discoverable, and no incident worthy of note until the afternoon of the second day. After crossing a ravine fringed with brush and small timber, we halted on an eminence just beyond for rest and rations; our animals were tethered to grass or left to roam at will, whilst we were resting under the shade of some scattering oaks, inapprehensive of danger.

We had begun saddling up to renew our journey when we discovered a body of men coming on our trail at full gallop. By the time we were all mounted they were in hailing distance, and proved to be a body of about 150 Indian warriors. To avoid a conflict we moved off at a brisk walk, and they followed us. We had not gone far until some of them fired and killed one of our men, Douglas Huffman; we then charged them vigorously and drove them back for some distance. My horse was killed in this charge and I was severely wounded in the shoulder with an arrow. I mounted the mule from which Huffman was killed. The Indians kept gathering strength from others coming up. We had a running fight for eight or ten miles, frequently hurling back their advance on to the main body or with loss. Our horses were becoming exhausted, so we concluded to halt in the bed of a small stream that lay across our path, to give them rest. The Indians here got all around us at gunshot range, and kept up an incessant fire. We had only side arms and pistols and were out of range. Here Frank Roberts was shot through the head, and fell from his horse. I immediately dismounted the mule and mounted

Roberts' horse. This incident was the saving of my life. Colonel B. H. Woodson, of Springfield, Mo., preferred this mule to his horse, and mounted it. When our horses were rested we made a dash for liberty. On ascending the bank of the stream the saddle of Captain Park McLure, of St. Louis, slipped back and turned and he fell into the hands of the savages. Harrison was shot in the face and was captured. Rule Pickeral had his arm broken.

We broke the cordon as we dashed out, but from now on the race was even and our ranks much reduced. It was about two miles to the Verdigris River. When we were in about two hundred yards of the timber Woodson was caught. I tried to get the men to halt and give them a fire so as to let him get into the timber, but did not succeed. We could not cross the stream with our horses, owing to the steepness of the banks on both sides. I went down to get a drink and heard the Indians coming to the bank below us. John Rafferty stood on the bank above me, and I said to him: "Follow me." He obeyed. We made our way up the stream under cover of the bank for about half a mile, and noticing some fishing poles and some fresh tracks, and hearing the barking of dogs on the other side of the stream, we concluded it safest to secret ourselves in some dense bushes near the prairie until the darkness of the night came on.

We had just escaped a cruel death from savages. We were without food and about eighty miles from a place where relief could be obtained. We were without animals to ride, and our journey lay through a trackless prairie, beset by hostile Indians.

We dared not attempt to travel by day, for fear of being discovered by roving bands of Indians, and put to death. By accident, I lost my boots in the Verdigris River, so we "took it turn about" in wearing Rafferty's shoes, and used our clothing to protect our feet when not wearing the shoes.

We concealed ourselves by day and traveled at night, with only the sky for our covering and the stars for our guide.

Just before we reached the Neosho River we frightened a wild turkey from her nest, and secured nine eggs in an advanced stage of incubation. Rafferty's dainty appetite refused them, but I ate one with relish and undertook to save the rest for more pressing need.

We found the Neosho River not fordable, and Rafferty could not swim; so we constructed a rude raft with two uneven logs and bark. I put the eggs in the shoes, and the shoes between the logs, and undertook to spar Rafferty across the river. When we got midway the river Rafferty became frightened, tilted the raft, and we lost both the shoes and the eggs. On the morning after the second night the Missouri line appeared in sight, and we nerved ourselves for the final struggle. We reached the neighborhood from which he had started about 11 o'clock,—footsore, wounded, and half dead. The good women concealed us in the brush, and there fed us and nursed our sores until we were strengthened and healed. Rafferty was soon after killed, so that I, only, of the eighteen men who entered upon that fatal expedition, survived the war.

On the 28th day of May, 1863, Major Thomas R. Livingstone made a report to General Price from Diamond Grove, Mo., in which, among other things, he says: "Col. Warner Lewis is, also, here, who has just escaped from the Indians, and consequently without a force. He will make a report of the unfortunate disaster he escaped."

On the 30th day of May, 1863, Colonel William F. Cloud, of the 2nd Kansas Cavalry, made a report to Major General Schofield, in which he said, among other things: "A party of 16 men under command of a so-called Colonel Harrison were attacked and killed by Indians upon the Verdigris River west of Missouri, while on their way to the West," etc. A few days after the above tragedy an account was published in the Fort Scott paper in which it was stated that sixteen men were killed by Indians, and their heads cut off and piled up on the prairie.

The place where this unfortunate disaster occurred was

in the Indian Territory, and only a short distance south of the present town of Coffeyville, on the southern border of the State of Kansas, and seventy-five or eighty miles west of the west line of Missouri.

WARNER LEWIS.

Montgomery City, Mo.

November 19, 1907.

NOTES.

The War Department is compiling a complete roster of the Confederate soldiers, and Capt. James W. Allen, Missouri Trust building, St. Louis, has charge of collecting the data for Missouri. He has already sent to Washington over 3,000 documents from which lists are made. Veterans, Sons of Veterans, and Daughters of the Confederacy are earnestly requested to send documents to Capt. Allen, and all such documents will be returned to the owners. He says: "For the sake of history; for the sake of the memory of our deceased comrades, who fell upon the field of battle, and now lie buried in graves unmarked—'unknown', and those who since that eventful period have answered the 'last roll call', it becomes our sacred duty to see that their names are correctly enrolled upon the pages of this official roster, which will be published by the government."

Joseph A. Mudd, Hyattsville, Maryland, is collecting material for a history of Colonel Porter's command of Missouri Confederate soldiers during the civil war. Porter operated in North Missouri and Mr. Mudd, who was in his regiment, wishes to get into communication with any one of the Black Foot Rangers or others who were under him, or know anything in regard to the history of his regiment; also of the battle of Moore's Mill, or other engagements in which it took part. Let all such persons address Mr. Mudd as above, or the Secretary of the State Historical Society at Columbia.

Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne of Yale University, who delivered the annual address before the State Historical Society of Missouri, February 7, 1906, on the Romance of Western History, died at New Haven, February 24, at the age of forty-seven. He was possessed of extraordinary learning, both in European and American history, and his death is an irreparable loss.

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11th Mo. Inf. By D. McCall. 2d edit. (Spfld. 1864.)

21st Mo. Inf. Historical memoranda, by N. D. Starr and T. W. Holman. (Fort Madison, Iowa, 1899.) *

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Risk, T. F. A view of the pending political crisis, from a western standpoint. Address in St. Louis, Jan. 6, 1861. (n. t. p.)

Rombauer, R. J. .The Contest. A military treatise by

Col...formerly Col. of the 1st Reg. U. S. Mo. Vol. (St. L. 1863.)

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Snider, Denton J. The American Ten Years War, 1855-1865. (St. Louis, c, 1906.) *

Sosey, Frank H. Robert Devoy. A tale of the Palmyra Massacre. (Palmyra, c, 1903.) * (Fiction.)

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— Union and Confederate Annals. (St. L. 1884, vol. 1, No. 1, Jan.)

[Starr, Rev. Frederick, Jr.] Letters to the people. (New York, 1853.)

Note. Nine letters on Slavery in Missouri.

Starr & Holman. The 21st Regiment Infantry Veteran Volunteers. Historical memoranda, compiled by N. D. Starr and T. W. Holman. (Fort Madison, Iowa, 1899.) *

Stringfellow, B. F. Negro slavery no evil, or the North and South considered in a report to the Platte County Self-defensive Assn. (St. L. 1854.)

Stroud, Geo. M. A sketch of the laws relating to slavery in the several States. (Phil. 1827.)

Stone, Rev. Richard C. Duties and responsibilities of the Christian citizen in the present crisis. A discourse delivered in St. Louis. (St. L. 1861.)

Thompson, C. Baucher. The Nachask origin of the black and mixed races. (St. L. 1860.)

Thompson, George. Prison life and reflections; or a narrative of the arrest, trial, conviction, imprisonment, treatment, observations, reflections, and deliverance of Work, Burr and Thompson, who suffered an unjust and cruel imprisonment in Missouri penitentiary for attempting to aid some slaves to liberty. (Oberlin, 1847. New York, 1848. Hartford, 1849. 1850. 1851. * 1855.)

— The Prison Bard: or poems on various subjects. For four years and eleven months a prisoner in Missouri for attempting to aid some slaves to liberty. Written in prison. (Hartford, 1848.)

Todd & Edwards. The Centralia fight by W. C. Todd, and the killing of Jesse James by Maj. J. N. Edwards. (n. p. n. d.) *

Travis, Romulus L. The story of Lone Jack. Oak Grove, n. d. *

Triplett, Frank. The life, times, &c., of Jesse James. (St. L. 1882.)

Ware, Eugene F. The Lyon Campaign in Missouri, being a history of the 1st Iowa Inf. Regt. (Topeka, Kan., 1907.) *

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Western Sanitary Commission. Suggestions for a plan of

organization for freed labor, and the leasing of plantations along the Mississippi river. By James E. Yeatman, President of the Commission, Dec. 17, 1863. (St. L. 1864.)

— Report on a military hospital in St. Louis, 1862.

— Report for year ending June, 1863. (St. L. 1863.) *

— General report of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, held in St. Louis, May 17, 1864, with the acknowledgment of the Commission. (n. p. n. d.)

— Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, in regard to leasing abandoned plantations, with rules and regulations, by James E. Yeatman. (St. L. 1864.)

— A sketch of its origin, history, labors for the sick and wounded of the Western armies. (St. L. 1864.) *

— What it does with its funds. Why it should be aided in its work. (St. L. 1864.)

— Report on white Union refugees of the South. (St. L. 1864.)

— Final report, from May 9, 1864, to Dec. 31, 1865, (St. L. 1866.) *

Wherry, Wm. M. The campaign in Missouri and the battle of Wilson's Creek, 1861. (St. L. 1880.) *

Note. Mo. Hist. Soc. Collections, No. 1.

Wilkie, Franc B. The Iowa First. Letters from the war. (Dubuque, Iowa, 1861.)

Note. These letters record the complete operations of the Iowa First during their three months' service, all the active part of which was in Missouri—at Hannibal, Macon City, Renick, Boonville, Grand River, Springfield, and ending with the battle of Wilson's Creek. The author throws much light on the early operations in Missouri and the death of Lyon.

W. C. B.

Witten, Rev. Robert R. Pioneer Methodism in Missouri

and the mission of Methodism. A semi-centennial sermon before the Missouri Annual Conference, Oct. 7, 1906. (n. p. n. d.)

Woodson, Warren, and Eli E. Bass. (Address) to the citizens of Boone and Callaway counties, Aug. 12, 1861. (n. t. p.) *

Woodward, Ashbel, M. D. Life of General Nathaniel Lyon. Hartford, 1862. *

NECROLOGY.

Miss Leah H. Brown. This authoress died in St. Louis, Jan. 16, 1908; while only twenty-six years old, she had published six volumes of prose and poetry. Of the latter the most noteworthy were "Golden Rod," "Mistletoe" and "The Ivy," and of the former the "North Pole." She was educated in the schools of St. Louis, and at an early age developed literary talent.

Philip Edward Chappell, for some years one of the trustees of this Society and also one of its corresponding members, was born August 18, 1837, on a farm near Bakersville, Callaway County, Missouri, and when a small boy his father moved to a farm in the same county where the present Cedar City now is. When fifteen years of age he went to Jefferson City, and for a year was clerk in a grocery store. Later he attended the Kemper School at Boonville, and the State University at Columbia. Returning home he opened a warehouse on his father's farm, and engaged in commercial matters again. He and a friend built the boat "John D. Perry," and for a time engaged in river freighting. Upon the death of his father he returned to the homestead, and marrying spent some years upon the farm. After the Civil War he became president of the Jefferson City Savings Bank, moving his family to that town in 1869. He was successively member of the city council, Mayor of the city, and State Treasurer, to which office he was elected by a majority of 54,000, when Mr. Crittenden was elected Governor. After his term of office was over he moved to Kansas City to become for seven years President of the Citizens National Bank, when his health caused him to resign. He then organized the Safe Deposit Company, and was its president till the time of his

death. Mr. Chappell was also president of a cattle company in Texas, and interested in various other companies, and a director in trust and banking companies.

Mr. Chappell was a solid man of brains and substance that made him an important factor in the growth and prosperity of Kansas City; a business man of the highest integrity that was thoroughly ingrained into his character.

The ancestors of Mr. Chappell were an old English family, some of whom settled in Virginia and from which his father, John Chappell, came to Missouri.

Mr. Chappell was an active literary worker, and in 1895 published a "Genealogical history of the Chappell, Dickie and other kindred families of Virginia," of which a revised edition was issued in 1900. In 1905 he published his "History of the Missouri river."

Mr. Chappell had agreed to write for the Review a paper on the administration of Gov. T. T. Crittenden, but failing health prevented his doing so, and on the 23d of February, 1908, he died at his home in Kansas City.

Col. W. Q. Dallmeyer was born in Dissen, Kingdom of Hanover, Germany, in October, 1829, and died at Jefferson City, March 15. He came to America in 1845, and during the Civil War served in Capt. Cooper's Company of Home Guards, and later in what was known as Dallmeyer's Battalion, of which he was Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1864 he was elected a member of the Legislature, and re-elected for a second General Assembly. In 1868 he was elected State Treasurer, and afterwards remained a resident of Jefferson City, and was cashier of the Exchange Bank up to the time of his death.

General Odin Guitar was born in Richmond, Ky., August 31, 1825. He entered the Missouri University at its first session, and graduated in 1846, and without waiting to take part in the commencement exercises he enlisted in Doniphan's First Missouri Mounted Volunteers. After the Mexican War he read law and was admitted to the bar in 1848. In 1853

he was elected to the Legislature from Boone County and served two sessions.

At the beginning of the Civil War Gov. Gamble commissioned him to raise a regiment and he organized the Ninth Missouri Cavalry, which became famous as the "Bloody Ninth." In August, 1862, he was commissioned Brigadier General for bravery on the field.

After the war he resumed the practice of law in Columbia, and he became prominent as a criminal lawyer, and active in politics as a member of the Republican party.

General Guitar was married December 26, 1865, to Miss Kate Leonard of Howard County, daughter of Abiel Leonard, for many years a Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri.

He died March 13, and his funeral was held from the Auditorium of the University, and his body was laid to rest with military honors.

Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman has for the last twenty-five years been a prominent factor in the temperance movement of the State and nation. She was born in De Kalb County, New York, January 19, 1831, and married in Illinois. Coming to Warrensburg, Missouri, she taught school there for some years, and in 1871 went to Kansas City, where for a time she continued the occupation of teaching. In 1882 she commenced work in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and in 1883 was elected president of the organization in Missouri at its first annual convention, and has since devoted her life to the cause in Missouri and the nation. During the last twelve years in addition to being State President, she has been recording secretary of the national organization, and in 1895 was sent as a delegate to the world's convention of the union held in London, England, and she then spent some months lecturing in Great Britain, Germany, France and Switzerland. After her election as president of the union she became a fluent and ready extemporaneous public speaker. She died of pneumonia at the home of her son, Guy C. Hoffman, in Kansas City, February 13, 1908.

Hon. James M. Hopkins was born in Linden, Atchison County, Missouri, March 2, 1859, and lived all his life in that county, principally on the farm which was his home at the time of his death, February 3, 1908. He graduated from Tabor (Iowa) College in 1880, and from the State University of Missouri in 1883, and afterwards studied law, but remained a farmer. He was elected by the Democratic party as a member of the House of Representatives of the 39th General Assembly, 1879. His father, Nelson O. Hopkins, was a member of the same house in 1847 and again in 1882.

Gen. W. H. Kennon, Adjutant General under Gov. Stone, committed suicide at the State Hospital for insane at Farmington, March 27th. He was born near Rocheport, Boone County, 72 years ago, and had been a resident of Mexico, Missouri, for thirty years. He was adjutant of Parsons' Brigade under Gen. Price in the Confederate Army, and at the time of his death was secretary of the Board of Directors of the Confederate Home at Higginsville. He was a member of the Thirty-third General Assembly in 1885 from Audrain County. He was a brother-in-law of the late Gov. Charles H. Hardin.

Sylvester W. Kniffin, a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri, died at his residence in Kansas City, February 7, 1908, aged 65 years.

During the Civil War he was captain in an Illinois regiment, and at the time of his death was a member of the Loyal Legion and of the Grand Army of the Republic. He had been a resident of Kansas City for twelve years, going there from Sedalia, where he was married during his residence in that city. He had resided in Missouri most of the time since the Civil War.

Hon. Fremont Lamb was born in De Kalb County, Illinois, September 4, 1853; moved to Iowa in 1866; and came to Missouri in 1875, and afterwards lived upon a farm near Denver in Worth County. He was also for a number of years Deputy

Surveyor of the county, and in 1890 was elected as a Republican to the House of Representatives of the 36th General Assembly, and served in the regular and special sessions in 1891 and 1892. He died of pneumonia, February 7, 1908, a man universally respected and honored, an earnest church member and a worker in the Odd Fellow fraternity.

Edward C. Mayer, born in California, Missouri, fifty years ago, and almost a lifelong resident of Jefferson City, died in that city, February 10, 1908. About twenty years ago he founded the Evening Courier in connection with A. S. Ferguson, now of Oklahoma. They disposed of this paper, and in 1900 founded the daily and weekly Republican, which was afterwards consolidated with the Review of St. Louis.

Hon. James M. Ming was born in Campbell County, Va., May 16, 1824, and in 1837 settled in Franklin County, Missouri. He was elected to the 25th and 26th General Assemblies of Missouri in 1868 and 1872, and afterwards was elected three times as one of the judges of the county court. He was again a member of the Legislature in 1884 and 1885. He died at Washington, Mo., March 22, 1908.

Daniel Reedy, assistant editor of the Mirror for the last five years, and an old newspaper man, died in St. Louis, February 26, aged 38 years.

Hon. Thomas Shackelford, son of Thomas and Eliza C. Pulliam Shackelford, was born on a farm in Saline County, Missouri, February 6, 1822, and died at Glasgow, Missouri, March 10, 1908. He was educated at a private school in Fayette, Missouri, kept by Archibald Patterson, who afterwards founded Central College at that place. He studied law in the same town under Abiel Leonard, later a judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. He was admitted to the bar in 1842, and continued in active practice from that to his last sickness. When he was admitted to the bar there had been published eight volumes of Reports of the Supreme Court of Missouri, while now there are 206 volumes of this court, and

125 of the Court of Appeals, and more than half of the judges of the Supreme Court were not yet born when he was admitted to the bar.

Prior to the war Judge Shackelford was a Whig, and during the war a Union man. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1861, and in that Convention he offered an amendment to the resolutions of the Committee on Resolutions, and which is known as the "Shackelford Amendment." At the annual meeting of the Society in February, 1906, Judge Shackelford read a paper giving the history of, and motives leading to this amendment, which paper was published in the first volume of the Review. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875, which formed the present Constitution of the State.

His legal practice was extensive, and for a long period of time he was engaged in many of the important cases arising in Central Missouri. He believed that a lawyer should exert his powers in having the right prevail, and he first satisfied himself as to which side was morally right, and then exerted his knowledge of law to show the court that it was legally right.

He became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in 1847, and was ever afterward an active member, many times being a delegate to the General Conference, and the author of legislation that became a part of the discipline of the church.

He was also prominent in the business world. At the organization of the Glasgow Savings Bank in 1871 he was made its president, and continued such till the time of his death. In all the business and industrial interests of his town and county he was a trusted advisor and participant, and in his 86th year closed a long and useful career.

BOOK NOTICES.

Biographical History. Atchison County, Missouri. Illustrated with farm scenes, views of residences and pictures of people, live stock, etc. Issued by the Atchison County Mail. **H. F. Stapel**, publisher. (c. 1905, by H. F. Stapel, Rock Port, Mo., 802 pp.)

The publisher of the Atchison County Mail has done a good service to the people of his county and the state in the preparation and publication of this finely illustrated work of more than eight hundred pages. Following a historical sketch of the county and its towns are short biographies of nearly four hundred residents of the county. The biographical sketches are necessarily compressed into a small space for each one, but in the total there are many thousands of facts and dates given, making an invaluable mine of information for all time to come. The Society is pleased to add it to the large collection it now has relating to the biographical history of the State.

A Tour in Europe. By **Denton J. Snider.** St. Louis. (c. 1907.)

The Father of History. An account of Herodotus. By **Denton J. Snider.** St. Louis. (c. 1907.)

European History, chiefly ancient in its processes. By **Denton J. Snider...** St. Louis. (c. 1908.)

The above three works have lately come to the Society, making thirty-nine volumes of Mr. Snider's publications in its library, a number perhaps greater than is generally realized even by those who know of the prominence of Mr. Snider as a writer and teacher. His later works have been classified under five heads,—psychology, history of philosophy, institutions, aesthetic and history, together forming the new system

of thought upon which Dr. Snider has been engaged for some years. The first of the above named books is a pleasant variation from the works classified under the headings given above, and carries one with interest from his Missouri home through much of Europe.

A Glmpse of the Pacific Isles. By **W. W. Wheeler.** (n. p., n. d.)

The author, a wholesale merchant of St. Joseph, with a taste for travel, and a disposition to let his friends as far as possible enjoy with him the trip, has issued the above account of a four months trip to our island possessions, and other points in the far East. The work consists of 211 pages of heavy paper, one-half having full page photographs of scenery. The work was privately printed, and reflects much credit upon the author. The Society is pleased to add it to its large collection of privately printed works by Missouri authors.

Heliotrope a book of verse, by **John Rothensteiner,** (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1908.)

Father Rothensteiner, pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost in St. Louis, and one of the Trustees of this Society, has added this fifth publication of poetry by him and which he calls "rhymes of faith and hope." Father Rothensteiner has a recognized position in literature, and has a library of English literature, of German literature and ecclesiastical literature not often excelled, the latter including very many of the folio tomes of early times.

Hamilton's Itinerarium being a narrative of a journey from Annapolis, Maryland, through Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire from May to September, 1744, by Doctor Alexander Hamilton. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, L. L. D., Professor of History in Harvard University. Printed only for private distribution by William K. Bixley, Saint Louis, Missouri—MCMVII.

Various Societies and clubs have published or reprinted rare books and pamphlets, for which they have become famous and their publications sought for by libraries generally. Mr. Bixby, of St. Louis, individually, is doing what is being done to some extent by organizations, and while his publications are not on the market, those to whom he has presented copies are fortunate. The above work is quite fully described in the title page, and consists of XXVII, 263, (1) pages, with a number of plates, the paper printing and binding of the highest excellence.

The copy presented to the Society by Mr. Bixby is 273, there having been a total of 487 printed.

At Seventy-five and other poems. A birthday souvenir. By **W. T. Moore**. (St. Louis, 1907.)

Preacher Problems or the twentieth century preacher at his work. By **William Thomas Moore, L. L. D.** Fleming H. Revell Company. (c. 1907. 2d edition.)

The above are two of the later works of Dr. Moore, formerly of Cincinnati and London, and now of Columbia, Missouri. The book of poetry includes some poems previously published, but now reissued in this work issued by the Christian Publishing Company, of St. Louis, in a manner that makes it a real souvenir edition as to paper, printing and binding. The book has four fine engravings of Dr. Moore, representing him at the ages of 32, 42, 62 and 69 years.

The Adventures of Little Pug Trix and other Stories. By **Edith Hall Orthwein**, Kansas City, 1899.

Petals of love for Thee by **Edith Hall Orthwein**, New York, Dodge Publishing Co., c. 1904.

These two works by Mrs. Charles T. Orthwein, of Kansas City, one of prose the other of poetry, are finely illustrated, the first with full page plates, the other with flower illustrations in color on each page, and are attractive books for looks as well as for contents.

PROGRAM
FIRST MEETING OF THE MISSOURI SOCIETY
of the
TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

To be held at the
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA,
Saturday, May 2, 1908.

President,	Vice President,	Secretary-Treasurer,
ISIDOR LOEB,	E. M. VIOLETTE,	ANNA C. GILDAY,
University of Missouri,	State Normal School,	Manual Training High
Columbia.	Kirksville.	School,
		Kansas City.

Morning Session, Nine O'clock.

Conference.

1. "The Relation of History and Government in Secondary Schools." Henry R. Tucker, Instructor in the William McKinley High School, St. Louis; William A. Lewis, Instructor in the Central High School, Kansas City; C. M. Weyand, Instructor in the High School, Moberly.
2. "The Teaching of Economics in High Schools." M. A. O'Rear, Superintendent of Schools, Boonville.
3. General Discussion.

Afternoon Session, Two O'clock.

1. "The Mystery of Mary Stuart." Roland G. Usher, Instructor in History, Washington University, St. Louis.
2. "The Clay-Tyler Controversy of 1841." Frank F. Stephens, Instructor in American History, University of Missouri.
3. "The Educational Value of History as a School Subject." Jesse Lewis, Professor of History, State Normal School, Maryville.

4. Business Meeting.

- (a) Adoption of Constitution.
- (b) Election of Officers.

Persons not members of the Society will be cordially welcomed to the sessions.

Papers are limited to twenty-five minutes and discussions to ten minutes for each speaker.

All sessions will be held in the Lecture Room of the Zoological Building.

Further information regarding the meeting of the Society can be had by addressing Professor Isidor Loeb, Columbia, Missouri.

