THE STORY

OF

OLD ST. LOUIS

BY

THOMAS EDWIN SPENCER

St. Louis, Missouri
1914

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14-9515

$1.00

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Published by Authority of the Book Committee
of the
St. Louis Pageant Drama Association,
St. Louis, Mo.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In the preparation of this volume, I am under obligation to Judge Walter B. Douglas and Mr. William Clark Breckenridge for invaluable aid in the way of information, suggestions and criticisms, without which I could not have completed the work in the time allotted me. Their comprehensive libraries and their accurate scholarship have been cheerfully placed at my disposal.

THOMAS EDWIN SPENCER

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PREFACE

This volume is the result of an effort to present the interesting story of the adventurous lives led by the inhabitants of St. Louis in early times, in a form accessible to all, and in a book of size convenient for use. This story has been told before in bulky volumes that may be found upon the shelves of reference rooms in our libraries, but our people know little of the wonderful life of our early pioneers. Few of our children are acquainted with the heroic history of our forefathers in the Mississippi Valley. They can tell of the struggles and accomplishments of the colonists on the Atlantic seaboard, but they have heard little of the greater struggles by which our own section of the United States was wrested from the wilderness.

The epic story of this life of our pioneers is about to be presented in dramatic form in the "Pageant and Masque of St. Louis," for the purpose of arousing our people to pride in the glorious past and to unison of effort in the early accomplishment of yet greater things in the future. This prose story of old days in St. Louis is issued in furtherance of that purpose. That the people may appreciate and enjoy the drama, it is necessary they should know the facts of our history, and something of the kind of people who made St. Louis, what manner of life they lived, how they appeared, what forces they encountered and overcame. To give such basis for the enjoyment of the "Pageant and Masque" is the purpose of this volume.

No credit for original research is made by him who has prepared it. He has selected freely, from whatever source was found available, the narratives of events deemed suitable to the purpose. Attempt has been made

to follow the plan adopted by the authors of the "Pageant and Masque," so far as it relates to the succession of episodes and their relative emphasis.

The following named publications have been copiously drawn upon for material out of which this story has been compiled:

Brackenridge, H. M.,
Recollections of Persons and Places in the West.
Views in Louisiana.

Chouteau, Auguste,
Fragment of Col. Auguste Chouteau's Narrative of the Settlement of St. Louis, in possession of the St. Louis Mercantile Library.

Edwards & Hopewell,
The Great West.

Darby, John F.,
Personal Recollections.

Dye, Eva Emery,
The Conquest.

Flint, Timothy,
Travels in the Mississippi Valley.

Hyde & Conard,
Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis, 4 vols.

Houck, Louis,
Spanish Regime in Missouri, 2 vols.
History of Missouri, 3 vols.

Kargau, Ernest D.,
The German Emigration to Missouri.

Missouri Historical Society Collections,
Especially Articles and Notes by Judge Walter B. Douglas and Mr. William Clark Breckenridge.

Nicollet, Jean Nicholas,
Sketch of the Early History of St. Louis.

Porter, Valentine Mott,
History of Battery "A."

Reavis, L. U.,
St. Louis, the Future Great City of the World.

Scharf, J. Thomas,
History of St. Louis City and County, 2 vols.

Stoddard, Major Amos,
Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE MYSTERY OF THE MOUND BUILDERS

THE crust of Mother Earth in the region about St. Louis is old, the geologists tell us. For eons the rivers have been coursing through the valley, and for ages mankind has found food and shelter and the joys of existence along the banks of these streams. The current of human life has flowed on like the waters of the rivers; and, as the streams have remained though the drops have merged into the ocean, so the records of mankind remain though individual and even race have joined the invisible. Before civilized man came with his pen to write of this region, even back in the twilight preceding the Indian traditions, these valleys were peopled by thousands of the human race who had learned the lesson of co-operative effort, who worked together for a common purpose, who must have looked far into their future, and have labored arduously and faithfully for the common weal, as they conceived it. For only by such a people could the multitude of great earth works have been constructed. They were a home-loving

people, for they dwelt in one spot. They were an industrious people, as their huge mounds attest. They were a religious people, for the remains of their altars give unmistakable evidence of their worship. They were a valiant people, for the story of their military skill is written in their defensive fortifications. They were skillful artisans, for we have recovered many beautiful objects they wrought from stone, and shell, and bone, and beaten metals.

But they have vanished, and the cause of their disappearance remains one of the unsolved problems of archaeology. Did some cataclysm of nature overtake them? Or did they refuse to follow the teachings of their prophets who urged them to higher social aspirations? Did they abandon their social ideals to follow the allurements of nomadic existence? Did they thus degenerate with successive years into the wandering Indian tribes as the white man found them? Who shall say?

In attempting to reach a solution of the problem, archaeologists have enrolled themselves in two opposing schools; one affirming that these great earthworks are the production of a civilized people, millions in number, who, after erecting these monuments, passed mysteriously away; the other contending that they are the work of the American Indians, "who were driven from their former sedentary habits and agricultural pursuits" by the encroachments of vast herds of buffalo that moved across the country in search of food, thus destroying the crops of the inhabitants. "Wherever," says Dr. Peterson, "the bison was found in abundance by the whites, the Indians had given up mound building and practiced agriculture but indifferently, while they were still mound builders and agriculturalists where the beast had not penetrated."

CHAPTER TWO

WHITE MEN COME INTO THE WEST

THE first white man who saw the Mississippi river was Hernando De Soto, a Spaniard, who discovered it near the present site of Memphis, in 1541. De Soto had come from Cuba to Florida, accompanied by a force of nearly a thousand men, including many cavaliers of rank. For three years he and his men wandered from Florida westward, searching for gold, and fighting the hostile Indians. He found no gold, but many of his followers were killed by the Indians or died of disease and exposure. He crossed the Mississippi into what is now Arkansas, at a point between the St. Francois and Arkansas Rivers, and some of his men penetrated northward far into southeast Missouri. De Soto died, and his followers buried him in the great river that he had discovered.

Another Spaniard, Don Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, set out from Mexico in 1540, in search of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola, said to be rich in gold and silver. He reached what he believed to be Cibola,

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but found no wealth there. At that place he was spurred on by some Indian romance of great riches to be found at Quivira, further eastward. His expedition passed through New Mexico, and continued northeastward to a point "in what is now central Missouri, or possibly to the Mississippi river below the mouth of the Missouri." There he found an Indian settlement that he believed to be Quivira. He erected a cross, at the foot of which these words were chiseled: "Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, General of the Army, arrived here." Only a small remnant of his followers returned with him to Mexico, where Coronado died in 1542.

The Spaniards were undaunted explorers. It seems certain that Humana, in 1594, must have retraversed the same route which Coronado had taken. Subsequently other expeditions, under Onate, Vaca and Penalosa, during the years from 1594 to 1664, fared forth from New Mexico towards the northeast, and penetrated into what is now the Missouri country. They came and went away, leaving no settlement as a result of their explorations.

But during this time the French had been pushing farther and farther westward along the St. Lawrence river and the Great Lakes. Traders were seeking the valuable furs of the forest. Exploring parties were searching a waterway through the continent to the shores of the Pacific Ocean and the "Far East." And with both traders and explorers went the devoted missionaries, seeking the conversion of the Indians to Christianity.

The history of Missouri began in 1673, when a fur trader, Joliet, and a Jesuit missionary, Father Marquette,

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with five other men, crossed the portage from Lake Michigan into Wisconsin, and found their way to the Mississippi. They floated down the stream to the mouth of the Arkansas, and returned to the French settlements in Canada with the story of their adventures. Nearly ten years later, in 1682, another Frenchman, La Salle, and his lieutenant De Tonti, with a force of thirty men, and a band of Indians, leaving Fort Mackinac and crossing over by the Chicago portage and the Illinois river, reached the Mississippi and descended to its mouth, claiming the country for the French king. The zealous French missionaries set up stations in this wilderness, one at Cahokia in 1699, and another at Kaskaskia in 1700, both on the Illinois side of the Mississippi. They were soon joined by fur traders from Canada, and soon afterwards French farmers from Canada came to settle on these fertile lands, and thus began the first permanent settlements in the region near what is now St. Louis. The fur traders with their hunters and boatmen soon explored the rivers flowing into the Mississippi from the west, penetrating the region far toward the headwaters of the Missouri. They learned from the Indians of rich deposits of lead on the St. Francois and Meramec rivers, and many Frenchmen crossed over to work at mining the lead ore that lay near the surface and was thus easily obtained. About 1735, some of these French hunters and miners formed a settlement at Ste. Genevieve, on the western bank of the Mississippi.

Meanwhile French colonies had been formed at New Orleans, and at other points in lower Louisiana, and expeditions were sent up the Mississippi to explore and to make settlements. Fort de Chartres in Illinois was erected in 1720, to protect the neighboring settlements

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of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Philippe, and Cahokia. French expeditions explored the Missouri river and its tributaries, and, in 1722, Fort Orleans was built by Captain de Bourgmont above the mouth of Grand river, near where Brunswick now stands. Fort Orleans has long since been washed away by the shifting channel of the stream near whose banks it was erected, but the ruins of Fort Chartres may still be seen.

News of the profitable trade in furs and lead reached New Orleans, where had lately arrived from France, a young man, Pierre Laclede Liguest, seeking opportunity to engage in trade with the Indians. The young Liguest, or Laclede, as he came to be known, soon formed a company in which a rich merchant of New Orleans, Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent, was the leading partner, and Laclede was sent up the Mississippi in charge of the expedition. He had under his command a large force, consisting of mechanics, trappers, hunters, and a few farmers. With great labor they made progress up stream in the rough, heavy boats that were then used, intending to found a settlement on the west bank of the Mississippi somewhere between Ste. Genevieve and the mouth of the Missouri. Laclede carried with him a large amount of merchandise suitable for trade with the Indians. In the company was a boy named Auguste Chouteau, thirteen years old, who soon became Laclede's most trusted aid and friend.

After a fatiguing trip, the party reached Ste. Genevieve, the only French post on the west bank of the Mississippi that could furnish shelter or the comforts of frontier life. It was the intention of Laclede to leave his merchandise and most of his party at that post, until he could select a location higher up the

Jacques Necker

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stream and nearer the mouth of the Missouri; but he was disappointed to find there no accommodation for his men nor sufficient shelter for his merchandise. At the invitation of the officer in charge of Fort de Chartres, Laclede ascended the river to that post, where he left his goods and most of his men, while he, in December, 1763, in company with Chouteau and a few other attendants, examined the country on the western shore as far as the "Muddy Water." Returning down stream, he selected a spot where the shore rose in an abrupt wall of limestone, at places more than forty feet high, broken here and there by ravines through which flowed streams of fresh water fed by many gushing springs.

Here Laclede and his companions went ashore and marked the spot by blazing the trees, the commander saying to Chouteau: "You will come here as soon as the river shall be free from ice, and you will cause this place to be cleared and form a settlement according to the plan which I shall give you." After thus marking the spot, Laclede set out for Fort de Chartres, and on arriving there, he said to Governor De Neyon and his officers: "I have found a situation where I intend establishing a settlement, which, in the future, shall become one of the most beautiful cities in America."

CHAPTER THREE

THE SETTLEMENT OF ST. LOUIS

EARLY the following spring, Laclede selected a choice body of about thirty men, chiefly mechanics, and placed them under command of young Chouteau, to whom he gave instructions: "You will go and disembark at the place where we marked the trees. You will make a clearing and build a large shed to contain the provisions and tools, and some small cabins to lodge the men." Without accident Chouteau reached the spot selected, and, on February 15, 1764, he took possession of the soil and set about building the houses for the settlement which has become a great city.

In a few days the sheds and cabins were constructed; and in the early part of March, Laclede Liguest having arrived, the plan of the village was laid out, and the site selected where he wished his house to be built. He named the place St. Louis in honor of Louis IX, who was the special protector of towns and cities from the encroachments of feudal lords, and who was canonized by the church for his many virtues.

The Settlement of St. Louis

The arrival of the French was soon known to the Missouri Indians, one hundred and fifty warriors of whom, accompanied by their women and children, soon gathered about the new settlement. However, these Indians offered no personal violence; but, being destitute of provisions, they had come to beg a supply of the necessaries of life. After receiving a gift of provisions, they became so well pleased with their new friends that they declared their intention of building a village near the French, so that they might always remain near them. They said they "were like ducks and bustards, who sought open water to rest, and they could not find a spot more suitable for their purpose than the place where they then were." They annoyed the French settlers by pilfering whenever opportunity was offered, and answered any suggestion of departure with obstinate refusal. Some Frenchmen who had come over from Cahokia to make their homes at Laclede's new settlement, became alarmed at the presence of the Indians and went back across the river. Laclede resolved to rid the settlement of the presence of these troublesome neighbors. He finally threatened them with the vengeance of the Indians then encamped around Fort de Chartres, if they persisted in remaining, and so frightened them that they departed. When the Indians had gone, Laclede hurried back to Fort de Chartres to remove his goods before the country east of the Mississippi should be given over to the English, and soon his entire force and all of his merchandise were brought to St. Louis.

The plan of the settlement as laid out by Laclede, at first provided for only one street parallel with the river and extending from Cherry (what is now Franklin

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avenue) on the north to Chouteau avenue on the south. This street (now First street) he named *la Rue Royale*, which name it retained for many years, until changed to *la Rue Principale*. What is now known as Second street extended from Franklin to Cedar street, but was not at first dignified with a name, being known in the early land grants as *une autre Rue Principale*. Later, when a church was built upon the block where the old Cathedral now stands, the street was given the name of *la Rue de l'Eglise*. Between 1766 and 1780, another street—what is now Third street—was laid out and named *la Rue des Granges*, or the "Street of the Barns."

For the site of his own residence, Laclede selected a tract of ground three hundred feet square, now bounded by First and Second, and Market and Walnut streets, and on this square his house was built, the first story of which was built of stone. The dirt from the cellar of his house was removed by Missouri Indian squaws, who were paid for their work with beads and other trinkets, which they greatly prized. The founder of St. Louis doubtless intended that the neighborhood of his residence should always be the most attractive part of the town, for he designated the block adjoining his own on the east as a public square, and called it *la Place d'Armes*. Not far away was erected the large warehouse for merchandise, and near by the sheds and cabins for his men. When Laclede began his settlement, there was a narrow strip of wood which skirted the river along the low bluffs and extended as far westward as Broadway. The wood varied in breadth, and at some places the shore was entirely free from timber. Where the first buildings were erected, there was a beautiful

grove of walnut trees, without underbrush, and carpeted with a fine turf of blue grass.

The Settlement of St. Louis

Pierre Laclede Liguest was born in Bedous, of the southern part of France, near the boundary between France and Spain. He was of a brave and adventurous disposition, and left France with the avowed purpose of establishing a trading post in the French possessions in America, bringing with him many followers. In personal appearance he was little above medium height, of very dark complexion, with a large nose, expansive brow and piercing, expressive eyes. After founding St. Louis, Laclede was absent from the settlement much of the time on trading voyages to New Orleans and other points on the rivers, above and below his own village. While on one of these trips to New Orleans, Laclede died at the age of fifty-four, June 20th, 1778, on the Mississippi river, near the mouth of the Arkansas, and was hastily buried on the south bank of the Arkansas river, at its junction with the Mississippi. No stone or tomb was erected to mark his grave in the solitude, and the spot cannot now be identified.

The early inhabitants of the settlement founded by Liguest called the place "Laclede's Village," and desired that it take the name of its founder; but he would never consent to this. In all official documents he insisted upon the name St. Louis, which he had bestowed upon it in honor of Louis IX of France.

Houck says: "That Laclede was a man of enterprise, of courage, of resolution and tenacity of purpose is certain; that he was far-seeing and not devoid of imagination is shown in the selection he made of the site where is now located his great city, whose glory and magnificence he could even then see in the dim future.

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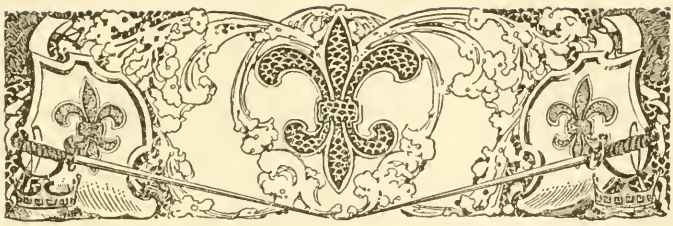
That he was a man of liberal spirit is shown by the fact that, without hesitation, he invited his countrymen to his own trading post, when they became agitated about the cession of the country east of Mississippi to England, thus bringing competitors to his own door. That he was wise is shown by the fact that he induced St. Ange to remove the seat of government from Fort de Chartres to his own trading post, St. Louis, rather than to Ste. Genevieve, the nearest, oldest and most important settlement on the west side of the river, and then caused St. Ange to expressly grant the lots assigned by him to the first settlers, opening a record of land grants, and in this way placing his work on a firm basis. Though the spot where he is buried is unknown, and no stone marks his grave, yet the great city which has grown up where he so wisely established his trading post is his monument."



CHAPTER FOUR

GROWTH AND DECAY OF THE ILLINOIS SETTLEMENTS

THE early inhabitants of Upper Louisiana were chiefly descendants of the settlers who were induced to remove thither from Canada. Later, in 1762, in consequence of the misfortunes of France, when that country was forced to cede her territory east of the Mississippi to England, and all west of the river to Spain, the flourishing settlements of Illinois experienced a sudden and rapid decay, which was hastened by the conquest of the country by General George Rogers Clark for the United States, in 1778. The importance of these settlements, as well as the sad fate that overtook them, is thus graphically told by Mr. Brackenridge, who visited Kaskaskia, Fort de Chartres and Cahokia in 1813:

"The French settlements in this valley had, in the course of sixty years, become very considerable. There were a number of large villages, a lucrative fur trade was carried on, and their agriculture was extensive. I find it stated by several writers that these settlements sent to New Orleans in one year (1746) eight hundred

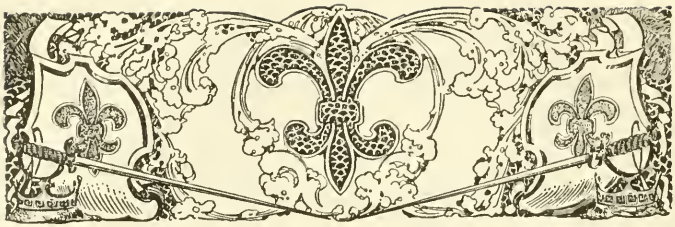
Growth and Decay of the Illinois Settlements

thousand pounds of flour, while at this time there was not yet a single settlement on the western side of the river. The principal villages were Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia, de Chartres and St. Philippe. The two last named have entirely disappeared.

"Kaskaskia, which now (1813) contains little more than seven hundred souls, is said to have contained at least five thousand. The ruins of ancient buildings, the remains of splendid gardens, the dilapidated walls everywhere visible, furnish ample proof of its former consequence. It is situated about three or four miles from the Mississippi, on the bank of the beautiful little river Kaskaskia, which falls into the Mississippi nine miles below. There is no town in America which bears such appearance of antiquity; the bank on this river is worn down by long use. We still see the remains of an immense building erected by the Jesuits, immediately on the bank, together with the traces of an elegant garden. On the other side of the Kaskaskia, a hill four or five hundred feet rises with a steep ascent, and near the top we still see the ruins of a fort. From the top of this hill I enjoyed a beautiful prospect. The sun was just going down behind the hills on the western side of the mighty river, leaving a golden tinge on the detached and solitary ravines in the plain below, and the tufts of trees which grew near them, while darkness seemed already to cover the narrow stream at my feet. A deep silence prevailed over the extensive scene, and no object seemed across it, excepting the domestic herds returning from their pastures and moving in great numbers to the same point from every quarter.

"Fort de Chartres is situated about fifteen miles above Kaskaskia. It is a noble ruin, and is visited by strangers

as a great curiosity. I was one of a party of ladies and gentlemen who ascended in a barge from Ste. Genevieve, nine miles below. The fort stands immediately on the bank of the river, which has carried off a considerable part of it. The outward wall is still in good preservation, about twenty feet in height, and five or six feet in thickness. The walls of the barracks are still standing, but the inside is grown up with briars and trees of considerable size. The magazine is in a good state of preservation, and there are a number of cannon in various parts lying half buried in the earth, with their trunnions broken off. Nearly the whole area is overgrown with trees, and in some places with thickets almost impenetrable. In visiting the various parts we started a flock of wild turkeys, which had concealed themselves in this hiding place. I remarked a kind of enclosure near which, according to tradition, was fitted up by the officers a kind of arbor, where they could sit and converse during the heat of the day. It is said that this fort cost the French king upwards of a million of crowns, and was usually garrisoned by a full regiment. The village which grew up near it, and which was once a place of refinement and unusual gaiety, has disappeared without leaving a trace behind."



CHAPTER FIVE

CHARACTER OF FRENCH SETTLERS

WHEN Illinois was surrendered to the English, about eighty of the inhabitants, and many who had come up with Laclede, descended the Mississippi with Governor de Neyon, and settled in New Orleans and the lower country. Many crossed the river and joined the settlements at St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. Such is the origin of the early population of St. Louis. They were chiefly natives of the country; but few families were immediately from France, or even from New Orleans or Canada, and this fact serves to explain much in the subsequent history of the settlement founded by Laclede. Though essentially French, they lacked the frivolity of the Frenchmen of Louis XV or XVI, and still less exhibited the restlessness, and violence that characterized their European kinsmen who experienced the racking storm of the French Revolution. Though gay and fond of amusements, there was in their deportment something of the gravity of the Spaniards who were their govern-

ors. Compelled to leave their homes in Illinois, and to give up the fruits of their labors, their habits of thrift and industry were much disturbed. The necessaries of life in this fertile country were easily procured, and beggary was unknown. Hospitality was practiced as in the primitive ages. Born and reared on the frontier, they had little schooling and small taste for learning; so their own schools afforded but slender instruction in reading, writing, and a little arithmetic, and only the children of the better sort of people attended them. Most of the people did not know a letter of the alphabet. The people were not accustomed to reason on political matters, but were, in fact, ignorant of them and indifferent to them. Abandoned by their king, who had turned them over to the English when they dwelt in Canada or in Illinois, and had again secretly transferred them to the rule of Spain after they had sought French soil west of the Mississippi, it is small wonder that they lost the feeling of patriotism, and accepted their Spanish governors without resistance, especially since the Spaniards required of them no taxes and did not interfere with their manners and customs. These early French settlers of St. Louis were as remarkable for their tame and peaceful submission to rule, as their countrymen of France during that period were for violence and anarchy.

Character of French Settlers

It is true that, in the estimation of the American settlers who came later, the French appeared lacking in public spirit, wanting in enterprise, seemed to display small ingenuity or taste, and were generally considered to be indolent and uninformed; yet they possessed many virtues. They were honest and punctual in their dealings. Sterling friendship and sincere affection characterized their intercourse with neighbors and relatives,

Character of French Settlers

and cordial hospitality was extended to all visiting strangers. Indeed, the town of St. Louis was forty years old before it contained a tavern or public house for the entertainment of travelers. The women were faithful and affectionate wives, but they were never considered secondary in the management of family matters. The advice of the wife was taken on all important business, as well as on affairs of less weight, and her decision was generally followed.

In religion, all were Catholics, and were strict observers of the rules and discipline of their church, and of the different holy days of the calendar. The celebrations of these holy days, or *fêtes*, as they were called, were most interesting events in the village life. Old and young engaged in them with the greatest delight.

For many years, in the social life of St. Louis there was scarcely any distinction of classes. The wealthy and more intelligent were doubtless considered as more important personages, but there were no clearly marked or recognized differences. They all associated together. All dressed alike, and frequented the same ball room, and places of amusement. In fact, nearly the whole settlement soon became connected by ties of blood or marriage to such an extent, it is said, that, when a funeral procession was formed on the death of a common relation, the number of persons excluded was exceedingly small.

The wealth of the village consisted principally in personal property. The highest species of real property owned was the slaves—both negro and Indian. The lands were valuable only when improved with dwellings and enclosed by fences. Peltry and lead were generally used as the money or circulating medium of the country.

Character of French Settlers

But the natural resources of the rich country were at their command. Vast herds of buffalo, elk and deer roamed the prairies. Water fowl were so abundant that as many as fifty could be caught in a single net. Wild turkeys were so plentiful and so gentle that the boys threw stones at them for recreation, and prodigious flocks of pigeons often darkened the heavens in their flight.

There was but little variety in their employments. The most enterprising and wealthy men were traders, and had articles for traffic with the Indians, and kept, at the same time, trifling assortments of merchandise for the accommodation of the inhabitants; but there were no open shops or stores, as in other parts of the United States. What is strange, there were no domestic manufactures among the early French settlers of St. Louis; the spinning wheel and the loom were alike unknown. So deficient were the women in this respect that, although possessed of numerous herds, they were not even acquainted with the use of the churn, but they made their butter by beating the cream in a bowl, or by shaking it in a bottle. A few men followed occupations as carpenters and smiths, but they had little skill. The Spanish government gave employment to but few, and those principally in St. Louis. The lead mines engaged a considerable number, where the mining could be done near the surface. Agriculture was carried on in the common fields, and since the surplus of produce for sale in the country was small, each family was compelled to raise a supply of grain and vegetables sufficient for their own use. A number of the young men accepted employment as boatmen for the traders, since

Character of French Settlers

these expeditions afforded opportunity for adventure, and a means of learning the business. In dexterity in handling river craft, and in physical endurance to undergo the privations and hardships of the fur trader's life, these young Frenchmen were not surpassed by any people. Their knowledge of Indian character and their adaptability to the Indian mode of life won the friendship and regard of the red men, and secured for the French the rich peltry of the forests.

The early settlers of St. Louis amused themselves with cards, billiards and dancing, this last amusement then, as now, being the favorite. Their dances were cotillions, reels and sometimes the minuet. During the carnival season, the balls followed each other in rapid succession, and many pleasing customs were connected with this amusement. Children, also, had their balls, and they were carefully taught decorum and propriety of behavior which persevered through life. They early acquired an ease and freedom of address, and were carefully trained in the practice of self-denial, which is the secret of real politeness.

The dress of the early settlers was extremely simple. The men wore a blanket coat of coarse cloth or coating, with a cape behind, which could be drawn over the head; from which circumstance it was called a "capote." Both sexes wore blue handkerchiefs on their heads, but they wore no hats nor shoes nor stockings; moccasins, or the Indian sandals, and buckskin leggins were used. The dress of the women and girls was generally simple, and there were few variations of fashion. Very soon after the American occupation of the country in 1804, the costumes of the Americans were adopted by the wealth-

ier French families, and quickly were worn generally by the young girls and young men. Many of the older people continued for a time to wear their old style of garments, but these gradually disappeared, so that a traveler, visiting St. Louis in 1812, writes: "I never saw anywhere greater elegance of dress than at the balls in St. Louis."

Character of French Settlers

The early settlers of St. Louis gave up their mode of dress much more quickly than their mode of speech. For many years French continued to be the only language spoken in the town. Even so late as 1818, when John F. Darby, as a boy, came to live in St. Louis, he found the town still French. He says:

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

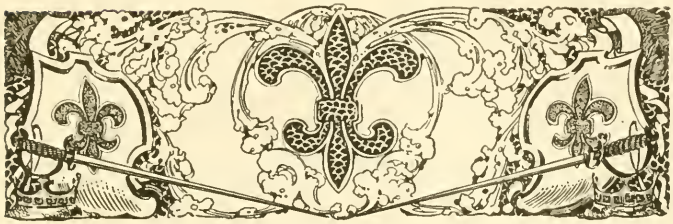
The harness on their little Canadian horses was of the most primitive character, and patched together in

Character of French Settlers

the most rude and unworkmanlike manner with leather straps and buckskin thongs. Their carts were the rudest specimens of workmanship; large shafts fastened to a heavy axle on which were placed two solid wooden wheels sawed from a cross-section of a large tree, about four feet in diameter and four inches thick. One great objection to the innovation of the Americans, some years afterwards, when the Americans began to pave the streets, was that "the Americans put rocks in the streets and broke their wooden cart-wheels."

DE SOTO DISCOVERING THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Painting by Stoddard, property of Missouri Historical Society



CHAPTER SIX

AN AMERICAN BOY IN A FRENCH VILLAGE

HENRY M. BRACKENRIDGE, as a child of seven years, was sent from his Pittsburg home to live among strangers in the French village of Ste. Genevieve. Life as he found it there was much the same as could then be seen in St. Louis.

"Our path lay through an Indian village of Shawanese, who treated us well; but I trembled at the sight of them, having learned to look upon these people as demons. Being on Spanish ground, they would not have molested us, even if they had known that we were not Spaniards. After a week or ten days, we arrived, without any material incident, at the village of Ste. Genevieve, situated on the Mississippi, although not immediately on its bank.

"My guardian carried me directly to the house of M. Beauvais, a respectable and comparatively wealthy inhabitant of the village, and then took his departure the same evening. Not a soul in the village except the curate understood a word of English, and I was possessed of

An American Boy in a French Village

but two French words, *oui* and *non*. I sallied into the street, or rather highway, for the houses were far apart, a large space being occupied for yards and gardens by each. I soon found a crowd of boys at play; curiosity drew them around me, and many questions were put by them, which I answered alternately with the aid of the before-mentioned monosyllables. "Where have you come from?" "Yes." "What is your name?" "No." To the honor of these boys be it spoken, or rather to the honor of their parents, who had taught them true politeness, instead of turning me into ridicule as soon as they discovered I was a strange boy, they vied with each other in showing me every act of kindness.

"M. Beauvais was a tall, dry, old French-Canadian, dressed in the costume of the place; that is, with a blue cotton handkerchief on his head, one corner thereof descending behind and partly covering the eelskin which bound his hair, a check shirt, coarse linen pantaloons on his hips, and the Indian sandal or moccasin, the only covering to the feet worn here by both sexes. He was a man of a grave and serious aspect, entirely unlike the gay Frenchman we are accustomed to see; and this seriousness was not a little heightened by the fixed rigidity of the maxillary muscles, occasioned by having his pipe continually in his mouth, except while in bed, or at mass or during meals. Let it not be supposed that I mean to speak disrespectfully or with levity, of a most estimable man, my object in describing him is to give an idea of many other fathers of families of the village. Madame Beauvais was a large fat lady, with an open cheerful countenance, and an expression of kindness and affection to her numerous offspring, and to all others,

excepting her colored domestics toward whom she was rigid and severe. She was, notwithstanding, a most pious and excellent woman, and, as a French wife ought to be, completely mistress of the family. Her eldest daughter was an interesting young woman; two others were nearly grown, and all were handsome. I will trespass a little on the patience of the reader to give some account of the place where I was domiciliated; that is, of the house in which I lived, and of the village in which it was situated.

"The house of M. Beauvais was a long, low building, with a porch or shed in front and another in the rear; the chimney occupied the center, dividing the house into two parts, with each a fireplace. One of these served for dining room, parlor and principal bed chamber, the other was the kitchen; and each had a small room taken off at the end for private chambers or cabinets. There was no loft or garret, a pair of stairs being a rare thing in the village. The furniture, excepting the beds and the looking glass, was of the most common kind, consisting of an armoire, a rough table or two, and some coarse chairs. The yard was inclosed with cedar pickets, eight or ten inches in diameter and seven feet high, placed upright, sharpened at the top, in the manner of a stockade fort. In front the yard was narrow, but in the rear quite spacious, and containing the barn and stables, the negro quarters, and all the necessary offices of a farmyard. Beyond this there was a spacious garden inclosed with pickets in the same manner with the yard. It was, indeed, a garden—in which the greatest variety and the finest vegetables were cultivated, intermingled with flowers and shrubs; on one side of it there was a small orchard containing a variety of the choicest fruits. The

An American Boy in a French Village

substantial and permanent character of these inclosures is in singular contrast with the slight and temporary fences and palings of the Americans. The house was a ponderous wooden frame, which, instead of being weatherboarded, was filled in with clay, and then whitewashed. As to the living, the table was provided in a very different manner from that of the generality of Americans. With the poorest French peasant, cookery is an art well understood. They make great use of vegetables, and prepared in a manner to be wholesome and palatable. Instead of roast and fried, they had soups and fricassees, and gumbos (a dish supposed to be derived from the Africans), and a variety of other dishes. Tea was not used at meals, and coffee for breakfast was the privilege of M. Beauvais only.

"From the description of this house, some idea may be formed of the rest of the village. The pursuits of the inhabitants were chiefly agricultural, although all were more or less engaged in traffic for peltries with the Indians, or in working the lead mines in the interior. But few of them were mechanics, and there were but two or three small shops, which retailed a few groceries. Peltry, beaver skins and lead constituted almost the only circulating medium. All politics or discussions of the affairs of government were entirely unknown; the commandant took care of all that sort of thing. But instead of them, the processions and ceremonies of the church, and the public balls furnished ample matter for occupation and amusement. Their agriculture was carried on in a field of several thousand acres, in the fertile river bottom of the Mississippi, inclosed at the common expense, and divided into lots separated by some natural

or permanent boundary. Horses or cattle, depastured, were tethered with long ropes, or the grass was cut and carried to them in their stalls. It was a pleasing sight, to mark the rural population going and returning, morning and evening, to and from the field, with their working cattle, carts, old-fashioned wheel-plows, and other implements of husbandry. Whatever they may have gained in some respects, I question very much whether the change of government has contributed to increase their happiness.

"About a quarter of a mile off, there was a village of Kickapoo Indians, who lived on the most friendly terms with the white people. The boys often intermingled with those of the white village, and practiced shooting with the bow and arrow; here I got a little smattering of the Indian language, which I forgot on leaving the place.

"Such was the place, and the kind of people, among whom I was about to pass some of the most important years of my life, and which would naturally extend a lasting influence over me. A little difficulty occurred very soon after my arrival, which gave some uneasiness to Madame Beauvais. She felt some repugnance at putting a little heretic into the same bed with her own children. This was soon set right by the good curate, Pere St. Pierre, who made a Christian of me, Monsieur and Madame Beauvais becoming my sponsors, by which a relationship was established almost as strong as that formed by the ties of consanguinity. Ever after this, they permitted me to address them by the endearing names of father and mother; and more affectionate, careful, and anxious parents I could not have had. It was

An American Boy in a French Village

such as even to excite a kind of jealousy among some of their own children. They were strict and exemplary Catholics; so indeed were all the inhabitants of the village. Madame Beauvais caused me every night to kneel by her side, to say my *Pater Noster* and *Credo*, and then whispered those gentle admonitions which sink deep into the heart. To the good seed thus early sown I may ascribe any growth of virtue in a soil that might otherwise have produced only noxious weeds.

"But a few days elapsed after my arrival before I was sent to the village school, where I began to spell and read French before I understood the language. My progress was such that, in a few weeks, I learned to read and speak the language; and it is singular enough that half a year had scarcely elapsed before I had entirely forgotten my native tongue, a consequence which had not, most certainly, been foreseen by my father, who expected that I should be possessed of two languages instead of one, and who could not have supposed that I should be sent home a French boy to learn English. So completely had every trace disappeared from my memory, with the exception of the words "yes" and "no," that when sent for occasionally to act as interpreter to some stray Anglo-American, the little English boy, "*le petit Anglais*," as they called me, could not comprehend a single word beyond the two monosyllables.

"During the remainder of my sojourn at Ste. Genevieve, very little else occurred than the ordinary incidents of boyhood. At school, on a public examination, I was declared the best reader, and the prize consisting of miniature teacups and saucers, awarded me. From the nature of the prize, the presumption is it was intended

for the other sex. No displeasure was manifested by the parents who were present; on the contrary, they caressed me in the most affectionate manner. In spite of my outlandish origin, I had become a general favorite or pet. The priest had chosen me as one of the boys appointed to serve at the altar, which was no small honor, and besides, entitled me to a larger share of the *Pain Beni,* or blessed bread. I carried my prize home and gave it to little Zouzou, a child in the cradle.

"After the afternoon mass, I sometimes went with other children to the ball, which was by no means a place of frivolity, but rather a school of manners. The children of the rich and poor were placed on a footing of perfect equality, and the only difference was a more costly, but not a cleaner or neater, dress. The strictest decorum and propriety were preserved by the parents who were present. There was as much solemnity and seriousness at these assemblies as at our Sunday schools; the children were required to be seated, and no confusion or disorder was permitted. The minuet was the principal dance. I think it is in some measure owing to this practice that the awkward, clownish manners of other nations are scarcely known among the French. The secret of true politeness, self-denial, or the giving the better place to others, was taught me at these little balls; but which I have not always found practically useful, when it has not been met by a corresponding self-denial in others. I do not hesitate to give the preference to our Sunday schools, which are justly ranked among the greatest improvements of the age. The Sunday balls at Ste. Genevieve were, however, comparatively innocent; and, in other respects, the people of the village, and particularly Monsieur and Madame Beauvais, were rigid Sabbatarians."

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PERIOD OF GOVERNOR ST. ANGE DE BELLERIVE

ON OCTOBER, 1765, the settlement founded by Laclede received the addition of about forty French soldiers and officers under the command of St. Ange de Bellerive. This officer and garrison had formerly been stationed at Fort de Chartres, but when St. Ange, with due formality, had given up the fort to Captain Stirling, the English officer appointed to take possession in conformity with the terms of the recent treaty, the French commander and his men crossed over to the Illinois territory west of the Mississippi, to maintain the authority of France until the representative of Spain should arrive. The French settlement west of the river nearest to Fort de Chartres was Ste. Genevieve, the oldest and most populous; but, at the invitation of Laclede, St. Ange brought his garrison to St. Louis. Thus "Laclede's Village" became the capitol of Upper Louisiana. In all his official proceedings, St. Ange followed substantially the same plan of procedure that had obtained in Fort de Chartres, having associated with him the same council that had administered civil affairs at his former post

east of the river. He confirmed allotments of land that had been made by Laclede to the settlers who had come from Cahokia and other points east of the river. Under his government, the affairs of the settlement became orderly, and several merchants, seeing the village under lawful restraints, became residents of the place and built substantial houses. The early records of this period contain the names of families, many of which have become prominently identified with the growth of St. Louis; such names as Chouteau, Cerre, Labbadie, Sarpy, Ortes, Menard, Papin, Hebert, Conde, Gratiot, Guion, Pratte, and others.

St. Ange de Bellerive was most popular. He was a favorite not only with his countrymen, but his name was a talisman in securing the respect and friendship of the Indians. They knew him as the inveterate foe of the English, and that itself was virtue sufficient in their eyes. Moreover, he was the friend of Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas. When all Pontiac's allies had forsaken him, and it became evident that success against the English was impossible, St. Ange persuaded him to abandon a forlorn hope and consent to peace. Pontiac yielded to this advice, because he knew that St. Ange was no friend of the English, and would not advise peace if there were any hope of success in a hostile policy. Thus his influence with the Indians, together with his weight of character, would have made St. Ange the most prominent man in St. Louis, even though he had lacked the official authority with which he was vested.

On August 11, 1767, the news was brought to St. Louis from New Orleans that the Spanish government was preparing to take possession of the country that had

The Period of Governor St. Ange De Bellerive

been ceded to it by the secret treaty of 1762. It was rumored that a large force would accompany the Spanish commandant-general to New Orleans, and that his authority would be enforced by resort to arms, if found necessary. This was sad news to the French settlers, who had come to believe that the flag of France would continue to wave over St. Louis.

When Ulloa, the representative of Spain, arrived in New Orleans, he dispatched Don Francisco Rui, his lieutenant, to St. Louis, with a letter of instructions cautioning him to use tact in dealing with the French inhabitants, and directing him to build two forts on the Missouri river, one on either side, near its junction with the Mississippi, to prevent the English from entering the stream to trade with the Indians. The instructions to Rui did not authorize him to supersede St. Ange as commandant of the country. It seems to have been Ulloa's purpose to establish a new and independent district of the Missouri north of the river. Rui, therefore, attempted no exercise of authority in St. Louis and never came in collision with the people. Rui erected a fort on the south side of the Missouri near the present site of Old Fort Bellefontaine; but he built only a temporary block-house on the northern side, because the land there is subject to overflow.

Rui proved to be an incompetent commander. His officers soon engaged in disputes with him and with each other. Some twenty of his soldiers and his storekeeper deserted, and one man was killed in the fray. The workmen under Rui were so enraged against him that they would not permit him to enter the fort. Upon learning of such insubordination, Ulloa relieved Rui of

command and ordered him and his lieutenant, Gomez, to return to New Orleans.

Piernas was appointed the successor of Rui by Ulloa, on August 5, 1768. He was delayed in his journey up the river with his barge, and on the 26th of November was stopped by a frozen river below Ste. Genevieve. After many hardships he reached the fort at the mouth of the Missouri (El Principe de Asturias) on the 6th of March, 1769. Almost before he had time to take an inventory, he received a letter dated October 30, 1768, containing an order to evacuate the fort, and to turn over the property to St. Ange at St. Louis.

After Piernas had reached St. Louis, with the garrison, workmen and property withdrawn from the abandoned fort, a singular thing happened. The property in his possession belonging to His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, was attached on a suit instituted before the local council by some three or four traders of St. Louis, for a debt which had been contracted by the Spanish storekeeper, who had received the goods for the fort and had afterwards deserted and fled. St. Ange was president of this council. Execution was about to be levied, when Piernas notified St. Ange that he, as president of the council and military superior, would be held responsible for the protection of the royal interests, whereupon the proceedings were halted. However, before leaving St. Louis to return to New Orleans, Piernas settled from the royal treasury all indebtedness that had been contracted by Rui and himself in building the forts on the Missouri. This left everybody satisfied, and strengthened the respect for the government in the estimation of the residents of St. Louis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DEATH OF PONTIAC

IN THE year 1769, Pontiac came to St. Louis to visit his former acquaintance and friend, St. Ange de Bellerive. His fame was known far and wide, and his arrival in their midst was an event of no small interest to the inhabitants of the town. St. Ange, at that time, resided at the house of Madame Chouteau, then standing upon Chestnut near First street.

St. Ange gave a most cordial reception to Pontiac, who became his guest for some days and was feted by the principal residents of the village. But the former chieftain was not his former self. Defeated in his ambitious plans, deserted and betrayed by men of his own race, he had sought solace in drink and had sunk low in the scale of manhood. But, however morally he had degenerated, his fame yet lived, and he was a hero in the eyes of the French.

Shortly after his arrival in St. Louis, he expressed a desire to visit Cahokia, across the river, where many of the old French settlers had invited him to a merry-

Death of Pontiac

making. St. Ange attempted to dissuade him from going across the river, where the English laws were in force, and where lived an English trader of wealth and influence who had sworn vengeance upon the life of Pontiac for some real or imaginary wrong. Pontiac gave no heed to the dissuasions of his friends. He dressed himself in a complete uniform, which he is said to have received years before from the unfortunate Montcalm, and, attended by a few followers, he crossed over to Cahokia. His friends in St. Louis saw him no more alive; for, when wandering in the woods about Cahokia, drunk and unable to defend himself, he was tomahawked by a Kaskaskia Indian, who, it is said, was hired to kill the chieftain.

When St. Ange de Bellerive was informed that Pontiac was slain, he ordered the body to be brought to St. Louis, where, amid the general mourning of the inhabitants, he had it buried, with all the honors of war, near the only fortification of the village, then standing near where is now the corner of Fourth and Walnut streets. A bronze tablet to the memory of Pontiac may be seen upon the walls of the Southern Hotel, placed there by the "Daughters of the Revolution." It bears the following inscription:

"NEAR THIS SPOT WAS BURIED BY HIS FRIEND, ACTING-GOVERNOR ST. ANGE, PONTIAC, THE GREAT CHIEF OF THE OTTAWAS, KILLED AT CAHOKIA, ILLINOIS, APRIL, 1769. THIS MEMORIAL TABLET ERECTED BY ST. LOUIS CHAPTER OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, IN THE YEAR 1900."

CHAPTER NINE

ST. LOUIS UNDER SPANISH RULE

WITH the coming of Don Alexander O'Reilly, the new Spanish Commandant-General of Louisiana, to New Orleans in August, 1769, a vigorous enforcement of the authority of Spain soon brought the inhabitants to submission. It was to O'Reilly that Piernas reported the condition of affairs in the "Illinois country," when he had returned to New Orleans by order of the former governor, Ulloa. Thereupon Piernas was appointed commandant by O'Reilly, and set out for his post the following spring, arriving at St. Louis, May 20, 1770, and the possession of the territory was then formally surrendered by St. Ange to Piernas, the first Spanish representative authorized to receive it. For nearly five years St. Ange had exercised authority over the territory by virtue of his French commission, while awaiting the arrival of an officer of Spain commissioned to relieve him. His authority had been recognized by Ulloa, who had sent both Rui and Piernas into the territory, but had given neither officer authority to supersede St. Ange, nor to take formal possession of Upper Louisiana.

St. Louis Under Spanish Rule

Don Pedro Piernas, then, was the first Spanish governor to assume authority in St. Louis, and, acting under instructions from O'Reilly, he immediately set about conciliating the people. He made little change in the existing mode of government that had been observed under St. Ange. He confirmed all the land grants that St. Ange had made, which before had been of doubtful validity. He appointed Martin Duralde, a Frenchman, surveyor to properly determine the lines of all land grants, whose seal should be evidence of their boundaries. In his former reports to O'Reilly on the condition of affairs in upper Louisiana, Piernas had expressed an unfavorable opinion of the local council which, under the French colonial law, managed the civil affairs of the community. He had referred to this council as "composed of four useless habitants, and one attorney, La Bussiere, a notorious drunkard, who is a substitute of the one who was attorney-general in the Superior Council in this colony," and had added that "the good-for-nothing Monsieur St. Ange is the one who, as first judge, presides, and whatever is determined by the fancy of those counselors is authorized and executed through the good intention of the latter's respectable old age." Even after assuming authority as governor at St. Louis, Piernas saw little to praise in the conduct or character of the French subjects of Spain. In an official report to O'Reilly, he says that no one obeys the local council, or recognizes its orders, "every one lives as he pleases and does what he premeditates." He complains that license, laxity of conduct and vice are characteristics of the inhabitants, that religion is given but scant respect, or is totally neglected, and the people form "a small rabble which is in nowise different from the very savages."

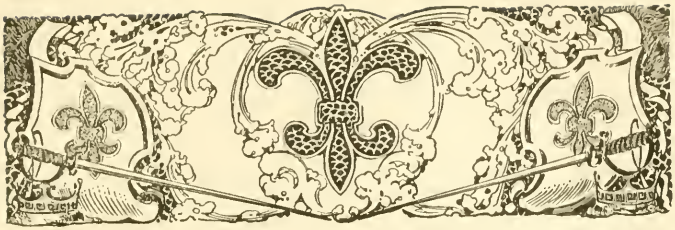
St. Louis Under Spanish Rule

He complains that some of the principal inhabitants are associated with some of the residents of the English district across the river in a smuggling trade, to the prejudice of legitimate native traders, and that they even sell salt to the English residents at less cost than it is furnished people on the Spanish side of the river where the salt is produced. The condition of affairs at Ste. Genevieve he reports "without any difference at all" in "the abandonment of life, the dissoluteness and license." The commandant at Ste. Genevieve, a French retired officer, Piernas described as "but little affected toward the Spanish nation, none at all to the French, and hates the English for their ungovernable and turbulent nature."

It is greatly to the credit of Piernas that, although governing a people so uncongenial to his tastes, he yet faithfully endeavored to carry out the instructions of his superior officer, in the government of the colony with tact and conciliation. He preserved the most friendly relations with St. Ange, and even appointed him captain of infantry in the Spanish service, which office St. Ange held until his death four years later. The administration of Piernas soon won the confidence of his French subjects, and made him a favorite with the people. He had married a French lady, Felicite Robineau de Portneuf, which still further contributed to his popularity, and may have assisted him in his official relations with the community.

FATHER MARQUETTE AND THE INDIANS

Painting by Stoddard, owned by Missouri Historical Society.



CHAPTER TEN

CRUZAT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

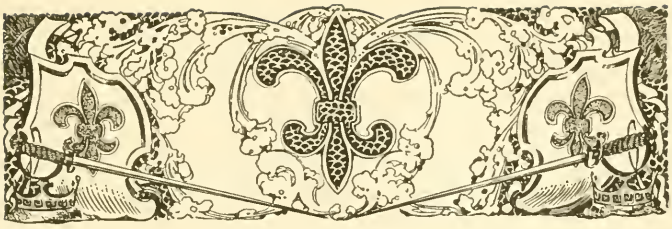
BUT the administration of Piernas in St. Louis was of short duration, for, on May 20, 1775, he was succeeded by Francisco Cruzat, who was appointed governor by General Don Luis de Unzaga. Cruzat was a mild and amiable governor, and he and his family were popular with the people. He lived in the same house that had been occupied by the former governor, at what is now First and Walnut streets, one of the first houses built in St. Louis by Laclede Liguest, and afterwards rented to the Spanish governors.

The English North American Colonies soon declared their independence of Great Britain, and were given secret assistance by Spain. Money, gunpowder and clothing secretly reached the Americans through the Spanish possessions, and, in 1778, the invasion and conquest of the English territory in Illinois by General George Rogers Clark gave undisguised satisfaction to the Spanish commandants on the Mississippi.

But, while hating and fearing the English more, the Spanish authorities were not without apprehension of

Cruzat's First Administration

the growing strength of the Americans in the territory east of the Mississippi, which all thinking men even then saw would soon threaten Spanish colonial dominion west of the river. Cruzat was instructed to make effort toward increasing the population by inducing French families, "living among the English," to remove west of the river. Cruzat was authorized to grant lands to such settlers, and even to supply them with tools when necessary. Invitations were extended to French Catholics, Italians and Germans, and to Spaniards from Spain, and forty thousand pesos were set aside by the Spanish government to increase population, promote commerce, and secure the friendship of the Indians. A very radical departure from the usual Spanish colonial policy seems to have been adopted in this decree of Governor-General Galvez, then in authority in New Orleans.



CHAPTER ELEVEN

LABUXIERE, THE FACTOTUM

NO NARRATION of events of early St. Louis history should omit mention of that official factotum of the time, Labuxiere, to whom Piernas referred in uncomplimentary terms under the name of "La Bussiere." The spellings of his name, which historians have employed, are various; for we find him mentioned as La Bussiere, La Busciere, Labousciere, Labussiere, Laboussiere, Labusciere, and, correctly, as Labuxiere. The official titles he claimed were no less numerous than those affected by Poo-Bah of comic opera fame. He appears as a signatory party to nearly all official documents of the first sixteen years of St. Louis history, signing himself as "Scribe," "Notary," "Acting Secretary," "Secretary," "Royal Attorney," and in one official paper dated August, 1768, styling himself "Civil Judge and Deputy of the Commander of Louisiana and Proxy of the King's Attorney-General of Illinois."

All the early land grants of St. Louis made by St. Ange are in Labuxiere's handwriting, and, with commendable foresight, he arranged that the very first land

Labuxiere, the Factotum

grant issued should be one in his own favor comprising the land now known as block 13 of the City of St. Louis.

Labuxiere came to St. Louis with St. Ange from Fort de Chartres, and he succeeded Joseph Lefebvre des Bruisseau as civil judge, upon the death of the latter in 1767. He continued to reside in St. Louis for sixteen years, and his hold upon official relations with the government was so tenacious that he continued to serve in some capacity under the Spanish governors until 1781, when he removed to Kaskaskia. There Labuxiere seems to have been appointed States-Attorney under the government of the United States. He appears not to have been appreciated in Kaskaskia; for, within a year, he removed with his family to more congenial surroundings at Cahokia, where he died, April 29, 1792.

The "Illinois Historical Records" have preserved a letter which Labuxiere addressed to the Congress of the United States—a letter which clearly brings out the interesting personality of its writer:

"To the Gentlemen of the Congress, Sirs: Since I have the honor of being named States-Attorney at the Illinois five years ago in the place of M. Girault, who held this office, I have taken the liberty of writing to you four times, and of rendering account to you of what there was of most interest in the Illinois. Either my letters have not reached you, or your answers have not been delivered to me; and I have not been able to know whether I ought to continue to perform my functions in this office.

"The misunderstanding of the magistrates of Kaskaskia and the extreme disorder of the business of the individuals, occasioned by some persons greedy for

money, have compelled me to withdraw with my family to Cahokia, where I have found inhabitants filled with unity of peace and fidelity to the States, and a court of justice which they are careful to administer with equity to those who ask its help. Labuxiere, the Factotum

"If you judge it fitting, sirs, that I continue to exercise this duty, I beg you to send me your commission, with the instructions which I should follow, so that I may conform thereto and merit the applause and protection of my sovereigns, for whom I will die with fidelity.

"I have the honor of being, with profound respect, sirs,

"Your humble and faithful servant.

"LABUXIERE."

"At Cahokia of the Illinois, the 17th of July, 1786.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ADMINISTRATION OF DE LEYBA

CRUZAT was succeeded in office by Don Fernando de Leyba, who made the trip up from New Orleans in ninety-three days, and arrived at St. Louis July 10, 1778. He reported to Galvez that he was received by "all the inhabitants with extraordinary signs of rejoicing," which he ascribed to the fact that the people believe, "since this district is commanded by a person chosen by your lordship, they have whatever is necessary for their progress and happiness."

In regard to the character of De Leyba and the facts of his administration as governor of Upper Louisiana, historians of that period are not in agreement. So far as records preserved in the archives may be taken as a basis for judgment, De Leyba appears to have been a good governor, who met unusual difficulties with decision and skill. Additional evidence of this is found in the fact that the King of Spain, "in proof of his sovereign gratitude" to Captain de Leyba for his vigorous defense

of the village, conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Administration of De Leyba

Shortly after his arrival at St. Louis, De Leyba made request of Governor Galvez for an additional force of two hundred soldiers, to properly garrison the forts of the province and to prevent the encroachments of the English and the depredations of the Osage Indians, who were very troublesome. His request was not granted, but he was advised by Galvez to request the respective Indian chiefs to punish the malefactors, and if they refused to do this, to cut off all relations with the Indians, and to prevent traders from taking any merchandise to their villages. De Leyba realized that this would be an ineffectual method of securing the respect of the Indians, but would only result in dissatisfaction among the traders and still greater outrages.

Threatened danger from another quarter gave De Leyba grave cause for apprehension. Rumors of English preparations to invade the Spanish country prevailed in all the settlements on both sides of the river. In retaliation for the sympathy and aid which Spain had extended to the American colonies in their war for independence, the English in Canada were inducing the Indians to join them in a movement against the Spanish posts of the Mississippi Valley. French hunters and traders, whose pursuits carried them northward, learned of the threatened operations, and warned their kinsmen at St. Louis, Cahokia and Kaskaskia. De Leyba, anticipating the attack, in 1779, fortified St. Louis so far as the open situation of the place and the means at his command permitted. At one end of the town he built a wooden tower at the expense of the people, and in

Administration of De Leyba

addition he threw up two lines of entrenchments defended by a wall of brush and clay some five feet high, encircling the town. During this year the inhabitants were greatly alarmed, keeping close within town, cultivating no crops for fear of ambush by the Indians.

By the spring of the following year, the inhabitants of St. Louis had lost faith in the reports of danger, and went forth to their common fields and planted large crops to supply the deficiency of the former year. Then the blow fell on May 26, 1780. Governor De Leyba was ill of a fatal malady, of which he died within a month after the attack. His wife had died a few months before, and had been buried on September 7, 1779, in the Catholic church of the village, and grief for her loss had continued to depress him. His warnings of the coming attack and his request for reinforcements for his garrison had produced no favorable response from his superior at New Orleans. Yet in spite of discouragements, De Leyba seems to have conducted himself with credit. When the attack was made, he successfully repelled the enemy, with twenty-nine veteran soldiers and two hundred and eighty-one militia. According to the report made by the intendant, Martin Navarro, to the Minister of the Indies, the attacking force consisted of three hundred English troops under Captain Hesse, and nine hundred Indians; but there is evidently an exaggeration of the number of English troops engaged. When the official report of this defense reached Spain, the king showed his great pleasure by conferring upon De Leyba the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and by promoting De Cartabona, the officer second in command, to the rank of captain, the Spanish commission explicitly

stating that this was done as a reward for meritorious service in the defense of "San Luis de Ylinesse." De Leyba died, June 28, 1780, before he was informed of his promotion, and was buried in the Catholic church in St. Louis. Administration of De Leyba

Thus appears De Leyba's character and acts from the official records; but historians who have received their information from certain inhabitants of the village have a different story to tell. They describe De Leyba as a drunken, feeble-minded, avaricious man, possessing not a single quality to fit him for the important office which he held. It is alleged by some that De Leyba sold to traders the powder that should have been kept for the defense of the fort. By some he is even charged with having been bribed by the English across the river to leave the village open to attack by the Indians.

THE INDIAN ATTACK OF 1780

The point of view of those who rely upon such sources of information for the facts of history touching this event may be learned from reading the account given by Edwards, in "The Great West," where he says:

"In the meantime the British commandant at Fort Michilimackinac used every effort to rouse into action the savage instincts of the Indian tribes of the Upper Mississippi, and at length more than a thousand warriors were ready for the war-path. They were placed under the guidance of white men, who were principally French Canadians in the employment of the British, who, from long residence among the savages, knew how to operate upon their excitable temperaments. The names

Administration of De Leyba

of the principal renegade white men were Langlade, Calve, Ducharme and Quesnel.

"The 26th of May was appointed for the attack, and on the 25th the savages had assembled on the eastern side of the Mississippi, and carefully concealing themselves during the day, awaited the morrow, when they fondly hoped to destroy and pillage the town. Quesnel, one of the unprincipled French traders who were in league with the Indians, feeling certain of the destruction of the village, and wishing to save the life of his brother who resided in it, on the evening of the 25th of May, crossed the Mississippi and endeavored to persuade his brother to accompany him to the east side of the river, giving him to understand that the people of the town would be massacred the following day. This the brother refused to do, and communicated the purport of the interview to the governor and the inhabitants; but no one believed the truth of his statement, and no alarm was created.

"The 25th of May, 1780, was the "Feast of Corpus Christi," a day consecrated by the Catholics with all the religious observances of their church. The little log church was decorated for the occasion, and on the morning of that day it was crowded by the happy villagers, in their best attire, to hear Father Bernard, the officiating priest. In the afternoon, they went in crowds to the prairie to gather strawberries, which had just commenced to ripen; and after the day had closed in the social enjoyment to which they were so much predisposed, they lay down to sleep, unconscious of their fate on the morrow, and the contiguity of their murderous foes.

Administration of De Leyba

"On the 26th, when the morning star was still bright in the firmament, the Indians silently glided across the Mississippi, and landed where Bremen avenue now joins the river. They then took a circuitous course back of the town, so as to surprise the inhabitants, whom they expected to find working their common fields. Near where now are the Fair Grounds, they came to what was called Cardinal's Spring, and surprised two Frenchmen, one from whom the spring took its name, and the other named Baptiste Rivere; the former they killed and the latter was taken prisoner to Canada. The savages then continued their course back of the village, and came suddenly upon some of the inhabitants who were working their crops, and commenced the attack with horrid yells, which could be heard over the whole village. Some forty of the inhabitants were killed before they could reach the village, and the cannon, which had been kept charged, was fired upon the savage warriors, who were in hot pursuit of the fugitives, by some of the inhabitants. The tremendous noise of the piece of ordnance, together with the fact of the ball striking near them and tearing up the earth in its course, arrested the progress of the savages, and caused them again to scamper back in their tracks. They had expected to surprise the town and pillage it without resistance, and the unexpected salute of the cannon led them to think that every preparation was made for their coming; and in the quick time of Indian retreat, they again got in their canoes, crossed the Mississippi, carrying with them some twelve or fourteen prisoners.

"There is no question, but had the Indians shown even an ordinary amount of courage, that St. Louis could easily have been taken. That some of the inhabitants

Administration of De Leyba

evinced courage it is true, but it is also true that there were but little more than a hundred fighting men in the whole village, and with the exception of a few choice spirits, the villagers were nearly frightened out of their wits. Don Fernando de Leyba, the governor, had locked himself in his house, and his lieutenant, Silvio Francisco Cartabona, and his soldiers, had, like frightened sheep, placed themselves in the upper part of the tower. So greatly frightened were the villagers, that it was many days before they dared to venture out of their enclosures; and, indeed, for some time they deserted their cabins, and assembled in the houses of the Spanish commandant, of Madame Chouteau, and in the other stone houses of the village, as affording more security in case of another attack."

"The heroine of the defense was Madame Marie Josepha Rigauche, afterwards a schoolmistress of the village, who, when the savages made the attack, put on a coat, and buttoning it well up to her chin, and armed with a pistol in one hand and with a knife in the other, took her station at one of the gates, encouraged the men to make gallant defense, and fearlessly exposed her person to the fire of the savages. This feat of courage stamped her as a female warrior, and ever after she had the reputation of a heroine."

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

CRUZAT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

UPON the death of De Leyba, his lieutenant, Silvo Francisco Cartabona, remained in command of the post until the arrival of Cruzat, who was reappointed by Galvez, July 25, 1780. In a letter to Cartabona, Galvez thanks the inhabitants of St. Louis for defending the town from the English attack, commending the "valor and noble intrepidity with which they have been enabled to restrain the impetuous pride of the enemy in the midst of greatest want."

The second administration of Cruzat resembled his first in efforts for the welfare of the people whom he governed. The fortifications of the city were strengthened, under the direction of Auguste Chouteau, who was selected, as Cruzat reports, "because of his capacity, zeal, and love of the royal service." The town was no more attacked by Indians, although rumors of a second expedition by the English gave the inhabitants much uneasiness. The commerce of St. Louis, however, was much damaged by a band of river pirates, under the command of Jaime Colbert, who had entrenched themselves at a

Cruzat's Second Administration

point on the Mississippi about half way between St. Louis and the mouth of the Ohio. At this point the river was narrow and swift. Voyagers, coming up stream with keel boats loaded with merchandise, were compelled to go in advance of their boats and draw them by ropes close along the banks of the stream. The pirates, lurking near, would suddenly attack and kill them, and make off with their goods. This band was composed of lawless white men, runaway negroes and half-breed Indians. The stream at that time flowed through vast solitudes, with but few forts on its banks between New Orleans and St. Louis, so there was little protection afforded. The band was well organized, kept spies and runners stationed at points on the river to give information of approaching barges, and even maintained emissaries in New Orleans who secured and forwarded information of the cargoes and the probable time of their arrival at the pirates' rendevous.

Their boldness may be judged by their capture, May 2, 1782, of a large barge owned by Silvester Labbadie, which, with its owner and crew, was proceeding up the river, having a "heavy cargo of goods for the Indians, clothing for the troops, and 4,500 pesos for the maintainance of the garrison," and carrying as passengers, Madame Cruzat, the wife of the governor, and her four sons. Upon payment of a ransom of 400 pesos, Labbadie, Madame Cruzat and her sons were placed in a boat and sent back to New Orleans, with a letter from Colbert to Governor Galvez, requesting him to send the sum of 100 pesos in payment for the boat furnished the captives for their return to New Orleans, for which payment Madame Cruzat had been required to give her personal note.

CAPTURE OF ST. JOSEPH

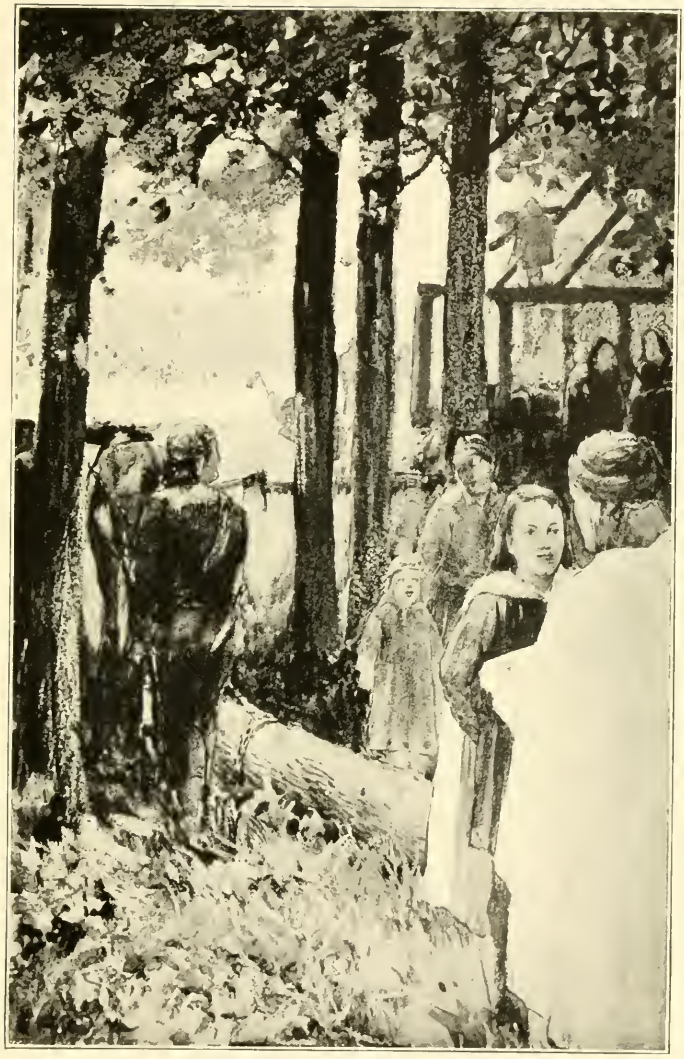
Cruzat's Second Administration

It was during Cruzat's second administration, in January, 1781, that a military expedition was organized in St. Louis by him to invade the British possessions east of the river, under orders from Havana. Of this expedition, the leader was Don Eugene Pouree, nicknamed "Beausoliel" (sunflower), Don Carlos Tayon being appointed second in command, and Don Luis Chevalier, sub-lieutenant and interpreter. The force consisted of sixty-six Spaniards and Frenchmen, and sixty Indians. With this small force, Captain Pouree, in mid-winter, marched through the wilderness a distance of six hundred miles, his soldiers carrying their supplies on their backs, through snow and ice, through forests and prairies, environed by unknown perils and hostile Indian tribes, and successfully accomplished the object of the expedition by capturing the little British fort, St. Joseph, located within the present State of Michigan. Here Pouree hauled down the flag of England, and raised the standard of His Catholic Majesty of Spain. The fort was plundered, and the supplies found there were divided among the Indian allies of the Spaniards. After remaining at the fort for a short time, the expedition returned to St. Louis, bringing back the captured British flag, and delivering it to lieutenant-governor Cruzat at St. Louis. For his services in this expedition, Pouree received the rank of lieutenant in the army with half pay. Tayon was appointed sub-lieutenant, with half pay, and the governor of Louisiana was authorized to assign Chevalier an appropriate "gratification."

Afterwards, when the terms of the treaty of peace between France, Spain, England and the United States were discussed, the conquest of the small fort at St.

Cruzat's Second Administration

Joseph by this expedition from St. Louis was made the basis of a claim by Spain to all the territory along the Illinois river to Lake Michigan, and caused the commissioners of the United States, who arranged the terms of the treaty, no little anxiety. So important was this military exploit considered that a translation of the detailed account of this expedition, as published in the Madrid Gazette, was promptly transmitted to Philadelphia by the representative of the United States.



THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS

Painting by Stoddard, owned by Missouri Historical Society

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

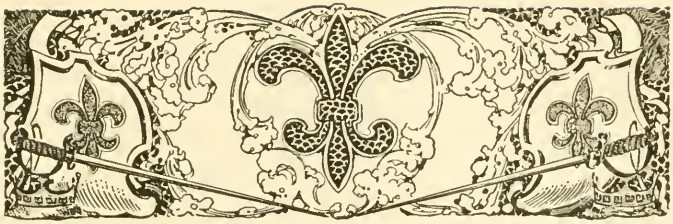
ADMINISTRATION OF MANUEL PEREZ

IN 1788, the authority of Cruzat ceased, and Manuel Perez succeeded him. During his administration the Spanish government laid claim to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, and the pleasant relations, that had existed between the American and Spanish authorities since the Revolution, were for a time disturbed. But the French, who dwelt in the vicinity of St. Louis, were but little affected by the quarrel between the two nations. They continued to visit each other on both sides of the stream. St. Louis had grown to near a thousand inhabitants, and the trappers and traders penetrated far up the waters of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The Americans had not yet begun to settle west of the river, and all business was still carried on by Frenchmen. The administration of Perez was a prosperous one. Like Cruzat, he was frank and sociable in his intercourse with the people.

The Osage Indians had long been troublesome neighbors. They frequently attacked the inhabitants upon the

Administration of Manuel Perez

outskirts of St. Louis and in adjoining villages, drove off their cattle and horses, and even murdered the people or carried them away as prisoners. Perez determined to employ another savage tribe as a defense against the Osages. He sent emissaries to the Shawnees and Delawares, two strong tribes east of the Mississippi, and offered them a large grant of land in the neighborhood of Cape Girardeau. Many of both tribes accepted, and took up their abode on the new grant, and successfully resisted the incursions of the Osages, affording much protection to the infant settlements.



CHAPTER FIFTEEN

TRUDEAU'S ADMINISTRATION

IN 1792, Perez was succeeded by Don Zenon Trudeau, a member of a distinguished French family of Louisiana, whose American origin is traced to Canada. He continued the pleasant relations of the former Spanish governors with the inhabitants. St. Louis was now the place of residence of many prosperous merchants. Communication between St. Louis and New Orleans became much more frequent, and trade with the Indians to the north and west proved extensive and profitable. The log huts of the early settlers were giving place to neat, one-story cottages, with piazzas in front and rear, and everywhere were indications of thrift and prosperity.

THE SANSCULOTTES

It was during Trudeau's administration that echoes of the French Revolution aroused some patriotic response in the hearts of certain inhabitants of the little French village on the banks of the remote Mississippi.

When Citizen Genet, notwithstanding the refusal of Washington to assent, was endeavoring to arouse the

Trudeau's Administration

Americans to an alliance with France, he sent emissaries into all parts of the country. Even after he ceased to be the representative of France in the United States, Genet continued his seditious efforts. In 1796, he sent Gen. George Victor Collot from Philadelphia to St. Louis to spy out the land in furtherance of some design. Collot studied the situation in Upper Louisiana from a military point of view, and secured drawings in detail of the river and plans of most of the forts of the province. Some of Collot's papers were soon confiscated by the Spanish authorities at New Orleans. Baron de Carondelet, writing to Aranza, under date December 1, 1796, says that shortly after Collot's departure from St. Louis, "A society has been formed under the name of Sansculottes at the head of which is a Frenchman by the name of Coignard; that it gives frequent meetings and public balls, to which invitations are sent out without dissimulation under said name of Sansculottes, and that, during these entertainments, turbulent and revolutionary songs are sung which are capable of inducing the most loyal vassals to rebellion; that that same society had the boldness to march through the houses of the most notable inhabitants of the town, and especially that of the *cure*, with music, to wish a Happy New Year on the 22nd day of September last, or rather on the eve of the 23rd, on which the year begins, according to the new French calendar."

"It is all the more important to crush out without delay the beginning of so dangerous a sedition, which, if extended to the other towns of which St. Louis is the capitol, their suppression would be extremely difficult and costly; first, because those settlements from New Madrid up can withdraw themselves totally from Lower

Louisiana whenever they wish, and sell fruits and goods, which consist principally of skins, to the English of Canada, who trade upon the Missouri, as well as from the democratic Americans and French, who would come in numbers to establish themselves in these fertile and beautiful countries."

Trudeau's Administration

Much more Baron Carondelet wrote to Aranza. But he wrote also a letter of instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos Howard, an Irish gentleman in the service of the Spanish king, and then military commandant of Upper Louisiana, directing him to proceed with secrecy and dispatch upon an expedition to St. Louis. Colonel Howard left New Orleans in the armed galley "Phelipa" with twenty picked men. At Natchez he secured an addition to his force and another galley, the "Activa." As he proceeded up the Mississippi, acting under instructions from Carondelet, "in order that the restless spirits in St. Louis shall not be surprised at the coming of the expedition," Colonel Howard spread the news that the object of his trip was to protect St. Louis from any possible invasion of the British.

Upon his arrival in St. Louis in the early spring of 1797, Howard began inquiry into the seditious actions of the "Sansculottes," under orders to arrest the leaders and send them as prisoners to New Orleans. His instructions cautioned him to place every confidence in "Zenon Trudeau, the two brothers Chouteau, Don Luziere, Don Soulard, Cerre, Pratte, and Roubidou," as his advisors in apprehending the leaders of the seditious society.

But there is no historical record of any arrests, and what, by the "thunder in the index" of Governor Carondelet's letter of instructions, appears to have been a

Trudeau's Administration

dangerous blow aimed at the people of St. Louis, seems to have been warded off by the prudence of Trudeau and the others whom Carondelet had named as trustworthy advisors. The Coignard, whom Carondelet's letter to Aranza named as the head of the "Sansculottes," was married in St. Louis, April 26, 1797, about the time of Howard's arrival, to Julie Vasquez, daughter of Benito Vasquez, one of the leading Spanish citizens.

Whether the ebullitions of patriotism had subsided before the arrival of Colonel Howard, or whether the strengthened Spanish garrison added weight to the advice of the leaders among the villages who had not joined in the revolutionary singing, we probably shall never know; but the members of the "Sansculottes" seem to have become clothed again in their usual habiliments and to have resumed their old habits of indifference to governmental affairs.

The traders of the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company constantly invaded Spanish territory on the upper Missouri, established forts and controlled the fur trade. To protect Spanish interests in that region, Trudeau organized the Spanish Commercial Company. It was agreed that the company should establish and garrison forts along the Missouri, and for such service was to receive a subsidy of $10,000 annually. But the Spanish never won the friendship of the Indians. The voyages proved unprofitable, and mismanagement caused heavy losses. The company did not succeed either in making business profitable or in dislodging the British traders, and the subsidy was never paid.

The most significant event during Trudeau's administration was the arrival of Pedro Vial *dit* Manitou over-

land from Santa Fe. He was commissioned by the Spanish authorities of Mexico to trace out a route to St. Louis, and this task he successfully accomplished. He reported that, but for Indian hostility, he could have made the trip in twenty-five days. Vial's journey may well be considered the first march overland on substantially the route which afterwards became celebrated as the "Santa Fe Trail," over which the important trade of St. Louis to that region passed at a later date. Trudeau's Administration

During Trudeau's governorship, many Americans had crossed over to settle west of the river in Spanish territory. The requirement that all settlers should accept the Catholic religion had been tactfully handled by Trudeau, for he realized that the Spanish country west of the Mississippi must draw its settlers from the United States. In a report to his superior officers, shortly before he was superseded, Trudeau pointed out that the only possible source for increasing the colony was to be found in the United States, which "alone can supply a great number of families. The voyage from Nueva Orleans is too great and costly—Canada also needs population." Liberal grants of land were offered Americans if they would come west of the Mississippi to settle. In response to an invitation by Trudeau, the famous frontiersman, Daniel Boone, with his family, came over, and was given a large tract of land in what is now St. Charles County, Mo., and DeLassus appointed Boone commandant of the Femme Osage district. Boone's fame as a pioneer and his removal beyond the Mississippi attracted the attention of thousands of people dwelling in Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia and other eastern sections to the new country in which Boone had now taken up his residence. The wilderness roads

Trudeau's Administration

leading westward were soon thronged with Americans following the trail over which Boone had passed to Upper Louisiana. At time of the cession of the province to the United States in 1803, Upper Louisiana contained 5,090 Americans, 3,760 French, 1,270 blacks, and only a few Spanish families.

The politic Spanish commandants gave a liberal interpretation to the ordinances affecting the religious affiliations of the American immigrants, and large toleration actually existed. In the examination of them, a few general and rather equivocal questions were asked; such as, "Do you believe in Almighty God? In the Holy Trinity? In the true, apostolic church? In Jesus Christ our Savior? In the holy evangelists?" An affirmative answer being given to these and other questions of a general character, the pronouncement, "Un bon Catholique" (a good catholic) closed the ceremony. Many Baptists, Methodists, and other Protestant families, settled in the province, and remained undisturbed in their religious principles. Much the largest proportion of American Protestants came into the country after 1794. They held no religious meetings publicly, and had no minister of the Gospel residing among them.

Into this Spanish dominion at Spanish Lake near St. Louis came Rev. John Clark, a pioneer Baptist preacher, in 1798. The liberal-minded Zenon Trudeau was then Lieutenant-Governor of the province. Abraham Musick, Jr., who was on friendly terms with Governor Trudeau, made application for liberty to hold meetings at his own home to hear Father Clark preach. John Mason Peck thus reports the interview that took place:

Musick said: "My friend, John Clark, is in the country on a visit to his friends. He is a good man, peaceably

disposed, and will behave as a good citizen. Should the American people desire to hear him preach at my house occasionally, will the commandant please give permission, that he may not be molested? We will hold our meetings quietly, make no disturbance, and say nothing against the King of Spain, or the Catholic religion."

The commandant was inclined to favor the American settlers, but he was obliged to reject all such petitions officially, and replied, with seeming determination:

"No, Monsieur Musick. I can not permit no such thing; 'tis against de law. You must all be bon Catholique in dis contree. Very sorry, Monsieur Musick, I can not oblige you, but I must follow de regulacion."

Discouraged at this decision, given in a tone so magisterial, Mr. Musick regarded any further effort as hopeless, and arose to depart from the office; when, with a gracious countenance, the commandant said:

"Sit down, Monsieur Musick; please sit down. I soon get dis paper fix for dese gentlehomme who wait. Den we talk. You must eat my dinner, and drink glass of my bon vin. You and I are good friend, though I can not let you make a church house."

After dispatching the business in hand, Governor Trudeau insisted on the company of Mr. Musick to dinner. While discoursing with volubility in his imperfect English, the wily commandant adverted to the petition, so unceremoniously rejected in the office.

"You understand me, Monsieur Musick, I presume. You must not put—what do you call him—un colcher (a steeple) on your house and call him a church. Dat is all wrong. You must make no bell ring. And now hear me, Monsieur Musick, you must let no man baptize your enfant but de parish priest. But—if your friend come

Trudeau's Administration

to see you—your neighbor come there—you say prayer —you read Bible—you sing song—dat is all right. You all bon Catholique."

"This interdiction of spire and bell being no inconvenience to their simple form of worship, the people came out to meeting. In fact, Father Clark repeated his visits nearly every month, which fact did not escape the notice of Governor Trudeau. The governor soon learned the period of these visits, and some two or three days before Clark's contemplated return to Illinois, Trudeau never failed to send a threatening message that, 'If Monsieur Clark did not leave the Spanish country in three days, he would be put in the *calabozo.*' So regularly came this message that it became a standing jest with his friends to inquire, 'Well, brother Clark, when do you go to the *calabozo?*' 'In three days,' would be the reply, which all understood to mean crossing the river to the Illinois side."

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ADMINISTRATION OF DE LASSUS

IN 1799, Trudeau was followed by a governor who also was a Frenchman by birth, and who had long been in the Spanish service. His name was Charles Dehault De Lassus, and he had formerly been commandant of the post at New Madrid, in which office he had given such satisfaction that he was promoted to the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana. DeLassus was the most popular of the Spanish governors. He was unmarried at the time, and he mingled freely in the gay, social life of the town.

But the Spanish dominion in Louisiana was now rapidly drawing to a close. In the forty years of Spanish rule in Upper Louisiana, practically no changes had been made in the forms of government. Only about twenty Spanish families had come to St. Louis as settlers. The settlement remained essentially French, and the inhabitants still cherished the hope that the French flag would again be raised above their village. In 1801, rumors of the cession of the country back to France

Administration of De Lassus

began to circulate in the province. These rumors evidently reached St. Louis, and DeLassus, in anticipation of the transfer of the country, which he doubtless knew was about to take place, made numerous and large grants of land, many of which were afterwards questioned and contested.

By the provincial laws of both France and Spain, in the government of Louisiana province, a grant of land by the lieutenant-governor did not give title until the grant was confirmed by the supreme authority at New Orleans. In the speculations in land that followed the liberal grants made by DeLassus, often the sanction of the New Orleans official was not sought and not given. Thus came about the defective titles to land that gave the early American settlers in Missouri so much loss and trouble.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

LOUISIANA IS TRANSFERRED TO UNITED STATES

WHEN, in 1803, the Province of Louisiana was ceded to the United States, Major Amos Stoddard, an officer in the American service, was appointed governor of Upper Louisiana, with all the power and authority of a Spanish commandant, and he was instructed to proceed to St. Louis and take formal possession of his new post. Since the United States had received title from France, while a Spanish commandant, serving under the Spanish crown, was still in command of Upper Louisiana, it was decided first to transfer the government at St. Louis from Spain back to France, and then from France to the United States. Accordingly, Major Stoddard was appointed a commissioner of the French government to receive the command from the Spanish representative at St. Louis, and afterwards to transfer it to the United States government. In "The Conquest," by Eva Emery Dye, the story is thus told:—

Early in the morning of March 9, American troops crossed the river from Cahokia, and Clark's men from

Louisiana Is Transferred to United States

the camp formed in line with fife and drum, and colors flying. At their head Major Amos Stoddard of Boston and Captain Meriwether Lewis of Virginia led up to the Government House.

Black Hawk was there to see his Spanish Father. He looked out.

"Here comes your American Father," said the Commandant de Lassus.

"I do not want two Fathers!" responded Black Hawk.

Dubiously shaking his head as the Americans approached, Black Hawk and his retinue flapped their blankets out of one door as Stoddard and Captain Lewis entered the other.

Away to his boats Black Hawk sped, pulling for dear life up stream to his village at Rock Island. And with him went Singing Bird, the bride of Black Hawk.

"Strange people have taken St. Louis," said the Hawk to his Sacs. "We shall never see our Spanish Father again."

A flotilla of Frenchmen came up from Kaskaskia—Menard, Edgar, Francis Vigo, and their friends. Villagers left their work in the fields; all St. Louis flocked to La Place d'Armes in front of the Government House to see the transfer.

In splendid, showy uniforms, every officer of the Spanish garrison stood at arms, intently watching the parade winding up the limestone footway from the boats below.

With its public archives and the property of a vast demesne, Don Carlos De Hault De Lassus handed over to Major Stoddard the keys of the Government House in behalf of France. A salvo of cannonry shook St. Louis.

Louisiana Is Transferred to United States

"People of Upper Louisiana," began De Lassus in a choked and broken voice, "by order of the king, I am now about to surrender this post and its dependencies. The flag which has protected you during nearly thirty-six years will no longer be seen. The oath you took now ceases to bind. Your faithfulness and courage in upholding it will be remembered forever. From the bottom of my heart I wish you all prosperity."

De Lassus, Stoddard, Lewis, Clark and the soldiers filed up the yellow path, past the log church, to the fort on the hill. The Spanish flag was lowered; De Lassus wept as he took the fallen banner in his hand, but as the Lilies of France flashed in the sun the Creoles burst into tumultuous cheers. Not for forty years had they seen that flag, the emblem of their native land. Cannon roared, swords waved, and shouts were heard, but not in combat.

The gates were thrown open; out came the Spanish troops with knapsacks on their backs, ready to sail away to New Orleans. The old brass cannon and munitions of war were transported down the hill, while the American soldiers in sombre uniforms filed into the dingy old fort of Spain.

Major Stoddard sent for the French flag to be taken down at sunset.

"No, no, let it fly! Let it fly all night!" begged the Creoles, and a guard of honor went up to watch the flickering emblem of their country's brief possession.

All night long that French flag kissed the sky, all night the guard of honor watched, and the little log church of St. Louis was filled with worshippers. All the romance of Brittany and Normandy rose to memory.

Louisiana Is Transferred to United States

Rene Kiercereau the singer led in ballads of La Belle France, and the glories of fields where their fathers fought were rehearsed with swelling hearts. Not the real France but an ideal was in their hearts, the tradition of Louis XIV.

That was the last day of France in North America. As the beloved banner sank, the drums gave a long funeral roll. but when, instead, the red, white and blue burst on the breeze, the fifes struck into lively music and the drums rained a cataract.

"Three cheers for the American flag!" cried Charles Gratiot, in the spirit of the Swiss republic, but there were no cheers. The Creoles were weeping. Sobs, lamentations arose, but the grief was mostly from old Frenchmen and their wives who so long had prayed that the Fleur de Lis might wave above San Loui'. Their sons and daughters, truly, as Lucien Bonaparte had warned Napoleon, "went to bed good Frenchmen, to awake and find themselves Americans."

The huge iron weather cock in the belfry of the old log church spun round and round, as if it knew not which way the wind was blowing. In three days three flags flew over St. Louis! No wonder the iron cock lost its head and spun and spun like any fickle weather vane.

In the same square with the Government House stood one of the Chouteau mansions. Auguste Chouteau had been there from the beginning, when as a fearless youth with Laclede he had penetrated to the site of the future San Loui' in 1764. He was a diplomat who met Indians and made alliances. He had seen the territory pass under Spain's flag, and in spite of that had made it more and more a place of Gallic refuge for his scattered coun-

THE TRANSFER OF UPPER LOUISIANA

From Painting by Stoddard, owned by Missouri Historical Society.

trymen. He had welcomed Saugrain, Cerre, Gratiot; in fact, he and his brother Pierre remembered the day when there was no San Loui'.

Louisiana Is Transferred to United States

A band of Osage chiefs had come in to see their great Spanish Father. With wondering eyes they watched the cession, and were handed over to Captain Lewis to deal with in behalf of the United States."

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

AS ST. LOUIS APPEARED TO MAJOR STODDARD

"AT THE time of the cession to the United States, St. Louis," according to Major Stoddard, "contained one hundred and eighty houses, which were nearly all built of hewn logs, set up on end, and on the square a roof was formed and covered with shingles; on some houses the shingles were fastened to the scantling with wooden pegs, owing to the scarcity of nails. Some of the houses of the more wealthy and tasteful inhabitants were built of stone, with a large stone wall encompassing them and the gardens with which they were connected. These houses were of but one story, low pitched, with a porch the full length of the building, and frequently a piazza in the rear. Most of the town was situated on what are now known as First and Second streets, and the main buildings were the Government House, situated on First street, corner of Walnut, extending toward the river, and south of the public square known as La Place d' Armes; the house of Madame Chouteau, on the square between First and Second and Chestnut and Market streets; the

"Old Chouteau Mansion," being a part of the first house built in St. Louis, and situated on the block between First and Second and Market and Walnut streets; and the fort which was called 'St. Charles,' situated between Fourth and Fifth streets, and Walnut and Elm. In this fort the Spanish garrison had their quarters, and it was commenced in the early part of the spring of 1780, as the register in the Catholic church contains an account of the ceremony of 'blessing the first stone.' The nucleus of the fort was the Tower—a stone fortress reared in the shape of a tower—which had numerous port-holes and was probably built during the administration of Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, and for many years was used as a prison by the American government—the debtors being confined in the apartment above and the criminals below.

As St. Louis Appeared to Major Stoddard

"As the time of the transfer of the province of Upper Louisiana to the United States, there was but one baker in the town, by the name of Le Clere, who baked for the garrison, and who lived in First street, between what is now known as Elm and Walnut. There were three blacksmiths: Delosier, who resided in First street, near Morgan; Rencontre, who lived in First, near Carr; and Valois, who resided in First, near Elm, and did the work for the government. There was but one physician, who was Dr. Saugrain, who practiced many years after the possession of the American government, and who lived on Second street and owned property once occupied as the 'People's Garden,' at Second and Lombard streets.

"'There were but two little French taverns in the town, one kept by Yostic and the other by Landreville, chiefly to accommodate the *coureurs des bois* (hunters) and the *voyageurs* (boatmen) of the Mississippi. These little taverns, visited by the brave, daring and reckless men

As St. Louis Appeared to Major Stoddard

who lived three-fourths of the time remote from civilization, in the wild solitude of the forests and rivers, and in constant intercourse with the savages, were the very nurseries of legendary narratives, where the hunters, the trappers and the boatmen, all mingling together under the genial excitement of convivial influences, would relate perilous adventures, hair-breadth escapes; death of comrades and families by the tomahawk, starvation and at the fire-stake; murder by the pirates of the Grand Tower and Cottonwood Creek; captivity in the wilderness and the cave, and protracted sufferings in the most agonizing forms incident to humanity. There is no record of these wild narratives, which could have been preserved for future times had there been an historian, who, by the embalming power of genius, would have preserved them in an imperishable shape for posterity. Both of these taverns stood upon the corners of First and Locust streets.

"The principal merchants and traders, at the time of the cession to the United States, were Auguste Chouteau, who resided in First street, between Market and Walnut; Pierre Chouteau, who resided on the corner of First and Washington avenue, and had the whole square encircled with a stone wall. He had an orchard of choice fruit and his house and store were in one building—the store being the first story and the family residence the second. Manuel de Lisa lived on Second street, corner of Spruce; Labbadie and Sarpy, on First between Pine and Chestnut; Roubidou lived at the corner of Elm and First, and Jacques Clamorgan, corner of Lucas and First. The Debreuil family occupied a whole square on Second street between Pine and Chestnut, in front of where is now the Merchants Exchange building."

CHAPTER NINETEEN

AS BRACKENRIDGE SAW ST. LOUIS IN 1812

THE ground on which St. Louis stands is not much higher than the ordinary banks, but the floods are repelled by a bold shore of limestone rocks. The town is built between the river and the second bank, three streets running parallel with the river, and a number of other crossing those at right angles. It is to be lamented that no space has been left between the town and the river; for the sake of the pleasure of the promenade, as well as for business and health, there should have been no encroachment on the margin of the noble stream. The principal place of business ought to have been on the bank. From the opposite side, nothing is visible of the busy bustle of a populous town; it appears closed up. The site of St. Louis is not unlike that of Cincinnati. How different would have been its appearance, if built in the same elegant manner; its bosom opened to the breezes of the river, the streams enlivened by scenes of business and pleasure, and rows of elegant and tasteful dwellings, looking with pride on the broad wave that passes.

As Brackenridge Saw St. Louis in 1812

From the opposite bank, St. Louis, notwithstanding, appears to great advantage. In a disjoined and scattered manner it extends along the river a mile and a half, and we form the idea of a large and elegant town. Two or three large and costly buildings (though not in modern taste) contribute in producing this effect. On closer examination, the town seems to be composed of an equal proportion of stone walls, houses, and fruit trees; but the illusion still continues.

On ascending the second bank, which is about forty feet above the level of the plain, we have the town below us, and a view of the Mississippi in each direction, and of the fine country through which it passes. When the curtain of wood which conceals the American bottom shall have been withdrawn, or a vista formed by opening farms to the river, there will be a delightful prospect into that rich and elegant tract. The bottom at this place is not less than eight miles wide, and finely diversified with prairie and woodland.

There is a line of works on this second bank, erected for defense against the Indians, consisting of several circular towers, twenty feet in diameter, and fifteen feet in height, a small stockaded fort, and a stone breast-work. These are at present unoccupied and waste, excepting the fort, in one of the buildings of which, the courts are held, while the other is used as a prison. Some distance from the termination of this line, up the river, there are a number of Indian mounds, and remains of antiquity, which, while they are ornamental to the town, prove, that in former times, those places had also been chosen as the site, perhaps, of a populous city.

Looking to the west, a most charming country spreads itself before us. It is neither very level nor hilly, but

As Brackenridge Saw St. Louis in 1812

of an agreeable waving surface, and rising for several miles with an ascent almost imperceptible. Except a small belt to the north, there are no trees; the rest is covered with shrubby oak, intermixed with hazels, and a few trifling thickets, of thorn, crab apple, or plumb trees. At the first glance, we are reminded of the environs of a great city; but there are no country seats, or even plain farm houses. It is a vast waste, yet by no means a barren soil. Such is the appearance, until turning to the left, the eye again catches the Mississippi. A number of fine springs take their rise here, and contribute to the uneven appearance. The greater part fall to the Southwest and aid in forming a beautiful rivulet, which a short distance below the town gives itself to the river. I have been often delighted in my solitary walks, to trace the rivulet to its sources. Three miles from town, but within view, amongst a few tall oaks, it rises in four or five silver fountains, within short distances of each other; presenting a picture to the fancy of the poet, or the pencil of the painter. I have fancied myself for a moment on classic ground, and beheld the Naiads pouring the stream from their urns.

Close to the town, there is a fine mill erected by Mr. Chouteau on this streamlet; the dam forms a beautiful sheet of water, and affords much amusement in fishing and fowling, to the people of the town. The "common field" of St. Louis was formerly close on this bank, consisting of several thousand acres; at present there are not more than two hundred under cultivation; the rest of the ground looks like the worn common in the neighborhood of a large town; the grass kept down and short, and the loose soil in several places cut open into gaping ravines.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE PRIMITIVE FERRY IN 1818

UNDER the administration of the United States government, the population of St. Louis rapidly increased. Immigration poured across the borders of Missouri, and enterprising traders and mechanics from eastern cities took up their abode in the town and commenced successful business. The new buildings erected were more tasteful in structure, and upon all sides a more vigorous life appeared, giving indications of thrift and prosperity. The continual line of emigrants with their wagons and animals soon brought about the establishment of a ferry across the Mississippi at St. Louis, although the need of such convenience had not been felt before in the forty years of its existence. The ferry business proved so lucrative that, in a few months, a second ferry was put in operation. Even then emigrants were kept for days on the east side of the river awaiting their turn to be ferried over.

But these ferries were a primitive means of transportation even as late as 1818, when John F. Darby, as a

boy of ten years, came to St. Louis. In his "Personal Recollections," Darby says:

The Primitive Ferry in 1818

"The first thing to be done by the movers was to cross the great river; the current was strong and the waters seemed boiling up from the bottom and in places turbid and muddy. The ferry consisted of a small keel-boat, which was managed entirely by Frenchmen. Their strange habiliments, manner and jabbering in the French language had a new and striking effect upon myself and the other children, coming as we did from the plantation in the Southern country.

"The cattle and stock were driven into pens in Illinois-town, which had few inhabitants. The next thing to be done was to get the big wagon across the river. All the horses were loosened and unhitched from the wagon. The keel-boat was laid close to the bank, the bow up-stream, and then the stern and bow of the boat were tied to trees and stakes driven in the bank. A couple of strong planks about eighteen inches wide and ten feet long were laid directly across the sides of the keel-boat; then some ten or twelve men, our own hands assisting, took hold of the big, heavy wagon and ran it down the sandy bank to these planks, placed cross-wise on the keel-boat, the wheels of the wagon resting on the planks and extending over the sides of the boat for about a foot and a half or two feet on each side. Some blocks of wood were then prepared and driven under the wheels, both before and behind, so that they could not move. Then some ropes were brought and the fore and hind wagon-wheels were tied and lashed together with all the strength and power that the men had, in order to make the wagon secure and immovable.

The Primitive Ferry in 1818

"Everything being ready for a start, I jumped into the boat and determined to be one of the first to cross the river; my mother objected, but my father consented, and I came. The lines were cast off from the bow and the stern of the keel boat; as the bow of the vessel was pushed out into the stream, the current of the mighty river struck the prow with great force and power, the Frenchmen laboring at their oars with an activity and nimbleness impossible to describe, and which could only be fully understood by being seen; every portion of the body—every muscle, in fact—was brought into play; each oarsman seemed to throw his whole soul into the work. The vessel rocked so that the trace chains at the end of the tongue often dipped into the river, the large wagon, with its white sheet on, towered up in the air in the middle of the Mississippi; the Frenchmen the meanwhile with great vivacity and animation talked, cursed and swore in French, *prenegard, sacre,* etc.—so that the enterprise seemed a dangerous and hazardous undertaking. Nevertheless these trusty oarsmen brought us safely to the shore, and landed us on a sand beach about one hundred feet south of Market street. At that time the beach extended from the foot of Market street for about four or five hundred feet eastwardly before striking the water in the river. It took these primitive ferrymen three days to ferry my father with his family and effects across the river, at a cost to him of about fifty dollars for ferriage."

A post office was established in St. Louis soon after the transfer to the United States, and Col. Rufus Easton was appointed postmaster by President Jefferson. On July 12, 1808, the first newspaper west of the Mississippi

river was printed by Joseph Charless and was called "The Missouri Gazette;" the paper now known as "The St. Louis Republic." On November 27, 1809, the municipal government of St. Louis was placed under control of a board of trustees, who enacted laws for the government of the inhabitants, and the chairman of the board was Auguste Chouteau, who as a boy, had directed the building of the first houses in the settlement. Even as late as 1810, the post office arrangements for St. Louis and some of the chief villages of the territory were very inferior. The mail started from St. Louis to Cahokia once a week; and from St. Louis to Herculaneum, and Mine a'Burton to Ste. Genevieve, once in two weeks. Notwithstanding the large emigration to Missouri, the town of St. Louis contained only about 1,400 inhabitants in the year 1811, the settlers having passed through to occupy the fertile lands beyond in what is now the counties of St. Louis, Franklin, St. Charles, Lincoln and the fertile valleys along the Missouri river far toward the center of the present State.

The Primitive Ferry in 1818

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE RETURN OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

IN September, 1806, the little town of St. Louis was excited by the return of Lewis and Clark, who had traced the Missouri river to its source, passed with difficulty through a defile of the Rocky Mountains, and pushed on down the Columbia river to the Pacific Ocean. After an absence of two years and a half, they had returned to tell of their successful expedition. Their arrival in St. Louis is thus described by Eva Emery Dye in "The Conquest:"—

It was noon when Lewis and Clark sighted the old stone forts of the Spanish time. Never had that frontier site appeared so noble, rising on a vast terrace from the rock-bound river.

As the white walls burst on their view, with simultaneous movement every man levelled his rifle. The captains smiled and gave the signal—the roar of thirty rifles awoke the echoes from the rocks.

Running down the stony path to the river came the whole of St. Louis—eager, meager, little Frenchmen,

tanned and sallow and quick of gait, smaller than the Americans, but graceful and gay, with a heartfelt welcome; black-eyed French women in camasaks and kerchiefs, dropping their trowels in their neat little gardens where they had been delving among the hollyhocks, gay little French children in red petticoats; and here and there a Kentuckian, lank and lean, eager—all tripping and skipping down to the water's edge.

Elbowing his way among them came Monsieur Auguste Chouteau, the most noted man in St. Louis. Pierre, his brother, courtly, well-dressed, eminently social, came also; and even Madame, their mother, did not disdain to come down to welcome her friends, *Les Americains*.

It was like the return of a fur brigade, with shouts of laughter and genuine rejoicing.

"*Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu!* eet ess Leewes an' Clark whom ve haf mournt as det in dose Rock Mountain. What good word mought dey bring from te fur countree."

With characteristic abandon the emotional little Frenchmen flung their arms around the stately forms of Lewis and Clark, and more than one pretty girl that day printed a kiss on their bearded lips.

"Major Christy—well, I declare!" An old Wayne's army comrade grasped Captain Clark by the hand. What memories that grasp aroused! William Christy, one of his brother officers, ready not more than a dozen years ago to aid in capturing this same San Luis de Ilinoa!

"I have moved to this town. I have a tavern. Send your baggage right up." And forthwith a creaking charette came lumbering down the rocky way.

The Return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

"Take a room at my house." Pierre Chouteau grasped the hands of both Captains at once. And to Chouteau's they went.

"But first we must send word of our safe arrival to the President," said Lewis, feeling unconsciously for certain papers that had slept next his heart for many a day.

"Te post haf departed from San Lou," remarked a bystander.

"Departed? It must be delayed. Here, Drouillard, hurry with this note to Mr. Hay at Cahokia and bid him hold the mail until tomorrow noon."

Drouillard, with his old friend Pascal Cerre, the son of Gabriel, set off at once across the Mississippi. The wharf was lined with flatboats loaded with salt for 'Kasky and furs for New Orleans.

Once a month a one-horse mail arrived at Cahokia. Formerly St. Louis went over there for mail—St. Louis was only a village near Cahokia then; but already *Les Americains* were turning things upside down.

"We haf a post office now. San Loui' haf grown."

Every one said that. To eyes that had seen nothing more stately than Fort Mandan or Clatsop, St. Louis had taken on metropolitan airs. In the old fort where lately lounged the Spanish governor, peering anxiously across the dividing waters, and whence had lately marched the Spanish garrison, American courts of justice were in session. Out of the old Spanish martello tower on the hill, a few Indian prisoners looked down on the animated street below.

With the post office and the court house had come the American school, and already vivacious French children were claiming as their own, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson and George Washington.

Just opposite the Chouteau mansion was the old Spanish Government House, the house where George Rogers Clark had met and loved the dazzling Donna.

The Return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

Aaron Burr had lately been there, feted by the people, plotting treason with Wilkinson in the Government House itself; and now his disorganized followers, young men of birth and education from Atlantic cities, stranded in St. Louis, were to become the pioneer schoolmasters of Upper Louisiana.

New houses were rising on every hand. In the good old French days, goods at fabulous prices were kept in boxes. Did Madame or Mademoiselle wish anything, it must be unpacked as from a trunk. Once a year goods arrived. Sugar, gunpowder, blankets, spices, knives, hatchets and kitchenware, pell-mell, all together, were coming out now onto shelves erected by the thrifty Americans. Already new stores stood side by side with the old French mansions.

"Alas! te good old quiet times are gone," sighed the French habitants, wiping a tear with the blue bandana.

And while they looked askance at the tall Americans, elephantine horses, and Conestoga wagons, that kept crossing the river, the prices of the little two-acre farms of the Frenchmen went up, until in a few years the old French settlers were the nabobs of the land.

Already two ferry lines were transporting a never-ending line through this new gateway to the wider West. Land-mad settlers were flocking into "Jefferson's Purchase," grubbing out hazel roots, splitting rails, making fences, building barns and bridges. Men whose sole wealth consisted in an auger, a handsaw, and a gun, were pushing into the prairies and the forests. Long-

The Return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

bearded, dressed in buckskin, with a knife at his belt and a rifle at his back, the forest-ranging backwoodsman was over-running Louisiana.

"Why do you live so isolated?" the stranger would ask.

"I never wish to hear the bark of a neighbor's dog. When you hear the sound of a neighbor's gun it is time to move away."

Thus, solitary and apart, the American frontiersman took up Missouri.

Strolling along the Rue Royale, followed by admiring crowds, Lewis and Clark found themselves already at the Pierre Chouteau mansion, rising like an old-world chateau amid the lesser St. Louis. Up the stone steps, within the demi-fortress, there were glimpses of fur warehouses, stables, slaves' quarters, occupying a block, practically a fort within the city.

Other guests were there before them—Charles Gratiot, who had visited the Clarks in Virginia and John P. Cabanne, who was to wed Gratiot's daughter, Julia. On one of those flatboats crowding the wharf that morning came happy Pierre Menard, the most illustrious citizen of Kaskaskia, with his bride of a day, Angelique Saucier. Pierre Menard's nephew, Michael Menard, was shortly to leave for Texas, to become an Indian trader and founder of the city of Galveston.

At the board, too, sat Pierre Chouteau, the younger, just returned from a trip up the Mississippi with Julien Dubuque, where he had helped to start Dubuque and open the lead mines.

Out of the wild summer grape the old inhabitants of St. Louis had long fabricated their choicest Burgundy.

MANUSCRIPT MAP OF ST LOUIS, 1796
Drawn by George de Bois St. Lys.
Gift of Geo. C. Leighton to Missouri Historical Society.

The Return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

But of late the Chouteau's had begun to import their wine from France, along with ebony chairs, claw-footed tables, and other luxuries, the first in this Mississippi wild. For never had the fur trade been so prosperous.

There was laughter and clinking of glasses, and questions of lands beyond the Yellowstone. Out of that hour arose schemes for a trapper's conquest along the trail on which ten future States were strung.

"The mouth of the Yellowstone commands the rich fur trade of the Rocky Mountains," said Captain Clark. Captain Lewis dwelt on the Three Forks as a strategic point for a fort. No one there listened with more breathless intent than the dark-haired boy, the young Chouteau, who was destined to become the greatest financier of the West, a king of the fur trade, first rival and then partner of John Jacob Astor.

No wonder the home-coming of Lewis and Clark was the signal for enterprises such as this country had never yet seen. They had penetrated a realm whose monarch was the grizzly bear, whose queen was the beaver, whose armies were Indian tribes and the buffalo.

Gallic love of gaiety and amusement found in this return ample opportunity for the indulgence of hospitable dancing and feasting. Every door was open. Every house from Chouteau's down had its guest out of the gallant thirty-one.

Hero-worship was at its height. Hero-worship is characteristic of youthful, progressive people. Whole nations strive to emulate ideals. The moment that ceases ossification begins.

Here the ideals were Lewis and Clark. They had been West; their men had been West. They, who had

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traced the Missouri to its cradle in the mountains, who had smoked the calumet with remotest tribes, who had carried the flag to the distant Pacific, became the lions of St. Louis.

Such spontaneous welcome made a delightful impression upon the hearts of the young captains, and they felt a strong inclination to make the city their permanent home.

The galleries of the little inns of St. Louis were filled with Frenchmen, smoking and telling stories all day long. Nothing hurried, nothing worried them; the rise of the river, the return of a brigade, alone broke the long summer day of content.

But here was something new.

Even York, addicted to romance, told Munchausen tales of thrilling incidents that never failed of an appreciative audience. Trappers, flat-boatmen, frontiermen, and Frenchmen loved to spin long yarns at the Green Tree Inn, but York could outdo them all. He had been to the ocean, had seen the great whale and sturgeon that put all inland fish stories far into the shade.

Petrie, Auguste Chouteau's old negro, who came with him as a boy and grew old and thought he owned Auguste Chouteau—Petrie, who always said, "Me and the Colonel," met in York for the first time one greater than himself.

Immediately upon their return Lewis and Clark had repaired to the barber and tailor, and soon bore little resemblance to the tawny frontiersmen in fringed hunting shirts and beards that had so lately issued from the wilderness.

In the upper story of the Chouteau mansion, the captains regarded with awe the high four-poster with its cushiony, billowy feather-bed.

"This is too luxurious! York, bring my robe and bear skin."

Lewis and Clark could not sleep in beds that night. They heard the watch call and saw the glimmer of campfires in their dreams. The grandeur of the mountains was upon them, cold and white and crowned with stars, the vastness of the prairie and the dashing of ocean, the roar of waterfalls, the hum of insects, and the bellowing of buffalo.

They knew now the Missouri like the face of a friend; they had stemmed its muddy mouth, had evaded its shifting sandbanks, had watched its impetuous falls that should one day whirl a thousand wheels. Up windings green as paradise they had drunk of its crystal sources in the mountains.

They had seen it when the mountains cast their shadows around the campfires, and in the blaze of noon when the quick tempest beat it into ink. They had seen it white in Mandan winter, the icy trail of brave and buffalo; and they had seen it crimson, when far-off peaks were tipped with amethystine gold.

In the vast and populous solitude of nature they had followed the same Missouri spreading away into the beaver-meadows of the Madison, the Jefferson, and the Gallatin, and had written their journals on hillsides where the windflower and the larkspur grew wild on Montana hills.

An instinct, a relic, an inheritance of long ago was upon them, when their ancestors roved the earth untram-

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melled by citiec and civilization, when the rock was man's pillow and the cave his home, when the arrow in his strong hand brought the fruits of the chase, when garments of skin clad his limbs, and God spoke to the white savage under the old Phoenician stars.

In their dreams they felt the rain and wind beat on their leather tent. Sacajawea's baby cried, Spring nodded with the rosy clarkia, screamed with Clark's crow, and tapped with Lewis's woodpecker.

"Rat-tat-tat!" Was that the woodpecker? No, some one was knocking at the door of their bed chamber. And no one else than Pierre Chouteau himself.

"Drouillard is back from Cahokia ready to carry your post. The rider awaits."

This was the world again. It was morning. Throwing off robes and bear skins and rising from the hardwood floor where they had voluntarily camped that night, both captains looked at the tables strewn with letters, where until past midnight they had sat the night before.

There lay Clark's letter to his brother, George Rogers, and there, also, was the first rough draft of Lewis' letter to the President, in a hand as fine and even as copperplate, but interlined and blotted with erasures.

In the soft, warm St. Louis morning, with Mississippi breezes rustling the curtain, after a hurried breakfast both set to work to complete the letters.

For a time nothing was heard but the scratching of quill pens, as each made clean copies of their letters for transmission to the far off centuries. But no centuries troubled them; today—today, was uppermost.

York stuck in his head, hat in hand. "Massah Clark, Drewyer say he hab jus' time, sah."

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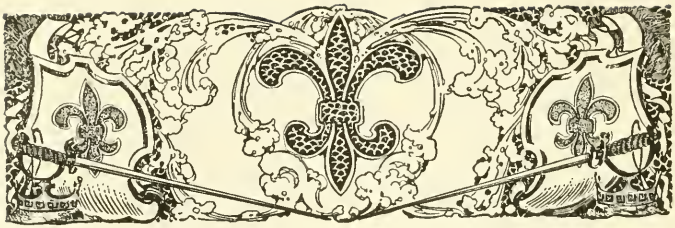
"Well, sir, tell Drouillard the whole United States mail service can wait on us today. We are writing to the President."

Before ten o'clock Drouillard was off to Cahokia with messages that gave to the nation at large its first intimation that the Pacific expedition was a consummated fact."



CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

A GLIMPSE OF ST. LOUIS IN 1816

CHARLES J. LATROBE, traveling over the West came to St. Louis in 1816, and set down his impressions of the town. In "The Rambler in North America," he writes:

"Since this part of the continent became subject to the flag of the United States, the city of St. Louis, overrun by the speculative New Englanders, has begun to spread over a large extent of ground on the bank of the river, and promises to become one of the most flourishing cities of the West. A new town has, in fact, sprung up by the side of the old one, with long, well-built streets and handsome rows of warehouses, constructed of excellent gray limestone, quarried on the spot. The inhabitants of French extraction are, however, still numerous, both in their part of the town and in the neighboring villages. It is amusing to a European to step aside from the hurry and bustle of the upper streets, full of pale, scheming faces, depressed brows, and busy fingers, to the quiet quarters of the lower division, where many a characteristic sight and sound may be observed. Who can peep into the odd

A Glimpse of St. Louis in 1816

little coffee houses with their homely billiard tables—see those cosy balconies and settees—mark the prominent nose, rosy cheek, and the contented air and civil demeanor of the males, and the intelligent eye and the gossiping tongues of the females—listen to the sound of the fiddle, and perchance the jingle of a harpsicord, or spinnet, from the window of the wealthier habitant, crisp and sharp like a box of the crickets—without thinking of scenes in the provinces of the northern country."

James Stuart, writing his Three Years in North America tells his English readers of his experience at St. Louis, in April, 1830:

"We arrived at St. Louis on Sunday the 25th of April, on so cold a morning that the first request I made on reaching the City Hotel in the upper part of the town—was for a fire, which was immediately granted. The hotel turned out a very comfortable one. It contains a great deal of accommodation. The only inconvenience I felt arose from the people not being accustomed, as seems generally the case in the western country, to place water-basins and a towel in every bedroom. The system of washing at some place near the well is general, but the waiters or chamber maids never refuse to bring every thing to the bedroom that is desired. It is, however, so little the practice to bring washing apparatus to the bed rooms, that they are very apt to forget a general direction regularly to do so."

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

THE APPEARANCE OF ST. LOUIS IN 1818

(From John F. Darby's "Personal Recollections.")

THE original boundary of the ancient town of St. Louis began on the Mississippi river near the mouth of Mill Creek, called by the French "Petite Riviere," and ran nearly due west to a point in the neighborhood of where Heitkamp's buildings are now located on Fourth street. From thence the line ran northwardly to a point near where the northeast corner of the Southern Hotel is located, on what is now the corner of Walnut and Fourth streets, where there was a fortification and round tower. In Spanish times it was the jail or prison-house of the government and it was continued as a jail by the American authorities till the year 1818, when the new jail was built on the site where the Laclede-Bircher Hotel now stands. The old jail, or round tower, was about forty or fifty feet high, and standing as it did on the brow of

The Appearance of St. Louis in 1818

the hill, with no building to obstruct, was a prominent object easily seen from a distance. The west line of the town then ran northwardly from this point, striking Market street about ten or twelve feet east of the present eastern intersection of Market and Fourth streets, and continuing in a direct line in the same direction nearly to the southwest corner of Third street and where Washington avenue is now located, and where there was another stone fort or fortification erected; thence northwardly by a direct line to about or near where the eastern line of Third intersects Cherry street. At this point was a large fortification called "The Old Bastion." It occupied more ground and was by far the best of the forts, most substantially and strongly built of solid stone; it looked solid and formidable, and was located on the east side of Third street. From this point the line of the town ran nearly due east, a little north, to Roy's Tower, on the bank of the Mississippi river; a large round tower, built of stone, at that point about forty or fifty feet high. The eastern boundary of the town was the Mississippi river. The southern, western and northern boundaries of the town, as here marked out, had some few years before that been enclosed by pickets ten or twelve feet high, firmly planted in the ground, and at different point were gates, admitting of egress and ingress to the town; at night these gates were secured and guarded. In the year 1818 the pickets were gone but all the fortifications remained.

"There was no wharf or front street, and there were only two ways of getting from Main street to the river: one was at the foot of Market street and the other at the foot of what is now called Morgan street.

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"From the foot of Market street was a sand-bank extending some five or six hundred feet eastwardly before it reached the waters of the Mississippi river. This extended southwardly to the lower end of town, where there was then being formed what is called a "tow-head," a few cottonwood bushes and willows growing up on a high point in the sand, and from this grew what was known afterwards as "Duncan's Island," Robert Duncan taking possession and putting a house upon it.

"At the base of this perpendicular cliff was, when the river was low, a large, flat rock extending one hundred feet or more from the base of the cliff to the water in the river; and persons could walk from Market street up to Morgan in front of the cliff on the flat rock.

"There were springs gushing out of this flat rock below the steep wall, where many of the inhabitants got water. Another strange sight was the carrying of buckets suspended to a sort of a yoke fitting around the neck, and attached to long strips of wood hooked to the buckets from the shoulders.

"Main street was pretty compactly built, mostly with stone, though some frame and log houses still existed, the log houses of the French being, however, different from those built by the Americans. The French built by hewing the logs and then planting them in the ground perpendicularly, while the Americans laid the logs horizontally and notched them together at the corners.

"All the rich people lived on Main street; all the fine houses were there. All the stores were on Main street; all the business of the town was transacted there. In the upper part of Second, or Church street, there were

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few houses; in the lower part there were more. The houses occupied by families then were generally small; there were a few brick houses in the town, perhaps not more than five or six.

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

"Major Pierre Chouteau also had an elegant domicile, built after the same manner and of the same material. He, too, occupied a whole square with his mansion, bounded on the east by Main street, on the south by what is known as Vine street, on the west by Second

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street and on the north by what is now known as Washington avenue, the whole square being enclosed with high, solid stone walls and having port-holes in like manner as his brother's.

"When Gen. Lafayette came to St. Louis, in the year 1825, the city authorities furnished as his quarters the mansion of Major Chouteau, as the finest building and the most splendidly furnished house in the town. Many a time has it been my good fortune to dance all night long in that noble old edifice, and to share the noble and generous hospitality there dispensed.

"At the time we speak of there was not a single paved street in the town. Chouteau's water-mill and Brazeau's horse-mill did the grinding for the town. There was little commerce; a few peltries and a few pigs of lead were all that was shipped.

"But the inhabitants were, beyond doubt, the most happy and contented people that ever lived. They believed in enjoying life. There was a fiddle in every house and a dance somewhere every night. They were honest, hospitable, confiding and generous. No man locked his door at night, and the inhabitant slept in security and soundly, giving himself no concern for the safety of the horse in his stable or of the household goods and effects in his habitation."

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

ST. LOUIS AND THE FUR TRADE

ST. LOUIS was an offspring of the fur trade, and her growth for three-quarters of a century depended almost entirely upon it. Her principal merchants were all more or less concerned in it, and most of them were familiar by actual experience with life on the frontier. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., the leading mercantile genius of St. Louis and one of the greatest in the country, made several trips up the Missouri River, at one time going so far as the mouth of the Yellowstone. Manuel de Lisa spent a large part of his life in the wilderness. General W. H. Ashley, passed much time on the upper Missouri and beyond the mountains on Green River and in the Salt Lake Basin. Sublette and Campbell and McKenzie were all trained mountain men. It was in these remote fields that the foundation of great fortunes were laid, and that the substantial business character of St. Louis began its development. In fact, the supremacy which St. Louis early won and maintained in the fur market of the early days, she

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still holds in an even greater degree today. The annual fur trade of St. Louis is now even larger than it was when the great rival fur companies were exploiting the virgin forests of the upper Missouri. The character of the fur trade has changed; but its volume is as great as ever it was, and St. Louis remains today the greatest primary fur market of the world.

That the reader may correctly estimate the great labor and hardships incident to the fur trade, as well as adequately appreciate the marvelous courage and endurance of the men engaged in it, a detailed description of the boats they used and of their manner of navigating them, seems advisable. Mr. Phil. E. Chappell has given an interesting description of these boats and of their crews in his "History of the Missouri River." Chittenden's "History of the Fur Trade" contains a most complete account of the origin and development of this great industry.

In travel and in commerce upon the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers, several kinds of river craft were at the service of the voyagers. Marquette, La Salle and those who early followed them down the stream, used the birch bark canoe of the northern Indians; but they found the red men of the lower river using a more substantial canoe made from the trunk of the cottonwood tree. Indeed, the birch bark canoe was found to lack the necessary strength for withstanding the buffetings of the swift currents of the Missouri.

The piroque was another craft used later by the French at the beginning of their fur trade, to which it was well adapted. As used on the Missouri river, it was really a double canoe, built in the shape of a flat-

iron, with a sharp bow and a square stern. Two canoes were securely fastened together a short distance apart, the whole being decked over with plank or puncheons. On the floor was placed the cargo, which was protected from the weather by skins. The boat was propelled up stream by oars or by a line, and steered by an oarsman, who stood on the stern. A square sail was also resorted to in going up-stream, when the wind was in the right quarter. Under favorable circumstances, a distance of from twelve to fifteen miles per day could be made. Such boats were usually from thirty to forty feet long, and from six to eight feet beam, and, being of light draft, were good carriers. They were much safer than the canoe, since their breadth of beam prevented them from being upset. When Lewis and Clark ascended the Missouri river in 1804, their fleet consisted of one keel boat and two piroques.

The keel boat was a long, sharp vessel, drawing but little water. When loaded, the hull was nearly immersed, but there was a deck or roof about six feet high, covered on all sides so as to exclude the weather, and leaving only a passage way of about a foot wide, called the running board, along the gunwale, and a small space at the bow and the stern. This deck, or roof, afforded an admirable lounging place in pleasant weather, but at other times, the passenger was limited to very narrow accommodation. The oars, which were placed at the bow, were from eight to twelve in number and were used only in descending the river. By means of these, the boat was propelled at the rate of two or three miles an hour faster than the current. The oars were plied during the day, and at night the boat was suffered to

float with a man at the helm and one at the bow, to lookout, except in those parts of the river where the navigation was difficult, when they always tied up for the night. A hundred to one hundred and thirty miles in twenty-four hours was accomplished with ease. In ascending the stream, these boats were propelled by men with poles walking to and fro on the running boards, assisted often by a sail, when the wind was favorable. But the main reliance for up-stream navigation was the *cordelle*. It was a line, sometimes three hundred yards long, which was fastened to the top of a mast projecting from the center of the boat, and with another line, called the bridle, tied to a loop in the bow and to a ring through which the *cordelle* was passed, to prevent the boat from being swung around by the force of the current or the wind. By this line the boat was pulled along by a force of from twenty to thirty men, who walked along the shore. When an obstacle was encountered, which prevented the men from walking along the bank, the line was made fast to a tree or to some other object on shore, and the boat was drawn up by the men on board pulling on the line. This process was called "warping." Again, there were shallow places where it became necessary to use the poles.

The boat pole was a turned piece of ash wood, regularly manufactured in St. Louis and at other points where a *chantier* (French for boat-yard) was maintained. At one end of the pole there was a ball or knob to rest in the hollow of the shoulder for the *voyageur* to push against, and on the other end a wooden shoe or socket. In propelling the boat with these poles, eight or ten *voyageurs* ranged themselves along each side near

AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

From Portrait in possession of Missouri Historical Society.

the bow, facing aft, pole in hand, one in front of the other as close together as they could walk. The whole movement was under direction of the *patron*. At his command, "Down with the poles," the boatmen thrust the lower ends of the poles into the river close to the sides of the boat, and placed the ball ends against their shoulders so that the poles would be well inclined down stream. Then all pushed together, forcing the boat ahead as they walked along the running board toward the stern, until the foremost man had gone as far as he could. The *patron* then gave the command, "Raise the poles," upon which they would be withdrawn from the mud, as the men walked quickly back toward the bow to repeat the operation. All steering was done while the poles were up, for the boat could not change direction while the men were pushing. It was always essential to give the boat sufficient momentum at each push to keep her going while the men were changing position. The running boards had cleats nailed to them to keep the feet of the boatmen from slipping; and the men, when pushing hard, sometimes leaned far enough to touch the cleats with their hands, thus fairly crawling on all fours. The oars were brought into use in making crossings, when it became necessary to cross from one side of the river to the other. The sail was seldom used, except on the upper river where the absence of timber along the shore permitted the wind to be available.

The crew of the keel-boat in the fur trade was called a "brigade," and frequently consisted of as many as a hundred men, although this number included many hunters and trappers en route to the mountains, who were not regular boatmen. They went well armed, and every

boat carried on her bow a small cannon called a "swivel." The captain of the boat, called the *patron*, did the steering, and his assistant, called the *banossem*, stood on the bow, pole in hand, and shouted directions to the men on the *cordelle*. It was necessary that these officers should be men of great energy, physical strength and personal courage.

The trip to the Yellowstone required nearly the entire boating season, and the labor was most arduous. From daylight to dark, through blazing sun or pelting storm, half bent, in water, over rocks, through brambles and brush, they pulled against the strong current for six long months. At this day men could not be hired at any price to perform such laborious work. The rations furnished them consisted of pork and beans and lye hominy, and from this allowance the pork was cut off when the hunters could procure sufficient game. There was no coffee and no bread. The boatmen employed were the descendants of the old *coureurs des bois* and *voyageurs*, French Canadians, or Creoles, but differing from their progenitors in some respects, for they were a hard-working, obedient, cheerful class, contented and happy under most discouraging circumstances.

The *batteau*, as the French named it, or the flat-bottom boat, or flat-boat, as it came to be called by the Americans, was a mere raft with sides and a roof; but it was more roomy and convenient than the keel-boat, if well-built and tight, as they usually were. An immense oar was placed on each side of the roof near the bow, which gave such boats the nick-name of "broad-horns," and another large oar at the stern. These oars were used only to direct the course of the flat-boat, which was

allowed to float with the current. These boats were used only in down-stream voyages to a bourne from which a traveler of that species never returned, being useless after reaching its destination, except as so much lumber.

The flat-boat was usually fifty to seventy-five feet long and ten to twelve feet beam. The gunwales were hewn from cottonwood logs and the bottom was spiked onto stringers, running lengthwise the boat. The bow and stern were square, with a sufficient rake to prevent impeding the headway. The oar, the pole, the line and the sail were appliances relied upon for motive power in ascending the stream, but, in going down, the boat was allowed to float with the current, being kept in the channel by the steersman.

For many years, even after the application of steam to river craft, these flat-boats and keel-boats continued in use upon the Missouri river, for the steamboat could run only when the water was high. "In the spring of 1845, as a bare-footed boy," says Mr. Chappell, "I stood on the bank of the Missouri river, opposite Jefferson City, and saw what was probably the last Mackinac boat pass down and out the river. There were ten or twelve boats in the fleet, and as they passed at intervals of half an hour or more, they were all morning in view. It was the last of this primitive mode of navigation."

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

ELEMENTS OF SUCCESS IN THE FUR TRADE

THERE were many elements to be considered in the successful prosecution of the fur trade upon the American frontier. Good judgment was necessary in the selection of articles of trade. If blankets were of a different color, or a fraction larger or smaller, or of a different shape, from those to which they had been previously accustomed, and which they had adopted as the standard of taste, the fastidious savages would reject them, and they would remain unsalable in the hands of the traders. This was true also of the tomahawks and rifles, and of all other articles of trade. The swarthy sons of the forest were extravagant in their offers for anything that suited their fancy; but they refused to accept, even as a gift, anything in way of a substitute for articles which their custom had accepted as suited to their taste. Different tribes had characteristic peculiarities of taste and custom, and it was of great importance that these peculiarities should be known to traders intending to trade with them.

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Trading companies soon learned that they could not rely upon the red men for supplies of furs and peltries sufficient to make the trade profitable. The savage hunted simply to supply his necessities; hence the quantity of skins and furs available from the Indian was always inadequate for the wants of the company. It was, therefore, necessary to employ a number of skillful hunters and trappers upon whose efforts the success of the expedition depended. These hunters and trappers were chiefly men who, from continual mingling in savage life, had grown to love the forest and prairie solitude, the wild excitements of the chase and the independence of Indian existence, more than the restraints necessary to the proper regulation of civilized society. Much of the population of St. Louis in 1812 were men of this sort. Their lives were a series of dangers. With the rifle and the knife they could supply all the riches they required or desired, and these were a protection which, in their habits of self-reliance, they valued more than forts or stockades. They were remarkable for their physical strength and endurance. With muscles and sinews which no fatigue could weaken or extremes of climate affect, they roamed undaunted over vast regions in their hazardous pursuit.

Their mode of dress was in keeping with their mongrel origin and character. Short leather breeches with moccasins covered their feet and legs. A leather flap dropped from the waist to the thighs. A shirt, sometimes of thick flannel or cloth, and sometimes of deerskin, protected the upper part of the body, while on the head was worn a cap made from the fur of some animal, or perhaps a coarse blue cloth was wrapped about the

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head, or mayhap the head was bare to the elements. These *coureurs des bois*, as they were significantly called, formed a picturesque element in the population of early St. Louis. Some of them had wives in the village, whom they visited annually for a short time, or maybe once in several years, and whom they left unprovided for while they were away in the forest wild. These hunters and trappers were, nevertheless, an important portion of the population of St. Louis, for their services were always in demand by the rival fur companies and by the many enterprising traders who individually carried on the fur trade with the savages.

An important personage connected with these expeditions was the interpreter. He was usually the son of some Frenchman who had married an Indian wife and adopted the Indian mode of life. The son thus grew to be familiar with both the French and the Indian languages, and could serve as a medium of communication between the traders and the savages.

But the success of a trading expedition depended finally upon the character of the leader placed in charge. He must have knowledge of the quality and fitness of his articles of trade, must be a good judge of all the varieties of furs and skins, must have had experience with Indian character and keen insight into their habits and customs, and must himself be alert, fearless and resourceful. A trader with those qualifications could command a fabulous sum for his services.

The three principal fur trading companies that operated from St. Louis toward the west were the Missouri Fur Trading Company, which owed its success to the great ability and energy of Manuel de Lisa, who man-

aged its affairs from 1812 to 1820; the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, whose guiding spirit was the brilliant and enterprising General W. H. Ashley; and the American Fur Company, whose operations were directed by the genius of John Jacob Astor through his capable partner in St. Louis, Pierre Chouteau, Jr. Besides, there were many individuals who engaged in the profitable trade. All these opened the wilderness to the advance of civilization, and brought back riches to the coffers of the city.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

STRANGE CONTRASTS IN OLD ST. LOUIS

A WONDERFUL pageant of human life it was that sought the capitol of Upper Louisiana and moved through the narrow streets of old St. Louis, during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. Nowhere could one have met more varied aspects of human life, or sharper contrasts of individual and national character. In appearance it must have been a very carnival of nations.

Frenchmen and Spaniards were there from every province of France and Spain; French and Spanish Creoles from Canada, New Orleans, Mexico, Cuba, and Pensacola; negroes of different dusky hues, some lately snatched from the kraals of the Guinea and the Congo coasts, some, from long association with the whites, chattering the French or Spanish *patois*, or a dialect of the speech of their American masters. Indian delegations from all the scattered tribes came to confer with the Spanish governors or with the Americans who succeeded to their authority. There came the wild, naked, low-browed Sioux; the tall, lordly Osage; the fair and

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ornate Mandan of the upper Missouri; the fierce Iroquois, and the brave Wyandotte; the wandering Shawanese, that panther of the canebrakes; the sensual and volatile Illinois meeting the gaily-clad, dark-skinned Creek and Seminole; the Chickasaw, the last remnant of those southern, sun-worshipping tribes who are supposed to be the descendants of the semi-civilized Mound Builders.

Along the *Rue Royale* there came the French *coureurs*, wild as Pawnees, and the *voyageurs*, light-hearted but patient beasts of burden of the fur trade; Saxon hunters and trappers from the Appalachian slopes bound westward, and American flatboatmen, red-necked, unkempt, singing and dancing on the wharf, swaggering and riotous in the streets. Touching elbows with all these came Puritan and Quaker and Virginia Cavalier, the high-bred gentleman and lady of Europe, the cultivated army officer, and the pliant and pushing politician—a phantasmagoria of human life, where civilization and barbarism confronted each other upon the western border.

New England sent representatives of her best blood and brain—men like Stephen and Edward Hempstead, Rufus Easton, Silas Bent, and John Simonds, Jr. Pennsylvania and other middle Atlantic States contributed men of fine ability in the persons of Clement B. Penrose, Major Thomas Biddle, Wm. Christy, and Henry S. Geyer, and others. Virginia gave generously of her distinguished sons in such men as Captain Merriwether Lewis, Captain Wm. Clark, John Scott, Col. Thomas F. Riddick, Captain John Conway, Wm. H. Ashley, Alexander McNair, Dr. William Carr Lane, Dr. David Waldo. North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky sent notable

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representatives in David Barton, Thomas H. Benton, Joseph J. Monroe, Col. John O'Fallon, and Edward Bates. France gave us John B. C. Lucas and his brilliant and lamented son, Charles. Ireland—where have Irishmen not gone?—was ably represented in the person of John Mullanphy, and many others.

The fusing of these diverse elements in the melting pot of this frontier town was not accomplished in a year or in a decade. The spirit of business and professional rivalry was keen. There were clashings of interest. There were disputes and enmities; there was bloodshed. The *code duello* was in favor in settlement of disputes among gentlemen, and encounters on Bloody Island have left a dark page upon the history of St. Louis—a page which the purpose of this story does not require us to peruse.

With this rapid growth of population, the desire of the people for a separate and independent State government became almost universal. The feeling found expression in a memorial to Congress, which was circulated in the territory in 1817, in which the petitioners prayed that the territory within certain specified limits might be erected into a State. This memorial was presented to Congress in January, 1818, by the Honorable John Scott, the delegate from the territory. No report was made during that session of Congress by the committee to whom the memorial had been referred. In December, 1818, the territorial legislature of Missouri took up the subject, and also adopted a memorial praying for the establishment of a State government, asking for more extended boundaries than those which had been set out in the former petition of the citizens. This memorial from Missouri was reported by Hon. John

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Scott to Congress in the form of a bill to "authorize the people of Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government on an equal footing with the other States." Now to this bill, Mr. Tallmadge of New York offered an amendment, making it a condition "that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude shall be prohibited, except for the punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been fully convicted, and that all children born within the state after the admission thereof, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years. This amendment, Jefferson said, "was like a fire bell in the night." It brought into the arena of public debate the opposing opinions long privately cherished but not publicly avowed.

After an acrimonious discussion, the bill with Tallmadge's amendment passed the house by a vote of 97 to 56, and was sent to the Senate for concurrence. The Senate struck out the Tallmadge amendment, and the House refused to concur with the Senate's action.

When the Sixteenth Congress met in December, 1819, the question came up again. Finally a series of measures, usually called the "Missouri Compromise," were adopted. An act was passed just before the adjournment of Congress in March, 1820, which left the people of Missouri nominally free to organize the State with or without slavery, but without any expressed guarantee as to admission into the Union. The excitement these congressional debates had produced in this territory was intense.

The election of members of the Constitutional Convention, provided for under this act, was held May, 1820, and the delegates thus elected met in convention in St. Louis in June, 1820, at what was then known as the

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Mansion House, corner of Third and Vine streets. David Barton was elected president of the convention, and the Constitution there adopted was principally Barton's work. Another conspicuous member of the convention was Alexander McNair, a delegate from St. Louis county. At the first election for governor under this Constitution, McNair was elected, defeating William Clark, who had been territorial governor since 1812. Clark, in attendance at the bedside of his sick wife, had been compelled to be absent during the campaign, and he was beaten by a few votes.

The first session of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, under this Constitution, met in the Missouri Hotel (at that time situated on Main Street in the town of St. Louis) on Monday, the eighteenth day of September, 1820. At that session two senators to represent the State of Missouri in the Senate of the United States, were to be chosen. John F. Darby thus described the events of their election:—

"David Barton was, without opposition, chosen senator by that body. For the place of the second senator there were five applicants, viz.: Thomas H. Benton, John B. C. Lucas, Henry Elliott, John Rice Jones, and Nathaniel Cook. After many efforts, it was found to be impossible to elect any of these gentlemen.

"Such was the unbounded popularity of David Barton at that time that he only needed to intimate whom he desired to be made senator in Congress, to have him elected. After the ineffectual effort had been made to elect a second senator, the members of the Legislature gave to him the privilege of selecting and naming his colleague, and Barton chose Thomas H. Benton.

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"Benton's unpopularity was so great, however, that with all of Barton's acknowledged strength, power, and influence in his behalf, it seemed to be almost impossible to elect him. Various plans, caucuses, schemes, and councils were projected and held to effect his election to the Senate, and consummate the wishes of David Barton.

"There was a member of the Legislature from St. Louis County named Marie Philip Leduc. He was a Frenchman, and had been secretary of Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, the last lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana under the Spanish government. He had asservated over and over again that he would lose his right arm before he would vote for Thomas H. Benton as senator. Judge John B. C. Lucas, the strongest and most formidable opponent of Thomas H. Benton for a seat in the United States Senate, was the father of Charles Lucas, a prominent lawyer who had been killed in a duel by Benton about three years before. There was, thereafter, a most bitter and violent feeling, growing out of this duel, between the friends of Judge Lucas and of Thomas H. Benton. The friends of Thomas H. Benton found, upon canvassing the members of the Legislature, that they could elect him by one majority if they could win over to their side a single supporter of Judge Lucas or of one of the other candidates.

"The friends of the Benton party in the Legislature therefore determined to make a "dead set" at Marie Philip Leduc. They combined, united, and brought to bear upon him the personal and powerful influence of Col. Auguste Chouteau, John P. Cabanne, Gen. Bernard Pratte, Maj. Pierre Chouteau, Sylvester Labbadie, and Gregoire Sarpy—all personal friends of Marie Philip Leduc, all Frenchmen, all men of wealth, of distinction, of great influence and personal popularity.

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"Col. Auguste Chouteau, with Laclede the founder of the town, a man of the greatest wealth and distinction, was the principal speaker. They all met in a room where they had assembled to talk over and discuss the matter, and to determine and declare who should be Barton's colleague, and take the steps to elect him. Col. Chouteau urged upon Leduc to vote for Benton, and to give up his support of Judge Lucas; because, he said, if Judge Lucas was elected senator, the French inhabitants would never have their French and Spanish grants to their lands confirmed; that Judge Lucas, as a member of the board of commissioners for adjusting the titles under these grants to the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana, had been inimical to and had warred against the confirmation of their claims for nearly twenty years; that Benton was friendly to and would take an active part in passing the laws confirming them in their titles to their lands.

"After arguing, pleading, and reasoning with Marie Philip Leduc all night long, Leduc yielded about the break of day to the influences brought to bear upon him, and agreed to vote for Benton. It had been a desperate struggle throughout that sleepless night. This was on Saturday night, the thirtieth day of September, 1820. The election was to come off on Monday morning, the second of October, 1820. It was all-important to the Benton men that the election should be held as soon as possible, for Daniel Ralls, one of their voters, was sick and might die.

"Early in the morning, therefore, directly after nine o'clock, the two houses met in joint session, in the large dining room in the hotel, to vote for United States senator. Daniel Ralls, the sick member, was upstairs in his bed, unable to sit up so that he could be lifted into a

chair and brought down to vote. He was sinking fast; and if he died, as it was feared he would, before the election, the Benton men would not have a majority, and would fail in electing their man.

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"Accordingly, so soon as the two houses had met in joint session to elect another senator as the colleague of David Barton, four large, stout negro men were taken up stairs into the sick member's room, and by direction they seized hold of the bed—one at each corner—on which the prostrate member lay, and brought it down stairs and laid Ralls down in the middle of the hall wherein the two houses of the General Assembly had met. Ralls was too sick even to raise his head, but when his name was called, voted for Thomas H. Benton; which being done, the four negro men took him up stairs to his room, where he died. For this last act of his life, the Legislature, at the same session did Mr. Ralls the honor to name a county after him—Ralls County—one of the oldest counties in the State.

"Through such death-struggles as this it was that Thomas H. Benton, with the powerful aid of David Barton, first reached the floor of the American Senate, where afterwards he used to boast that he had served six Roman lustrums."

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

RIVER LIFE IN THE EARLY DAYS

BEFORE the coming of the American pioneers west of the Mississippi river, the fur trade and lead mining had been the chief commercial interests of St. Louis and the adjacent territory. But after the cession, emigrants from the States came west by thousands, in Conestoga wagons, on foot and horseback, with packhorses, with handcarts, even with wheelbarrows. With blankets on their backs, and with children by the hand, the people came in a continuous stream. Temporarily checked by the war of 1812, the flood of emigration increased when peace had come. These American pioneers did not settle in villages as the French had done. They sought land—land for themselves and their children. They scattered over the rich prairies and hillsides of what is now St. Louis and St. Charles counties. They sought the rich valleys far up the Missouri to the Boon's Lick country, and beyond. To the northward they went into Lincoln, and Ralls, and Marion. They took up home-

ST. LOUIS FROM CHOUTEAU'S POND

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steads in Franklin, and on the beautiful uplands around Farmington. They crossed the Mississippi below St. Louis into the rich alluvial plains of southeast Missouri, from which many were driven by the disastrous earthquake of 1811. They came over still lower down from Tennessee by way of the White river, into the region about Springfield. Within a dozen years after the cession of Louisiana to the United States, connected settlements of American pioneers extended southwest from St. Louis for two hundred miles to the branches of White river, westward upwards of two hundred miles to Boon's Lick and Old Chariton, northward two hundred miles to Prairie du Chien, and southward along the Mississippi in a scattering way to the Gulf of Mexico. Clearings were made, and soon abundant crops blessed their labors. Villages and towns were laid out along the stream, and grew as the population continued to increase.

River Life in the Early Days

The rivers were still the great highways of travel, but they transported more than the peltries of the forest and the merchandise coveted by the Indian tribes. The wharf at old St. Louis was thronged with water craft, brought together from all points of the compass. Life on the rivers as Timothy Flint saw it, soon after Missouri became a state, was most interesting. In his "Travels in the West," Flint says:

"I have strolled to the point on a spring evening, and seen them arriving in fleets. The boisterous gaiety of the hands, the congratulations, the moving picture of life on board the boats, in the numerous animals, large and small, which they carry, their different loads, the evidence of the increasing agriculture of the country

River Life in the Early Days

above, and more than all, the immense distances which they have already come, and those which they have still to go, afforded to me copious sources of meditation. You can name no point on the numerous rivers of the Ohio and the Mississippi, from which some of these boats have not come. In one place there are boats loaded with planks, from the pine forests of the southwest of New York. In another quarter there are the Yankee notions of Ohio. From Kentucky, pork, flour, whiskey, hemp, tobacco, bagging and bale rope. From Tennessee there are the same articles, together with great quantities of cotton. From Missouri and Illinois, cattle and horses, the same articles generally as from Ohio, together with peltry and lead from Missouri. Some boats are loaded with corn in the ear and in bulk; others with barrels of apples and potatoes. Some have loads of cider, and what they call 'cider royal,' or cider that has been strengthened by boiling or freezing. There are dried fruits, every kind of spirits manufactured in these regions, and in short, the products of the ingenuity and agriculture of the whole upper country of the west. They have come from regions thousands of miles apart. They have floated to a common point of union. The surfaces of the boats cover some acres. Domestic fowls are fluttering over the roofs, as an invariable appendage. The chanticleer raises his piercing note. The swine utter their cries. The cattle low. The horses trample, as in their stables. There are boats fitted on purpose, and loaded entirely with turkeys, that, having little to do, gobble most furiously. The hands travel about from boat to boat, make inquiries, and acquaintances, and form alliances to yield mutual assistance to each other on

their descent from this to New Orleans. After an hour or two passed in this way, they spring on shore to raise the wind in town. It is well for the people of the village, if they do not become riotous in the course of the evening; in which case I have often seen the most summary and strong measures taken. About midnight the uproar is all hushed.

"The fleet unites once more at Natchez, or New Orleans, and, although they live on the same river, they may, perhaps, never meet each other again on earth.

"Next morning at the first dawn, the bugles sound. Everything in and about the boats, that has life, is in motion. The boats, in half an hour are all under way. In a little while they have all disappeared, and nothing is seen, as before they came, but the regular current of the river. In passing down the Mississippi, we often see a number of boats lashed and floating together. I was once on board a fleet of eight, that were in this way moving on together. It was a considerable walk, to travel over the roofs of this floating town. On board of one boat, they were killing swine. In another, they had apples, nuts and dried fruit. One of the boats was a retail or dramshop. It seems that the object in lashing so many boats had been to barter and obtain supplies. These confederacies often commence in a frolic and end in a quarrel, in which case the aggrieved party dissolves the partnership by unlashing and managing his own boat in his own way. While this fleet of boats is floating separately, but each carried by the same current nearly at the same rate, visits take place from boat to boat in skiffs.

River Life in the Early Days

"While I was in New Madrid, a large tinner's establishment floated there in a boat. In it all the different articles of tinware were manufactured and sold by wholesale and retail. There were three large apartments, where the different branches of the art were carried on in this floating manufactory. When they had mended all the tin, and vended all that they could sell in one place, they floated on to another. A still more extraordinary manufactory, we were told, was floating down the Ohio, and shortly expected at New Madrid. Aboard this were manufactured axes, scythes and all other iron tools of this description, and in it horses were shod. In short it was a complete blacksmith's shop of a higher order, and, it is said, jestingly talked of having a trip-hammer worked by a horse power on board. I have frequently seen in this region a dry goods shop in a boat, with its articles very handsomely arranged on shelves, nor would the delicate hands of the vender have disgraced the spruce clerk behind our city counters. It is now common to see flatboats worked by a bucket wheel, and a horse power, after the fashion of a steamboat movement. Indeed, every Spring brings forth new contrivances of this sort, the result of the farmer's meditations over his winter's fire."

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

STEAMBOATS ON THE WESTERN RIVERS

BUT this picturesque river life of the old days of the keel boat and the "broad horns," when up-stream was a continuous struggle and down-stream a round of pleasure, was soon to disappear.

The invention of the steamboat by Robert Fulton, in 1807, was destined to revolutionize the traffic upon the rivers, both East and West. Within four years after the Clermont steamed up the Hudson, a steamboat, the "New Orleans," was built at Pittsburg, and launched on the Ohio river, in March, 1811. The "New Orleans" left Pittsburg, south bound, in October of the same year; but, on account of low water, could not get over the Falls at Louisville. By December the river had risen sufficient to permit her to pass the Falls and continue down stream. When she entered the Mississippi, she encountered the great earthquake that played such havoc with that region, and even forced the current of the

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Mississippi up-stream for a short time. Bradbury, the distinguished English naturalist, was a passenger aboard the "New Orleans" during this trip, and he wrote an interesting account of his experiences during the earthquake. Following the successful voyage of the "New Orleans," other steamboats were built, and regular lines of steamboat travel were put in operation between New Orleans and points on the Ohio river.

The first steamboat to reach St. Louis was the "Zebulon M. Pike," which landed at the foot of Market street, on August 2, 1817. All the inhabitants gathered at the wharf to welcome the strange visitor, among them a group of Indians. As the boat approached, the glare of the furnaces and the volume of smoke filled the Indians with terror, and they fled to the high ground in the rear of the town. They thought it some supernatural, flame-breathing monster, because it could make headway against the current of the river, without aid of oar or sail.

In May, 1819, the first steamboat entered the Missouri river. It was the "Independence," and she reached Franklin after steaming for thirteen days. She extended the trip to Old Chariton, and then returned to St. Louis. As the "Independence" came out of the Missouri river, on her return trip, she passed a fleet of four steamboats under command of Major S. H. Long, bound up the Missouri on a scientific expedition for the United States government. These boats were the "Western Engineer," the "Thomas Jefferson," "R. M. Johnson," and the "Expedition." The steam escape pipe of the "Western Engineer" was shaped like a huge serpent coiled on the bow of the boat in an attitude of springing, and the

steam, hissing from its fiery mouth, filled the Indian beholders with consternation, as the boat proceeded up-stream. They thought the Great Spirit was angry, and had sent this monster to chastise them.

Steamboats on the Western Rivers

These steamboats were the forerunners of the great fleet of vessels that soon sped up and down the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers, transporting freight and passengers throughout the region that a few years before had been a wilderness. Timothy Flint, the missionary, still traveling throughout the West, has well described the effects of the change:

"St. Louis is a kind of central point in this immense valley. From this port, outfits are constantly setting out for the military posts, and to the remotest regions to trade for furs. Boats are also constantly ascending to the lead mine districts on the upper Mississippi. From our boat, as we lay in the harbor of St. Louis, we could see "The Mandan," as the name of a boat bound far up the Missouri. Another was upward bound for Prairie du Chien, and the Falls of St. Anthony; another for the highest points of the Illinois; another for the Arkansas; and "The Gumbo" for Natchez and New Orleans.

Consider that the Lakes are wedded to the ocean by the New York canal. The Illinois will shortly be with Chicago and Michigan; for it is, during a little while in the Spring, partially so by nature. The union of the Ohio with the Lakes, on the one hand, and with the tide waters of Virginia, on the other, is not only contemplated, but the labor to effect it is commenced. When these contemplated canals are completed, certainly no country in the world can equal ours in the number, convenience, and extent of its internal water communications.

Steamboats on the Western Rivers

The advantage of steamboats, great as it is everywhere, can nowhere be appreciated as in this country. The distant points of the Ohio and Mississippi used to be separated from New Orleans by an internal obstruction, far more formidable in the passing than the Atlantic. If I may use a hard word, they are now brought into juxtaposition. To feel what an invention this is for these regions, one must have seen and felt, as I have seen and felt, the difficulty and danger of forcing a boat against the current of these mighty rivers, on which a progress of ten miles in a day is a good one. Indeed, those huge and unwieldy boats, the barges in which a great proportion of the articles from New Orleans used to be transported to the upper country, required twenty or thirty hands to work them. I have seen them, day after day, on the lower portions of the Mississippi, where there was no other way of working them up than carrying out a cable half a mile in length, in advance of the barge, and fastening it to a tree. The hands on board then draw it up to the tree. While this is transacting, another yawl, still in advance of that, has ascended to a higher tree, and made another cable fast to it, to be ready to be drawn upon, as soon as the first is coiled. This is the most dangerous and fatiguing way of all, and six miles advance in a day is good progress.

It is now refreshing, and imparts a feeling of energy and power to the beholder, to see a large and beautiful steamboat scudding up the eddies, as though on the wing; and when she has run out the eddy, strike the current. The foam bursts in a sheet quite over the deck. She quivers for a moment with the concussion;

and then, as though she had collected her energy, and vanquished her enemy, she resumes her stately march, and mounts against the current, five or six miles an hour. I have traveled in this way for days together, more than a hundred miles in a day, against the current of the Mississippi. The difficulty of ascending used to be the only circumstance of a voyage that was dreaded in the anticipation. This difficulty now disappears. A family in Pittsburg wishes to make a social visit to a kindred family of Red River. The trip is but two thousand miles. They all go together, servants, baggage or "plunder," as the phrase is, to any amount. In twelve days they reach the point proposed. Even the return is but a short voyage. Surely the people of this country will have to resist strong temptations, if they do not become a social people. You are invited to a breakfast at seventy miles distance. You go on board the passing steamboat, and awake in the morning in season for your appointment. The day will probably come when the inhabitants of the warm and sickly regions of the lower points of the Mississippi will take their periodical migrations to the north, with the geese and swans of the Gulf, and with them return in the winter.

A sea voyage, after all that can be said in its favor, is a very different thing from this. The barren and boundless expanse of waters soon tires upon every eye but a seaman's. I say nothing of fastening tables, and holding fast to beds, or inability to write or to cook. I leave out of sight sea-sickness, and the danger of descending to those sea-green caves of which poetry has so much to say. Here you are always near the shore, always see the green earth, can always eat, write, and

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sleep undisturbed. You can always obtain cream, fowls, vegetables, fruit, wild game, and to my mind there is no kind of comparison between the comforts and discomforts of a sea and a river voyage.

A stranger to this mode of traveling would find it difficult to describe his impressions upon first descending the Mississippi in one of the better steamboats. He contemplates the prodigious establishment, with all its fittings of deck, common, and ladies' cabin apartments. Over head, about him and below him, all is life and movement. He sees its splendid cabin, richly carpeted; its finishings of mahogany; its mirrors and fine furniture; its bar room, and sliding tables, to which eighty passengers can sit down with comfort. The fare is sumptuous, and every thing is in a style of splendor, order, quiet, and regularity, far exceeding that of taverns in general. You read, you converse, you walk, you sleep, as you choose; for custom has prescribed that every thing shall be sans ceremony. The varied and verdant scenery shifts around you. The trees, the green islands, have an appearance, as by enchantment, of moving by you. The river fowl, with their white and extended lines, are wheeling their flight above you. The sky is bright. The river is dotted with boats above you, beside, and below you. You hear the echo of their bugles reverberating from the woods. Behind the wooded point, you see the ascending column of smoke, rising above the trees, which announces that another steamboat is approaching you. This moving pageant glides through a narrow passage between the main shore and an island, thick set with young cottonwoods, so even, so regular and beautiful that they seem to have been planted for a pleasure

ground. As you shoot out again into the broad stream, you come in view of a plantation, with all its busy and cheerful accompaniments. At other times you are sweeping along for many leagues together, where either shore is a boundless and pathless wilderness. And the contrast, which is thus so strongly forced upon the mind, of the highest improvements and the latest invention of art, with the most lonely aspect of a grand but desolate nature—the most striking and complete assemblage of splendor and comfort, the cheerfulness of a floating hotel, which carries, perhaps, two hundred guests, through a wild and uninhabited forest, one hundred miles in width, the abode only of owls, bears, and noxious animals—this strong contrast produces, to me at least, something of the same pleasant sensation that is produced by lying down to sleep with the rain pouring on the roof, immediately over head.

Steamboats on the Western Rivers

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO ST. LOUIS

A MEMORABLE event in the history of old St. Louis was the visit of Marquis de Lafayette, in 1825. No better account of this visit, or of life in St. Louis as Lafayette must have seen it, can be found than the following, taken from the "Personal Recollections" of John F. Darby:

"In order to understand the subject properly, it is but right to give a short statement of the condition of the town and affairs at that time. There was no wharf in front of the city. At the foot of Market street, and again at the foot of what was then called Oak street, now Morgan street, were the only two landings in the city. From a short distance north of Market street all the way up to Morgan street the primitive bluffs of the Mississippi rose up in a state of nature, to the height of twenty feet, and in some places more; as the French called it, *les ecores du Mississippy,*' the abrupt wall or perpendicular bank of the Mississippi River. Seventh street was the western limit of the city, beyond which were the fences of Judge John B. Lucas, Major Christy,

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and others, enclosing pastures, meadows, etc. The Court-House square was entirely vacant, except a pillory and whipping post in the center, on which malefactors, rogues and evil doers, not sentenced to be hanged, were whipped with a raw cowhide on their bare backs by the sheriff of the county, who in each particular case was sworn by the clerk of the court 'to lay on the lashes to the best of his skill and ability, so help him God.' Market street only extended to Eighth street; all beyond that to the west was Chouteau's pond, woods, hazel brush, etc. All the space between Market street and Washington avenue and Fourth and Fifth streets was unimproved; no houses, no enclosures; all in a state of nature; no grading, no paving.

"At that time the city of St. Louis had only been incorporated a little more than a year. Dr. William Carr Lane was mayor. He was a man of fine personal appearance, indeed; and was, besides, an accomplished scholar, of the most noble and generous impulses, and of pleasing and winning manners and address.

"The seat of government of the State of Missouri was then located at St. Charles, and Frederick Bates was governor. As there was no executive mansion at St. Charles, when the Legislature was not in session, Governor Bates stayed mostly at home on his farm, up in Bonhomme, on the bluffs of the Missouri river, in St. Louis County, about five miles above St. Charles. During his absence from the seat of government, Governor Bates would leave the executive department of the State in the hands of his secretary of state, Hamilton Rowan Gamble. Governor Bates would go over to St. Charles every week, and stay a day or so, as business required.

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When the city authorities found that General Lafayette was about to visit St. Louis, they, in those primitive days of honest municipal governments, began to doubt their authority to appropriate money from the treasury to entertain their visitor.

"Dr. William Carr Lane, the mayor, in this emergency took his horse and rode all the way out to Gov. Bates's farm, more than twenty miles from St. Louis, to beg the governor to come into town and receive Gen. Lafayette, the expectation being that some of the moneyed men would advance the funds with which to entertain the general, and that, if the governor would take part, they would afterwards get the state to make an appropriation to cover the expense of the entertainment.

"Gov. Frederick Bates refused to have anything to do with the matter. He said the state had made no appropriation to entertain Gen. Lafayette, and that he would take no part in any proceeding of any kind unless there had been money enough provided to entertain him in a manner becoming the dignity and character of the State.

"Dr. William Carr Lane told the writer hereof that he returned from the visit to Gov. Bates despondent, disheartened and almost discouraged. But something must be done, and that quickly. His Honor, the mayor, went around and saw the aldermen, Joseph Charless, Archibald Gamble, Henry Von Phul, Marie P. Leduc, William H. Savage, and others. These gentlemen decided that they would take from the city treasury so much money as was necessary to entertain Gen. Lafayette, and, if there was any objection made, they would join together and refund the same. That worthy

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and good man, Dr. William Carr Lane, informed me afterwards—for we talked upon the subject of Gen. Lafayette's visit hundreds of times afterwards—that the whole expense of entertaining the distinguished guest to the city was exactly thirty-seven dollars. The people all seemed to acquiesce in the expenditure, although there was no authority in the charter. Indeed, these worthy officials of the city government economized and managed to the best advantage, the efficient, active and energetic mayor taking the lead. They went to Major Pierre Chouteau and engaged his house as the quarters of Gen. Lafayette. Major Chouteau was a man of great wealth, and as generous as he was rich, and granted the use of his house, costly, elegantly and richly furnished as it was, as the headquarters of Gen. Lafayette. Here apartments were prepared for the general, free of expense. At that early day there were no hacks or carriages in St. Louis, and the next move was to get a conveyance to take the expected guest from the steamboat to the quarters thus provided for him. Major Thomas Biddle, paymaster in the United States Army, brother of Nicholas Biddle, at that time president of the United States Bank, had a barouche and two white horses; and Judge James H. Peck, of the United States District Court, had a barouche and two white horses. Major Biddle was kind enough to lend his barouche and horses for the occasion, and Judge Peck was so obliging as to lend his two white horses to the city authorities to convey the great man from the steamboat to his quarters. The proper committee of reception had been appointed on the part of the Board of Aldermen, designated by ribbons worn through the buttonholes in the lapels of their coats. Sullivan Blood, then town con-

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stable, had been appointed grand marshal of the day, with John Simonds, Jr., and John K. Walker, assistant marshals. The arrangements were now all complete to receive and welcome Gen. Lafayette.

The people of the whole city began to assemble at the foot of Market street on the 29th day of April, 1825, and shortly after nine o'clock in the morning the steamboat Natchez was seen down the river, in the Cahokia Bend, with colors flying. It took but a few minutes for the boat to reach the foot of Market street. The crowd was great; old and young, men, women and children, white and black, had assembled together, and when the boat touched the shore there was considerable cheering. As soon as the planks had been run out from the boat to the shore, Gen. Lafayette came on shore, where he was met by and introduced to the mayor, William Carr Lane. The mayor had his address of welcome written out, and commenced to read it to the distinguished visitor. The mayor's voice was low; and, although it was a fine piece of composition, the noise and confusion were so great that very few persons could hear it. To this address the eminent visitor replied in appropriate terms. The mayor was surrounded with his aldermen and committee of reception. There was no military party or power present at the reception, and it was almost impossible for the marshal to keep order in the crowd.

"Amongst the outskirts of the multitude was a butcher by the name of Roth—Jacob Roth; he rode a sorrel horse with a long tail, the hair of which had been cut square off at the end. At that period most of the people of the town kept their own cows, and the cattle ranged out on the prairie and came home at night to the domicile

of the respective owners. This man Roth had been indicted in the Circuit Court for stealing the people's cows and making beef of them, which in many instances he would sell to the real owners. On the occasion of the reception of Lafayette, Roth was very greasy from the handling of meats, and he held in his hand a greasy whip, with which he was accustomed to drive cattle. So soon as Gen. Lafayette had replied to the address of welcome made by Mayor William Carr Lane, Jacob Roth jumped off his horse and ran up to Lafayette, saying, as loud as he could shout, 'Whooraw for liberty! Old fellow, just give us your hand. Whooraw for liberty! Hand out your paw, old fellow; just give us your hand. How are you?'—and seizing Lafayette by the hand he shook it violently.

"Just at that moment one of the committeemen, who had imbibed considerable, seeing the butcher Roth, in his greasy plight, shaking hands with Lafayette so violently, called out to him, and said: 'Go 'way from there, I tell you! You stole a cow.' To this Roth replied, 'I'm as good as you are, you old rascal, if I did steal a cow.' The same inebriated committeeman was afraid Lafayette would fall into bad company; so he went up to the distinguished visitor and took him by the arm, and pointing to Jacob Roth, said, 'Don't you associate with that fellow! He stole a cow!'

"The barouche with the four white horses was now brought into requisition. Gen. Lafayette was assisted into the carriage; the mayor, William Carr Lane, was seated by his side on the back seat, and Col. Auguste Chouteau and Stephen Hempstead, an old Revolutionary soldier, originally from Connecticut, who had fought with

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Lafayette in the War of the Revolution, took the front seat. These four filled the carriage. The horses were balky and at first would not pull, never having been worked together before. After some delay, the vehicle was driven up to the quarters prepared for Gen. Lafayette at Major Pierre Chouteau's elegant mansion, where the distinguished guest was to receive company. The great body of the people followed on foot behind the carriage. The horse troop of Capt. Archibald Gamble, which, in the meantime, had formed and taken position on Main street in front of Col. Auguste Chouteau's residence, more than a square from the reception at the foot of Market street, now joined in the procession in the rear of the great body of people walking behind the carriage, and proceeded up Main street to Major Chouteau's mansion. All the men from Capt. Gamble's company dismounted from their horses, getting some boys to hold them, formed into line on foot, and with drawn swords marched on to the piazza of the building, where they formed into single line, when Gen. Lafayette was brought, on the arm of the mayor, and introduced to them. After the military reception, Gen. Lafayette took some gentleman by the arm and marched along in front of the line, and was introduced to each member of the troop separately by name, and when so introduced shook hands with every individual. The members of the company then withdrew.

"There was then living in St. Louis an old Frenchman by the name of Alexander Bellissime. He was commonly called 'Old Eleckzan.' He was a very old man, and had lived in St. Louis many years, keeping a tavern on Second street, on the west side, between Myrtle and

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Spruce streets. He had been one of Lafayette's soldiers in the Revolutionary War, had come with him from France, and had helped to fight for American liberty. He had been shot through the shoulder and had been left for dead upon the battle field at Yorktown. But he had recovered, and had crawled out from the dead and wounded upon that historic field of human gore, and had, with limping gait and shattered frame, many years before, made his way from the East to St. Louis, where he met a French population, and where he could fraternize with a people who were consonant in feeling, in notions of life, in sympathy, in social intercourse, and religion. As soon as General Lafayette had withdrawn from his presentation to the military troop of Captain Gamble, Alexander Bellissime presented himself before him, and asked the general if he knew him. Lafayette paused, looked at him, and scrutinized him closely, and then replied that he did not. Mr. Bellissime then told the general who he was, and related some incident which happened on board the ship as they were coming from France, which Lafayette remembered, and thus brought him to mind. At this the two old soldiers rushed into each other's arms, embraced and hugged each other warmly, and shed tears of joy most profusely. The man of world-wide fame and renown pressing to his bosom the war-worn veteran who had contributed so much to his greatness and glory, had a most touching effect upon all present, and there was not a dry eye in the room.

"After the distinguished visitor had received a great many calls, he was taken in the barouche, now drawn by two horses only, and with some of the gentlemen in attendance driven upon the hill and around the town to

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see the city. It so happened that Captain David B. Hill, who was commander of a militia company, had his men out on parade on the green Court House square, then unimproved.

"Captain David B. Hill was a carpenter and builder. He was a man of singular peculiarities. He died in St. Louis about the year 1873, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. He wore colored spectacles with side glasses, was addicted to the habit of taking snuff in immoderate quantities. He spoke with a whining accent through his nose. As soon as Captain Hill saw General Lafayette approaching in the barouche, he became very much excited, and began to take snuff. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'General Lafayette, the great apostle of liberty, is coming. You must prepare to salute General Lafayette, the great apostle of liberty (taking more snuff). Attention company! All you in roundabouts, or short-tailed coats, take the rear rank. All you with long-tailed coats take the front rank.' The captain paused to take a fresh supply of snuff into his nasal organ. 'Now,' said the commander of the company, 'all those having sticks, laths, and umbrellas in the front rank, exchange them with those who have guns in the rear rank.' Just then Robert N. Moore, commonly called 'Big Bob Moore,' a noted individual about town, called out to Captain Hill, and said, 'Capting! Capting! I say, Cooney Fox is priming his gun with brandy.' 'I'll be consarned,' said Captain Hill, 'if it isn't a scandalous shame, to be guilty of such conduct right in the presence of General Lafayette, at the most important period of a man's whole life, when about to salute General Lafayette. If it warn't for the

presence of General Lafayette, the great apostle of liberty, I'd put you under arrest immediately.

"By this time the general had alighted from the carriage, and walked up in front of Captain David B. Hill's company, when the captain ordered the company to 'present arms;' after which the visitor withdrew and entered his carriage. It may be supposed that in all the wars in which General Lafayette had been engaged, he had never met or encountered a more Falstaffian military organization. This much is due to Captain David B. Hill's military genius, as showing his ready resource of mind in case of an emergency. It is proper to state that Capt. David B. Hill had military taste, and that he afterwards organized a fine military company of volunteers, elegantly uniformed, which he called the 'Marions,' in honor of the distinguished revolutionary patriot, which he took great pride in commanding, and which he paraded on the Fourth of July and other public occasions. This independent company of Captain Hill's some mischievous persons nicknamed Captain Davy Hill's 'Mary Anns,' by which name they were generally known and called.

"General Lafayette got into the carriage and was driven to the Freemason's lodge, where he was duly received as an honorary member. From thence he was driven back to his quarters where he received calls and visits until four o'clock, when he was most sumptuously and elegantly entertained with a fine dinner at which were all the officials and prominent citizens of the town.

"In the evening a splendid ball was given in honor of the man of world-wide fame, glory and distinction, at the City Hotel, on the corner of Vine and Third streets,

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where all of the most elegant and accomplished people of the city were assembled.

"Gen. Lafayette, after supper at the ball, was taken by the committee from the ballroom to the steamboat, at the foot of Market street, where he slept. His baggage had not been removed from the boat. He was under engagement to meet a committee of citizens of the State of Illinois at the Kaskaskia landing on the Mississippi river, the next day at twelve o'clock, and be escorted to that ancient and time-honored town, at that time the capitol of that great State, and therefore could not delay.

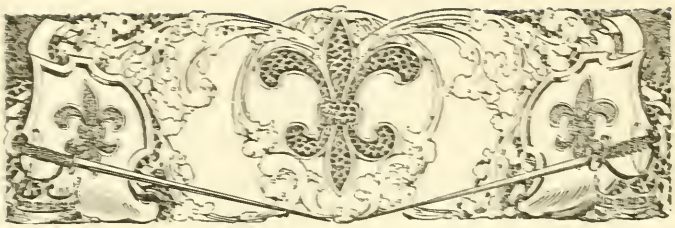
"The next morning, when all the inhabitants of the city slumbered after the exciting and festive scenes of the day and night before, just at the dawn of the day, the steamboat Natchez raised steam, pushed off into the current and glided down the Mississippi river, with the great man on board. He was not disturbed in his slumbers till the steamer was in the vicinity of the dilapidated town of Herculaneum, almost half-way to the Kaskaskia landing, when he was summoned to breakfast."

Another incident of General Lafayette's visit is worth recording. Among the populace assembled to greet the distinguished guest was a little French boy, who afterwards became a famous pilot on the western rivers, and who recently died in St. Louis at an advanced age. His name was Joseph LaBarge. When Lafayette was being driven to the residence of M. Chouteau, hundreds of the people paid him homage by following on foot the route taken by his carriage. But to follow was not enough for little Joseph LaBarge. He broke from the crowd and ran to the carriage in which Lafayette

Lafayette's visit to St. Louis

was riding. Jumping upon the rear axle, he remained there for some time. The crowd was horrified at such disrespect, but Lafayette was too great a man to be thus offended. Gently stroking the lad on the head he inquired his name. The boy replied, 'LaBarge.' 'Ah,' said the general, 'then we are both Frenchmen, and the only difference is the ending of our names.'

"An interesting sequel to Lafayette's visit and of LaBarge's meeting with him occurred in St. Louis in 1881, on the occasion of the visit of Lafayette's grandson, who had come to America to attend the Centennial Celebration of the Surrender of Yorktown. Captain LaBarge was sent for, to meet the distinguished visitor at the Merchants Exchange. When he was introduced, the grandson of Lafayette came forward, and taking LaBarge by both hands, looked at him a moment and said: 'You have seen one whom I wish it were my lot to have seen, and that is my revered grandfather.' He cordially urged the captain to come to his home, if he should ever visit France, and in other ways showed an almost affectionate interest in this individual who had once, though a boy, beheld the face of his distinguished relative."



CHAPTER THIRTY

BATTERY "A" IN MEXICAN WAR

DURING the Mexican War, Colonel Alexander H. Doniphan led a regiment of Missourians through one of the most wonderful marches ever recorded in the annals of military campaigns. This regiment marched over three thousand miles by land, and traveled more than two thousand miles by water. Under orders to join General Wool, who was to start from the mouth of the Rio Grande, Doniphan set out from Santa Fe with less than a thousand men to march through the enemy's country. He fought two battles on the march, and defeated a Mexican army four times the size of his own, and arrived at Chihuahua to learn that plans had been changed, and that General Wool had not set out to meet him. Doniphan rested his men for two months in the heart of Mexico, hundreds of miles from any supporting force. He then marched eastward to the Rio Grande, and joined another division of the American army. The *corps d'elite* of Doniphan's regiment was battery "A," composed of citizens of St. Louis.

Battery "A" in Mexican War

The interesting story of their part in the campaign is told by Valentine Mott Porter, in a paper contributed to the Missouri Historical Society Collections, from which the following is compiled:

"After the Texan revolutionary army under General Sam Houston, had driven the Mexicans across the Rio Grande, it found its hands full in resisting fresh incursions from Mexico. The northern and western part of the State of Texas, through which ran the Santa Fe trail, was left unprotected, to the great distress of the traders, many of them St. Louisans, whose great caravans of ten-mule wagons were journeying in constantly increasing numbers over the plains to Santa Fe. To protect the traders and to follow out a plan of campaign determined upon, President Polk ordered General Kearny to raise not over three thousand volunteers, which, with the few regulars then stationed at Fort Leavenworth, would form a column to be known as the "Army of the West." This small force was to cross the plains and take possession of Santa Fe, as a center of operations. General Kearny, thereupon, requested the governor of Missouri to furnish one thousand men. A battalion, to consist of two companies, was to serve as light artillery, and the rest of the levy as mounted riflemen. The governor called on St. Louis County (which included the city) to furnish the artillery, and the northern river counties to furnish the riflemen.

Major Meriwether Lewis Clark, a graduate of West Point, and a veteran of both the War of 1812 and the Black Hawk War, undertook to raise the two batteries. Obedient to a call published in the newspaper, many of the first young men of the town volunteered their services.

Battery "A" in Mexican War

being influenced in some degree by the traders' stories of fabulous wealth to be gained in the Mexican country. The meeting of the recruits was held on May 28, 1846, in the office of a justice of the peace over a blacksmith's shop on Third street, between Pine and Olive. Here was organized "Battery 'A,' Missouri Light Artillery," which became the *corps d'elite* of the expedition.

On June 13, 1846, a crowd of citizens assembled on the Levee to see the men of Battery "A," one hundred and fifty strong, embark with their horses and baggage on the steamboat for the trip up the Missouri river. At Fort Leavenworth the artillerymen were mustered into the United States service, but they could not continue their journey until the arrival of their guns from Pittsburg. Meanwhile the departure, every day or so, of long trains of transport wagons loaded with provisions, and under orders to push on as rapidly as possible, made the warriors impatient and despondent. Another distressing circumstances was the illness of Captain Weightman, who, it was feared, would have to be left at the fort.

The long overland journey began on June 30. The St. Louis Flying Horse Artillery rode out of Fort Leavenworth into the Great West. To each of the eight long brass guns, the two twelve-pound howitzers, and to the caissons were hitched four fine dragoon horses. As is usual with horses first put to artillery harness, many mishaps arose. On the second day out, while fording a stream in a narrow belt of woods, the drivers quickly tangled up their plunging and kicking animals, and might have stopped there forever, had not the cannoneers dismounted and dragged the guns by hand up the muddy

bank. It is sad to picture the condition of those bright, gay uniforms by this time. Then came the prairies, with the grass so high and rank that it reached to the backs of the horses, making progress very slow. On the Fourth of July, they struck the Santa Fe trail, which was the real beginning of the monotonous march over the great plains. After each day's hot ride, the "city's pets," as the St. Louis artillerymen were dubbed by the country volunteers, sank quietly to sleep under the open sky, acquiring new vigor from the soft, healthful air of the prairie. Just as in every war, the city men soon showed that they could endure the hardships better than the countrymen, who were dependent on regular habits.

Battery "A" in Mexican War

The column took a route that led within sight of Pike's Peak; then across the Arkansas river and over the Raton Range of the Rocky Mountains into New Mexico. At Moro Pass, the scouts, or "spies," as they were then termed, brought in news of a large Mexican force that had retreated to the Pecos Pass, where they were entrenching to receive the Americans. To the call of "boots and saddles," the men responded with alacrity; and at the same time, they beheld riding into camp, Captain Weightman, their commanding officer, who had been left behind at Leavenworth on account of illness. The men of Battery "A" greeted him with a round of cheers. Now they were keen for the fray. As no enemy was found at the defile, the troops marched unmolested into the town of Santa Fe, arriving on August 18. They covered the distance of nearly nine hundred miles across the plains in a month and a half.

On Christmas Day, Colonel Doniphan, with five hundred men, including thirty artillerymen, was well on his

Battery "A" in Mexican War

way to El Paso, escorting a large wagon train. While making camp at Bracito, the spies reported that the enemy in large numbers was advancing for an attack. A Mexican lieutenant carried a black flag into the American lines and defiantly demanded that the commanding officer go back with him. "Come and take him," was the reply. "A curse on you. Prepare for a charge!" cried the Mexican, waving the black flag and galloping off. Five hundred Mexican lancers began a charge against the left flank of the Americans, followed by an advance of an equal number of infantry with one howitzer on the right. The Americans, formed in a single line, coolly reserved their fire till the Mexicans were distant not over a hundred paces. Then they let them have it. The enemy's dragoons wheeled to the left, and in their flight made an attack on the provision train, but, receiving from the traders an equally warm reception, they scattered in all directions. The Mexican infantry also being driven off, our batterymen, who had been mourning the absence of their own guns, made a successful rush upon the single Mexican howitzer, and turned it upon the retreating "greasers." In the battle, thirty Mexicans were killed, but no Americans, although our forces were outnumbered two to one—a pretty good showing for a first engagement. Among the spoils were several kegs of rare wine, for which the soldiers found use; also a quantity of ammunition and surgical instruments. The field was strewn with bodies of men and horses, lances, helmets, trumpets, carbines and other paraphernalia. The Mexicans, on reaching El Paso, reported that they had been defeated by infantry, but that a large force of cavalry had been seen coming up to reinforce the

Americans. It appears that they mistook for horsemen a flock of two thousand sheep in a cloud of dust behind the wagon train. At El Paso, which was taken without opposition, the column awaited the arrival of the artillery which was hurrying on from Santa Fe. The soldiers had begun to feel the privations of the campaign. There was a scarcity of food, and the rags worn by the men would have shamed even the tattered cadets of Gascogny. Those beautiful uniforms, provided by the generous citizens of St. Louis, and the red flannel check shirts were now hanging in ribbons or were lying beside the Santa Fe trail, waiting to be picked by Navajos and woven into blankets. The man who boasted a pair of shoes was to be envied. A few fortunate ones had secured suits of buckskin from the Indians. The soldiers had received no pay, and they had spent all their brass buttons.

Battery "A" in Mexican War

On February 1, 1847, Battery "A," its strength increased to one hundred and fifty by drafts on Fisher's Battery, reached El Paso with four brass six-pounders and two twelve-pound howitzers. With the column now swelled to a thousand men Colonel Doniphan crossed the Rio Grande. Intelligence arriving that General Wool, whom he had expected to join in Chihuahua, had changed his route, the question confronting Doniphan was whether to return to Santa Fe or proceed alone into the heart of the enemy's country. After consulting with his officers he decided to proceed. On the advance there was constant danger of attack. Although the foe was retreating toward Sacramento, it was thought he would make a stand at the first good position. As a precaution against surprise, the wagons were used as a buffer for the advancing troops. Just as anticipated, the spies discovered the

Battery "A" in Mexican War

Mexicans in large force, waiting in an intrenched place. Colonel Doniphan resolved to attack. In the words of an artilleryman who recorded his experiences soon afterward: * * * "The trumpets sounded the trot, all of our troops move out from the cover of the wagons, and take up a position. * * * Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of our men. * * * Our little battery occupies the center. On the right and left of it are two companies of cavalry. * * * As we form, the enemy's artillery opens upon us, and at that instant Weightman's clear voice is heard—'Form battery, action front, load and fire at will!' and our pieces ring out the death-knell of the enemy. * * * And here we are * * * sitting on our horses dodging Mexican balls as they come humming through our ranks, first striking the ground about midway and soon becoming visible. It was surprising the skill which we soon obtained in this employment."

Turning from that account let us see what the gunners were doing. The pieces had been posted in separate positions. One section, in charge of Sergeant Kennerly, as he himself has recently recounted to me, and acting under orders of Lieutenant La Beaume, crept up the side of a ravine and poked the nose of the gun over the brow of a hill, training it upon the Mexican cavalry which was waiting with lances poised ready for a charge. The gunner applied the port-fire, and, following the crash, the young cannoneers saw the Mexican horsemen literally melt from their saddles. The single charge of canister left not a solitary lancer. Colonel Mitchell, on his white steed, waving his saber, led forth the Missouri Rangers, while just behind him followed Weightman with the howitzers, which, separating to the right and

left, came into action on the flanks, raking the enemy's infantry with shot and canister. The Mexican artillery tried to "snake" a gun with their lassos, but they were overtaken and captured with the gun. The main position of the enemy having been taken, the remainder of the battery came galloping up to occupy it. The battle seemed over, when a masked gun of the enemy on a distant mountain let fall a solid shot among the Battery "A" drivers, knocking a saddle blanket from one of the mules. Two of the sixpounders were at once placed upon the deserted intrenchments, and by a well-directed fire dismounted the enemy's piece. Then followed the pursuit. Weightman, the gallant battery commander, dashed on with the cavalry toward the city. Looking over his shoulders, he saw his guns were not following him. Galloping back he shouted, "On with that battery. If I knew who had halted you, I'd cut him down!" The flying artillery thereupon lifted its wings and swooped onward toward the city. The Mexicans, however, or what was left of them, made good their escape. From the official account of the Battle of Sacramento, we learn that twelve pieces of artillery were taken. Of the troops engaged, the Americans had 924 and the Mexicans 4,224, about one to four. The enemy lost 320 killed, 560 wounded and 72 prisoners. The Americans lost but one man, Major Owens, a civilian, who was in charge of the wagons. Among the trophies picked up on the field was the black flag that had been shaken by the impetuous Mexican in the faces of the Americans at Bracito." This flag is now in possession of the Missouri Historical Society and may be seen on the walls of the Jefferson Memorial.

Battery "A" in Mexican War

Battery "A" in Mexican War

The troops of the St. Louis Legion returned by way of New Orleans, and thence by river to St. Louis. A public reception of the volunteers was planned by the citizens of the city, and the City Council endeavored to appropriate money to defray the expenses of the entertainment; but the ordinance was vetoed by Mayor Bryan Mullanphy, and the Council was unable to pass the measure over his veto. Thereupon, the enthusiastic citizens subscribed the necessary funds from their own purses, substituted James B. Bowlin as orator to extend the city's welcome to the returning heroes, the committee in charge even rebuked the mayor by sending him notice that his "presence at the reception had been dispensed with."

The returning volunteers were aboard the steamboat, "Pride of the West," and a delegation was sent down the river to meet them and to time their arrival for eight o'clock of the morning of July 4, 1847. And we are assured by *The Reveille* that there never was a more glorious Fourth of July in St. Louis—glorious in its atmospheric splendor, and in the return from the field of those sons of Missouri whose deeds awakened everywhere gratitude and admiration. Bells made joyous music throughout the morning. Cannons thundered volleys of applause upon the air. Citizens were abroad in crowds. Military organization and fire companies made the streets gay with bands of music and bright uniforms. As the heroes disembarked and marched to the Planters Hotel, the shouts of the citizens acclaimed their welcome, even before it was officially pronounced by Judge Bowlin. The address of welcome finished, the procession was reformed and proceeded to Lucas' Grove where the orator of the day, the great Colonel Thomas H. Benton,

addressed the troops in terms of high praise of their exploit, interspersed with high praise of Benton himself. In characteristic Bentonian style, the address closed with this peroration: Battery "A" in Mexican War

"I have said you have made your long expedition without government orders, and so, indeed, you did. You received no orders from your government; but, without knowing it, you were fulfilling its orders—orders which never reached you. Happy the soldier who executes the command of his government; happier still he who anticipates command, and does what is wanted before he is bid.

"As far back as June, 1846, when a separate expedition to Chihuahua was first projected, I told the President that it was unnecessary, that the Missouri troops under General Kearny would take that place, in addition to the conquest of New Mexico—and that he might order the column under General Wool to deflect to the left and join General Taylor, as soon as he pleased. Again; when I received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, dated in November last, and informing me that he was leaving Santa Fe with one hundred men to open communication with General Wool, I read the letter to the President, and told him that they would do it. And again: when we heard that Colonel Doniphan, with a thousand men, after curbing the Navajos, was turning down towards the south and threatening the ancient capitol, I told him they would take it. In short my confidence in Missouri enterprise, courage and skill was boundless. My promises were boundless. Your performance has been boundless. And now let boundless honor and joy salute, as it does, your return to the soil of your State and to the bosoms of your families."

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

A YEAR OF DISASTERS

THE GREAT FIRE

THE year 1849 was a period of disaster to the growing city that Laclede had founded, for in that year it was visited by both fire and pestilence.

The historic "Great Fire" of St. Louis began at 10 o'clock on the night of May 17, 1849, and burned fiercely until morning. When at last it had spent its fury, twenty-three steamboats and three barges, with their cargoes had been destroyed, and, in addition, the flames had consumed the buildings and other property situated upon fifteen business blocks extending from Locust to Elm street along the river front. The property loss was great, variously estimated at from three to six million dollars. The fire originated on the steamboat "White Cloud," which was tied to the wharf between Wash and Cherry streets. On either side of the "White Cloud" were the "Endors" and the "Edward Bates." All three boats were soon in flames. In an effort to stop the conflagration, some one cut the moorings of the "Bates," and set her adrift. As the current carried

her down stream, a strong wind from the northeast drove her close in shore, and in her course she spread the conflagration along the whole levee. As the boats burned, their hemp cables parted, and within half an hour the river presented the terrifying spectacle of a fleet of burning vessels drifting slowly along shore, with a furious gale driving sparks and flames into the buildings adjacent to the river. Early next morning the heroic efforts of the citizens had subdued the conflagration. But the property loss seriously crippled the business of the city for years. When the work of reconstruction began, the property owners along Main street (now First street), by petition, widened that thoroughfare, which before was as narrow as Commercial Alley now is.

A Year of Disasters

THE PLAGUE OF CHOLERA

The disaster of the fire was closely followed by the scourge of cholera that descended upon the city in the same year. In the late autumn of 1848, the plague that had devastated Europe was brought to New Orleans, and soon made its appearance in St. Louis. There were many deaths among her citizens, caused by the dreaded disease which baffled the skill of her physicians; but, at the coming of winter, the plague subsided. On the approach of the spring of 1849, the cholera broke out in the cities along the seaboard. Emigrants and refugees crowded the boats bound upstream, fleeing from the epidemic that was sweeping over the States to the southward, and thus was brought the plague again to St. Louis. Day by day, and week by week, the death rate increased alarmingly. The doctors disagreed as to the proper methods of treatment. Most of the muni-

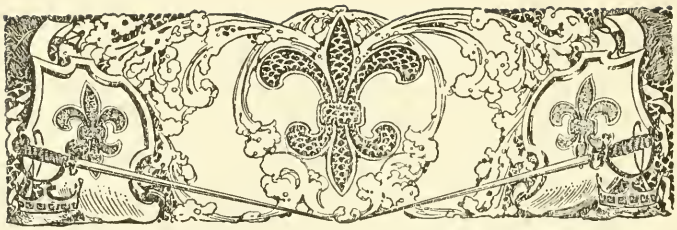
A Year of Disasters

cipal officials fled from the city, and left the desolating pestilence to attack its victims unopposed by any measure of sanitation. In the hours of anguish and desolation, when death was claiming its daily victims by the hundreds, brave and generous-hearted citizens assembled in mass meeting, and a Committee of Public Health was chosen to take measures for arresting the epidemic. School houses were converted into hospitals. Active and stringent measures of sanitation were enforced, and by the coming of August the plague was stamped out. During the months of May, June and July of that year, out of a population of 64,000, nearly 6,000 persons had died, and of that number more than 4,000 had died of cholera. The business of the city, crippled by the fire, was for the time completely paralyzed by the plague.

Following close upon the disastrous effects of fire and pestilence came the great overland movement of people from the East, seeking fortunes on the Pacific Coast. The discovery of gold in California, in January, 1848, soon brought about one of the greatest, most wonderful migrations recorded in history. Beginning in 1849, it ran in full tide for many years, and St. Louis became a center for outfitting the caravans bound westward. The demand for means of transportation caused the building of many steamboats, that plied between St. Louis and points up the Missouri at Westport, Leavenworth, Fort Kearny, and Omaha.

The United States government sent large bodies of troops to distant points in the interior and to the Pacific coast, to protect the emigrants from the Indians, and to explore the entire western country in search of the

most practical railroad routes across the mountains. St. Louis was the chief center for the equipment of troops with military supplies. But this migratory movement, though beneficial to St. Louis in some degree, was not an unmixed blessing. Thousands of her young and enterprising citizens joined the throng pressing westward, and settled in the States of the West, giving their talents to the developments of the new commonwealths of their adoption, The destinies of the new States erected on the Pacific slope and in the Rocky Mountain region were for years guided by the men who had once claimed St. Louis and Missouri as their home.



CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO ST. LOUIS

WE HAVE seen that, in the early days, St. Louis was distinctly a French village. After the cession to the United States, the emigration from the East changed the language and customs of the community. St. Louis became an American city, speaking the English tongue. But the great German immigration, following the revolutionary movements in Western Europe during 1848 and 1849, brought thousands of Germans to Missouri, with the result that the population of St. Louis, later for a time, assumed distinctly German characteristics.

The following narrative, showing the high character and attainments of many of those German immigrants, is compiled from an article contributed to the Missouri Historical Collections, by Mr. E. D. Kargau.

"The first representative of this nationality in St. Louis, of whom we know with certainty, was Gottfried Duden, who arrived in St. Louis in 1824, with intention to become a farmer, He was a highly intelligent man

German Immigration to St. Louis

with a classical education, had occupied several important positions under the Prussian government, and had left his native land with the firm belief to find, under the western sky of the New World, the paradise he longed for. He purchased some land north of the Missouri river in Montgomery (now Warren) County, and made his home there. The glowing description in letters, pamphlets and books written by him, did not fail to make a deep impression in Germany, where he was well known and where his statements were received with fullest confidence. Men, women and children, who had never thought of leaving their fatherland, resolved to emigrate, and Duden's accounts became the direct cause of the formation of what is now known as the "Giessner Emigration Society," organized in 1833, in Giessen, grand-duchy of Hessen. Frederick Muench and Paul Follenius were the prime movers, and the original plan proposed by the latter was the foundation of a German colony in Arkansas, with an administration similar to that of the German system. This intention was abandoned, we may say luckily for those interested, and Missouri was substituted for Arkansas. The Giessner emigrants arrived here in 1834, in two divisions; one under the leadership of Muench, the other headed by Follenius. Among those who came with Muench was David Goebel, a professor of mathematics in the City of Coburg; and these three may be considered the nucleus of a small coterie of men of letters and other attainment, who have done much for the improvement of this State in many directions.

They had wielded the pen, but had never handled the hoe. They had stood in the pulpit, but never behind a

German Immigration to St. Louis

plow. They had lectured from the cathedral and pleaded in court, but had never driven an ox team. They were but little prepared for the hardships that were in store for them, but they brought with them sufficient energy and perseverance, diligence and frugality, to overcome most of the obstacles they had to encounter. They changed barren land into green meadows, stony acres into grain-growing fields and fruit-bearing orchards. They cultivated the soil, and did much towards making Missouri an agricultural, horticultural, and even a wine-producing State.

Duden was an idealist, all theory and little practice, and when his expectations did not materialize, he returned to Germany; but he did not cease to praise the great West, especially Missouri, and to promote immigration into this State. Paul Follenius relinquished a lucrative law practice to make a home for himself and his descendants under a republican government; he also chose the present Warren county for his domicile. The difference between his former vocation and mode of life, and that in his new surroundings would have made many others shrink back; but not so with him. Like his friend Muench, working from morning until night, he made his farm profitable and his home attractive; but the hardships of this sort of life made such an inroad upon his health that his friends advised him to quit the farm and to seek another field of action. He leased his property and came to St. Louis to take editorial charge of a German paper; but this arrangement fell through, so that he returned to his farm, where he afterwards died. Goebel found it still more difficult to accustom himself to the life on his farm, which he had bought in

German Immigration to St. Louis

Franklin county near the town of Washington. The professor of astronomy, mathematics, and geography made a poor agriculturist, and soon returned to St. Louis, leaving his wife and children to take care of the farm. He found employment in the United States Land Survey Office in this city, as chief geometer, which place he occupied for many years, giving from time to time lectures in the aforesaid branches of science.

Following Duden's advice, others settled near his former possessions, where the town of Dutzow was founded by Mr. von Bock. E. K. Angelrodt made his home on the south side of the Missouri in the Bonhomme Bottom, but came to St. Louis within a short time, preferring city life to that in the country. He had been a prominent merchant, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and as such in opposition to the government. His coming to America was the result of difficulties with the reigning powers; but strange to say, soon after his arrival in St. Louis he was appointed Consul for Prussia, Saxony, and other German States. Close to Angelrodt's farm was that of the brothers, Henry and Alexander Kayser, who came in 1833. Henry, the older, was an architect and civil engineer by profession. Neither he nor his brother could make the farm a success. They sold it at a great sacrifice, and moved to St. Louis, where Henry opened a drawing school; later on he assisted in the survey of the Mississippi river, and was appointed City Engineer, when that office was created in 1839. He held the same office for fifteen years, and the present sewer and drainage system of St. Louis is his work.

German Immigration to St. Louis

In William Palm, who came to St. Louis in 1835, this community acquired a citizen of superior qualifications. A man of the finest attainments, clear judgment and staunch principles, he was a graduate of the Berlin School of Engineering, and he established in St. Louis the machine shops known as Palm's foundry, where were built the first locomotives for the Ohio and Mississippi and the Iron Mountain railroads. Palm organized the German Savings Institution, and served his fellow citizens during a number of years as presiding officer of the City Council. He founded the chair of mechanical engineering at Washington University with a sufficient endowment, and willed a legacy of thirty thousand dollars to the same institution. The commercial community gained a very valuable addition in Adolphus Meier, whose arrival dates back to 1835. Born in Bremen, next to Hamburg the most important German seaport, where he received not only a brilliant education, but a thorough mercantile training, he was but twenty-two years of age when he came to St. Louis, fully equipped for mercantile enterprise. He first established a hardware store, and soon thereafter embarked in the export business, making leaf tobacco and cotton a specialty, adding to this in course of time a cotton factory, a cotton compress plant, and Bessemer steel works. He planned and built, in 1848, a substantial road from East St. Louis (at that time called Illinoistown) to Belleville, for the better transportation of coal; and he became the chief promotor of the Missouri Pacific and Kansas Pacific railroads, the construction bonds of the latter of which roads he successfully sold in Europe.

German Immigration to St. Louis

To the same period of immigration belong two men, whose names have become famous in the world of science, Dr. George Engelmann and Dr. Adolph Wislizenus. Both were excellent physicians, but they were still more celebrated for their achievements in other fields of science. They traveled extensively, and participated in several expeditions for the exploration of the western and southwestern territories. Engelmann's botanical and geological work received the highest encomium from the savants of both hemispheres. Scientific bodies at home and abroad elected him to corresponding membership. Wislizenus was an acknowledged authority through his observations and writings in reference to the meteorological, geological, and physical conditions of this country. A number of his writings were published by the United States Government.

The revolutionary movements of 1848 and 1849 in France, Germany and Austria, resulted in a vast emigration to the United States, the overwhelming majority from the different German countries. Missouri, and especially St. Louis, received a large share; so that it is in order, therefore, to speak of it as the second period of German immigration into Missouri. The first period brought us exclusively men of learning and standing, which cannot be said in reference to all the later comers, who were divided, so to speak, into two classes, men of the higher culture and others with but little education. Physicians, lawyers, clergymen, teachers, artists, professional men of all branches in one class; mechanics, peasants, journeymen, and laborers of all classes formed the mass of the other, But all came with the intention to live henceforth under the 'Stars and Stripes,' to make

German Immigration to St. Louis

this country their home, and become citizens of this, the greatest Republic on earth. It is significant that those belonging to the earlier period had, with few exceptions, preferred to settle in the interior of the State, and that those of the second period showed a decided preference for the city. St. Louis, as we know, bore originally an outspoken French character even during the first quarter of the century. The emigration from Ireland, Germany and Bohemia made the city more or less cosmopolitan. The German element was in great preponderance among the new-comers of 1850, so that at least a part of the city became in a measure Germanized. The proverbial industry, patience and frugality of the German mechanic and laborer was the basis of their success in a foreign country. These qualities made them well liked. They found employment, and gave satisfaction to their employers. Those of mercantile pursuits were very welcome as clerks in American business houses, and not a few of them became, in course of time, partners in some of the largest firms. Others who came here with sufficient means established at once a business of their own, met with success, and many of our most prominent firms originated from that period. This was particularly the case in the wholesale grocery, the flour and milling, the grain, produce and commission branches. The industrial field was by no means neglected. The beginning was, in the most cases, very modest and small, but perseverance and integrity found sooner or later the deserved reward; and it may be said that almost every industrial pursuit has these many years been well represented by German firms. The nationality has furnished many presidents, vice-presidents and directors of the Merchants Exchange, and

German Immigration to St. Louis

the Cotton Exchange, and numerous bank presidents and cashiers of the highest ability. Likewise in the insurance line, and in the commercial community at large are found a large number of prominent German names. The medical profession of St. Louis gained some of its most distinguished representatives from the ranks of German physicians. The foundation of our Academy of Science was the meritorious work of Dr. Engelman, senior, and of his lifelong friend and colleague, Wislizenus; and several other organizations of similar character owe their existence to German citizens of St. Louis.

The "Forty-eighters," which name was given to those whose participation in the revolution of '48 and '49 had compelled them to place the Atlantic between themselves and German prisons and, in some instances, the execution of a death sentence, included in their ranks a class of men who were particularly instrumental in the development of the German-American press. It was but natural that the German element commenced to take an active part in politics at an early day, but more so after the organization of the Republican party, though many have not severed their affiliations with the Democracy. The musical life in St. Louis was for a long time rather a primitive one, and hardly worth the name. A remarkable change in this respect came with the third quarter of the century, when German musicians and music teachers made this city their home, arousing a warm interest in musical matters in the home circles, as well as publicly. The organization of good church choirs, musical and singing societies, amateur and professional orchestras in our midst, must, with but few exceptions, be attributed

German Immigration to St. Louis

to our German fellow-citizens; and their achievements in this field of art are certainly entitled to recognition and praise. The influx of German immigrants, after the great exodus from Europe during the first half of the fifties, continued in that and the next decade; but it was more sporadic than before, and has become rather insignificant in the last twenty years.

That Missouri, a slave and a border State, did remain in the Union instead of joining the Confederacy, was in a great measure due to the firm stand which its German population took at the outbreak of the Civil War. The first four regiments that went into the field from this State to fight for the preservation of the Union, were composed entirely of Germans. From the drummer boy in his teens to the gray-bearded veteran who had served in the Prussian or other German armies; from shop, store, counting-room and office, rushed these adopted citizens to arms, to prevent the destruction of the republic. They were unfaltering in their loyalty. In St. Louis and in the entire State, they sacrificed not only their personal interests, but also blood and life itself, as innumerable gravestones in our national and other cemeteries bear witness. And when the war had come to an end, those who had not become its victims returned to their firesides and to their peaceful occupations. They are law-abiding, orderly, industrious, and, as a class, duly devoted to the welfare of the community in which they live, and of the country at large. They have identified, and are still identifying, themselves with all the interests of the Commonwealth, and the process of amalgamation is so visibly progressing that the reproach of being clannish, not always made without some degree of justification, will in due time be heard no more. The 'Stars and Stripes' float over and for us all. Our interests are mutual, our aims one and the same, whatever our nationality or that of our ancestors may be."

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