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US Army Corps
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Kansas City District

Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir, Missouri

American Archaeology Division Department of
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Columbia, Missouri

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Cultural Resources Survey Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir Project



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The ten volumes report the results of a cultural resources survey in the Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir Project, Henry, Benton, St. Clair, and Hickory counties in southwestern Missouri. The combined volumes relate the findings of historical, architectural, archeological surveys conducted between 1975 and 1977. Volume I contains an outline of Osage River history to serve as a background for historical studies; Volume II is a historical gazeteer. Volume III contains the architectural survey of the reservoir. Volumes IV		

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through IX report the archeological survey of the reservoir. Volume IV is a description of the archeological survey, the results of that survey, and an analysis of prehistoric settlement-subsistence patterns in the reservoir area. Volume V contains analyses of surface collections obtained during the survey, and includes studies of chipped stone tools, ground stone tools, hematite, ceramics, and projectile points.

Volume VI consists of an interpretation of the Euro-American settlement of the lower Pomme de Terre River valley. Volume VII is a study of the results of preliminary testing at several sites in the lower Pomme de Terre River valley. Volume VIII contains the results of excavations in rock shelters along the Osage River. Volume IX contains studies relating to tests conducted in early occupation sites in the reservoir area, and an analysis of some Middle Archaic materials.

Finally, Volume X contains four environmental study papers, detailing the bedrock and surficial geology, the historic plant resources, and special studies of the soils and geology or portions of the reservoir.

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Russell L. Miller, Stephen A. Chomke, Andrea L. Novick, Charles E. Cantley, Janet E. Joyer, R. A. Ward, T. L. Thompson, C. V. Haynes, F. B. King, and D. L. Johnson.

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CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY
HARRY S. TRUMAN DAM AND RESERVOIR PROJECT

VOLUME I

HISTORICAL RESOURCES:
CHRONOLOGY OF OSAGE RIVER HISTORY

by
Curtis H. Synhorst

A PROJECT CONDUCTED FOR THE
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
U. S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS
KANSAS CITY DISTRICT

Under Contract No. DACW41-75-C-0202

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by

AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA

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REPORTS OF THE
CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY
HARRY S. TRUMAN DAM AND RESERVOIR PROJECT

- Volume I: CHRONOLOGY OF OSAGE RIVER HISTORY, by Curtis H. Synhorst. 399 pp.
- Volume II: HISTORICAL GAZETTEER AND MITIGATION RECOMMENDATIONS, by Curtis H. Synhorst. 340 pp.
- Volume III: ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY, by Nanette M. Linderer. 85 pp.
- Volume IV: THE ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY, by Donna C. Roper. 253 pp.
- Volume V: LITHIC AND CERAMIC STUDIES
- Part I: Ground Stone Implements, by Michael Piontkowski, pp. 1-25
 - Part II: Hematite in the Harry S. Truman Reservoir Area, by Deborah E. House, pp. 27-72
 - Part III: Introduction to the Truman Reservoir Pottery, by Lisa G. Carlson, pp. 73-120
 - Part IV: Projectile Points, by Donna C. Roper and Michael Piontkowski, pp. 121-268
 - Part V: A Preliminary Examination of Chipped Stone from Truman Reservoir, Missouri, by David E. Griffin and Michael K. Trimble, pp. 269-349
- Volume VI: EURO-AMERICAN SETTLEMENT OF THE LOWER POMME DE TERRE RIVER VALLEY, by Russell L. Miller. 75 pp.
- Volume VII: ARCHEOLOGICAL TEST EXCAVATIONS IN THE HARRY S. TRUMAN RESERVOIR. MISSOURI: 1975, by Stephen A. Chomko.
- Volume VIII: ARCHEOLOGICAL TEST EXCAVATIONS: 1976, by Andrea L. Novick and Charles E. Cantley. 126 pp.
- Volume IX: PRELIMINARY STUDIES OF EARLY AND MIDDLE ARCHAIC COMPONENTS
- Part I: Preliminary Archeological Investigations at Two Early Archaic Sites: The Wolf Creek and Hand Sites, by Michael Piontkowski, pp. 1-58
 - Part II: The Distribution of Middle Archaic Components in the Truman Reservoir Area, by Janet E. Joyer, pp. 59-80
- Volume X: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDY PAPERS
- Part I: Bedrock and Surficial Geology of the Harry S. Truman Reservoir Area, West Central Missouri, by R. A. Ward and T. L. Thompson, pp. 1-21
 - Part II: Report on Geochronological Investigations in the Harry S. Truman Reservoir Area, Benton and Hickory Counties, Missouri, by C. Vance Haynes, pp. 23-32
 - Part III: Spatial and Temporal Distribution of Plant Resources in the Harry S. Truman Reservoir, by Frances B. King, pp. 33-58
 - Part IV: Soils and Soil-Geomorphic Investigations in the Lower Pomme de Terre Valley, by Donale Lee Johnson, pp. 59-139



FOREWORD

This is one of ten volumes of a series reporting the results of the Cultural Resources Survey of the Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir Project, on the Osage River in southwestern Missouri. The combined volumes report the findings of the historical, architectural, and archeological surveys of the reservoir area. These surveys, conducted between 1975 and 1977, were carried out by the American Archaeology Division, Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri-Columbia, under contract with the United States Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District. These volumes provide documentation evidencing compliance with Executive Order 11593 "Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment" dated 13 May 1971, Section 2(a), and was authorized for funding under P.L. 86-253 as amended by P.L. 93-291.

Volume I contains an outline of Osage River history to serve as a background for historical studies; Volume II is a historical gazetteer, and concludes with recommendations for mitigating the effect of the reservoir on historical resources. Both volumes were prepared by historian Curtis H. Synhorst.

Volume III contains the architectural survey of the reservoir, and recommendations for mitigating the effect of reservoir construction on these resources. It was prepared by architectural historian Nanette Linderer.

Volumes IV through IX report the archeological survey of the reservoir, conducted under the direction of archeologist Dr. Donna C. Roper, and contain recommendations for mitigating the effect of the reservoir on these resources. Volume IV, by Roper, is a description

of the archeological survey, the results of that survey, and an analysis of prehistoric settlement-subsistence patterns in the reservoir area. Volume V contains analyses of surface collections obtained during the survey, and includes studies of chipped stone tools, by David E. Griffin and Michael Trimble; ground stone tools, by Michael Piontkowski; hematite, by Deborah E. House; ceramics, by Lisa G. Carlson; and projectile points, by Donna C. Roper and Michael Piontkowski.

Volume VI consists of an interpretation of the Euro-American settlement of the lower Pomme de Terre River valley, by Russell L. Miller; Volume VII is a study of the results of preliminary testing at several sites in the lower Pomme de Terre River valley, by Stephen A. Chomko; Volume VIII contains the results of excavations in rock shelters along the Osage River, carried out by Andrea L. Novick and Charles E. Cantley; Volume IX contains studies relating to tests conducted in early occupation sites in the reservoir area, and an analysis of some Middle Archaic materials, by Michael Piontkowski and Janet E. Joyer.

Finally, Volume X contains four environmental study papers, detailing the bedrock and surficial geology, by Ronald A. Ward and T. L. Thompson; the historic plant resources, by Francis B. King; and special studies of the soils and geology of portions of the reservoir, by Donald Lee Johnson and C. Vance Haynes.

The scope of work provided for this project by the Corps of Engineers is herewith appended as Appendix A.

W. Raymond Wood
W. Raymond Wood
Project Director

APPENDIX A

CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY
HARRY S. TRUMAN DAM AND RESERVOIR PROJECT

SCOPE OF WORK

Contract No. DACW41-75-C-0202

1. Introduction.

The Government is engaged in construction of the Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir project on the Osage River in Missouri. The dam will create a reservoir of approximately 55,600 acres at multipurpose pool level. It is proposed that approximately 166,000 acres be purchased in fee in Benton, Henry, Hickory, and St. Clair counties with flood easements in Bates, Cedar and Vernon counties.

Since the late 1950's there have been numerous surveys and salvage projects concerned with the archeological resources within the area of the full pool but no survey has been undertaken for historical or historic architectural sites.

The work defined herein to be performed by the Contractor will provide documentation evidencing compliance with Executive Order 11593 "Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment" dated 13 May 1971, Section 2(a), and is authorized for funding under P.L. 86-253 as amended by P.L. 93-291.

2. Scope.

This study encompasses the identification, location, and evaluation of the cultural resources within the prescribed limits, these being all fee simple lands and relocations of the Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir

project (except Pomme de Terre arm upstream of Avery Bridge and all borrow areas on Harry S. Truman project lands).

The Contractor will conduct this survey in a professional manner and utilize all possible avenues to identify, locate, and evaluate all cultural resources; archeological test excavations shall be minimal. The Contractor will prepare a report of findings which specifies the type and apparent significance of each site. The Contractor will make recommendations to the Government concerning the administration of those sites which appear to qualify for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

3. Study Approach.

The work to be performed by the Contractor will be coordinated with all other contractors doing cultural resource work at this project. The Contractor and his representatives, along with representatives of the other contractors will meet periodically with the Corps of Engineers.

The National Park Service will be invited by the Corps to send an observer to provide comments and advice to the Corps. Meetings will be scheduled every three months to review the work of this Contractor, to provide guidance to the Contracting Officer or his representative concerning the planned work for the next 3 months, to provide written summarization of the work accomplished thus far, and to provide coordination among the contractors for the benefit of all parties.

a. The Contractor will determine which areas (1) have been surveyed but need further study, (2) have been adequately surveyed and contain sites which merit further attention (possible mitigation in the form of preservation, protection, or excavation), and (3) have not yet been surveyed.

b. The Contractor will then complete the intensive survey for areas listed under criteria (1) and (3) as mentioned in the previous paragraph (no salvage excavation is to be performed under this contract).

c. The Contractor will direct his survey efforts for the project areas in the order given:

- (1) relocations (road alignments, utilities, etc.)
- (2) public use areas (high intensity)
- (3) permanent pool area
- (4) public use areas (low intensity)
- (5) 5-year flood pool
- (6) remaining project fee simple lands

d. In addition, the Contractor will perform the following activities as requirements of the contract:

(1) Archeological and Paleontological Resources.

(a) Confer with local landowners and artifact collectors to obtain information about areas where artifacts have been found.

(b) Study all previous reports to determine what parameters were similar among all known sites, apply those parameters to the unsurveyed areas, and survey those areas for the possible location of new sites.

(c) Photograph all sites and prepare survey sheets for any newly located sites.

(d) Collect sample of surface materials at each site.

(e) Perform test excavations at sites only where necessary to determine extent and significance of the deposit.

(f) Evaluate all sites and make recommendations for preservation and management.

(g) Make recommendations for sites to be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

(2) Historical Resources.

(a) Research State and local histories to determine events and circumstances surrounding the settlement and development of the project area.

(b) Contact local historical groups and local historians to aid in locating items of historical interest within the project boundaries.

(c) Prepare survey forms on all historical sites, regardless of apparent significance, and photograph these locations.

(d) Evaluate all historical areas.

(e) Make recommendations for preservation and management.

(f) Make recommendations for nominating sites to the National Register of Historic Places.

(3) Historic Architectural Resources.

(a) Research State and local archives to determine the architectural styles that were most prominent in the project area.

(b) Locate and identify all typical and atypical architectural structures within the prescribed project limits which represent the various architectural periods that can be associated with settlement and development of the project area.

(c) Evaluate all architectural features found.

(d) Map the location and photograph all architectural features.

(e) Make recommendations for preservation and management.

(f) Make recommendations for nominations to the National Register of Historic Places.

f. The Contractor will provide a safe working environment for all persons in his employ as prescribed by

EM 385-1-1, "General Safety Requirements".

4. Availability of Data.

It is intended that the Contractor shall conduct all necessary review of literature, governmental reports, and other sources of information in the depth required for a comprehensive coverage of the study area. The Contractor is expected to accumulate, develop, and interpret all needed scientific and technological information and data.

The Government will provide the Contractor with available background maps, reports, remotely sensed data, and correspondence as needed. In addition, the Government will provide support to the Contractor regarding suggestions on data sources, format of study outline and report, and review of study progress.

5. Schedule of Work.

The Contractor is expected to pursue the study in a timely, workmanlike manner to meet the schedule set out below. During the course of the study, the Contractor will submit a monthly progress report and will review progress and coordination at the quarterly meetings earlier described.

Preliminary reports briefly discussing the cultural resources in the earlier specified areas will be submitted to the Corps subsequent to the completion of the work in those areas. A schedule for these reports will be agreed upon between the Contractor and the Government after the Notice to Proceed.

An original and three (3) copies of a draft of a report of findings together with copies of background data shall be submitted to the Government for purposes of peer and Governmental review within 20 months after the notice to proceed. (If excessive inclement weather or other delays are incurred this date may be extended to one

mutually agreed upon between the Government and the Contractor.)

Sixty (60) days after the return of the draft report from the Government, or within 24 months after the notice to proceed, the Contractor will submit an original and twelve (12) copies of a final report of findings. This report will contain the following:

a. Photographs of a representative cultural resource sites (hereafter termed sites) inspected during this survey.

b. Maps showing those areas that were surveyed for archeological resources during this study and those areas that were previously surveyed in other studies. These maps should show what sites were surveyed in each study and indicate areas surveyed in which no sites were found.

c. Maps, scale 1" = 12,000" showing the location of each site inspected in this study.

d. A discussion of each site inspected, describing size, contents, relative importance, and recommendations for further work, if any.

e. Recommendations for sites to be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places with justification for each site.

f. Accompanying but not attached to the report of findings, are to be one copy of each survey form for the newly surveyed archeological sites, one copy each of the survey forms for each of the previously surveyed archeological sites, and a photograph of each cultural resource site.

g. Required items not intended for public release should accompany the cover letter and not be included in the final report.

h. Attached to the letter of transmittal for the final report will be a summary listing of all cultural

materials found during the field investigations and a Certificate of Authenticity for the material. (These are to be stored in containers clearly marked "Property of the U.S. Government, Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District." These materials may be stored at the contracting firm's laboratories for use in future studies. However, retrieval of these materials by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for use by them is reserved. If the materials are to be removed from the laboratory facilities, this action must be approved by the Kansas City District Office.

i. Preliminary recommendations from which a cultural resource management plan can be formulated.

j. The final report to be authored by either the project director or principal investigator shall be furnished in either one and one-half spaced or double spaced typing either on one side of a page only or on both sides of a page at the option of the Contractor. The size of pages shall be 8 by 10-1/2 inches except for fold-out maps, charts, or other illustrative material. Drawings, photographs, and text shall be of a quality suitable for reproduction.

CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY
HARRY S. TRUMAN DAM AND RESERVOIR PROJECT:
HISTORICAL RESOURCES, VOLUME I

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CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY
HARRY S. TRUMAN DAM AND RESERVOIR PROJECT:
HISTORICAL RESOURCES, VOLUME I

I

INTRODUCTION

by

Curtis H. Synhorst

This chronology is meant to provide a context for the historic sites located by the Cultural Resources Survey of the Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir Project. The chronology itself is an outline of the history of the region-not a definitive record. Hopefully, it will help make clear the significance of each historic site and show how the whole pattern of historic sites contributes to an understanding of the history of the Osage Valley. Because it is selective and site-oriented, the chronology will not displace or detract from the importance of the many histories upon which it draws. Anyone seeking a more complete version of the history of the region should seek it in the sources referred to in the footnotes.

II

CHRONOLOGY OF OSAGE RIVER HISTORY

- 1617 The King of France, unable to exercise direct control over all his immense domain in the New World, granted the Company of the West or "India Company" almost sovereign control of all the territory drained by the Mississippi River to:
- 1) develop mines in that province;
 - 2) establish trade with the Indian Nations;
 - 3) establish commerce with the Spaniards of New Mexico.
- 1673 Father Jacques Marquette, Jesuit missionary, though he did not visit the Osage River country in his trip down the Mississippi, made a map of his explorations showing the "Ochage" or "Ouchage" living there.¹
- 1675-
1683 Sometime in this period French voyageurs or the "Heavy Eyebrows," as the Indians knew them, probably traveled up the Osage River and made the first European contact with the Osage Indians.²
- 1680 Father Louis Hennepin reported 17 Osage villages all along the Osage River.³
- 1682 This year the Osage Nation, unbeknownst to them, came under the dominion of King Louis XIV of France. By this year the Osage probably had horses like their neighbors and enemies, the Pawnee. Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, paddled down the Mississippi River to its mouth

and claimed the land it drained for France.⁴

- 1687 Father Anastasius Douay, with La Salle's second expedition, wrote of the Osage Indians: "The Osages, have seventeen villages on a river of their name, which empties into that of the Massourites, to which the maps have also extended the name of River of the Osages...."⁵
- 1700 Le Sueur reported continual war between the Osages and Pawnees.⁶
- 1700-
1763 The Osages were drawn into a market system by their contact with European civilization. They kept their traditional patterns of life and hunting but captured enemies for slaves and gathered surplus hides and furs for trade.⁷
- 1702 Carte Du Canada Et Du Mississippi, the influential Delisle map by Guillaume Delisle showed the "Ozages" on the Osage River.⁸
- 1703 A second Delisle map showed "R. des Osages" and villages of the Osage Indians south of that stream.⁹ Baron Louis Lahoutan published a map showing ten Osage villages along the length of the "Osages R.," nine of them south of the river, one north.¹⁰
- 1710 By this year the Osages had horses and fusils or muskets, provided by the French, and were in a period of expansion. They controlled the lower Missouri, the Osage, the Gasconade, and Kaw Rivers. They pushed south to the Arkansas River and west of the 100th meridian.¹¹
- 1712 Several Osage warriors accompanied a French expedition to Fort Detroit to fight the Sac and

Fox, allies of the English, who besieged that fort.¹² The Osage thus figured in the installment of the European "Hundred Years War" known as "Queen Anne's War."

- 1714 The center of Osage occupation prior to this year was wholly in the upper Osage valley.¹³
- 1717 Vermale's map showed "mines" all through the Ozark region south of the Osage River.¹⁴ Etienne Vaniard de Bourgmont, French commandant of Ft. Detroit, gave one of the first informative mentions of the Osages: "The Osages ... were allies and friends of the French. All their commerce ... was in fur; they could offer the best furs of the Missouri region. These folk were not numerous, but their blood was good, and they were the most alert of Indians."¹⁵ The Little Osage moved from the Osage Valley to the Missouri River country in the bend in Saline County called the Pinnacles.¹⁶
- 1719 The tribes of the Missouri Valley (including the Osage) were friendly to the French but at war with the Padoucas (Comanches) who were allied with Spain.¹⁷ Early this year Claude Charles Du Tisne, employed by the India Company, ascended the Missouri River but was halted by the Missouri Indians. Later in the year he sought a route to the country of the Padoucas through the Osage country. He found the Osage villages 80 leagues up the Osage River. "In the vicinity of the Osages there are lead mines in abundance, and it is also believed that there are silver mines," he reported. Twenty-five leagues east of the Osage village on the Osage River he found a "very

fine prairie, wooded with little groves and a very fine soil ready for the plow." The village was on an elevation $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from the river to the northwest, 100 lodges and 200 warriors. Du Tisne's first objective was to make peace among the Osage, Padoucas and Pani (Pawnee) to secure a route between New Spain and New France. His secondary mission was to discover mineral resources.

Du Tisne and Bernard de la Harpe provided the first detailed information on the Osages as a result of this trip. These Indians were "great and large warriors and never so happy as when fighting their enemies." "They have several chiefs of bands but few have absolute authority. These savages are well made and crafty. In general they are treacherous and break their word easily." Their main village was in the juncture formed by the angle of Osage and Marmaton Rivers where it remained through historic times, till they were removed by the United States Government.¹⁸

1719-
1742

The India Company sent Philip Francis Renault on mining expeditions out of Fort Chartres beginning in the fall of 1719. Renault's men doubtless smelted lead in southwest Missouri. Perhaps they were responsible for excavations at Halley's Bluff, present Vernon county, and in west St. Clair county.¹⁹

1720

Beauvillier's map showed Osage villages north of the Osage River.²⁰ The India Company, noting that voyageurs trading in the country between the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers were "... endeavoring to sow strife among the savage

tribes and to incite them to war, to enable themselves to purchase the slaves which these nations capture ..." the Company ordered Sieur de Bourgmont, commandant in this country, to arrest any voyageurs in the territory and confiscate their goods.²¹

1720-
1721

The India Company sent Bourgmont on an expedition among the Indians in the country between the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers to:

- 1) secure a route to New Spain for the voyageurs;
- 2) establish security of the mines in the Illinois country;
- 3) make peace between the Padoucas and the Indians allied with France (especially the Osages).²²

1720-
1840

The Osage launched raiding and war attacks on the Wichita Indians in the Red River district.²³

1721

The Osage raided Pawnee villages for slaves and horses. French slave traders came to know the Pawnee almost exclusively as slaves so they named them Pani (Latin for slave), hence, Pawnee. Du Tisne spoke of visiting the Osage and giving them slaves to sell for him at Natchitoches. While the French carried on a profitable slave trade with the Osage they were themselves attacked by these Indians, as in 1721 when Richard Pichart and five other Frenchmen were plundered by the Osage while trying to obtain horses from the Mentos.²⁴

1722

The Spaniards planned to establish themselves on the Canzes (Kansas) River. The French reacted, Bienville sending out a detachment of

twenty soldiers to construct a small fort on the same river and to furnish the natives willing to resist the Spaniards with arms.

1723 The great village of the Osage on the river of that name was known in official circles in France as "the habitation of the Indians among whom the voyageurs go" and must have been a common trading spot for these French traders years before Du Tisne gave the first detailed account of these people. This village was also a common locus for describing other places and peoples. "The voyageurs and Indians report for certain that the village of the Osages is surrounded by fine mountains and prairie, and these Indians report that there are a number of mines of pure copper, and that they found pieces weighing seven and eight pounds."²⁵

1734 The Osage murdered eleven voyageurs and forced others to flee back to the Illinois country, but the French, instead of demanding restitution from the Osage, made excuses for them. The Osage figured very critically in French efforts to secure the Louisiana territory from the encroachments of the English and Spanish.²⁶

1738 The Osage plundered French hunters and traders employed by the Company of the Indies, yet the French were powerless to do anything against them.²⁷

1740-
1763 In the early 18th century the French tolerated the depredations of the Osage because they stood as their link with the west. In the mid-18th century the French turned their attention

to the English threat and still had to keep the Osage as allies despite these depredations.

- 1745 The French king granted to M. Deruisseau Perrot the exclusive trade of the entire Missouri River territory.²⁸
- 1748 Governor Vandreuil of Louisiana wrote that the voyageurs were being attacked and killed by the Osage.²⁹
- 1751 The Comanche and Wichita caught the Big Osage by surprise when they were busy in the buffalo hunt, killed 22 Osages, losing 27 of their own people.³⁰
- 1752 The Little Osage and Missouri Indians were located together on the Missouri River while the Grand Osage remained on the northern branch of the Osage River. Important to the French, this whole region of the Osage River country was known as Paye plein de Mines.³¹
- 1755-
1763 The Osage allied with the French in the French and Indian War.
- 1763 The Treaty of Paris recognized France's expulsion from the Missouri River Valley and Spain's hegemony there.
- 1763-
1800 The Osage were the most powerful and strategically located tribe in Spanish Upper Louisiana.³²
- 1763-
1772 The English sent commercial envoys to the Osage seeking to attract them by rewarding them with lavish gifts and giving them a flag for their village. This made them difficult to control and the Spaniards complained that "Having

accustomed the Indians to priveleges it is extremely difficult to reduce them to reason." The Osage treated Spanish authority with contempt and captured and killed the voyageurs at will.³³

1764

While nominally under Spanish rule, the Frenchman Auguste Chouteau established St. Louis, named for the French king, as an administrative center and fort to contain the British advances from the east. The Osage ranged east to the Mississippi River and traded furs at this new settlement.³⁴

1769

The Osages were on the Spaniards' list for receiving gifts.³⁵ By this time the Osage were well accustomed to traveling to St. Louis to seek gifts and trade goods.³⁶

1770

French "outlaws" were inciting the Osage to raid the Red River area to capture slaves and horses. More and more, the Osage movements and war efforts were understandable in relation to commerce and the demands of the market, by way of the voyageurs.³⁷

1770-
1779

The Osages and Missouris made foraging trips to St. Genevieve and stole horses from the inhabitants. The shortage of horses in the settlement was so acute that the settlers had trouble grinding their wheat.³⁸

1772

M. Don Pedro Piernas, Lt. Governor of Illinois at St. Louis, learned that the Osage had killed several Frenchmen and enslaved others. In April a band went to wage war against the Black Pawnees and returned with two French scalps.³⁹ Baron de Ripperda recognized the Osage

as being so troublesome he recommended a campaign against them.⁴⁰ The Osage, in their middle position between advancing European empires, enjoyed special treatment and special privileges. Athanase de Mezieres pointed out, "few Indian tribes west of the Mississippi enjoyed the happy circumstances of the Osage, since they could raid the southern frontier settlements of the same government [Spain's] while maintaining relative peace on the northern frontier."⁴¹

In June Clermont, chief of the Great Osage, sent a message to Piernas thanking him for the Frenchmen he had sent and asking him to command the nations of the Mississippi (especially the Sac and Fox) to be peaceful.⁴²

1773 Because the Osages persisted in robbing and killing the traders who sought to trade with tribes further west, the Spaniards tried to deprive them of arms and ammunition. However, just when the Osages felt the shortage of munitions acutely enough to make peace, an English trader slipped past the Spaniards, traveling up the Missouri River with two boat loads of arms and succeeded in winning the gratitude of these Indians.⁴³

1773-
1806 The Osage were troublesome to the Spaniards. However the troubles at this time were just one outcome of the great continuity in Osage policy towards whites from Du Tisne's expedition (1719) to Z. Pike's expedition (1806). The Osage tried to prevent trade goods from reaching west of their villages on the Osage River. If they could prevent European munitions from reaching

their enemies, the Osage could continue their hegemony and expand. They tried to dissuade Pike from going west in 1806 just as they had Du Tisne. They killed voyageurs who traded with their enemies.

1773-
1779

The Osage frequently committed thefts and murders against the Spaniards and French voyageurs in the Arkansas River Country.⁴⁴

1775

While the Osages traditionally provided by far the biggest supply of pelts and hides at St. Louis, the Spaniards had the Osage on the "forbidden" list for trade.⁴⁵ This action was meant to punish the Osage.

1776

The Osages, both Great and Little, were reported behaving themselves much better regarding the traders.⁴⁶

1777

The Osage hunted their expanding range quite intensively and provided St. Louis with a more profitable trade than any other Indian nation west of the Missouri. Every year the Big Osage alone produced 500-550 packs of deer skins for St. Louis; this was surplus above their considerable demand for subsistence.⁴⁷ The Osage were engaged in open hostilities with all the bordering plains tribes and also the tribes living on the Mississippi in the English district.⁴⁸ The Osage made peace with the Quapaws, with whom they had been at war for several years.⁴⁹ Athanase de Mezieres, Lt. Governor of Louisiana, proposed an Indian alliance against the Osage.

1778

De Mezieres had recommended a war against the Osage early this year but, by March, the

English had learned of the treaty between France and the American colonies and launched a war on France and Spain. The "large and indomitable tribe of Osages," as de Mezieres called them, thus figured in European imperial wars and the American Revolution. By July the Spaniards, like their enemies the English, were trying to secure the loyalty of the Osages, Kickapoos, Sacs and Missouriis. The Indians would shift from one side to the other, not knowing who would win.⁵⁰

1778-
1783

The Osages acted like a buffer between the Spanish and the English during the American Revolution.

1779

The residents of St. Genevieve complained again to the Spaniards that the Osage were attacking them and stealing their horses.⁵¹ The Spaniards complained that in spite of the gifts they sent to the Osages each year, that tribe continued to commit murders and robberies against their hunters, the voyageurs.⁵²

Feb.

Luis de Blanc, Governor of the Natchitoches province, complained to Baron de Carondelet that his post was deprived of provisions by "... the treacherous Osages who constantly wage the most cruel war upon us in this region as well as upon our Indian allies." Yet the Osage continued to be supplied every year with arms and ammunition in St. Louis and traders visited them often to supply them with the tools to destroy anyone they pleased. While Spain ruled Louisiana, the French traders continued their commerce with the the Osage much as they had before the change in rulers.⁵³

- 1785 Estevan Miro described the Osage: "The village of the Grand Osages is located a hundred and twenty leagues up the river of that name, two leagues from its mouth on a large prairie is a sort of natural and somewhat elevated platform. This is the most numerous of the nations of the Missouri, at least of those with whom we trade, and may have about four hundred or four hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms. Generally they are good hunters."⁵⁹
- Dec. The Osage attacked the Caddos, killing many warriors and stealing their horses.⁶⁰
- 1786 The Spaniards sought to make peace between the Caddos and Pawnees on one side and the Osages on the other. They exchanged medals and made peace but Osage braves continued to make their foraging and war missions against these tribes and the whites. The Spaniards planned action to intimidate the Osages.⁶¹
- Aug. Spanish traders ascending the Osage River did not have sufficient water above the "Nanga" (Niangua) River to take pirogues up to the Osage villages, sixty leagues up the river.⁶² A few Spaniards went up the Osage River, but most of the trade with the Osages at their villages was carried on by French residents of St. Louis, especially the Chouteaus. This family, led by Auguste Chouteau, had extensive dealings with the Osages and cultivated a special relationship with that nation that the Spaniards found alternately aggravating and useful. The history of the Chouteau family is tied up with most of the

literature of the Missouri and Osage Rivers throughout this period.⁶³

- Oct. The Spaniards encouraged the Arkansas Indians to ally with the Caddos against the Osages.⁶⁴
- Dec. Don Estevan Miro warned the Osages that the Spaniards would send an army of whites and Indians to the Arkansas country and make war on them if they did not behave.⁶⁵
- 1787 The "bloody massacres" suffered by the Spaniards at the hands of the Osage caused them to prohibit all trade "either directly or indirectly" with any Osage Indians.⁶⁶ Also in this year the Spaniards beseeched the Osages to make peace with the Caddos, Pawnees and the tribes of Natchitoches. The full range of Spain's fickle policy toward the Osage--pleading, trade embargo, alliances, and war--was expressed in this single year.⁶⁸
- May Miro sent word from New Orleans that all trade with the Osages was to stop, as punishment for their "perfidious acts," and ordered that all trade goods be distributed among nations most likely to make war against them.⁶⁹
- Sept. Josef de la Pena encouraged the Caddos to attack the Osages. The Caddo chiefs said they were inferior in numbers to the Osage and could not launch a full attack but would "...try to do them as much harm as possible."⁷⁰
- 1788 The Great Caddo nation changed the location of their village on account of the constant war waged on them by the Osage. In 1790 they moved again.⁷¹

- Mar. The Osage received gifts from the Spaniards and made peace, but in a few weeks, they raided within ten miles of St. Louis, stealing horses, ransacking houses and scalping a few whites.⁷²
- 1789 The Comanche, Tawehash, Wichita, Yscani, and Tawakoni, supplied by the Spaniards, formed an army of 700 warriors and attacked the Osage. Their success encouraged them to plan an attack on the Osage village itself.⁷³ These southwestern and plains tribes felt the pressure of Osage expansionism.
- May Several traders lodged a protest with Don Joseph Valliere, Captain of the Infantry of Louisiana, against the Osage for their robberies and scalplings. The traders and hunters of the Arkansas country asked for permission to make war on the Osage.⁷⁴
- 1790
Jan. The Spaniards, in alliance with other tribes, planned an expedition against the Osage.⁷⁵ The Osages raided Santa Fe in 1790 and took 800 horses.⁷⁶ Around 1770 they had established a camp on the Arkansas River in New Mexico. In 1782 or 1783 they had routed a caravan guarded by troops and brought to their nation ingots of silver and mules.⁷⁷
- Oct. Governor Miro of Louisiana wrote, "The said (Osage) nation is extremely unfaithful ... (making) various incursions against the establishments of Santa Fe, capital of the Kingdom of New Mexico." The Osage were not strangers to the Spaniards in Santa Fe. What made this nation so formidable, in part, was their mobility, combined with the security of their villages on the Osage River.

The Osage had a Santa Fe trail from their villages on the Osage River to Santa Fe, New Mexico. The Spanish alliances and wars against the Osage in the following years were motivated more by the damage these Indians were doing in the Southwest than by the murders they committed in Missouri. The Spaniards knew the Big and Little Osage as "the worst two tribes that we have on the Missouri, and at the same time the strongest ..." and encouraged the Sac and Fox nations to attack them.⁷⁸ During this year the Little Osage were driven from their village on the Missouri River by Sac and Fox invasions. The Sac and Fox were known among the Osage as the "Hard to kill People." The Osage were in the middle of the "chain pressure.": at the same time as the Osage drove the Caddos west, the Sac, Fox and Shawnee drove the Osage west.⁷⁹ The plains tribes were supplied by the Spaniards, the Sac and Fox were supplied by the English. The Osage supplied themselves from the French traders from St. Louis and, increasingly, from the English.

1790-
1803

The Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw Indians from the southeast began infiltrating west of the Mississippi and north of White River, into the Osage territory, pressured by the Americans.⁸⁰

1791

Baron de Carondelet, who succeeded Estevan Miro as Governor General of Louisiana, viewed the Americans as the worst threat to the Spanish empire in the Missouri River valley. The best defense of Spanish dominion, he thought, was to keep the English traders out of the valley and encourage the fear the Indian nations felt toward

the Americans. Carondelet had to use intrigue as a substitute for the strength Spain could not provide to keep an empire. In this scheme, the Osage had to be subdued, one way or another. Under English influence, the Sac and Fox made peace with the Osage. This was part of the English scheme to penetrate the Missouri River Valley.⁸¹ Now, English goods, in every way superior to Spanish goods, flowed freely into the Missouri River Valley. Also this year, the Osage sent four chiefs to St. Louis to talk with Manuel Perez.⁸² It was clear that the only way the Spaniards could deprive the Osage of trade would be to deprive all the tribes of the Missouri Valley and thus drive them into the arms of the English. The only answer to the Osage problem was to construct a fort near their villages on the Osage River.

Nov. The Americans, under General Arthur St. Clair, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the British-supplied Indians, leaving settlements of the northwest defenseless and checking American advances.

1791-1822 The Osage often invited friends and allies to hunt on their lands. When at peace, the Sac would come from the northeast. The Kansas and Osage also practiced a policy of friendly trespass on each other's territory depending on how the game distributed itself.⁸³

1792 The Spaniards were in a quandry over how to treat the Osage. Efforts to war against them were unsuccessful. Spain could not cut off their trade entirely as the Osage could prevent trade

from passing to all the tribes of the Missouri River and Arkansas River countries. If the Spaniards did not supply the nations in their territory, the "... [Indian nations] would carry on commerce with the English, who desire nothing more."⁸⁴ The Sac, Fox and Kickapoo resumed war against the Osage with the encouragement of the Spaniards and displeasure of the English.⁸⁵ The Spaniards once again seriously considered establishing a fort among the Osage.⁸⁶

Mar. Zenon Trudeau, Lt. Governor of Upper Louisiana, was instructed to build a fort to restrain the Osage.

Sum- Despite official displeasure with the Osage and the trade embargo against them, a convoy of ten barges or pirogues full of Frenchmen and trade goods ascended the Osage River to the villages, led by "the younger Choutaux" (John Pierre Chouteau). While the other tribes were hurt by the disruption of trade, the Osage were well clad in new blankets of wool and armed with new guns and knives.⁸⁷

June The tumult in Europe intruded into the Missouri and Osage River Valleys. The First Coalition against France and the French Revolution formed and the great French War commenced. Spain and France, former allies, were now mortal enemies. In the Missouri Valley Spain had to rule a population made up mostly of Frenchmen and Indians. Governor Carondelet sought to control the French population and also repel the advances of the Americans, who were perceived by Spain as the natural ally of the French Revolution and

tied to France by the treaty of 1778. This put the trouble with the Osages in a weird perspective for Carondelet, a brittle monarchist. French, Americans, and Osages were united in his mind as the enemies of Spain and the Ancient Regime.

Nov. The French people declared their fraternity with all nations desiring freedom and offered to export their revolution.

Dec. Carondelet prohibited all trade with the Osage under penalty of a 300 peso fine or, in case of insolence, prison. Carondelet also proclaimed a policy against the Osage he would have launched against the French Revolution had he the opportunity: "At the same time you will proclaim that any subject of His Majesty, or individual of the other nations, white or red, may overrun the Great and Little Osages, kill them and destroy their families, as they are disturbers of the prosperity of all the nations." "It is extremely important to humilitate or destroy those barbarians, which can only be done by using severity."⁸⁸ The Governor General of Louisiana on December 22 authorized an attack on the Osage.⁸⁹

1793-1830 Intermittent war and peace obtained between the Osages and their neighbors in all directions.⁹⁰

1793 The turmoil in Europe deepened as the royal houses fought revolutionary France and the French executed their king. Carondelet's three main imperial concerns in Louisiana were:

- 1) the threatened invasion from the Americans;
- 2) intermittent war in the west centering on the Osage Indians;

3) the doubtful loyalty of Carondelet's French subjects.

Carondelet could not handle these threats with his small military force so he urged a policy of Indian alliances as the best defense against disorder.⁹¹ While the Spaniards planned a war of extermination against the Osage, Auguste Chouteau visited their villages regularly with trade goods.⁹² The Loups, Miamis, Ottawas, Potawatomies, Peorias and Shawnees petitioned the Spaniards to restrain the Osages from attacking them.⁹³ The Osage raided New Madrid and stole more than sixty horses in one night.⁹⁴ Zenon Trudeau sent word to the tribes surrounding the Osage through Louis Lorimer to prepare to attack the Osage.⁹⁵ Carondelet sent out orders all over the Missouri River Valley to prepare for war against the Osage.⁹⁶

By this year the Osage were quite dependent on traders for supplies. Many went to St. Louis to plead with Zenon Trudeau to send traders to their villages. They still lived all together in a huge village of about 1,250 warriors and their families and could not subsist in their accustomed style without arms and munitions. They used bows and arrows only in war and relied on guns for hunting.⁹⁷ Carondelet's fear of American invasion was realistic.

Feb. George Rogers Clark wrote to the French ambassador to the United States proposing an expedition against Spanish Louisiana using American ground forces allied with a French naval attack on New Orleans.

April The Spanish war on the Osage was obviously ineffective, as one Spaniard observed: "There are no nations in these territories who are not at war with the Osages, but withal, it never happens that any of them kill more than two Osages in a year and they will never succeed in destroying them."⁹⁸ The hunters of the Arkansas post agreed unanimously to go to war to "punish the Osages for their cruelty towards us."⁹⁹

On April 22 President George Washington proclaimed the neutrality of the United States in European wars, in effect annulling the 1778 treaty with France. But Carondelet was distrustful of Washington's claim that U. S. policy would not threaten Spain in the Missouri Valley, and, moreover, knew the Americans in the west were ready to defy U. S. policy. He saw their defiant actions as possibly conformable with Spain's interests. The Americans in the west might defy the President and launch a war on Spain; or, depending on how Spain treated them, they might defy the U. S. and join Spain. Carondelet intended to use the all-important outlet for American goods at New Orleans as a lever to pull the westerners away from allegiance to the U. S.

June Spain declared war on the Osages.¹ Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson warned Edmond Genet, French Minister to the U. S., not to grant military commissions to American citizens. This nipped the budding conspiracy between the Westerners and the French Revolutionaries who planned to attack Spanish Louisiana and played well into Carondelet's plans.

July While Jefferson told Genet that he thought any expedition by Kentuckians against Spain would be suicidal, he said, "I did not care what insurrection should be excited in Louisiana."² And the month before, Jefferson wrote in private, "Spain is so evidently picking a quarrel with us that we see a war as absolutely inevitable with her."³

Oct. Spain chartered the Commercial Company For The Discovery of The Nations of the Upper Missouri to deal with the Indian trade in that area. Carondelet recognized Spain's weakness and hoped to enlist the vigor of the traders to protect the Spanish empire.

In November, Genet sent four French agents to Kentucky to raise a force to attack Spanish Louisiana with George Rogers Clark commissioned as general. Carondelet, not trusting the official proclamations of peace from Washington, sent out orders in Louisiana to prepare for invasion from the United States. Carondelet envisioned Kentuckians coming down the Ohio and the joint French-American fleet attacking New Orleans.⁴ About this time the ineffectiveness of Carondelet's war on the Osage became apparent when the Osage made a war movement against the settlements along the Mississippi River terrorizing everyone.⁵

1793- With the American invasion considered imminent, Spain could not afford a war with the Osages. 1794 Therefore, Carondelet changed strategies by returning control of this tribe to the Frenchmen who knew them and could control them. With neither

troops to field nor a militia he could rely on to repel invasion from Kentucky, Carondelet proposed to use the Indians, reasoning that ".... [I]f the Indians remain loyal, the enemies will have great difficulty in making progress in Louisiana."⁶

1794

The Choctaws, being pressured from their homelands by the advancing Americans and other Indian nations, made a war expedition against the Osage.⁷ The Osage, deprived of Spanish trade, made up for the loss by raiding the settlers and stealing everything and also by trading with the English. They forced almost all the settlers southwest of St. Louis to withdraw to towns.⁸ A band of Osages attacked the salt works near St. Genevieve, stole horses and killed a man.⁹

In January Carondelet learned of an expedition of 5,000 French and Americans under George Rogers Clark preparing to invade Louisiana. If so, he predicted, Upper Louisiana would be lost. With a force this size the Americans could push all the way to Santa Fe.¹⁰ George Rogers Clark issued a call for volunteers for an army to invade Louisiana and free the Mississippi River.¹¹

In April the proposed western expedition of Clark got an infusion of money and gained momentum.¹² Carondelet regarded an invasion by Kentuckians as imminent and warned that "... the United States are determined to draw away all the Indian tribes from the friendship of Spain at any cost."¹³

April-
May

Baron Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, under fear of invasion by the Americans and French, reversed his policy regarding the Osage. He had

declared a war of extermination against them after the trade embargo proved ineffective. While Carondelet awaited the effect which these measures would produce, the minister of the French Convention, Monsieur Genet, began to assemble upon the Ohio River the expedition which was to invade Louisiana, and, as Carondelet wrote, "... not doubting that [Spain's] enemies would avail themselves of this opportunity to receive the support of the Osage nations -- who number not less than one thousand two hundred warriors -- and with this to overrun all those flourishing establishments of Illinois and Nuevo Madrid ... I was myself compelled to listen to the proposition for peace which were made by their [Osage] chiefs ..."14

Spain had tried to rule the Osage nation directly with force. Carondelet decided to give this policy up and hire the job done. Since there had been considerable continuity in the relations between the French of St. Louis (chiefly the Chouteaus and their employees), and the Osage all during the Spanish Regime in Louisiana, Carondelet decided to deliver all the trade with these Indians to Auguste Chouteau. In return, Chouteau would take responsibility for restraining those Indians and keep them from allying with the invading Americans.

May

The six Osage Chiefs agreed to "... allow the erection of a fort upon a height which dominates their principal village" Because of the threatened invasion by the Americans, the Spaniards could not spare regular soldiers to man a fort on the Osage River so Carondelet proposed

to "... form that settlement without money and without soldiers." All the risk and potential gain from this enterprise was to rest with Don Renato Auguste Chouteau, "... a man of incorruptible integrity and friendliness to the government; his abilities and wide knowledge, and above all, the great authority that he possesses over those savages ..." would be invaluable. In exchange, Chouteau was to get "... exclusive privilege of the trade among them during six years."¹⁵ This fort would be a kind of franchise granted to Auguste Chouteau, with his half-brother, Don Pedro (Pierre) Chouteau, commanding the "soldiers" hired by Auguste to run the fort.¹⁶

The fort was to consist of one fortified building defended by four cannons, a warehouse, commandant's lodging, powder magazine, bakery, kitchen and privies all surrounded by a wooden stockade 6" thick and 16' high. Chouteau was to be provided with twenty militiamen of his choice, paid by Spain and commanded by his half-brother, "Pedro" (Pierre) Chouteau. Chouteau selected his brother, "... as also the militiamen of his choice, in view of the practical knowledge which he possesses of that [Osage] nation, which must be managed with great mildness." Chouteau named the fort "Carondelet" in honor of the man who gave him the monopoly. Spain would provide the artillery, arms, powder and shot. In exchange for his services, Chouteau was to enjoy "... exclusive trade with the nation and river of the Osages ..." for six years. If Spain revoked the privileges before the expiration of six years, Chouteau was

to be indemnified.¹⁷ Chouteau's willingness to provide the men himself fit well with Spain's shortage of military personnel to man such an outpost. How did it fit with Chouteau's own plans? Did he need a fort? Spanish officialdom would not know or care about the fort as long as Chouteau restrained the Indians.

July The Indian trouble thus handled, Carondelet turned to the Americans and sought to negotiate a treaty with representatives of the Kentucky and Ohio settlers -- a treaty "... whose basis will be the separation of the Western States from the Atlantic States" If the Americans invaded, Carondelet would keep the Indians on Spain's side. If the Americans negotiated, he would split the west off from the coastal United States.¹⁸

In August U. S. General Anthony Wayne defeated the Indians of the northwest at Fallen Timbers. The defeat ended forty years of warfare with the English-supplied Indians of that area, pushed some Indians west of the Mississippi River, and opened new territory to American settlement.

Oct. The Indian enemies of the Osages complained that Chouteau carried on a very profitable trade with the Osage, which sustained them in their rogueries. The Spaniards punished other Indians for stealing, pillaging or killing, but the Osage just got more trade and, now, Chouteau was going to take cannons up to the Osage villages. The Indian tribes recognized that the Spaniards were incapable of controlling the Osage and also recognized that Chouteau, who was married to an Osage,

was not liable to be coercive regarding those Indians. In fact, the armaments provided for Fort Carondelet were viewed as supplies to be used by the Osage, not against them (as Carondelet had told Spanish officialdom in Madrid).¹⁹

1794-
1795

The Missouri Indians and their neighbors on the Missouri River, the Little Osage, suffered so much from the pressure applied by the Sac and Fox that they took refuge on the Osage River near the Big Osage. After the battle of Fallen Timbers, the Sac and Fox pushed west.²⁰

1795
March

An Osage war party attacked a white settlement twelve miles above St. Louis on the Mississippi River.²¹

Aug.

Zenon Trudeau reported Fort Carondelet nearly finished.²² By the middle of this year Chouteau succeeded in quieting the Osage piracies along the Missouri and Osage Rivers. The Big and Little Osage tribes together had 1,200 warriors. They still provided St. Louis with the richest hide and fur trade of any tribe in Louisiana, producing 600 packs of pelts worth 40 pesos each. The traders sometimes complained of mistreatment at the hands of the Osage, but they always returned the next year to trade. Now, the traders were very jealous of Chouteau's monopoly and some of them, especially Manuel Lisa, sought ways to break this monopoly.²³

Oct.

The Treaty of San Lorenzo between Spain and the U. S. fixed the Florida boundary, opened the Mississippi to navigation by Americans, and established the right of deposit in New Orleans. This

and the Jay Treaty (between the U. S. and Great Britain) brought the U. S. closer to the enemies of France, Great Britain and Spain, and relieved the Spanish fears of a joint French-American expedition against Louisiana. This also relieved the tension that had led Carondelet to make the deal with Chouteau to quiet the Osages. Carondelet never sent an official party to check up on Fort Carondelet to see if Chouteau built it according to plans.²⁴

This year Carondelet directed Antoine Soulard to prepare a map of the Missouri River drainage. The original version was probably prepared in 1794 at St. Louis for use by Jean Baptiste Truteau's 1794 expedition up the Missouri River. But the 1795 version showed "Fuerte Carondelet" on the upper Osage River, on the right bank, just above the R. Pickaar.²⁵

1795-
1802

The Osages established a separate village at the present day site of Claremore, Oklahoma, capping a traditional push toward the south and west. But at the same time, they retained a firm position over their traditional lands on the tributaries of the Osage River in present day Missouri.²⁶

1796

George Henri Victor Collet's map of Louisiana showed the Osage River in considerable detail, the major tributaries all named, and Fuerte Carondelet next to the Osage villages. Collet also showed, south of the Osage and near the Pomme de Terre, "Glaise a l'Elephant," indicating knowledge of the mastadon bones in the Pomme de Terre valley. A copy of this map appears in Collot's A Journey in

North America (1826). The map indicates considerable knowledge of the upper Osage area by the Spaniards.²⁷ This map was supposed to show all the fortifications mentioned by Carondelet in his messages to Alcudia on the Defence of Louisiana.²⁸

The Canadian English (known to the Osage as the "Long Knives") carried on a profitable commerce with the Osages. Despite the great distance, these traders cleared not less than 100% profit on this trade.²⁹ With Collet's detailed map of the trade route, a discussion of the trade follows:

While Chouteau had a monopoly of the trade on the Osage River, the English penetrated this territory regularly. Trade was by barter. The whites provided blue and scarlet cloths, vermillion paint, guns, balls, powder, copper kettles, knives, silver and tin trinkets, red, white, blue and black ribbons. Each boat, provided with five men, carried about 3,000 pounds of merchandise. Besides paying to the merchant 80-90% profit on London prices, the increase in value of this 3,000 pounds of merchandise when converted to pelts also paid the wages of the five crewmen for four months. The Osage Indian trade, annually providing four times the pelts and hides of any other tribes of the Missouri River country, was very lucrative. (See below for the fur trade during the American Territorial period.)

1798

The Spaniards, though not bothering to check up on Fort Carondelet, were pleased with the way the Chouteaus were handling the Osages. Trudeau reported that "Don Augusto Chouteau found means

of diverting and dissuading [the Osages] by good councils and by means of accredited ascendancy which he has among both tribes." Both Auguste and Pierre Chouteau had Osage wives.³⁰

1800
Oct.

By the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain ceded Louisiana back to France. This year Chouteau's trade monopoly with the Osage expired, but he got a four-year renewal from the French who recognized Chouteau's ability to control the Osage; this despite the vigorous protests of the other traders.³¹ By this year the Osage bear hunters were ranging outside traditional hunting territory, all the way to the Three Forks of the Arkansas River. Osage buffalo camps brought conflict not only with the Pawnee and Kiowas as in the old days, but also with the Apaches and Comanches.³² For the 127 years since Marquette first identified the Osage Indians (a period covering almost one-half the years in the "historic" period in the valley), the Osage Indians ranged over most of southern Missouri and maintained villages very close to where they were first discovered on the Osage River.

1802
May

Francois M. Perrin Du Lac outfitted a boat with trade goods and hired an "old trader" and set out from St. Louis. He traveled 177 miles to the Osage River and 240 miles up the Osage and found two populous villages of the Osage Indians on the south bank of that river.³³

June

Manuel Lisa, who had been trying to break Chouteau's monopoly of the Osage trade by urging a policy of free trade, changed his strategy and formed a partnership with Charles Sanguinet, Gregory

Sarpy and Francis Marie Benoit; he persuaded the Governor to give them the monopoly of the Osage trade in exchange for Lisa's promise to build a fine flour mill in St. Louis.³⁴

June Pierre Chouteau, angered by Lisa's success, demonstrated his influence over the Osage by persuading the Big Osage, almost one-half the whole Osage nation, to move their village to the Verdigris River and Arkansas River country. This band, under Clermont, was the most vigorous part of the nation.³⁵

Later this year, trade restrictions established by France to force the Osage on the Arkansas back to the Osage River country failed. Clermont's band stayed in the south even though deprived of their yearly annuity.³⁶

1802-1816 The population of Cherokee Indians in Arkansas and Missouri increased ten-fold in this period. The Cherokee had gone much further than the Osage in adopting white mores and technology, and they put a great deal of pressure on the Osage to move further west.³⁷

1803 Apr. France ceded the western half of the Mississippi River Valley to the United States for \$11,250,000 plus remission of \$3,750,000 debts owed to U. S. citizens by Frenchmen. All the Osage lands and hunting grounds were included in this "Louisiana Purchase," for which the inhabitants received nothing. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase, the Osage Indians were the only tribe with substantial settlements between the Missouri River and the Arkansas River.³⁸ After the Osage, the only other villages were

those of the Shawnee and Delaware near Cape Girardeau with perhaps a total of 200 warriors.³⁹ Almost immediately after the assumption of U. S. control, the Osage's problems worsened with steady white and Indian immigration from the east.

In the years immediately following the purchase, the United States Government tried to settle Indian claims east of the Mississippi River; the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Potowatomi, Illinois, Sac, Fox, Seneca, Kickapoo all demanded attention. The U. S. tried to promote inter-tribal treaty conferences and mixed offers of rewards with threats of alliances against the Osage and threats to cut off trade with them to keep them from warring against the "friendly" Indians the U. S. was trying to move onto Osage lands.⁴⁰

1804

Arrowsmith and Lewis Atlas showed several Osage Indian villages north of the Osage River. It also showed a "R. Pichou" near where Soulard had shown "R. Pichaar."⁴¹ William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana, made a treaty with the Sac and Fox in which they promised to put an end to "the bloody war" raging between themselves and the Osages.⁴² Beginning this year the main objective of U. S. policy regarding the Osage was to get them out of the Arkansas River Country to which Chouteau had lured them.⁴³ The U. S. wanted to relocate the Cherokee in the Arkansas River country and wanted the Osages back on the Osage River.⁴⁴ With Chouteau's help, the U. S. managed to convince most of the Osages to re-establish villages on the Osage River by 1805.

The U. S. was considering establishing a fort on the Osage River at a place "... where traders from Santa Fe meet ours." Contact with Spain after the Louisiana Purchase mixed suspicion with promises of lucrative trade. The Osage River was a likely route for a Santa Fe Trail. This year John Sibley reported, "... all other nations we have heard of are at war with the Osages."⁴⁵ The Osage hoped the Americans would make the other tribes stop warring on them.

July

The U. S. appointed Peter (Pedro, Pierre) Chouteau, Agent of Indian Affairs for Upper Louisiana. Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, instructed Chouteau to "... be particularly attentive to our friends the Osage nation." Chouteau, who had provided continuity from Spanish to French regimes, now provided continuity from French to American regimes. He was no doubt chosen by the U. S. for his special relationship with the Osage. He was further instructed to introduce those Indians to the arts of civilization, provide them a blacksmith, and induce the Arkansas Osage to remove back to the Osage River.⁴⁶ Dearborn also assured the Osage, on behalf of the U. S. Government, that their lands would remain in their possession until voluntarily relinquished by them.⁴⁷

1805

By this year the most active and largest group of Osages still had its permanent villages near present-day Claremore, Oklahoma.⁴⁸ These Arkansas Osage or "Osage of the Oaks" had driven all previous resident tribes "... to abandon their grounds, and retire over the Red River."⁴⁹ Also, this year the Quapaw and Cherokee, allied against

the Osage, organized a war party against the Osage.⁵⁰ John Sibley reported to President Jefferson that the Osage were at war with virtually all their neighbors.⁵¹ The Osage were still powerful enough to field 1,000 warriors for battle.⁵²

July General Wilkinson instructed Peter Chouteau to go to the Osage towns on the Osage River to obtain permission to establish a military post there. As important to Wilkinson as the fort was information "... relative to the route and the distance from the Osages to the Settlement of New Mexico, and particularly St. Afee [Santa Fe]."⁵³ Officially, there was not an overland route between Louisiana and Santa Fe and trade over this Santa Fe Trail was illicit. But Wilkinson and others knew about those taking goods, "... up the Missouri into the Osage ... and from thence take an Indian guide and traverse the Country to St. Afee."⁵⁴

Aug. Lieutenant George Peter ascended the Osage River and reported to General James Wilkinson, Governor of Louisiana Territory, that he was "... charmed with the river and its banks, which he reports to be far superior to those of the Ohio in beauty and fertility." Peter took "... ten daring Active, able bodied privates, all volunteer ... for a Tour of Forty days to the Osage nations." This first official expedition by the U. S. up the Osage River made little impression on the Indians but paved the way for Zebulon Pike's trip next year.⁵⁵

Wilkinson sent Lt. George Peter to accompany Peter Chouteau on this mission up the Osage.

Chouteau failed to gain permission to build a fort, and Lt. Peter, under the influence of Chouteau, downgraded the prospect of using the Osage River as a highway. There was not enough water to get within thirty miles of the Osage villages, he reported.⁵⁶ Lt. Peter gave the U. S. its first official, first-hand account of the Osage Indians. He was quite impressed with their size and military prowess. "They always kill Buffalo with the arrow and that frequently at the distance of eighty yards, they drive their arrows through the Body of that animal." They made little use of firearms and if a weapon was in need of repair, they did not hesitate to break up the barrel to make points for their arrows. Peter also tantalized Wilkinson with the news that "... the country abounds with copper, iron and lead mines."⁵⁷

Oct. General Wilkinson arranged a treaty of peace at St. Louis between the "... Delaware, Miamis, Patawatimis, Kickapoos, Sacks, Foxes, Kaskaskias, Scioux of the River Demoin and Iowas of the one part and the Great and Little Osages of the other part."⁵⁸ Before this treaty was concluded, however, the Potowatomi struck a very severe blow against the Osage, capturing many prisoners which Pike would return next year, these prisoners being his ticket to the Osage villages.⁵⁹

Dec. Despite the treaty, 200 Sac and Iowa warriors plundered an Osage encampment on a branch of the La Mine River.⁶⁰ The Chouteaus still dominated the Osage trade, and as Wilkinson learned, Pierre Chouteau considered them "His Osages." Wilkinson wrote, "P. Chouteau ... is desirous to be the

efficient man in all affairs Indian, and therefore dreads a Rival or competitor -- ambitious in the extreme and I find, on a closer acquaintance, by no means regardless of his private Interests, yet his Zeal is as ardent as his ambition, and his principles rather more chaste than those of three fourths of his Country Men."⁶¹ Wilkinson, like Carondelet before him, hoped to use Chouteau to effect good relations with the Osage.

Wilkinson gained confidence in his relations with the Osage as a result of Peter's mission and warned the Kansas Indians that they "... may be excited by agents from St. Afee, but the nation has not more than three hundred warriors and a word to our friends the Osages would destroy them."⁶²

1806 The Osages attacked a Caddo village and massacred the greater part of the inhabitants 125 miles above the Coashuta village. President Jefferson was interested in making peace between the Osage and other tribes. In writing to William Henry Harrison he stated, "The late stroke of the Poutewatomies on the Osages must be strongly reprimanded, and no exertion spared to recover and restore the prisoners and make satisfaction for the killed. The Indians on this [west] side of the Mississippi must understand that the river is now ours, and is not to be a river of blood."⁶³ While Jefferson hoped for peace among the Indian nations, the U. S. War Department planned an alliance of Delaware, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Shawnees against the Osage.⁶⁴

- June James Wilkinson instructed Zebulon Pike to take the Osage captives which the U. S. had lately purchased from the Potowatomies and proceed up the Osage River to the Osage villages. "In the course of your tour, you are to remark particularly upon the Geographical structure; the Natural History; and population; of the country through which you may pass, taking particular care to collect and preserve, specimens of everything curious in the mineral or botanical worlds, which can be preserved and are portable."
- July 15 Pike left Belle Fontaine after being delayed by Manuel Lisa who had Pike's interpreter arrested for debt.
- July 26 Pike met five Frenchmen coming from the Osage River who said: "It was so low they could not ascend it with their canoe."
- July 28 Pike headed up the Osage River.
- Aug. Pike reached the Osage villages up the Osage River and returned the fifty-one captives he had with him which gained him the good will and gratitude of the whole tribe.
- 1807 After the initial contacts established with the Osage by Pike and Peter, the U. S. intended to extend to those Indians the benefits of the Factory System. In operation among Indians east of the Mississippi since 1795, the Factory System provided for government monopolies of the Indian trade. Granted to "factors," the monopolies spelled out complex responsibilities and regulations in contracts. The Factory System provided

continuity with the mercantilist policies of France and Spain. It was supposed to keep the Indians happy by providing goods at a reasonable price and preventing the "inefficiency" of competition. This plan fit well with Chouteau's needs but, as during the Spanish regime, Lisa and the other free enterprise advocates attacked and criticized the Factory System at every turn until it was abandoned in 1822. At the same time as the U. S. intended to introduce the Factory System among the Osage, it hoped to establish secure territory for the Indians being moved into the territory west of the Mississippi.

Apr.

The white men and Delaware Indians along the Meramec River "... demanded protection against the unrestricted hostility of the Osages." The U. S. hoped the availability of trade goods, priced at cost through the Factory to be established near the Osage villages, would quiet the need for such raids.

In the old days the trader would take showy articles of trifling value to exchange for hides and furs. In these contacts, both sides gave to the other something he valued lightly and received in return something he valued highly, and each felt a certain contempt for the stupid tastes of the other. However, the Osage standards were raised considerably by contact with the English who provided fine blankets and weapons. In contrast the French and American goods were shoddy. A complete round of transactions from manufacturing in England, to New York, New Orleans and St. Louis; then to trading posts to be exchanged for

beaver pelts trapped on the Marmaton or Sac or Pomme de Terre Rivers, the furs going back to St. Louis, New York and London for manufacture into hats and distribution in Amsterdam, Paris or Brussels, might take four years. Traditionally, the markup at each point of exchange was enormous. The Factory System was supposed to give the Indians a fuller measure of value for their pelts and act as an agent for introducing "the arts of civilization" among them.⁶⁵

The Indian trader relationship was as congenial as any between the two races. The Indians continued their old mode of life but got just enough taste of civilized customs and articles to evaluate them and select the ones that suited them. For example, the Osage, who had already over one hundred years of sporadic contact with whites, rejected alcohol as destructive and used firearms sparingly.

1808
Apr.

Intending to build a Fort on the Osage River as part of the forthcoming treaty agreement with the Osage Indians, John Mason inquired of George Peter on that river's navigation. Peter, saying he had difficulty because of the low water on the river, did not encourage this plan.⁶⁶

May

The U. S. expressed its intention to establish a trading house on the Osage River.⁶⁷ George Sibley was to be the Factor.

June

Governor William Clark decided to "move" the proposed factory on the Osage River up to the Missouri River because the Osage River was so irregularly accessible. "The Osage River being

navagable only a very short distance up, except at high floods, or early in the spring (as I am informed by Mr. Chouteau) I would beg leave to mention that some situation on the bank of the Missouri, above that river would be more central to the Osage Tribes [sic]."⁶⁸

Had southwest Missouri not been in one of its dry cycles, Fort Osage might have been located in the future Vernon County; or, perhaps, the weather was only an excuse. Perhaps, Chouteau wished to keep that avenue open only to himself and did not welcome the prospect of a government store competing with his own operations. He used the difficult navigation as a cloak. The Osage River had been a voyageurs highway for a hundred years and used by the Chouteau family for many decades. As later experience has shown, the Osage was marginal for steamboat navigation but certainly adequate for the canoes, bullboats, barges, and pirogues of traders.

River travel: Until American settlers brought their rafts and, in the late 1830's, steamboats, the French voyageurs had provided both the Spaniards and, later, the Americans with the best adapted modes of transportation on the Osage River. Pike and Peter both used "Pirogues," large dugouts of cottonwood, poplar, or cedar (though cypress was the most prized). They varied in size and freight capacity from one ton up to 40 tons with the big ones being 40 or 50 feet long, three to five feet wide, and capable of carrying 30 men. The boats on the Osage River were of a more intermediate size, big enough to make a long

trip profitable, small enough to pass the shoals on the Osage. There were many adaptations of this basic design. Pirogues could even be split lengthwise and boards or hides stretched across the two pieces giving the vessel greater beam and, thus, more utility as a ferry or barge. The "keel-boats," introduced in the Mississippi valley about 1742 by the English, were bigger boats drawing up to thirty inches of water and were not well adapted to a river like the Osage. French modes of transportation prevailed there long after the French empire was expelled in 1763. From the largest to the smallest, these French boats were propelled by oars or paddles both up and down stream. In places of strong current and shallow water, boatmen resorted to cordelling or towing. For this purpose a mast located forward had ropes attached by which men on shore pulled the craft upstream. This mast could also accommodate a makeshift sail. However, the crookedness of the Osage River probably meant the abandonment of sail propulsion common on the lower Missouri.⁶⁹

July Meriwether Lewis proposed an alliance among the Shawnee, Delaware, Kickapoo, Iowa, Sioux, Miami, and Potawatomi against the Osage. Lewis wrote, "... the band of the Great Osage, on the Osage River, have cast off all allegiance to the United States, and with but few exceptions no longer acknowledge the authority of their former leader the White Hair." Lewis told the "Good Indians" to go to the Missouri River where Fort Osage was to be built and told the Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Iowas, and Sioux that they were

at liberty to war against those who did not obey. In the next breath Lewis condemned the "sordid policy of Spanish Governors," who imposed the present threats. That "sordid policy" was exactly what Lewis now proposed, encouraging war among the Indian nations.⁷⁰ The Osage met with Spaniards, together with Kansas and Panis nations, to plan a response to the threats of the Eastern Indians being pushed into their territory by the United States.⁷¹

Though Wilkinson called them, "our friends the Osages," the allegiance of that tribe was at least doubtful. Lewis, like Clark, informed by Peter Chouteau of the difficulty of navigation on the Osage River, recommended against building a fort on the Osage River. "The Osage River at present has not sufficient depth of water to admit a perogue or small boat to ascend ten miles ... the fluctuating and uncertain navigation of that river during the winter and spring seasons also renders it ... ineligible for permanent trading establishments." Lewis intended to have the friendly Little Osages and any well disposed Big Osages move to the new post on the Missouri River, which left the murderous remainder of the Osages to fight it out against the Shawnee, Kickapoo, Cherokee, Sac, Fox, Delaware, Potawatomi, and any other Indian nations the U. S. might shuffle into present-day southern Missouri.⁷²

Aug. Great numbers of neighboring tribes launched a war march on the Osage. William Clark hoped to draw a line in U. S. policy between the "friendly

and well disposed little Osage" and "those of the great Osage who are vicious and obscene." Those who wanted protection could gather at the new fort on the Missouri River, the others would be "left to their fate."⁷³

- Sept. George Sibley arrived at the Osage River villages to visit.⁷⁴
- Oct. Meriwether Lewis, Governor of Louisiana Territory, commissioned Peter Chouteau to draft a treaty with the Big and Little Osage. Lewis asserted the government would not recognize Osage "... pretension to those lands now claimed by them." The treaty required them to establish permanent villages near the new fort on the Missouri River. All Indians who signed were to get a certificate without which they could not trade.⁷⁵
- Nov. The Treaty between the U. S. (represented by Peter Chouteau) and the Osage nation was concluded.⁷⁶
The U. S. promised to:
- a) protect the Osage from the insults and injuries inflicted by other tribes by erecting a fort on the right bank of the Missouri River, Fort Clark (Fort Osage);
 - b) maintain a permanent, well-supplied store with a variety of goods at fair prices;
 - c) provide a blacksmith, grain mill, ploughs and tools;
 - d) pay U. S. citizens for the claims they had against the Osage;

- e) provide the Great Osage \$1,000/annum and the Little Osage \$500/annum in merchandise in consideration for the lands they gave up.

The Osage Chiefs agreed:

- a) to "... hereby ceding and relinquishing forever to the United States," all lands east of a north-south line run from Fort Clark (Fort Osage);
- b) to never ally with any tribe or nation at war with the United States;
- c) to cede the lands east of the 1808 Treaty Line, including almost all lands in Missouri, reserving hunting rights "without molestation."

The Osage reserved the right to hunt in their Missouri-Arkansas cession till forcibly stopped in 1837 during the Osage War.⁷⁷ One result of the 1808 Treaty was a factional division of the Osage. Another result was increased plundering of the white settlements along the Meramec River.⁷⁸ During this year the Osage complained that the Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws were invading the Ozark Plateau and the eastern Osage hunting ground in numbers sufficient to deplete the game population. Game scarcity continued to worsen for the Osage until 1837 when, almost starving from game shortages, they returned to their old hunting grounds.⁷⁹

1808-
1809

The Osage were fragmented between those at Fort Osage claiming allegiance to William Clark and those of the Osage River claiming allegiance to Peter Chouteau.⁸⁰ Many of the Osage moved their villages up to the vicinity of Fort Osage on the

Missouri River.⁸¹ After the 1808 Treaty, U. S. policy regarding the Osage sought to:

- 1) draw all neighboring Indian tribes to Fort Osage for peaceful trade;
- 2) keep the Sac and Fox from falling into the British orbit, if necessary, by giving them territory in the 1808 Osage cession;
- 3) encourage the Osage to "go hunting on one of the branches of the Arkansas" to put distance between the Sac and Fox and the Osage.⁸²

1808-
1824 Confusion and turbulence characterized life in the territory as the U. S. government shuffled eastern tribes into these lands (Kickapoo, Shawnee, Delaware, Potawatomi, Seneca, and others) while the Osage continued their hunts in this territory.⁸³

1809-
1810 Most of the Osage who had moved their residence to Fort Osage moved back to the Osage River.⁸⁴ The Northern and Eastern tribes attacked the Osage near the fort when the Osage visited there to trade. The Osage accused the U. S. of not fulfilling the treaty agreements.⁸⁶

1810-
1812 The Sac and Fox were coming into conflict with the Osage not only on the fringe of hunting territory but made raids into the heart of the Osage River country.⁸⁷

1811 Throughout this year the Louisiana Gazette provided its readers with "Sketches of the Territory of Louisiana." This first popular impression of the Osage River country said: "The Osage River, rises in the Black Mountains, which separate

its water, from those of the Arkansas. It is said, to be navigable six hundred miles, but it does not afford any good navigation, being full of shoals and ripples ... It is generally a high prairie country which it occupies, though, there is well timbered land in the vicinity of the rivers.... The Osage nation, reside in two villages on the river of the same name; and are called the great, and little Osage. There is also a village of them on the Arkansas. The character of this people, is bad. They are much adicted to pilfering and robbing, but are defective in courage. The settlements before the change of government were much infested by them; it was in fact impossible to make establishments beyond the villages. I well recollect the terror I learned to feel, when a boy at the name of Osage....Their stature is larger than the common size of men; and all finely proportioned with good features.... They are at war at present with almost all the Indian nations...." The author of the "Sketches," Henry Brackenridge, after the fashion of many Americans at the time, contrasted the vicious Indians with the virtuous American freemen from North Carolina and Kentucky who were settling west of the Mississippi River. "They [settlers] come here through choice. Perhaps, they acted wisely, in placing themselves at a distance from the deceit and turbulence of the world. They enjoy an uninterrupted quiet, and real comfort, in their little society beyond the sphere of that larger society, where government is necessary.... Here they are truely free; exempt from the vexing duties and impositions, even of

the best of governments, they are neither assailed by the madness of ambition, nor tortured by the poison of party spirit. Is not this one of the powerful incentives, which impel the American to bury himself in the middle of the wilderness? The daring spirit of the American in enterprise, nothing can arrest."

Amos Stoddard reported the biggest lead deposits in the world in the territory between the "maramek" and the Osage Rivers. And, "... at the salines on the [Osage] river, there are a greater number of the enormous bones of the Mammoth, and other animals at present extinct, than at Big Bone Lick, or in any other part of America." Coal was present in "inexhaustible quantity."⁸⁸

1811
Mar.

Auguste Chouteau, Jr. persuaded the Little Osage to go to the Osage River to take pelts.⁸⁹ The Osage sent out two raiding expeditions against the Iowa.⁹⁰

April

By late spring, no Osage resided near Fort Osage. At the urging of Chouteau, most had returned to the Osage River country.⁹¹

Nov.

The English-supplied Indians of the Lakes region were checked by American troops under W. H. Harrison at the Battle of Tippecanoe. This defeat forced these nations west, which pressured nations west of the Mississippi, like the Osage.

1812
April

The Big Osage traveled from the Osage River country to Fort Osage to receive their annuity and trade, but on their return home, they were attacked a few miles from the Fort by the eastern tribes who slaughtered many Osage, took their goods and

horses and drove the survivors of "this horrid carnage" back to the Fort. The Osage, for whom the Fort was established, could not safely visit it. Traders, especially the Chouteaus, sought their trade at the Grand Osage villages.⁹² The commanders at Fort Osage called the outpost "a moth on the publick purse" located at this inconvenient place on account of "a wild speculative policy in the late Governor Lewis." They recommended that the outpost be relocated at a place more convenient to the Osages.⁹³

June The War of 1812 commenced. Shortly, George Sibley was ordered to abandon Fort Osage, it being indefensible in the war with England. Sibley recommended that a factory be established in the Osage River country. Deprived of American trade, the Osages provided themselves with goods from the English, the Sac, and the Fox during the War of 1812.⁹⁴

1812-1815 The War was not destructive to the Osage. They continued their ancient routines of hunt. The Americans pulled back from advanced positions on the frontier; the English did not incite their allies, the Sac and Fox, against the Osage because they hoped to win them as allies.⁹⁵ However, during these years the Sac put pressure on the Osage. In 1812 the U. S. Government, seeking to win them away from alliance with the English, had given the Sacs permission to establish a village on the Osage River.⁹⁶

1813
April Joseph Philibert took 18 Frenchmen, Ezekiel Williams and his two companions up the Missouri, up the Osage, and crossed the plains to the Arkansas

River country. He found a route to Santa Fe after being arrested by the Spaniards and escorted there.⁹⁷

Nov. The principal chiefs of the Osage expressed themselves on the relocation of Fort Osage. Most agreed that if it were not to be put on the Osage River (their first choice), it should be at Arrow Rock since there was a white settlement there that would make it more secure from the attacks of other nations.⁹⁸

1813 Governor Benjamin Howard framed U. S. Indian policy during the War of 1812 this way: "... no man can abhor more than I do the Barbarous practise of employing Savages against civilized enemy, yet I have been and still am of opinion to employ them against each other is not only Justifiable but good policy."⁹⁹ By this year, Peter (Pierre, Pedro) Chouteau was "Major Chouteau" in the U. S. Army. The Choctaws invited the Osage into an alliance, something the U. S. viewed as "dangerous to the true interests of our Government."¹

Major Chouteau went to the Osage villages to enlist 200 to 300 warriors in an attack on the hostile "Nations of the North." The Osage enthusiastically volunteered 500 men. Chouteau set out with an army of 260 commanded by his son, Auguste; however, they were stopped at the mouth of the Osage River by orders from Governor Howard. Chouteau did manage to get the Osage to agree to the U. S. breach of the 1808 Treaty in evacuating Fort Osage.²

1814 Maps prepared this year by William Clark

showed Fox and Sac villages at the mouth of the Osage River and a settlement of twenty white families there also.³

Aug. George Sibley traveled up the Osage River with a large quantity of trade goods to supply the Osage at the Osage towns.⁴

Sept. The British were exerting every effort to separate the Osage from the United States.⁵

1815 George Sibley was authorized to establish a factory in the Osage River country.⁶ Clermont's Osages on the Verdigris River, numbering 500 to 600 warriors, would not have anything to do with Chouteau and asked the U. S. to send them an agent.⁷

Sept. Peter Chouteau, Jules De Mun, Joseph Philibert and forty-six assorted trappers and traders of French and English descent left St. Louis to trap in the mountains and trade in New Mexico. They went up the Osage and stayed with the Osage Indians at the Big Osage Village. They found Sac, Shawnee, and Osage hunting parties in the area but found the country so nearly devoid of game that their party went hungry much of the time.⁸

This was one of many testimonies to the erosion of the subsistence base of the Osage Indians from about 1810-20. Their culture was based more on deer hunting than any other economic activity. The buffalo were important seasonally, but from season to season, the nation mainly relied on deer for a constant source of food and hides. Four years later Henry Rowe Schoolcraft had as much trouble killing game in the western

Ozarks as this Santa Fe-bound party. A Council between the U. S. and the Osage reaffirmed that there "shall be perpetual peace" between the U. S. and the Osage.⁹

1815- The Sac and Fox Indians, friendly to the
1816 U. S., got a tract of Osage River lands.

1816- The Osages, who had enjoyed a vigorous and
1820 expanding era in the late Spanish regime (1790-1800) and early American regime (1803-10), now felt hemmed in by whites and enemy tribes. They reacted by striking out at both. Governor Meriwether Lewis had earlier urged the Shawnee, Delaware, Kickapoo, Iowa, Sioux, Miami, and Potawatomi to unite against the Osage.¹⁰ The War Department received "vast numbers" of reports on robberies by the Osage.¹¹ Governor William Clark reported the Osages to be "more vicious" than they formerly were. "They have killed our Citizens and frequently whip and plunder them." To the south, the Caddos, Choctaws, Cherokee were all at war with the Osages.¹² The Cherokee, armed with the best U. S. weapons, could field as many warriors as the Arkansas River Osage.

1816 The U. S. report on lead mines and salines in the U. S. Territory reported "lead mines" on the Indian Potato Creek (Pomme de Terre River).¹³ A census of the Indian tribes of the Missouri Territory found a total of 1,600 Osages living on the Osage River about three miles west of the 1808 treaty line. (Other Osage populations included 2,200 on the Verdigris, and 1,600 Little Osage on the Neosho Fork of the Arkansas River.)¹⁴

Jan. The Territorial Legislature created Howard County which included all the Osage country north of the Osage River and east of the 1808 line. This was an expression by the Territorial Legislature that the Indian claims had been extinguished.¹⁵

Dec. Not until this time did the Osages fully realize the extent of the land cession made in the 1808 Treaty. Surveyors plotted the line within sight of the Osage villages in modern day Bates and Vernon Counties. Even some U. S. officials were surprised by the extent of the territory which could now be used to remove eastern Indians.¹⁶

1817 The Caddos, Choctaws, Cherokees were all at war with the Osage and protested against the aggressions of the barbaric "buffalo Indians " -- the Osage.¹⁷ The Superintendent's report showed a total of 6,000 Osages (Peter Chouteau, agent).¹⁸ The Osages were reported to be "near white settlements" and in close contact with whites.¹⁹

 In January Clark expected a "bloody war" with the Cherokee and their allies against the Osage.²⁰ By March and April the Cherokee, Quapaw and Choctaws made a war movement on the Osage.²¹ In August Governor Clark admitted it was "cruel" to encourage war among the Indian tribes, but "I found myself compelled to promote a War amongst the Indians ... I will not presume to question the policy."²² In October the combined Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Peoria, Delaware, and Miami tribes attacked Clermont's village while most of

the men were out hunting and killed many aged, sick, females and very young Osages. The waters of the Verdigris were red with Osage blood after this "Battle of Claremore Mound." The attackers took about 103 prisoners and burned what they could not carry away from the village.²³

This year the invasion of the Osage River valley by permanent white settlers was heralded by the founding of the City of Osage at the mouth of the river.²⁴

1818

The Osage on the Osage River requested that Governor Clark reappoint Chouteau as their agent and they have their annuity and factory delivered at the Osage River villages.²⁵ But this year Chouteau's monopoly with the Osage was broken as five other traders got licenses to trade among them.²⁶ In the Summer of this year the Osage hosted Shawnee, Delaware, Creek, Quapaw and Kansas Indians and gave away more than 300 horses seeking allies. This was the first time the Osage employed the strategy of alliances to protect themselves.²⁷ In September the U. S. concluded a peace treaty between the Osage and Cherokee. The Osage also ceded a big tract of land in the Arkansas River country to the U. S. in exchange for restitution of damages done by Osage raiding parties. This cession was known as "Lovely's Purchase."²⁸ In October the Cherokee failed to live up to the treaty agreement and to return the hostages they had taken in 1817.²⁹

In November and December Henry Rowe Schoolcraft traveled into the interior of Missouri and

Arkansas. His route took him into the southern drainage of the Osage basin, then into the White River valley. He was warned of the depredations of the Osage in the whole region west of the Meramec River. One woman warned him "... that it was dangerous travelling in that quarter on account of the Osages, who never failed to rob and plunder those who fell in their way, and often carried them in captive to their villages, on the Grand Osage river." As he traveled west, Schoolcraft found game scarce in the east, but as he approached the Current River, he entered a district so rich in deer, his companion was "... unwilling to lose the opportunity of killing them, although he wanted neither their flesh or skins, for he could carry neither with him, he fired at, and killed many ...". Such practices accounted for game shortages in the east. As he pushed west, crossing rivers draining to the north, Schoolcraft once again experienced difficulty procuring game. He headed south in the middle of November, reaching the White River drainage where he was again warned of the extreme hazards on account of the Osage Indians "...who never failed to rob white hunters, and travellers who were so unfortunate as to fall in their way... Numerous other instances were related, all tending to prove that the Osage Indians felt hostile to white settlements along that river ..."³⁰

Later Schoolcraft referred to southwest Missouri in 1818 as "this terra incognita," and recalled "There was, at the time, a general apprehension felt and expressed, by hunters and others who had penetrated those wilds in quest of deer and

buffalo, or of salpetre-earth in the limestone caves, of the predatory tribe of the Osages -- a people who had for years enjoyed the bad reputation of being thieves and plunderers."³¹ But Schoolcraft himself found only long abandoned evidence of Osage hunting activities in the whole length of his Ozark tour to the north fork of the White River.³²

The Osage were probably absent on their winter hunt on the plains at this time. But, perhaps, Schoolcraft's impressions suggest that while the "prevalent bugbear" of the frontiersman, the Osage threat, was still on the settlers' minds, the Osage had abandoned most of southwest Missouri since the game was depleted.

1818-
1819

The Osage, who had expected whites to settle the lands ceded to the U. S. in Lovely's Purchase, felt betrayed when their enemies, the Cherokee, occupied the land and depleted the game. "... the Osages, purposely deceived by the interpreter, at the instigation of the Shoutous [Chouteaus], had hatched up a treaty without the actual authority of the chiefs, so that in the present state of things a war between the Cherokees and the Osages is almost inevitable, unless the latter relinquish the banks of the Arkansas, as Messrs. Shoutou wish them."³³

Pierre Chouteau, who represented the U. S. at the treaty proceedings when Lovely's Purchase was ceded to the U. S., used the trust those Indians felt for him to secure the cession. Chouteau's real objective was to get the Osage to withdraw from the Arkansas River country, back

to the Osage River country where he could control their trade. He knew the U. S. would use the cession to relocate the Cherokee and thus drive out the Osage. The Osage chiefs, believing the territory would be filled with white settlers acting as a buffer against the Cherokee, agreed to the treaty. Chouteau's policy on this southern border was similar to that he employed in the north in the treaty of 1808. Then he had persuaded the U. S. to locate its factory (Fort Osage) on the Missouri River, representing the Osage River as unnavigable, in order to keep competition with the U. S. Factory out of the Osage River area. He knew that if the Osage removed to the new factory in 1808, they would be attacked by the northern Indians and retreat to the Osage River where he could once again enjoy his monopoly after only a short interruption. In each case, Chouteau's tactics gave him temporary success but precipitated wars and much blood-letting among the Indian nations. Now, the Osage resisted efforts by the Cherokee to gain outlets on the prairie hunting grounds north of the Arkansas River.³⁴

1819

Nuttal wrote of the Osage: "Scarcely any nation of Indians have encountered more enemies than the Osages; still they flatter themselves by saying, that they are seated in the middle of the world, and, although surrounded by so many enemies, they have ever maintained their normal population, and their country." Even though they had had 150 years of contact with whites, Nuttall believed them almost in a "state of

nature." "The use of calico or shirts is yet unknown among them, and their present fashion and mode of dress have been so long stationary, as now to be by themselves considered characteristic."³⁵

All during June the Missouri Intelligencer and the St. Louis Enquirer carried advertisements for the town of Osage and the Osage River country. "Upon the Osage is rare and valuable timber for building, as cedar and pine, besides the wood common to the Missouri; also vast prairies, or natural meadows, for the grazing of Cattle; and large bodies of exceedingly rich and fertile land; part of which is now prepared for market." Among the distinguished proprietors of this proposed boom town was Thomas Hart Benton. One ad proclaimed: "The Osage River will furnish the cotton planting country of the Missouri State and will be more favorable to the growth of that article than places in the same latitude on the east side of the Mississippi; owing to the superior warmth and dryness of the atmosphere, occasioned by the plains of naked sand which lay to the west of the Kansas and Platte rivers, and which have the natural effect of absorbing moisture and giving heat and dryness to the air." The promoters held auctions for lots at St. Louis and Franklin, but the scheme misfired.

As the Osage River country attracted the attention of land speculators, the trouble with the Osage Indians became a political issue. The town of Osage promoters used the endorsement of the Osage Indians to advance their settlement scheme. "The Osage Indians are people of the

largest stature and finest persons on the continent of north America; the natural effect of the fine climate and rich country in which they live."

July

When the Cherokee stole Osage horses and killed four Osages, the St. Louis Enquirer urged the U. S. to listen to the Osage chief's complaints and give them protection.³⁶

The Enquirer editorialized: "The Osages a few years ago were the terror of all neighboring people: gigantic in their stature and ferocious in their disposition. They are still remarked for their lofty stature and fine persons, but their ferocity of temper has yielded to the influence of civilization. They are now accounted the most peaceable of all the Indians. In 1806 Captain Pike, who visited their towns, said that they had become quakers [sic] in their policy, and cultivators in their habits." The Enquirer urged that the Osage grievances be redressed and the Cherokees be reprimanded.³⁷

In July the U. S. concluded a treaty with the Kickapoo Indians granting that nation the land south of the Osage, west of the Pomme de Terre River, east of the 1808 Osage Line, and north of the divide between the Osage and White River drainages. The U. S. also promised to pay the Kickapoo \$2,000 in silver every year at their villages on the Osage River. The U. S. would "... restrain and prevent all white persons from hunting, settling, or otherwise intruding upon it." With these promises the Kickapoo gave up all claims to land east of the Mississippi River.³⁸ Auguste Chouteau signed this treaty for the

United States.

1819-
1820

The Osage were visited by the Sac and Fox who accompanied their old enemies on hunting missions. This alliance probably was a response to the Osage's sense of danger from the Cherokee.³⁹

1820

The village heartland of the Osage Indians had by this year shifted away from the Osage River to the region between the Verdigris and Neosho Rivers.⁴⁰

Though he did not travel up the Osage River, Stephen H. Long wrote of the river: "In point of magnitude, the Osage ranks nearly with the Cumberland of Tennessee. It has been represented as navigable for six hundred miles, but as its current is known to be rapid, flowing over great numbers of shoals and sand bars this must be considered an exaggeration. In the lower part of its course it traverses broad and fertile bottom lands, covered with heavy forests of sycamore and cotton trees. We may expect the country along the banks of this river will soon become the seat of a numerous population, as it possesses a fertile soil and a mild climate, advantages more than sufficient to compensate for the difficulty of access, and other inconveniences of situation."⁴¹

Beginning this year, the Kickapoo were escorted from their villages in Illinois to be relocated on the Osage River. Peter Chouteau was given responsibility for keeping peace between them and the Osage.⁴² The Osage protested that settlers were moving into the territory they ceded in 1808 and depleting the game.⁴³

Spring About forty "lodges" of Kickapoos were escorted past St. Louis to the headwaters of the Meramec River and then to the Osage River.⁴⁴

July Governor Clark admitted that many of the Osages' complaints against the U. S. were well founded. He promised to bring a blacksmith and mill to their villages and promised them a mission.⁴⁵ By July the number of white settlers on Indian lands in the Osage River area had "... become a subject of universal complaint among the Indians."⁴⁶ The Osage sent a delegation to John C. Calhoun to complain of the removal of the Kickapoos to their lands.⁴⁷ While in Washington, the Osage Chief, Sans Nerf, asked the United Foreign Missionary Society to send a mission to the Osage River country. These Indians were jealous of their brothers on the Arkansas who had a mission, Union Mission; so, they requested one themselves.⁴⁸

In October the Osage and Cherokee met to exchange prisoners.⁴⁹ Major George C. Sibley reported the Osage, with villages on the Osage River, hunted "... over a very great extent of country, comprising the Osage, Gasconade and Neeozho rivers and their numerous branches. They also hunt on the heads of the St. Francis and White Rivers and on the Arkansas." Their main subsistence was still hunting. In April they planted corn, beans, pumpkins; then left for the summer hunt to return in August to harvest the crop. From September to about Christmas time they were once again absent for the fall hunt. Come February or March, they went out for their

spring hunt, first to catch the bears in their caves, then to hunt beaver. "This is the circle of an Osage life, here and there indented with war and trading expeditions; and thus it has been" The game in their old range had diminished. "Its gradual diminution seems to have had no other effect on the Indians than to make them more expert and industrious hunters, and better warriors ... [and] more and more dependent upon the traders, and consequently more and more debased and degraded." The Osage women gathered walnuts, hazelnuts, pecans, acorns, grapes, plums, papaws, persimmons, hog potatoes and other roots. "...all possess the art of preparing many of them, so that they are really good eating. I have feasted daintily on the preparation of acorns (from the small white oak) and Buffalo grease." Despite the increasing contact with whites, the Osage remained resistant to white ways. "A very sensible Osage, the Big Soldier, who had twice been at Washington, once said to me, when I was urging the subject of civilization to him, 'I see and admire your manner of living, your good warm houses, your extensive fields of corn, your gardens, your cows, oxen, workhorses, wagons, and a thousand machines, that I know not the use of. I see that you are able to clothe yourself, even from weeds and grass. In short you can do almost what you choose. You whites possess the power of subduing almost every animal to your use. You are surrounded by slaves. Everything about you is in chains, and you are slaves yourselves. I hear I should exchange my presents for yours, I

too should become a slave. Talk to my sons, perhaps they may be persuaded to adopt your fashions, or at least to recommend them to their sons; but for myself, I was born free, was raised free, and wish to die free."⁵⁰

In November the Territorial Legislature organized Lilliard county out of the upper Osage River country north of the Osage River.

Post-
1820

The first era in Osage River history was about to close. This Osage Indian period (c 1617-c 1820) was dominated by the Indian inhabitants, an aggressive and expanding nation at first, then beaten and demoralized at last. "Osage history during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be interpreted as an expansion to increase and maintain control over the trade which followed waterways like the Missouri, Arkansas and Red Rivers."⁵¹ Their base on the Osage River eroded rapidly in the 1820's. By mid-decade, the Osage River was a "no-man's land" for the Osage.

1821

Missouri became a state. Trouble once again brewed between the Osage and Cherokee as the Cherokee sought to establish a confederation against the Osage.⁵² War finally broke out between the two nations--the Osage fighting mostly with bows and arrows and the Cherokee fighting with rifles.⁵³

Later this year Pierre Chouteau established a trade house on the Marais des Cygnes River near where Papinsville now stands. Paul Ballio was in charge with Old Bill Williams as interpreter.

All the trade from this area was supposed to go through Fort Osage on the Missouri River, but this trading house on the Marais des Cygnes, together with numerous others like it, were examples of the breakdown of the factory system even before it was officially abandoned in May 1822. This sub-factory was established in response to a demand for dispersion.⁵⁴

In February the Board of Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society of New York established instructions to the members of the mission family destined for the Harmony Station among the Osages of Missouri.⁵⁵

March The Harmony Mission family gathered at Pittsburgh attended farewell ceremonies and departed. They got their commission and a letter to the Osage chiefs. U. S. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun said that the United Foreign Missionary Society's effort to establish a mission was "... viewed with great satisfaction by the government ..." and blessed the adventure with an advance of \$1,000 for buildings. Calhoun also wrote Clark and told Chouteau to be in every way friendly to the mission.⁵⁶

June The Harmony Mission party headed up the Osage River reporting, "We find it a beautiful stream."⁵⁷

Aug. After a six month trip by keelboat from Pittsburgh, down the Ohio, up the Mississippi, up the Missouri, up the Osage, the Harmony Mission party arrived at their destination.⁵⁸ They used Chouteau's trading establishment (where Papinsville now is) to begin their venture.⁵⁹

Melincourt Papin, the trader here, was friendly to this venture.⁶⁰ About seventy Indians spent the Sabbath with the missionaries; the next day they pointed out to the missionaries a tract of land, 15,000 acres, with a fine mill site, excellent timber, coal and limestone deposits, and prairie.⁶¹

Sept.- The Harmony Mission group experienced wet
Oct. weather and most of the party was disabled by
 "the ague and fever."⁶²

Sept. The "Marais des Cygnes factory" was estab-
 lished with Paul Ballio in charge. This was to
 be a branch of the Fort Osage Factory. It was
 located at "Grand Bar" on the Osage River. This
 factory was opened in response to the request
 made by the Osage Indians who visited Washington
 in 1820. It was located due west of the present
 town of Papinsville, near the Harmony Mission
 saw mill.⁶³

 The Osage River country must have been gain-
 ing a reputation as a country conducive to poor
 health. Not only did the missionaries come down
 with chills and fevers, Captain William Becknell's
 Santa Fe-bound party, crossing the Osage in the
 fall, also suffered: "On the 20th we crossed the
 main Osage, being nearly all sick and much dis-
 couraged. It rained severly, and we were under
 the necessity of stopping to dry our baggage.
 On the second day after crossing the Osage, we
 saw many buffaloes, one of which we killed; we
 also saw several goats but they were so sharp
 sighted and wild that we could not shoot them."^{63a}

Oct.-
Nov.

The Osage chiefs went to St. Louis to arrange a peace treaty with the Delawares.⁶⁴ U. S. officials in St. Louis recognized that:

- 1) the Cherokee were making bloody intrusions on Osage lands;
- 2) when the Osage ceded "Lovely's Purchase," the Osage understood it would be settled by whites; when the Cherokee moved in, the Osage felt betrayed;
- 3) the Osage had just terminated a bloody war with the Shawnee and Delaware;
- 4) the removal of the Choctaws to their southeast border made the Osage feel there was a conspiracy against them; and
- 5) the Osage did not trust their agent, Peter Chouteau, who had recently been arrested for illegal trading, and they believed the Governor was in league with the Cherokee.

Winter

The Cherokee and their allies attacked the Osage and suffered a bad defeat at the hands of an Osage hunting party. The Cherokees fared better at the Osage villages where they killed perhaps a hundred women, children and old men. The result was disastrous for the Osage whose winter buffalo hunt was ruined. As a result, they returned to the old Marais des Cygnes and Osage River hunting ground. Even so, many of the Osages were near starvation.

1822
May

The U. S. Government abandoned the factory

system, replacing it with a more "free enterprise" system of independent traders licensed by the superintendent of Indian affairs in St. Louis.⁶⁶ The Marais des Cygnes factory was closed with the Indians owing debts of \$3,997.80.⁶⁷

- June The abandonment of the factory system led to a flourish of trade activity and a minor boom in the St. Louis trade merchandise which was bound for the Osage country.⁶⁸
- Aug. The U. S. and the Osage Indians concluded a treaty releasing the U. S. from the obligation of maintaining a factory for the Osage and giving those Indians \$2,329.40 in compensation for the U. S. breaking the treaty of 1808.⁶⁹ After fifteen years of trade with government agents, the government monopoly passed.
- 1822-
1823
Winter With the abolition of the Factory at Ft. Osage, Colonel Chouteau convinced the Osage of the Osage River to abandon their historic settlement in present Vernon County at the junction of the Marais des Cygnes and Marmaton Rivers and to remove to the Neosho River country. Some Osage children continued to attend school at Harmony Mission; but, more and more, the students there were from Delaware and Kickapoo families.⁷⁰
- 1823 Official population estimates of all Osages amounted to 8,500 showing remarkable stability since the very earliest historic population estimates.⁷¹ During this year William S. Williams (Old Bill Williams) moved his trade house from the Marais des Cygnes to the Neosho River, following the Osage Indians who had recently done the same.⁷²

- Aug. The Kickapoos fixed their large village within 25 miles of Harmony Mission.⁷³
- Dec. Agent Richard Graham recommended that the Delaware, Kickapoo, Shawnee and scattered groups of Weas, Peorias, Piankashaw be consolidated under one agency.⁷⁴ These nations now constituted the major inhabitants of the Osage River country. The Osage had removed to the Neosho and Arkansas country and returned to the Osage River area only for seasonal hunts.
- 1824 Delaware and Kickapoo frequented Harmony Mission, and the missionaries estimated there were about 900 in the neighborhood.⁷⁵ The new home of the Osages in the Neosho-Arkansas-Red River area was very crowded. In addition to the 8,500 Osages, there were 2,000 white hunters and settlers, the Cherokee and Choctaw, plus the plains tribes that had lived there in prehistoric times. The situation was very unstable, turbulent and starvation frequent.
- Jan. The U. S. Government used every means to dislodge the Osages from their Arkansas River territory and persuade them to return to the Osage River.⁷⁶ The Osage of this area resisted all such efforts and continued to cling to their southern villages fourteen years after the treaty of 1825 transferred their community land to the Cherokees and Creeks.
- May William S. Williams got a license from the Indian agent Richard Graham to trade with the Kickapoos at the fork of the Grand River. This post was established near the mouth of Grand

River on the Osage River and also served the Shawnee Indian village on Shawnee Bend.⁷⁷ At about this time the Kickapoo agitated for war with the Osage in order to establish their hegemony over the Osage River country.⁷⁸ Since Spain's war on the Osages in the 1790's when the Kickapoo were enlisted as mercenaries against the Osage, the Kickapoo had sent war parties against the Osage.⁷⁹ Since their removal to Osage land in 1819, the Kickapoo, numbering 2,000, put even more pressure on the Osage. Just as the Osage push to the south and west made official a movement which had been under way for nearly a century, the same was true for the Kickapoo.⁸⁰ By such chain pressure, the Indian nations made war movements on one another--squeezing each other to death. Before the Louisiana Purchase the Kickapoo, at the invitation of the Spanish, had established villages on the Lower Osage River. The U. S. Government continued Spanish policy regarding the Kickapoo just as it had continued Spanish policy regarding the Osage.

1824-
1826

The Osage River was a river of blood from the Osage-Kickapoo war which had begun when the Osage returned to the Osage River for their seasonal hunt.⁸¹

1825
June

The U. S. concluded a treaty with the Osage expelling them from Missouri. The Osage were to get a \$7,000 annuity for 25 years, revocation of debts owed to the traders (Chouteau, Ballio, Williams) and revocation of other claims against the Osage. The Harmony Mission would be relocated in their new territory, beyond the Missouri

boundary.⁸² The Osage did not recognize that they had given up anything but residency in Missouri. They still claimed a right to hunt in their old range. After the treaty they attacked a Delaware hunting camp on the Robideaux Fork of the Gasconade River.⁸³

1826 The Osage invaded Kickapoo territory on the Osage River. Settlers fled to St. Louis and Boonville for safety. A most bloody series of clashes followed with war movements on both sides. Agent Richard Graham recommended that the war be allowed to take its course. "By permitting them to wage war, a more speedy and lasting termination will be put to their hostilities and a more permanent peace and friendship effected by it...."⁸⁴

The only white settlement on the upper Osage, Harmony Mission, was by now well established with a mill, Mission and out-buildings, cultivated fields, and a teaching staff. However, with the Indian wars between the Osage and the Kickapoo and between the Osage and the Delaware, the number of students from 1825-1826 dropped dramatically. By September the mission had 23 staff members but only 25 "scholars," many of them children of the mission family.⁸⁵ The Delaware removed their children from the school because of the Osage-Delaware War.⁸⁶ Clark reported famine among the Osage.⁸⁷

Oct. Clark secured a peace treaty between the Osage on one hand and the Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankashaws and Peorias on the other. The Delaware and their allies agreed to pay the Osage \$1,000 in restitution for damages.

The U. S. provided that it would deduct any damages against the Osage from their annuity. By this treaty both sides agreed to stay clear of each other's hunting ground. As part of the treaty, the U. S. proposed a plan for removing all Indian nations from Missouri at an estimated cost of about \$98,000 over one or two years.⁸⁸

This marked the final official expulsion of the Osage from Missouri, even their hunting rights were extinguished. This came in the midst of perhaps the most disastrous period in that nation's history. Having maintained and expanded their range during the first hundred years of white contact, their condition now deteriorated in every way. By the mid-1830's George Catlin wrote of them: "The Osages have been formerly, and until quite recently, a powerful and warlike tribe; carrying their arms fearlessly through all of these realms; and ready to cope with foes of any kind that they were liable to meet. At present the case is quite different; they have been repeatedly moved and jostled along ... and reduced by every war and every move. The smallpox has taken its share of them ... bringing them to the mere handful that now exists of them; though still preserving their valour as warriors, which they are continually showing off as bravely and as professionally as they can Agriculture they have caught but little of; and of religion and civilization still less"⁸⁹

By the end of 1826 the Osages did not figure in the history of the Osage valley until the Osage War in 1837.

1826-
1833

This was the period of the great watershed in Osage valley history. At this time the Osage valley was as nearly uninhabited as it ever has been. There were still some Delaware and Kickapoo and Shawnee settlements scattered about, but pressure for their removal was building. On the other side of this watershed, a few white trappers were reported between the Osage and Grand Rivers this year.⁹⁰

1827

This year Jacob Coonce hunted in the valley of the Osage River dressed in moccasins, buckskin breeches, coonskin cap and a large blanket.⁹¹ There were a few other whites with more permanent roots as at Harmony Mission. The Mission was fast declining due to the absence of Indians. John F. Hogle's and Narcisse Pensineau's trading post near the mouth of Pomme de Terre River also waned due to the lack of Indians.

1829

The small group of Little Osages who remained in the traditional territory of Missouri (in present Vernon County) after most had left in 1823 finally left for the Neosho River. These Osage had taken up farming which they continued at Boudinot Mission on the Neosho.⁹² Any Osage hunters on the Ozark plateau were warned by the Agent J. F. Hamtramck that they must have a pass or be arrested.⁹³

1831

The U. S. Congress approved a general policy to extinguish Indian title to all lands in Missouri.⁹⁴ The period of low human inhabitance that had existed for several years had a very marked effect on game populations, especially the deer. Without predators or hunters, the

deer population that had been decimated by the early 1820's was making a fast comeback so that when white settlers arrived in this "virgin" land in great numbers in the late 1830's they remarked on the great herds of red deer.

1831-
1833

Many hunters, some with families, made more permanent settlements in the upper Osage. The land went unsurveyed; therefore, titles could not be legal, but some bought land from the Indians.⁹⁵

Before the 1830's the state of Missouri handled this territory's county subdivisions with no respect for the will of the inhabitants. This treatment continued during the early settlement period. Tebo Township was organized in Lafayette County to include all the future Henry County, half of St. Clair and all of Johnson (1832). Tebo Township was the first subdivision meant for civic not just territorial purposes.

The Old Military Road surveyed in the mid-1820's from Palmyra to Fort Scott crossed the Osage River at a shoal place then known as "Bledsoe's" (Warsaw). The road and river marked this place as a future city. But the first white settler in future Benton County, Ezekiel Williams, settled north of the Osage on this road, near present-day Cole Camp. Stephen Howser settled where Warsaw later grew up. During these years many families settled up and down Tebo Creek, all the way into future Henry County.⁹⁶ To the south, Jacob Counce built the first cabin in the future St. Clair County.⁹⁷

Authorities agree on certain generalizations

about early settlement -- the period when settlers were arriving in the Upper Osage country before surveys.⁹⁸

Settlement did not proceed from east to west as might be expected. Rather it spread up the river and stream valleys without regard to east-west, north-south distinctions. As early as 1829 Jesse, Moses and Allen Summers settled on the Osage River in future Vernon County. This was a year before permanent settlers were found east, down the river. The first permanent white settlement, Harmony Mission, was located in the western quarter of the upper Osage.

Because the first expressions of preference in landed property were made by white men prior to land surveys, the official record of "lands entered" gives only a partial picture of settlement patterns. Many of the earliest settlers did not enter their land for ten or twenty years after settlement; some never did. They did not pay for the land except to buy it from the Indians. There were such cases in every county.

The country impressed the settlers as a primeval wilderness. One settler remembered seeing "... hundreds of deer in droves like sheep. Game of all kinds was abundant. Wild turkeys were thick as geese. The Indians of various tribes were numerous. The different tribes that I remember were the Sacs, Foxes, the Delawares, Pattowotomies and Osages. As a general thing they were peaceable at that time."⁹⁹ These earliest settlers looked for three things:

- 1) timber;

- 2) water -- "living water";
- 3) bottom land.

"Prairie bottom was much sought after, but high prairie was not regarded as being valuable. I remember when a change in the opinion of some people slowly came and a few began to open farms far out on the prairie [about late 1840's] ..."¹ The first habitations were a cross between the "hoop cabin" and the Indian bark hut with its chimneys fashioned of sticks and mud.

These pre-land-survey settlers left us little tangible evidence to mark their lives. However, they still live in half-legendary, half-factual accounts. Each of the three main counties in the upper Osage region, Benton, Henry, St. Clair, has its frontiersman who symbolizes the romance of this early settlement period. In each case, Ezekiel Williams (Benton), Henry Avery (Henry), and Jacob Coonce (St. Clair) became legendary figures.

Ezekiel Williams of Benton was a genuine mountain man. Born about 1775 in Kentucky, Williams accompanied several notable exploring, fur trading and trapping expeditions into the Rockies before the War of 1812, including the Lewis and Clark expedition. After the war he led parties headed for Santa Fe. His prowess as a guide and fighter were legendary, before he became the first Anglo-Saxon settler in future Benton County. When later settlers planted themselves in this territory, they looked to Williams for leadership. His house was the polling place; he was the judge and postmaster. "Somewhere

around, too, were Zeke's 'rifle gun,' saddle and saddle bags, and, very likely, his 'old musty mutilated journal' in which he had kept a record of sorts of his western adventures."² Although noted as a man of action, Williams had a good many more possessions than his neighbors. He had the best cabin, biggest library and best equipped farm. Williams remained a living legend until his death December 24, 1844.

Jacob Counce of St. Clair lived later into the nineteenth century than Williams, maintaining a touch with the wild days of St. Clair County much longer. His legendary weapon, "Old Betsey," a flint-lock rifle converted to percussion, was known throughout the Osage valley and near and far to Santa Fe and Colorado. Like Williams, Counce was not revered so much for his quiet life as a homesteader in St. Clair County but for the romance of distant places and times that his life evoked. He hunted the Osage valley in the 1820's and before that with the Santa Fe traders.³

Henry Avery, Henry County's link with the romantic frontier, was born in 1793 in Roane County, Tennessee. He fought in the War of 1812 against the hated English and served with General Andrew Jackson in the Seminole War. Known to his neighbors as "Reverend" Henry Avery, he was as handy with his weapons as with his Bible. He traveled all over the Osage valley preaching his Baptist message to Indians and whites. He was the first justice of the peace, conducted the first election, performed the first marriage, and when the territory became a county, he

officiated at the first county court. Like Counce and Williams, Avery was an old stock American. Like Williams, he combined the reputation and accomplishments of the man of action with a better stock of the things of this world than most of his neighbors. He built the first hewn log cabin with the first windows and imported the first plow.⁴ Avery had a reputation for being able to out-quote, out-talk and out-shoot any preacher from St. Louis to Kansas City. In addition, he plowed the straightest rows and fought the toughest ruffians and sometimes traveled fifty miles to hold church meetings.⁵

Most of the settlers from Tennessee, Kentucky and Carolina were more insular. They "hung" on the words of wisdom and knowledge of distant places these patriarchs imparted. Counce, Williams and Avery helped to prolong the impression of the frontier even after most of the forests were cleared and the prairies plowed. Later generations, still tying their concept of freedom to the life of the hunter, probably drew in ways, perhaps unconsciously, on the folk memories of Counce, Avery and Williams.

1832

The Treaty of Castor Hill, signed in St. Louis, extinguished the Kickapoo claim to the Osage River area and provided for the removal of all the Indians from that area.⁶

The election returns in Tebo Township, including present Henry and half of St. Clair Counties, showed Andrew Jackson with twenty-four votes, Henry Clay with six votes. The settlers

identified with the military hero who claimed to stand for the common man against vested interests.⁷ By this year settlers had pushed up the Pomme de Terre River and Lindley Creek as far south as present Hickory County.

1833-
1839

Andrew Jackson's banking policies made credit easy and encouraged a wave of speculation and land buying in the west just as the lands in the upper Osage were being surveyed and sectionalized for the market. Though accomplished without controversy and with only occasional conflict, this surveying ranks as one of the most momentous events in the history of the valley. The survey laid a geometrical grid over the natural irregularities of the landscape. Homesteads spread out along the best land were now disciplined with geometrical regularity.

Benjamin Franklin Lawler, whose family arrived in present St. Clair County in 1838, remembered that many men lived on government land long after it was surveyed without entering it. Often they were "entered out" and had to pull out. "Sometimes there would be serious trouble as the 'settler' had so long lived on his 'claim' as they were called, that it was home to him and quite valuable." An example of this serious trouble was the "Slicker War" in the Pomme de Terre River valley. Another was the expulsion of the Kelsos in St. Clair.⁸

Sectionalizing also had its impact on the roads. In the early days, "... roads occupied the best ground for movement, often cutting tracts

of land at strange angles. This gradually changed; the roads were corrected to suit the pattern of ownership, running straight along boundary lines, making travel more difficult from one place to another."⁹ Besides the settler's discrimination for wooded over prairie lands, they also looked to the differences among river lands. Shoal places on the Osage and rapids on the smaller rivers were preferred. These natural fords, as at "Bledsoe's" (Warsaw) or the "Crossing of the Osage at Crow and Crutchfield's" (Osceola) became the focus for the road network. They were, as their promoters liked to say, "marked by the hand of God" to be urban centers. Places of rapid flow afforded the best locations for mills. (See water mills on Pomme de Terre, Weaubleau, Sac, and Grand Rivers.)

Molding a routine of life and subsisting dominated the attention of most early settlers. However, the Osage valley did not attract only the insular settler. The valley lay in the path to the southwest and to Santa Fe. The prospect of river transportation on the Osage turned the settler's attention toward the market even before lodging was established. As in the early days of the fur trade, the market for hides and pelts remained a world system.

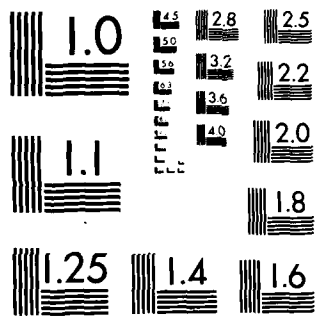
In addition to making land marketable and changing the roads in the region, the survey also attracted a new sort of settler. First, there were the land surveyors. One of the most important in the region, Jesse Applegate, attained the office of clerk and deputy in William Milborn's surveyor-general office of Missouri by age 19.

This young man was far removed from the stereotypical frontiersman. Applegate had a passion for order, punctiliousness regarding forms and precedents in all matters, an insistence on the nicest regularity.¹⁰ The knowledge gained while surveying caused Applegate and his brothers, Lindsey and Charles, to take a big tract of land around Huffman or Hoffman Bend where Roscoe now sits -- a piece of land they thought destined to be a center of commerce on the Osage River. (For Applegate's impact, see below, 1843.)

Another untypical group of settlers were the Waldo brothers, David, Calvin, Daniel and William, who settled just down stream from the Applegates on the Osage River around its junction with the Sac River. The Waldos were commercially active and always on the lookout for speculative ventures, especially ones headed for Santa Fe.¹¹

The Waldos and Applegates left an imprint on the Osage Valley. They and hundreds like them were the ambitious -- the restless spirits that settled on the Osage when it looked like a road to the west. They in turn left when the attractions of other possibilities broke the horizon. The Applegates and Waldos led the first big wagon train on the Oregon Trail in 1843. Others were called away by gold in California or war with Mexico. Tracing the flow of immigrants to the Osage valley, always keep an eye on the outflow, which was at once substantial and selective. If later generations gained an impression of stability, it was only because they were the ones left behind.¹²

- 1833 Van Buren County was formed out of the territory of the future Bates, Cass and Vernon counties and named for President Andrew Jackson's vice-president.¹³ In September the Missouri State Surveyor's office asked Charles Pelham of St. Louis to survey the lands of the Osage River to the boundary of the state.¹⁴
- 1834 The State Legislature organized Rives County (later Henry), which was named for William C. Rives of Virginia.¹⁵
- 1835
Jan. The State Legislature organized Benton County and established a commission to locate the county seat on the Osage River as near the center of the county as possible.¹⁶ The location of the county seat was the most divisive issue in each of the major counties in the region immediately after their formation. The Benton County commission settled on Warsaw only after a bitter rivalry between the advocates of other locations (see below for conflicts in Rives and St. Clair Counties). The location of the county seat could make one group of land speculators and break another. So much social and economic life was tied to county business that the seat of government would inevitably become the trade center for the county.
- Feb. The territory south of Rives and west of Benton was attached to Rives for civil and military purposes (present St. Clair County).¹⁷
- March Bates County was attached to Van Buren.¹⁸
- May Rives County had its first county court session. This governing body handled a great



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

variety of social and political matters. It laid out townships, levied taxes, established licenses for merchants and ferry keepers. It laid out roads, meted out justice and provided for welfare cases. The original county court records showing the activity of the courts from earliest to latest times are in the courthouses of the various counties. Copies of the early records for each county were made by the W. P. A. history project and are now on deposit at the Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri.

1835

The Rives County Court was held at William Goff's house, and this year James Nash of South Carolina laid out a town one mile north of this house and named it for the Senator from his home state, John C. Calhoun. This town of Calhoun, laid out with a courthouse square in the style of a southern county seat, expected to be chosen the seat of government. This year Rives County got its first mill, school and store.¹⁹ Despite these improvements the settlers often ran short of necessities and had to procure powder and lead from the Indians. The scattered Osage, Delaware and Shawnee Indians in the area would take the settler's furs to the posts on the Missouri or Mississippi Rivers and enjoy the tremendous markup that their mobility commanded over more insular people.²⁰

This year Nicholas Hesse traveled up the Osage River accompanied by a German friend well educated in mining. They rode up the left bank of the Osage over rough ground overgrown with "stunted timber." Forty miles from Jefferson

City they began to see prairie lands: "... when we first come on the islands of prairie they are a relief to the eye, however as they increase to the west they are themselves most tedious ... Finally one reaches large prairies, whose limits on several sides cannot be ascertained by the eye. They arouse, of course, astonishment at the beginning, but finally become tiresome and bring only a sad mood, wherein quiet rules" Of the settlements he wrote, "... everywhere, where springs and good soil are found on the edges, where forest and prairies meet, there are already settlements which cannot so readily be established in the middle of the prairies, as water and wood are lacking and the ground is too rolling and sandy." Such was the settlement pattern in the early days, 1837-1839, when the lands in Rives and Benton Counties were surveyed.²¹

1836
Feb.

The first Benton County lands were entered at the land office in Fayette, Missouri. Rives County took a census but lost the records.²³

Spring prices in Rives County included:

land	\$ 1.25/acre
cows	5.00
horses	25.00
hogs	1.25
wheat	.35/bushel
corn	.50/barrel
calf	.75
farm hand	.50/day
split rails	.25/100

Major Thomas F. Hunt, U. S. Army, warned of the explosive situation on Missouri's western border.

Many lawless and unprincipled white men had killed the game and sold liquor to the Indians. " ... [W]ithin a few years the scene has changed, the game nearly exhausted, the Indians hungry and naked, already beginning to feel very sensibly the results of their intercourse with our hunters and whiskey dealers When the buffalo are gone how are they to subsist except by pillaging our border citizens?"

Nov. The densest population concentrations in Rives County were north of Grand River, along Tebo Creek and near Calhoun, but the commission appointed to locate a seat of government picked a location in the center of the county, Clinton. There was strife over this.²⁴

1837 The county census showed 3,000 people living in Benton County with one-third clustered in or near the river town and county seat, Warsaw.²⁵ George Lewis, deputy U. S. Surveyor for Missouri, directed that surveying of Benton County be completed by June next year to accommodate the flood of immigrants. At this time, Benton included about one-half the lands of present Hickory County.

The War Department showed a census of Indian tribes within striking distance of the southwest Missouri frontier:

Osage	5,120
Quapaw	476
Ottawa	374
Weas	222
Seneca	251
Cherokee	7,911

May

Several of the missionaries at Harmony Mission stayed in the Osage valley even though the mission had long since closed. The Reverend Amasa Jones and his wife, Roxana, wrote to friends in Massachusetts urging them to immigrate to the Osage River country. They told of the good land for wheat and corn, the mild winters, and the free grazing land on the prairies, but they complained of their neighbors: "In nothing do we suffer more than for the want of good society. At present there are but few inhabitants about us, and not all of them of a character we could wish."²⁶

June

Several Seneca Indians entered Polk County and prompted a serious alarm among the settlers. One Indian approached a settler named Thatcher and complimented him by offering to trade wives. Thatcher took it as an insult, smashed the Indian in the face, and set the whole community on guard. The Polk County court called out the militia under Captain Levi Williams, rounded up the Indians and put them out of the county.²⁷ This was the first tremor of the Osage War, which settlers remembered as the "hog killing war."²⁸

July

The steamboat North St. Louis went up the Osage but got caught in a short fall and was left high and dry six or seven feet out of the water. "It is said to be doubtful whether she will ever be got off; or whether the water in that river will again rise high enough to float her in fifty years, located as she is, on the head of a very high island."²⁹ Earlier this year the great flood of 1837 chased many settlers out of their bottom-land home locations.³⁰

Steamboat pilots quickly learned that the obstacles to navigation on the Osage were quite different from those on the lower Missouri or Mississippi Rivers. The channel of the Osage did not shift locations like those of the bigger rivers, but it was subject to quick fluctuations in depth. Fast rises and falls, together with extreme crookedness, were the hallmarks of the Osage River throughout the steamboat era.

The steamboat made the area accessible just at the moment the surveys were completed, which made the land marketable. When the boats first plied the Osage, the early settlers were startled by this new monster. They were the first generation of white people to be overtaken by technological innovation -- a process they did not participate in but had to adjust to.³¹

Sum-
mer

John Onstott of southwest Missouri accompanied the Osage Indians on their summer hunt to the buffalo range. They went to the Wichita country, but the Pawnee harrassed them so much the hunt was spoiled.³²

Aug.

Brigadier General Henry Atkinson reported on the Missouri frontier: "Things appear tranquil on the frontier. There is, however, a war wampum afloat among the border tribes, and its circulation since last fall has grown to enormous size. Whether the combination is for operations against the whites or the Sioux is not ascertained; but some friendly chiefs have communicated a belief that it is against the whites." Atkinson's extensive report on conditions in the Missouri frontier said the Indians were starving.

Fall Colonel S. W. Kearney's 412 men in the First Dragoons had to patrol the whole frontier from Prairie du Chien in present day Wisconsin to Fort Gibson in present day Oklahoma. The Sixth Infantry, normally at Jefferson Barracks south of St. Louis, was occupied fighting the Seminoles in Florida. The Osage were hard pressed for food to last the winter. Many trickled back to Missouri to steal livestock. Some still claimed they had not ceded the hunting rights in their old homeland.³³ The settlers formed vigilance committees to protect against the Indians.³⁴

Melincourt Papin, Indian trader at Harmony Mission, sent word to state authorities that 400 to 500 warriors were threatening the settlements. Governor Lilburn Boggs, a veteran of the War of 1812 and a militarily disposed chief executive, called up the Fourth Militia Division under General Samuel D. Lucas, headquartered in Independence, to go to Southwest Missouri and put down the Indians. This was the same Governor Boggs and the same General Lucas that "put down" the Mormon uprising in the Mormon War, a venture that matched this one in glory.

Oct. Lucas and the militia rendezvoused on Grand River, fifty miles south of Independence near the present day Bates-Cass County line. Lucas with his force of 500 armed and mounted men rode out expecting to find the Indians likewise ready for war. Instead he found isolated groups of half-starved hunters, frustrated by their crop failures on the plains, and demoralized by constant conflict with the Pawnee and Comanche. There was

no war movement sent out from the chiefs -- that was not the way of the Osage. Rather there was an unorganized drift of truculent spirits down the streams that drained the plains. Down Drywood Creek, the Marmaton, Little Osage, and Grand River they returned to their ancestral homeland. The settlers were plenty frightened now, seeing the huge Osage warriors done up in their bluff paint. These warriors boasted and threatened but satisfied themselves by killing livestock for their cookpots. They scalped no one but nearly scared a few whites to death.

Lucas sent out a foray to Deer Creek, five miles above Old Harmony Mission, and captured one Indian. Six or eight miles west they found the main body of Indians. Lucas said they showed "signs" of hostility but surrendered.³⁵ On October 29, Lucas reached Harmony Mission. He then sent Brigadier General Wilson east to Deepwater Creek area after a party of Indians reportedly committing "depredations." This detachment passed Clinton in Rives County where the Indians had stolen some livestock.

At Harmony Mission Lucas found a good deal of excitement among the French and half-breeds who had been warned of the army's advance. After staying at Harmony Mission a few days, Lucas continued south to the Marmaton River. He sent men up Drywood Creek to southwest Vernon and north Barton Counties. Between the Grand River and the Marmaton River he captured 101 Indians. These he put out of the state.

Later this month Major General Joseph Powell

called out his Seventh Militia army of Springfield and took the field.

Nov. Powell's militia was called out because of threats to the settlers, but his men became restive when they found no signs of belligerency among the Indians.³⁶ Lucas rounded up 101 Indians in all. Included in this group were Indian wives of several French traders. General Lucas ordered these women rounded up with the rest; but when he met the 1st U. S. Dragoon Company, the commander, Captain E. V. Sumner, took possession of these women and returned them to their husbands. Among these Frenchmen was a Mr. Jarrew, trader for the American Fur Company. The "war" ended without a battle or even a skirmish. Quietly and without fanfare or heroes, the Indians were led to the border and told not to return.

General Lucas was nonetheless quite proud of this action. He wrote in his report "... the Indians expressed great astonishment at the number of white men and said they did not believe before that there could be as many men raised within the State of Missouri." Lucas believed the massive show of force, using an army of 500 men, did the job much more efficiently than could a smaller force. "It would have required a force of 200 men at least six weeks or two months to have performed the same service [we rendered in 15 days] and in all probability they would have been compelled to have resorted to arms before the object of the expedition could have been accomplished." Lucas justified the expedition by extolling the virtues of the settlers he protected. They were

"... men of exemplary habits and good moral character, and a remarkable fact is they are all, or mostly so, temperance men who discountenance the use and traffic in ardent spirits."³⁷ This view was not shared by one of Lucas' officers who mentioned a trader who "... has divers French around him who sell liquor to the Indians."

The chief U. S. engineer made the first recorded recommendation for improving the Osage for navigation, justifying it as a measure proper to the defense of the western frontier.³⁸

1838

Nicholas Hesse, who had traveled up the Osage in 1835, settled near Jefferson City where he observed the flow of immigrants to the west. "The immigration of Americans from the eastern states into Missouri is at the present very large and is chiefly directed toward the extreme western border ... and toward the upper Osage."³⁹ Promotions of the Osage River country in St. Louis papers claimed: "There is not on the face of the globe a more fertile soil or a climate more conducive to the health of man, combined with so many advantages ... Unlike the country north of the Missouri river, the Osage country is well watered, possessing numerous living springs and rivulets of the purest water, and unlike Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, there is not a marsh or standing body of water in the whole country."

There were already 3,000 people in Benton County (the county then covered about three times the area of modern Benton County). Warsaw was laid out in the winter of 1837-1838, and it already had numerous buildings. "And now, reader,

are you a farmer desiring a location? -- Go to Warsaw, you can buy in its vicinity at Government price just such land as you want and as much as you wish. Are you a mechanic? -- Go to Warsaw, your wages will be high and your living cheap. Are you a manufacturer of iron or lead? Go to Warsaw, there is a wide field for you. On the other hand, are you crippled and debilitated by disease, or too lazy to work? -- Still go to Warsaw, there you will find health, and nowhere can you live with so little labor. There are fish in the rivers, game in the forest, and hens on the prairies -- and to crown all, a thorough going DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE." The town was located at the "head of steamboat navigation," on the Boonville to Arkansas road, with beautiful prairies and fruitful soil.⁴⁰

The steamboat Adventure ascended the Osage 160 miles and met only slight obstacles to navigation. "It is presumed a regular trade will be carried on in this river during the spring and summer where boats of a suitable size and construction are provided. The country on the principle branches of the Osage above the Niangary [sic] is as fine as any other part of Missouri and settling rapidly by a highly respectable population. There is very little surplus produce to bring away from that region of country at present, the provisions being consumed by emigrants, who arrive in great numbers in the spring and fall of the year."⁴¹

The Adventure faired much better than the North St. Louis did the year before. Legends

grew up about the quick rises and falls on the river and also its crookedness. One pilot wrote: "When going up the river with a boat at night, the moon straight ahead now, and in a very short time may be behind you, while the boat is still headed upstream. Many times have I been asked by passengers if the boat had turned around and was going back. One can see the river for only a short distance ahead of the boat on account of the crooks in it."⁴²

In later years, Captain Henry Castrop told visitors to the Osage the same thing, embellished with a bit of southwest Missouri tall-tale talk: "I am told that before steamboats were operated on the river, it was impossible for folks living near the river to get any rest at night, on account of the noise made by the hoot owls. Every hollow tree was full of them and they would set in the trees along the river bank and keep up their hooting all night. So finally along come the steamboat winding its way up this crooked river. The next night, after the boat had passed the natives were astonished when they did not hear any hoot owls. They decided to investigate, and imagine their surprise when they found under each tree a number of owls with their heads off. It seems that an owl does not move its body, just turns its head to look at anything and the owls had been sitting in the trees watching the boats go up the crooked river. Keeping an eye on the boat making the many crooks and turns, they were compelled to twist their heads around so much that they twisted them off and they fell to the ground

dead. I might say that the natives have not been molested by hoot owls since and have slept peacefully ever since."⁴³

Jesse Applegate finished surveying most of present St. Clair County for the U. S. Government.⁴⁴ Benton County started selling its school lands. One of the provisions for land survey was that the 16th section of each township should be reserved for sale to raise money to begin schools. The public record for these lands is fuller than for that of the pre-emption homesteaders. We know, for example, that if people living in the township found the school land valueless, they petitioned the court to have the 16th section relocated so it could be sold and schools built. This was the case in Rives County (present Henry) where the settlers from T42N; R25W, T43N; R24W, T41N; R26W, all petitioned the county court to relocate their 16th section school lands on the grounds "... that it was poor land, and there was no timber on it" or that "... said 16th section is of little value for the want of timber" or that it was "... prairie and therefore valueless...." These expressions rejecting prairie land came in the years 1836 to 1843 and show the settlers' preference for wooded, stream land over upland prairie.

As the territory filled up with permanent settlers, the hunters either settled or moved on. By this year most people still lived on government land that was not entered and most paid no taxes. The first tax assessor in the area of present St. Clair County, Abraham Miller, assessed

only the livestock of the settlers.⁴⁵ B. F. Lawler painted this word picture of St. Clair County:

St. Clair County in 1838 was beautifully wild -- long grass, large trees, wild fruit, red deer, wolves, prairie chickens, and late in the fall wild geese and brants on their way South, for the winter ... Wild birds would sing and sing in the tops of tall trees as the wind swayed the branches.... The tall grass on the prairie swayed by the wind thrilled the heart as it formed billows as we read about on the sea Strawberries wild and a greater variety of wild flowers than one can imagine who has not seen and enjoyed beauty and fragrance.⁴⁶

The material culture was still a very primitive one. The prairies were forbidding to white men exposed to the elements. They were far from wood and springs. The flies and other bugs infesting the tall prairie grass made even travel difficult. Perhaps even more important, the cost of cutting prairie sod with plow was prohibitive. The settlers in the valley did not avoid the prairie because of abstract concepts dictating that only land with trees was good for agriculture, but because of practical necessity. Not until the mid-1840's did William Tyree become the first settler in Deepwater Township (Henry County) to settle on the open prairie. And it took six yoke of oxen to break the sod.⁴⁷ Before the sod was broken, the settlers used the prairie land as open range for grazing livestock. Thus upland prairie cultivation became a venture more likely undertaken by the well-to-do agriculturalist with slaves. For an example of big slave owners who first broke prairie sod in St. Clair County see

Allen Prairie.

1839

Prices in the area included:

Farm hand/day	25¢ - 50¢
Rails	25¢/100
Land	\$1.25/acre
Cow	\$5.00-\$10.00
Horse	\$25.00
Dressed hog	\$1.25
Wheat	35¢/bushel
Corn	50¢/barrel
Calf	75¢

The country settled very rapidly between 1837 and 1847. This year one of the first groups of well-to-do settlers arrived. This "North Carolina Colony" settled on Tebo Creek.⁴⁸ They came from Rockingham County, North Carolina with slaves and much other property. Some of their descendants remained the biggest land owners in the Grand River valley 100 years later.⁴⁹

Feb.

The Missouri State Legislature rejected the bill to improve the Osage River for navigation to facilitate protection of the Western border.⁵⁰ The Osage River was in the midst of a dry cycle. Just as in 1808 when a dry cycle excluded the Osage River from consideration as a place for Fort Osage, this dry cycle came at a very crucial time. Owing to the extraordinary dry fall, winter and spring the Osage was unusually low. Just when land promoters approached the legislature to get an appropriation for improving navigation, the Osage got a reputation for being unnavigable. But the Jefferson Enquirer assured its readers, "... from all we can learn of those who are

acquainted with the river it can be navigated at some seasons even to the western boundary of the state, and, for a great portion of the year with ease and safety, to a point within a few miles of the western boundary line."⁵¹ Settlers could begin to see the climatic pattern in the western Ozark border:

1837 - the river was up then down

1838 - the river was up

1839 - the river was down

In May the newly formed Missouri State Board of Internal Improvements with George C. Sibley as president, named B. F. Robinson to survey the geology and geography of the Osage River to determine the potentials of the country and the prospects for navigation.

1840

This year the United States Census included figures for the Osage River area. The two counties in the Upper Osage, Benton and Rives, covered a much bigger area than modern counties in the district.

White males aged:

	-5	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79
Benton	427	326	497	395	217	123	71	25	8
Rives	481	362	415	411	237	143	56	24	11

White females aged:

	-5	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79
Benton	431	332	429	305	201	102	33	15	4
Rives	430	331	444	379	159	99	47	49	4

Slave males aged:

	-10	10-	25-	37-	56-
		24	36	55	100
Benton	50	57	22	12	1
Rives	127	129	40	18	6

Slave females aged:

	-10	10-	25-	37-	56-
		24	36	55	100
Benton	29	54	25	5	6
Rives	106	123	52	23	11

Total population:

Benton	4,205
Rives	4,726

Everyone employed in Benton County except 44 "mechanics" and 12 professionals was employed in agriculture. All the mechanics lived in or near the town of Warsaw. The county, with over 4,000 people, had only one common school with 30 "scholars," yet listed only 76 illiterate adults. Besides the 1,275 people employed in agriculture, Rives County had 28 employed in commerce, 18 mechanics, and 10 professionals. Rives County already had 15 common schools with 299 scholars.⁵²

Despite the pioneering steamboat trips by the North St. Louis and the Adventure, navigation on the Osage River remained dominated by rafts. Logs tied together into rafts up to 100 feet-long floated down river propelled by six or eight men with poles who would gather at the bow, facing downstream, thrust long poles to the bottom and walk to the stern. In deep water they would pull the boat by means of ropes tied to successive

trees along shore or "walk" the raft with ropes drawn along the shore.⁵³ Down river the rafts themselves sold for lumber, and the crewmen could trade pelts, or perhaps a bit of lead gathered from the surface deposits on the upper Osage.

Bazil Gordon and Lysander H. Amsden, working for the State of Missouri, surveyed the Osage River from Osceola, 231 miles, to its mouth.⁵⁴ Later this year, B. F. Robinson reported to the legislature the results of this survey. The Osage was "... a magnificent stream, one that could be made navigable two hundred and fifty miles at a cost of about two hundred thousand dollars." The surveyors found a "large population" living under "peculiar inconveniences" on account of their isolation. That isolation raised the price of necessities like salt, sugar, and coffee to "thrrible" the cost in towns along the Missouri River. "Economy ... here loses its charms, and indeed becomes wasteful extravagance." Robinson referred to the flood of settlers taking up land here. They enjoyed "rich bottom lands" and gathered lead from the surrounding hill country. He reported the river channel to be stable, the main obstacle to navigation being the 101 shoal or rapid places between Osceola and the mouth, and the islands splitting the river at these shoal places. Robinson recommended:

- 1) concentrating the flow by construction of wing dams and jetties four feet high of rock and gravel thrown out from one side or both sides of the river as needed to cut a channel.

- 2) connecting the islands with the mainland by dams, crib work filled with rock, "in the usual manner."⁵⁵

In August, Victor Tixier, returning from his travels on the Osage prairies, decided to float down the Osage River. He put in just three miles below Harmony Mission at Colin's farm. The settlers, ignorant of river travel, told him it was but 60 miles to the mouth, when it was really 301 miles. He found all along the upper Osage, " ... a succession of rapids, which gradually become scarcer while approaching its mouth These rapids are not very dangerous for canoes, but the water is too shallow for large boats." Huge tracts of forest still stood between the settlements -- "... announced at a great distance by an empty space in the forest, or by series of gray branches, stillborn fruits of the trees which died the preceding year." These trees were girdled by the settlers and left to die. The oldest farms presented a pleasant and cheerful appearance with: "A log house ... built in a field covered with fine corn, surrounded on all sides by the woods still untrodden a short time before." More recent cabins were surrounded with tree trunks, " ... blackened by fire, among which corn and pumpkins are growing." He reached Osceola with its 11 or 12 houses in a terrible rain. The inhabitants were gathered at the Crow and Crutchfield store talking about politics, "clad in the invariable black coat." The settlers were "well built" and vigorous but in every family, " ... there were three or four people ill with incurable malarias,

and the children born there showed evidence of being ill with scrofula" This swell in the lymph glands or neck indicated perhaps goiter or tuberculosis.

Tixier floated an entire day below Osceola without finding a cabin. The next day he " ... coasted all day, now along beautiful forests full of stags and wild turkeys, now past cliffs rising high above the river, with pine and red cedars growing in the cracks, the bald eagles soared above their tops; at the foot of those abrupt shores, beautiful pink and white mallows were reflected in the smooth mirror of the Osage River, beautifully shaded by wild vines."⁵⁶

Tixier traveled through Osceola and Warsaw just when the 1840 election reached its hottest. This election was long remembered as the beginning of the Slicker War in the Pomme de Terre valley.⁵⁷ The Whigs sought to steal the Jacksonian's image of champions of the common man. They sold William Henry Harrison for President as a child of the frontier. In Rives County the Whigs had a great dinner; bread baked in the shape of small logs was used to build a bread log cabin.⁵⁸ Both sides in Rives and Benton Counties sponsored big picnics with roast oxen and cider.⁵⁹ The campaign was as hot here as anywhere in the East; though, as another traveler observed, society was mostly made up of " ... squatters in one-room Cabins, with about an acre of ground cleared and fenced in for a Garden."⁶⁰

1840's

Throughout this decade, present Bates and Vernon Counties, being almost entirely prairie,

were almost uninhabited. The few settlers along Deepwater Creek in Bates, " ... selecting the timber lands, believing them better adapted to the requirements of the farmer than the prairies."⁶¹ Dr. Badger of Vernon County recalled visiting one of his neighbors in Clear Creek township to borrow a saw. He seated himself on a three legged stool at a clap-board table together with his host's wife and eight children. The host brought an iron kettle to the table with a chicken and thick broth therein and three battered tin cups. He drew his hunting knife and cut a leg of chicken, dipped some broth and gave this meal to the doctor. The children each took a piece of corn pone, scooped out the soft part and ate it and had broth poured into this "bowl." Sometimes a leak in the levee let out a stream of broth which the child was expected to suck up before the stream reached the edge of the table. The men ate with pocket knives. Everyone else, with fingers.⁶²

An old settler surveyed the state of material culture about 1840 with this remembered image: "We traveled in truck wagons with wheels made from logs and drawn by oxen. Our plows were bull tongues fastened to forks cut from young trees and a kind of diamond with wooden mold board. Our grain was tramped out with horses on the ground and winnowed. Our houses were log cabins daubed with mud, with stick and mud chimneys and clapboard doors. No schools, no churches, no courts Both men and women wore homemade clothing with not much cotton in it. Tall nettles were gathered from the rich bottoms, allowed to decay and then worked up

like flax and made into cloth. The wardrobe of a boy was considered complete if he got one long shirt a year from this nettle cloth."⁶³

Most settlers remembered the prairie lands as perfectly hellish to work. Even travel there was difficult owing to the "gadflies" (tabanid, botfly, warblefly) or green-headed prairie flies that tortured horses so with pain, sending them frantically racing, stirring up more clouds of bugs, until driven to exhaustion or death.⁶⁴ In warm seasons it was customary to suspend travel on the prairies till night. Sometimes farmers trying to till the prairie boundary would plow at night or burn rags under their horses to make smoke for protection.⁶⁵ A more purely esthetic memory of the prairie recalled not the hell of work and flies, but the paradise of flora. "In an early day this country was a perfect paradise, the prairie was one vast flower bed, most beautiful to behold; the woods were full of wild bees and in the late part of summer we would cut bee trees and get honey for winter use, and as barrels and other vessels were very scarce we would cut long linn and hackberry trees, split the logs open and hew out huge troughs to store away our honey in."⁶⁶

Some memories of these pioneer days hung on the hardships, others on the beauty and bounty of the land. But whether they remembered it as better or worse than other times, the pioneers all agreed that it was vastly different from later years. In the beginning, the creeks and streams flowing into larger rivers always dug out deep holes, good for

fishing. By the 1860's loose earth from roads and plowed fields filled these holes.⁶⁷ The game populations challenged the imagination in their diversity and numbers. Passenger pigeons, or "doves" as the settlers called them, flew in cloud-like flocks. "Red deer" gathered in herds. The early settlers, recalling the dangers of frontier life, remembered the trips that later generations considered routine, to be the most dangerous and demanding activity. Some recalled their journeys to Boonville or Springfield as if they were military expeditions. The fickle rivers and streams were much more formidable enemies and claimed far more lives than did warring Indians. The condition of the roads is indicated by the standards for the Warrensburg--Clinton--Osceola--Bolivar--Springfield road laid out in the 1840's. Stumps in the road could not be more than one foot above ground and the road had to be marked by notches in trees at least every 100 yards. Such was the main highway.⁶⁸ Most roads were bridle paths or "improved" game trails.

The obstacles to transportation had an important influence on the society maturing during the 1840's. The settlers were attracted to the upper Osage valley from the eastern border states just at the high tide of the Jacksonian egalitarian ideology, just when the Whigs themselves (the Jacksonian Democrat's political opponents) embraced this ideology in their "log cabin and hard cider" campaign of 1840. That ideology emerged as an expression of the restless release of individual energies in a capitalistic, mobility-conscious

society. This egalitarianism put premiums on achievement and movement in the East. But the western Ozark border environment trimmed movement and achievement, leaving a more "insular egalitarianism." The transplanted society was different from its parent.

Sometimes this egalitarian spirit might act to impede innovations in daily life. A man might keep his chimney made of sticks and mud as "good 'nuf" fearing his neighbors might consider a stone or brick chimney "high toned." The "invariable black coat" worn by men in Osceola indicates a rejection of fashions in dress.⁶⁹ Men with store-bought clothes were dandies. The difficulty of transportation imposed by the environment made new fashions very expensive and distinctly a mark of class. The settlers' egalitarianism would not tolerate this; but in the East, where fashions were more nearly accessible to all men, they flourished.

This egalitarianism was insular and in some respects communitarian. The common habit among neighbors was to give away meat whenever a deer, hog, or beef was killed. No one kept account of meals given or received. Not until the 1850's were turnips or other "truck vegetables" sold on the market. Before that they were given away. Communitarian in subsistence and cooperative in building homes, neighbors were often mortal enemies when it came to "principles." On election days men traveled to the county seat to cast their voice vote. A man walked up to the poll, swore he had not and would not vote at any other place that day, then made his choice. One man remembered:

"The election days were frightful days for fisti-cuffs, as politics ran high and misunderstandings were common Strange too, that men aimed to disfigure each others faces as much as possible."⁷⁰ Often a man would defend the good name of his family by fighting. Bragging also led to tests of skill in horse races or shooting matches, and ultimately, tests of strength in terrible brawls.⁷¹ The same man who would leave the latch string of his cabin door always outside for weary travelers or needy neighbors might label his more prosperous neighbor high-toned for riding a horse specially saved from the plow for that purpose. Both men were ready to fight over expressions of condescension on one side or superiority on the other.

Insular egalitarianism grew during the 1840's and 1850's, when a new generation grew up, knowing only the Osage valley. Many settlers could quote classics and were better off in respect to learning than their children, and "... many people brought better educations with them in their minds than they were able to give to their children"⁷² The insularity did not mean an absence of change. But the standards for change-as-improvement altered, bringing a lessened emphasis on the search for ever bigger markets, as was common in the East, and heightened emphasis on improving the base of subsistence and local markets.

The hoop huts of the hunter were replaced by substantial log cabins, many still standing today. Early settlers built these houses on river and creek terraces, near springs. One of the first adjustments away from this arrangement was for

health. Many moved their cabins to higher ground from the realization that chills and fevers so common in the fall and spring were due to locating the house where the fog lingered and the cabin was dark much of the day.⁷³ The tremendous cost of land carriage encouraged the growth of grain mills, first horse driven and then waterpowered, on the rivers and streams which served the local market. Although each county had several mills, milling day meant a major occasion and a dangerous journey.

Along the Osage and Grand Rivers a few big, expanding-market oriented men built imposing brick houses in the 1840's, invariably employing slave labor. But their neighbors and all the settlers on the smaller streams built cabins from hewn logs. The timber-rich but nail-poor settlers put a roof on the log house by setting up a frame of ribs and laying on three foot and four foot long boards (split from a block with a broad axe) and held in place by laying on ridge poles atop the boards. Chimneys were built of mud and sticks, perhaps lined with rocks. One settler remembered that some people " ... built chimneys of stone a long time ago but they were of the more wealthy class and were regarded by their neighbors as slightly 'stuck up.'"⁷⁴ Household utensils included: hominy mortar, churn, spinning wheel, loom, iron kettles, homemade wood furniture, tin cups, all-purpose knives and spoons.

Almost every family got its livelihood from agriculture. After girdling and burning the trees, they planted corn and potatoes between the stumps. "Plowing around the stump" was a common practice

and the frontier practice became a metaphor of life. Don't get hung up expending a lot of energy removing stumps just because they are unsightly. They will rot away in their own good time. The settlers "kept hogs" but they did not raise them. The pigs ran wild and when the settler's larder was low, he would take down the family rifle and go forth into the woods to stalk and slay an animal with the body of a sunfish and the head of an anteater known about the Ozarks as a razorback hog. In those days the names "domestic hog" and "razorback hog" were distinctions without a difference. These hogs, with their thick spring bristles along the spine, were more than half-wild and probably the most dangerous game animal in the woods.

The farms were quite diversified with corn, vegetables, a little tobacco, hemp, flax, or cotton, and assorted livestock. The woods and prairies provided natural mast and pasture. Sometimes farmers would cut the wild prairie grass for winter forage and fork it into a barn or cave with a two-pronged persimmon tree branch that served as a pitchfork.⁷⁵ The other tools were equally rude, "... dear boys, the kind of hoes we hoed our cotton and potatoes with -- you have no conception of how heavy and dull they were."⁷⁶

Travelers noted the rudeness of agriculture in the Osage valley in the 1840's, but few were sensitive to the rapid changes taking place. By mid-decade the scythe and cradle replaced the sickle or reap hook in harvesting.⁷⁷ Farmers learned to raise hemp planted more or less densely

depending on the texture of the fiber desired. This fiber and cotton replaced the nettles in fashioning clothing. And by the time of the Civil War, most farmers had quit trying to raise hemp, tobacco and cotton altogether turning to corn, wheat, oats, timothy, cattle, and horses. One of the first moves away from subsistence agriculture was in most farmers' abandoning hemp, tobacco, and cotton culture, finding the local market a better provider of their domestic needs.⁷⁸ Sorghum was one of the frontier subsistence crops that persisted longer. Home or neighborhood manufacturing of molasses using a sorghum trough was one of the oldest and most persistent home manufacturers.

The most common and necessary farm tool was the axe. Used for building houses, clearing land, and cutting fuel, the axe also served to make furniture and cut sod. Plows were made of wood, with perhaps a metal blade, but not always. Tools were repaired by part-time blacksmiths using whatever scrap iron was available to make horseshoes and nails or plow blades. Beginning in the 1840's and going to the middle of the twentieth century, the deepest changes in society in the Osage valley have been wrought by ever more efficient agricultural implements and techniques.

Schools and churches met in each county even before the first county court. Indeed, the early settlements along streams first got their identity from the name of the stream, then from their denomination (see Coon Creek and Tebo Creek for examples). Schools were first run by subscription,

being taught in private homes.⁷⁹

1840

This year A. Koch of St. Louis advertised the exhibition of his "Missourium" and mammoth or great mastadon he unearthed in the Pomme de Terre River valley. Koch later took his show to other cities and to Europe where the British Museum purchased a set of these bones.⁸⁰ The promise of the Osage River for navigation was such that Governor L. W. Boggs recommended that the Missouri Legislature approve a \$200,000 expenditure to make the river navigable from Osceola to the mouth.⁸¹ In December the bill for improving the Osage River was reported favorably to the Internal Improvements Committee by a vote of 44 to 12.⁸²

1841

With an omnibus county organization law, the Missouri Legislature formed several counties, among them St. Clair County named for General Arthur St. Clair and Bates County named for either Fredrick or Edward Bates.⁸³ Before this, St. Clair County had been attached to Rives County. The first Bates County Court, which administered the area of present Vernon County, met in February at old Harmony Mission.⁸⁴ St. Clair County was authorized to have an election to locate its seat of government.⁸⁵ On petition from the citizens of Rives County, the Missouri Legislature changed the name of that county to Henry County, because William Cabell Rives, U. S. Senator from Virginia, for whom the county was named, had become a Whig. The Legislature agreed and renamed the county for Patrick Henry.⁸⁶

In late spring, the Jefferson Inquirer reported that "The Steamboat Leander has made a trip

up the Osage river this spring, as far as Osceola, carrying about 200 tons of freight to that place and Warsaw, and we are informed the Captain contemplates making another trip immediately -- So much for the practicality of the navigation of the Osage. A few seasons, and steamers will ply regularly on this stream, to the great advantage of the southwestern counties."⁸⁷ Such news spread expectations in the East and encouraged immigration to the Osage valley, but the Osage River remained a most hazardous avenue for steam navigation. The State Legislature failed to appropriate the money to make it safer for steamboats.

In May, St. Clair County held an election to locate its seat of government. The two main entries in the race were Osceola (276 votes) and Roscoe (265 votes). The competition between the two towns was stiff and sometimes violent. The close vote was followed by accusations of fraud levelled by Jesse Applegate, champion of the Roscoe location, and one of the richest men in the region. Applegate carried the contest to the State Legislature and the fight continued until 1843 when the Applegates, together with the Waldo family, bitter over their loss, launched a new life of speculation in the far West. Applegate realized that the people of the valley, busy improving their base of subsistence, had already drifted away from the speculative and promotional definition of progress that drove Americans in the North and East to the search for ever bigger markets and ever advancing land values.⁸⁸

While Jesse Applegate and the Waldos rejected the insular egalitarianism of their neighbors by moving away, the state-wide internal improvements movement, with a few powerful exponents in the Osage valley, confronted the insularity of the communities by trying to impose market discipline. In September of this year the U. S. Congress passed a law providing for the encouragement of internal improvements. The Act appropriated the money from the sale of 500,000 acres of public land in each western state to be set aside for internal improvements. The Missouri Legislature intended to use its money to improve the Osage, Grand, and White Rivers for navigation.⁸⁹

1842

The Committee on Internal Improvements of the Missouri Legislature proposed to appropriate the proceeds from the sale of 500,000 acres of land to improve the Osage and (north) Grand Rivers, arguing that: "The time has arrived when the increased wants and the growing population of our State demand that avenues to social intercourse, as well as to market should be opened, and the mighty navigable resources of Missouri should be aided by judicious legislation. Our State Constitution ordains that Internal Improvements shall be forever encouraged"⁹⁰

Like Jesse Applegate who would leave the Osage valley next year, the Committee recognized that the people of the valley, in their isolation, were quickly falling away from the big expanding-market consensus of American society in the East. The Committee proposed to repair this rift by making the Osage River more regularly navigable.

Several new counties had lately been erected in that section of the state and "... thither has the swelling wave of immigration pressed." They estimated the total population of the Osage River territory at 100,000 people. "... if this river were ordered navigable, in a few years the country which it would benefit, would in its ability to meet taxation, amply repay any expenditures which now might be made. The surplus products which now fall valueless on the hands of the producer would thus become a source of individual wealth and state prosperity -- The country would rapidly fill with capital, enterprise and energy -- In their present condition, the people of that section of the State, have no market, for the enormous cost of land carriage deadens every motive to industry and without the fostering aid of legislation this beautiful country may become depopulated or occupied only by the indolent and vicious."⁹¹ The virtues of the market place were elevated to moral imperatives, defining their opposite (life of subsistence) as "indolent and vicious," and the products of that life "valueless." These epithets no doubt applied to the Anti-Slicker party in the Slicker War still raging in the Pomme de Terre valley. DeWitt Ballou, the Benton County representative in the Missouri House on this Committee was a Slicker. The exhortations for appropriations, however, failed to gain the approval of legislators from other areas of the state who wanted their share of the fund for their own districts. The bill failed.

In addition to the improvements in navigation,

the legislators from the Osage valley also proposed to establish a franchised water-power complex on Sac River and bridges over the major rivers.⁹² Impatient over the Legislature's failure to authorize money for the improvement of the Osage River from the State's Internal Improvement Fund, the navigation promoters changed their strategy, lobbying for a law creating the "Osage River Navigation Company." The bill provided that no portion of the proceeds from sales of the 500,000 acres of land, given to the state for internal improvements, should ever be appropriated for the improvement of the Osage River, "... whilst the improvement is in the hands of Individuals or Joint Co. Stock holders." The Company was to be capitalized at \$75,000 "... or so much as may be necessary to execute the objects of said Company," and the counties were encouraged to subscribe to the stock of the company. The incorporation gave investors limited liability. In addition to this special privilege, the Company was to be empowered to enter any lands on the Osage or its tributaries from the mouth to Harmony Mission for the purpose of making those rivers and streams navigable. "The said company shall have power to open, enlarge, contract, deepen or change the beds or channel of said river." It could dam tributaries, deepen the channel, erect culverts, bridges, abutments, locks, "sluice buildings," or anything else to make transportation more convenient. The company was empowered to use, move, or remove rock, stone, gravel, earth or any materials and remove any obstruction, natural or man-made. All water power created by dams would belong to the

company. Any surplus water could be sold by the company, and no other parties could take water from the river that in any way injured or impaired the navigation of said river. The company was to start construction within 12 years.⁹³ The company was authorized to levy tolls for navigation, not to exceed 20% of the capital improvements per annum, after first deducting the cost of maintenance. Anyone causing damage to company property was to be penalized five times the amount of the damage. This amount would go to the company.

The vast privileges proposed for this company would make it a powerful tool for disciplining subsistence milling enterprises in the valley and drawing the whole region into the national market system. However, the time had not arrived when the Legislature was sufficiently convinced that the Osage valley was in danger of slipping away from the market consensus. The bill failed this year but did not die. (see below)

The first school house in St. Clair County was built on Coon Creek. Its first teacher was James W. Beck. This building also housed the Baptist Church. No one paid much attention to the principle of separation of church and state in these years. Buildings cost too much time and effort to make nice distinctions requiring the construction of two public houses when one would do. The congregation would gather at the school house for sermons, then walk, singing, in a double file (one for men, the other for women) to the river for baptisms. Every third Sunday of the month the congregation would hold a

protracted meeting, inviting people from as far east as the Pomme de Terre valley and as far south as Humansville. This meeting would last two days. Men seated their wives and sisters in the meeting house then gathered at the back of the hall or under the trees to talk over events since the last meeting. The preacher would sometimes issue a stern reprimand for their inattention, but this did little good and religion remained, as they said, "mostly in the wife's name." "Some of those same gentlemen who talked too close to the church attended regularly, but did not profess religion until they were near death's door"⁹⁴

Late this year the Ozark Standard (Springfield) reported: "We have in our office, a jaw tooth of an animal dug up near Warsaw, in Benton County, that weighs 14½ pounds. The tusks found at the same place, and supposed to belong to the same monster, are about 13 feet long. According to the best calculation that can be made, the skeleton when completed, will be about 40 feet in length, and 28 feet high."⁹⁵

1842-
1845

In these years the assessed valuation of Henry County landed property almost doubled from \$197,000 to \$351,000. In the same years the price of lots in Clinton advanced from \$5 to \$9. The best agricultural land showed a similar advance.⁹⁶

1843

The State Legislature authorized John Hollaway of Benton, Joseph Montgomery of St. Clair, and James Requa of Bates to lay out a state road from Osceola toward Fort Scott in the Indian Territory which would pass Butler. The Legislature

also declared the Warsaw to Osceola road a state road.⁹⁷ In the spring of this year the family of S. H. Weddle arrived in Bates County and settled 3½ miles southeast of Butler, finding "... the prairies had been burnt smooth." Weddle remembered that there were no other people in the area and "... there was nothing to stimulate a man to press forward to accumulate property, for it was worth but little."⁹⁸ This was not the case in the counties just to the east where much of the good land was already entered. In May Clinton was officially patented as the county seat of Henry County.⁹⁹

In September the advocates of state sponsored internal improvement of the Osage River met at Jefferson City to urge the Legislature to spend \$204,000 to make the Osage navigable clear to the Indian Territory. Chaired by Robert W. Wells of St. Louis, few of the delegates came from the upper Osage River area. The main objective was to establish a stable, 3½ foot channel to the Indian Territory. Wells and the convention spoke as outsiders who wanted to make the Osage River territory more accessible. Wells praised the opportunities offered by the river. "The Osage River is very like the Ohio above Marietta But the scenery on its banks is much more picturesque, romantic, variegated and beautiful The river abounds with the finest fish I stood on the bank, and without moving my feet counted 76 fish of a good size." He represented the Osage River as affording far better opportunities for navigation than any other

tributary of the Missouri. Not only did it have a stable channel with few snags, it served 15 counties with a rapidly growing population and was free of ice more months of the year than any other tributary of the Missouri.¹⁰⁰

The meeting in Jefferson City in September was followed by an Osage River Improvement Convention in Warsaw in December, including delegates from Benton, Henry, and St. Clair Counties. The delegates, most of whom had a direct interest in the trade as steamboat operators or owners, passed resolutions urging state aid to Osage River improvement. This year W. T. Yeoman established a Democratic newspaper in Warsaw, the Osage Yeoman, mainly dedicated to pushing navigation and water power schemes in the Osage valley. Most of the newspaper's patrons were steamboat operators anxious to advertise their wares.¹ Reflecting the rapid development of the region, the land office for southwest Missouri was moved from Springfield to Clinton.²

1844

The bill for state aid to improve the Osage River for navigation was once again introduced in the Legislature.³

In June it rained for 22 days with only brief interruptions. The waters of the Osage and its tributaries flooded the bottomlands and terraces, and in present-day Vernon and Bates Counties it reached some of the upland prairies.⁴ The high water prevented travel across even the smallest streams for two months.⁵ The great floods of this year and the next ruined two successive bottomland crops, drove many settle's

from their lowland cabin sites, causing the most abrupt alteration in home location patterns in the valley until the Civil War.⁶

With the waters of the Osage uncommonly high, the river was easily navigated. The Flora Jones took this opportunity to steam up to Papinsville and Harmony Mission. The Legislature had not approved the money to improve the river so steamboats were quite a novelty, especially to the settlers above Osceola who had never before seen one. These insular settlers were frightened by this messenger of the industrial age; "... the terrible animal, which seemed from its voice to belong to a previous age, had wandered from its fastness in the great Rocky Mountains and was now trying to find its way back and keeping near the river to hide from view."⁷ The settlers' reaction to the steamboat gave an index of how far they had drifted from the mainstream of American industrial-commercial life. Led by "Uncle John" Whitley they gathered with guns, knives and pitchforks ready at the Rockhouse Cave at Whitley Bend to confront the noisy monster. But before they could organize, the monster had passed up river and the band scoured the Osage thickets all day, the hounds refusing to take the scent. The men gathered to fortify their cave overlooking the river and await the return of the monster. Dawn broke with a shrill shriek ending in a roar which seemed to make the forest tremble and the cave re-echo its sound to the excited minds of the hunters. "The monster was still roaring, and was coming nearer and nearer, until they could actually hear him puffing and blowing, while making his way

along the river bank, apparently close to the water.

"The moment of decisive action had come. The monster had given one unearthly shriek and roar, and was coming right down the river bank, and they must meet him. They at once took up their march for the river, and it must be said with blanched cheeks, but their nerves had been strung, and they had sworn together to take that beast dead or alive, or it would take them. They got close to the river bank, and each man selected his tree and made ready as they heard the monster coming around the bend not more than a hundred yards from where they had taken up their position. All at once the Flora shot into view, and upon her deck were a gay throng of passengers, apparently watching the sunrise and making the time pass merrily the picture of that band of old pioneers standing there, their rifles still at their shoulders and their faces looking as if petrified, was a scene for a painter, and Barnum could have made a fortune."⁸

As the rivers subsided in August, attention turned to politics and the very hot election campaign. Missouri's Senator Thomas Hart Benton stood on an anti-expansion of slavery platform and the Anti-Benton Democrats formed their own party. Election returns in the valley showed:

	President		Governor	
	Clay (Whig)	Polk (Democrat)	Allen (Whig)	Edwards (Democrat)
Bates	206	*307	222	*302
Benton	252	*664	317	*597
Henry	280	*283	*267	253
St. Clair	177	*242	161	*225

Throughout the upper Osage River valley, the pre-Civil War Whigs did fairly well only in Henry County. In the other counties the Democrats prevailed.

1845

Early this year Hickory and Cedar Counties were established and their boundaries fixed. Also, Benton County was trimmed to near its present size and the other county boundaries in the area fixed in their modern outlines, except Vernon County.⁹

The State Legislature also considered a bill to distribute the State's internal improvement fund among the counties. The navigation promoters in the Osage valley called a big meeting in Warsaw to draft a resolution protesting against "such a fatal procedure." The Osage valley promoters expected their region to get a bigger share of the internal improvements fund than would go to the individual counties. Furthermore, the promoters realized that if the fund were distributed, the counties would use the money for ordinary business thus cutting taxes, rather than spending it on "objects intended to be improved." The promoters preferred that the big, market-oriented state government keep the fund, rather than letting it pass to the insular county courts.¹⁰ At the county level, the protestors argued, "... [t]he fund would thus be wasted on unimportant objects." Or, even worse, "... the counties might under the same rule that influenced the action of the General Assembly distribute the fund among the townships and townships, in their turn, to the people where it could do no possible good but a manifest evil." The people must be turned away from their

propensity to live for subsistence and realize that the improvements "... are local in their character yet they would be used to a great extent for national purposes"¹¹ However, the State Legislature, more under the influence of the southern style autonomy of the county courts, rejected such nationalist arguments and voted to distribute the county fund for locally, not state or regionally directed projects.¹² At the same time, the Legislature also bowed to the nationalist demand for state-sponsored aid to river improvement in promising a \$50,000 appropriation for improving navigation on the Osage.¹³

1846

The Osage valley representative in the Legislature, Dewitt C. Ballou, protested against the distribution of the internal improvements fund among the counties. In a memorial to the State Legislature he warned that failure to improve the river would condemn the region to subsistence culture and a "degraded life." "No people ever did or ever can prosper who have not the facilities of trade -- of exchanging their commodities with other people and other countries. The expense and trouble of transporting the surplus produce to market chills the nerves of industry, and men of enterprise and capital are averse to locating in a country deprived of navigation or other means of circulating trade." Though representing the people of the valley in the Legislature, Ballou spoke more for the steamboat interests than for the insular settlers, many of whom seemed content to adjust to their isolation rather than break it down. He also pointed out that

"Experience proves that lands lying in the vicinity of navigable streams tho of no better quality than those in the interiors, are still of fourfold value." If the river were ordered navigable with a \$200,000 appropriation, "... then the value of property would be enhanced, population increased, vast tracts of Government lands be sold and become subject to taxation, capital would flow into the county, all various interests of the community, the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial be brought into active operation -- universal opulence would follow as a natural consequence and the treasury be supplied by these new sources of revenue." Ballou's memorial denounced the distribution of the State internal improvements fund to the counties. "Such an application approximates so nearly to individual enterprise that it is seriously apprehended that no great good will ever be produced by it The improvement of this river should not be left to individual enterprise alone. Policy demands that it should be performed by the strong arm of the state it is by such works as these that a state accomplishes the high purposes of her destination -- instils a universal love of country because individual perfection is thereby enhanced, and erects the monuments of her own durability and glory."¹⁴

The other legislators were not convinced of the universal good purposes served by this local internal improvement and failed to appropriate the money. But the Legislature did memorialize the U. S. Congress to make "... liberal appropriations of land and money ..." in the interest of

"... the speedy and proper improvement of the Missouri, Mississippi, and Osage Rivers"

The subdividing of Missouri counties had proceeded so rapidly in the last five years that the Legislature passed a law forbidding the creation of any county of less than 500 square miles. This law prohibited the creation of more counties as small as Hickory (496 square miles) and Cedar (410 square miles) in the future. The creation of these tiny counties in 1845 was part of the legislative log-rolling process that was well on the way to creating new county sub-divisions until every locality would have its representative in the Legislature.¹⁵ In May, Henry County built its first bridge with county money; on the Clinton to Harmony Mission road, it crossed Grand River at "Big Ripple" and cost \$1,470.¹⁶

In late summer, enthusiasm for the Mexican War in the valley reached a peak with the Benton County militia under Captain John Holloway meeting at Fort Leavenworth for service¹⁷ and Captain James Devin of St. Clair getting up a company of "Volunteers" and leaving Osceola with a big crowd gathered round.¹⁸ Henry County also raised a militia company for service in the War.¹⁹ Many of the men who served in these companies were attracted by the opportunities in the west and did not return to the Osage valley. Others returned with exotic sounding names for some of the new towns in the valley.

1847

The Missouri engineers who surveyed the Osage River said it had a stable bank and only minor obstructions from its mouth to Osceola.

"It is a large and beautiful River nearly equal to the Ohio immediately below Pittsburg, unobstructed by ice 6-8 weeks longer each year than the Missouri." The engineers estimated the expense of removing bars, logs and overhanging trees at \$204,000 and the Missouri Legislature passed a memorial to the U. S. Congress urging the U. S. Government to provide aid to improve the river as a measure of national defense: "The Government of the United States has collected on the frontier of this State hordes of restless and dangerous Indians, the warriors of which, according to an estimate of the commissioner of Indian affairs amount to 20,000" Protection of the frontier could best be provided by "... improving the navigation of this great River leading into the Indian Country, by which means steamboats with troops, munitions of war, and provisions, can be taken to the scene of Danger at almost any season of the year" The memorial also pointed out that Osage valley lands "... will be greatly enhanced in value by the improvement of the river, and the United States ought on principle of equity and justice to aid in its improvement."²⁰

While most of the settlers in the Osage valley made adjustments to their insularity, the state Legislature and steamboat interests grasped at every straw that could break down that isolation. The Missouri Legislature created the Osage Iron and Mining Company, capitalized at \$50,000. The big market oriented men in the Missouri Legislature, unable to get the State to make direct grants of money to forge big markets out of the

subsistence culture growing up in the valley, turned to the creation of private corporations invested with public powers. These corporations did not cost the state anything and could accomplish the same goal without going through the log-rolling, legislative appropriations process. The purpose of the Osage Iron and Mining Company was remarkably like the purpose served by the Spanish franchise granted to Auguste Chouteau in establishing Fort Carondelet in 1794-1795 (see above, these years). The Spaniards gave Chouteau special privileges in return for his promise to build a fort. The point was to form that settlement without spending Spanish money. The state purpose served by the special privilege was defense. The special privileges granted to the Osage Iron and Mining Company by the Missouri Legislature were meant to serve the state purpose of increased exploitation of natural resources. In both cases the governments sought to direct the energies of the individuals in enterprise for state purposes. In both cases, free enterprise was sacrificed to the interests of the state.

This Osage Iron and Mining Company was empowered to purchase or receive and alienate or sell all lands lying within ten miles of the Osage River and its tributaries in Missouri. It could employ any goods, chattels or efforts in the exploration for iron, limestone, coal and other minerals, and in working furnaces, forges, mills, machinery useful in preparing such minerals and metals "for market." The company was given authority to locate roads and use the Osage River

in any way necessary for these objects. It could operate boats of any description without hindrance or tolls.²¹

The Legislature also created the Osage River Association, a corporation designed to "... enter upon the Osage River in this State, and to improve the navigation thereof, from its mouth, to the western line of the State for steamboats, vessels, rafts, and other crafts, and for that purpose the association hereby created is vested with full power and authority to enter upon the Osage river, and lands adjoining ... to improve the navigation of said river, by constructing and erecting locks and dams, or both, or by clearing out and deepening, contracting, straightening, or filling up the channel or other parts of the river, or by other means or ways proper to accomplish the object and design of this association." The Legislature promised to deliver to the company all its surveys, plats, maps, notes, estimates, "... and other papers and documents relating to the Osage river." The company was empowered to exact tolls or lease its improvements to any individuals or legal bodies. The counties in the state were expected to subscribe their internal improvements funds to the stock of this company.²²

The Osage River Association and the Osage Iron and Mining Company were both expressions of a continuous theme in Osage River, and indeed, American history. This was the drive to transform public power into private privilege in order to serve state purposes. This theme transcends boundaries of politics and ideology and time. It

was the basis for the sale of "public lands." When the Spaniards gave Chouteau his monopoly of the Osage River trade as a franchise for building Fort Carondelet, they transformed public power into private privilege in the name of monarchy and empire. When the French renewed this franchise in 1800, they did so in the name of revolution and dictatorship. With the Osage River Association, the Missouri Legislature now transformed public power into private privilege in the name of democracy and freedom. Such policies seemed to accompany the modern state irrespective of avowed ideals. Dewitt Ballou framed the matter to the Missouri Legislature in a timeless way that focused on the essence of the matter -- the glory of the State. "The improvement of this river should not be left to individual enterprise alone. Policy demands that it should be performed by the strong arm of the state it is by such works as these that a state accomplishes the high purposes of her destination -- instills a universal love of country because individual perfection is thereby enhanced, and erects the monuments of her own durability and glory." It was a Napoleonic task.

1848

This summer the Osage River Association spent \$18,570 on work to make the river navigable. The improvements included the construction of wing dams of brush and rocks, dredging or scraping out the gravel on shoals and removing logs.²³ High water in June permitted the steamer Wave to pass to Osceola, Harmony Mission and Papinsville.²⁴ Also this summer the first big railroad promotion meeting in the Osage valley met in Warsaw. Colonel

James M. Gatewood of Henry County was elected president by delegates that included Dewitt C. Ballou from Benton County and Waldo P. Johnson from St. Clair County. Their goal was to get a railroad from Lexington on the Missouri River to New Madrid on the Mississippi River, passing through the Osage River country. The convention urged continuation of cooperation among the counties to make the Osage navigable because "... the construction of this proposed railroad will in no wise detract from the importance of its [Osage River] being made more navigable." The convention asked the Legislature to grant a charter to the Lexington-New Madrid Railroad and memorialized Congress for a land grant. Most of the members attending the convention were Jacksonians and "strict adherents" to the Constitution, but they explained away their advocating government aid to corporations by saying, "... a grant of land along the route would not be adverse to these principles." The convention pressed for a railroad for the same reason it urged aid to river navigation -- raising civic virtue by contact with the market. The subsistence culture in the valley was unhealthy:

Agriculture will never be healthfully and profitably prosecuted, by him whose controlling object is his own consumption. All who labor are equally stimulated by a prospect of a market which is to remunerate them for their toil; and without this hope neither mental activity nor physical energy will characterize their exertions.

If this surplus for which there is no market is left upon the hands of the farmer, his energies are paralyzed, his spirits sink

To continue a progressive state of agriculture, then, and to give energy and prosperity, to this great and vital branch of human industry, a healthful and stable market becomes indispensable, and no object should more carefully occupy the attention of the farmers of the United States.²⁵

The first railroad scheme in the valley, like the navigation schemes, was designed to reverse the tendencies toward subsistence and isolation encouraged by the environment. The promoters did not conceive of competition between railroad and river transportation. They saw both modes of transportation allied as weapons to fight their bigger enemy, the constant tendency of the people to fall away from the big-market goals imposed by a larger American Society.

By the time of the presidential election this year, the Whigs in St. Clair County were numerous enough to have their own newspaper, the Oseola Whig [sic], W. J. Mayo, editor.²⁶ Election returns showed:

	Taylor (Whig)	Cass (Democrat)
Bates	146	*186
Benton	208	*382
Cedar	116	*271
Henry	*274	239
Hickory	98	*224
St. Clair	148	*263

The election returns this year, as in 1844, showed a basically Democratic region with Henry County the exception.

The weather this winter was bitterly harsh.

Rain and sleet laid down an ice cover on everything and did not melt for weeks. Cattle died, game starved or became so weak it could not flee hunters and wolves. Cattle had ice on their backs for days. The next spring and summer, when gold rush fever hit the valley, many people remembered the severity of the winter before and thus had an added incentive to flee the Osage valley, skimming off another layer of selective emigrants. Missouri contributed more than its share of "49ers" who sought gold in California.²⁷

1849

The Western Journal pointed out that "There is not ... a more interesting district of country west of the Mississippi than that drained by the Osage River." But this area was not being settled by the progressive staple producers due to the impediments to navigation. Also, the Journal believed that due to the hostility of north to south, the staple producers of both sections stayed away from each other. The effect was that a middle zone like the Osage River country, though suited to all kinds of staple production was neglected. The current of emigration diverged further and further from the central region leaving the area "... to the occupation of the early settlers, a large portion of whom came in pursuit of game and natural pasturage, and are consequently slow in adopting the improvements of the age."²⁸ The subsistence culture obtaining in most of the valley was a great impediment to progress. The Journal anticipated a need for at least \$25,000 more in improvements to finish the navigation scheme. This accomplishment would revolutionize life in the valley, bringing all

sorts of improvements.

In February the State Legislature did a little experimenting with Hickory and five other small and isolated counties in Missouri, abolishing their county courts and substituting meetings of justices of the peace on a rotating basis who "... shall be, and they are hereby constituted the county court, instead of the justices of the County Court as now established and prescribed by law." Each justice of the peace was to serve one term per year on the county court. This short-lived experiment was deemed appropriate for the insular egalitarian society there and was without precedent or future example in Missouri.²⁹

Gold rush fever hit the upper Osage valley and drew dozens of men from each county to California. Many never returned. Most left St. Clair County in a big wagon train led by William Waldo. They left Osceola, April 24, 1849 and took five months and seventeen days to reach the digs in California.³⁰ Probably about as many men left for the gold fields (100 from Henry County alone) as had volunteered to fight in the Mexican War a few years before.³¹

1850

The census for this year showed:

	Whites	Slaves	Born Out of Mo.	School Pupils	Illiterate White Adults
Bates	3,520	141	1,803	285	230
Benton	4,547	460	2,442	-	152
Cedar	3,278	82	1,657	320	269
Henry	3,377	672	1,532	332	90
Hickory	2,143	185	1,100	186	157
St. Clair	3,107	448	1,693	120	193

	No. Farms	Improved Acres	\$ Value of Improved + Implements	Manufacture Employment	\$ Product Manufacture	\$ Product Home Manufacture
Bates	472	20,828	202,584	-	-	14,080
Benton	510	18,940	276,950	26	18,828	12,259
Cedar	347	13,176	178,858	14	6,250	19,962
Henry	385	24,657	323,969	30	29,600	14,195
Hickory	190	21,030	111,341	19	10,013	4,959
St. Clair	327	15,791	202,188	18	10,500	13,929

Since the last census, Bates, Cedar, Hickory, and St. Clair Counties had been formed and Rives County changed to Henry. Both Benton County and Henry County were reduced in area so much since the last census that comparison with the statistics of 1840 is almost meaningless. However, with the creation of Vernon County in the 1850's, and a few minor adjustments of boundaries, the lands included in these 1850 counties have remained fixed to the present.

In each county about one half the residents were born outside of Missouri, most of them in Tennessee, Kentucky or Carolina. Most of those born in Missouri were children of immigrants from those states. Their farms averaged between 50 and 120 improved acres of land and about that many unimproved acres. While the census gives no numbers for the amount of farm goods marketed, the diversity of production suggests the importance of subsistence agriculture and the local market. Even in Benton County, with the town of Warsaw and the best opportunity for market

production, agriculture was extremely diversified, with horses, asses, mules, cattle, sheep, swine, wheat, rye, oats, corn, potatoes (both Irish and sweet), peas, beans, barley, buckwheat, butter, cheese, hay, clover, flaxseed, flax, maple sugar, molasses, tobacco, wool, all sorts of garden vegetables and orchard crops all raised and marketed within the county. The only crops grown in Missouri but not grown in Benton County were the exclusively big market-oriented staples like hemp, rice and silk. Perhaps the worst fears of Dewitt Ballou and the internal improvements men in the State Legislature were justified. Perhaps the valley was drifting away from the ideals of bigger markets and expansionism.

In half the counties the value of home manufactured goods marketed remained higher than the value of goods produced by manufacturing establishments. Of course the greatest quantity of home manufactured goods were consumed by the families of the makers and their value never entered the census statistics. The manufacturing establishments liable to have employees were limited to the bigger blacksmith and harness shops and mills.

1850-
1860

This decade marked the heydays of steamboat traffic on the Osage River. In the 1840's Warsaw had been the biggest and most important town, but during this decade it was eclipsed by Osceola, "The Queen City of the Osage." The natural rock wharf at Osceola often had four steamboats at one time loading and unloading. Great warehouses stood near the landing. It is difficult now to

appreciate how much promise the town showed of becoming the jumping off point for trade in the whole southwest. Supplies headed for the Indian Territory and Arkansas were shipped up the Osage and deposited at Osceola. People from forty miles around went to Osceola to do their retail trading. Some trade contacts with Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico, Osage valley trade routes unused since the expulsion of the Indians, were reestablished.³²

1850 The Osceola Independent, a newspaper devoted to the cause of increased commerce on the Osage River, began publication.

1851 The winter of 1850-1851 was another very severe one with alternating sleet and very cold weather that left a thick layer of ice on everything for weeks. In the final breakup, the Osage River was ugly with raging water and huge drifts of ice that pushed over trees and houses along the bottom land, encouraging the residents to rebuild their houses up on the higher terraces, prairies, and hills.³³

William L. Vaughan, commander of the S. B. Wave, the most important Osage River steamer for the past three years, announced that his boat would now run in connection with barges and make specific contracts to freight goods from St. Louis to any point on the Osage River, "... without reference to low water." Besides running the boat, Vaughan was also the largest retail merchant in Osceola and Warsaw. He bought raw and home manufactured products and sold merchandise to consumers in exchange for their products or sometimes money. Vaughan thus operated a kind of mail-order-by-barter operation which made him

personally acquainted, on a debtor-creditor basis, with most of the people who did their trading in Warsaw and Osceola. (See below for the products in this commerce.)

On its first anniversary of publication, the Osceola Independent restated its goals: "We shall endeavor to see that the peculiar interest of the South-West receives its due attention at the hands of the Government, both State and Federal We hold to the position that whatever tends to enrich the State at large, will have a reflux influence in building up and developing particular sections, hence we have no narrow views of State policy which would deny others the bounties of the Government which we could not obtain ourselves."³⁴

This paper, like the Osage Yeoman in Warsaw, was mainly devoted to promoting the improvement of the river. But the Independent broadened the advocacy of internal improvements, urging public aid to railroads as well as river navigation. The paper urged a loan of public credit to any railroad crossing the state of Missouri.

The circulation of the Independent was quite small. It served more as an advertising handbill for the new merchants in Osceola than an organ devoted to reporting the news of local society. The local news typically reported: "Our merchants are making their calculations and preparing for heavy stocks, both in the Dry Goods and Grocery line, and we think we can safely promise the southern dealers an advantageous market when navigation opens. The Steamer Wave

is now in the River, and will come up to Osceola on the first rise. She will be under the command of Captain W. L. Vaughan again the coming season, whose fine business capacity and energy of character will be a sure guarantee to those who may wish to ship on the Wave that their business will be faithfully and promptly attended to."³⁵

In February the Missouri State Legislature established Vernon County, which was named for Miles Vernon of Laclede County. Unlike other county creation acts in the Osage valley, this one was submitted to a vote of the people affected. On the first Monday of August, 1851, a poll of the voters in Bates and Cass Counties would be taken. If the vote showed a majority in favor, "... then this act shall be and remain in force, unless a majority of the voters within the limits of said new county shall vote against its ratification, in which case this act shall become void" After the vote the State Supreme Court declared this act null and void as an unconstitutional delegation of legislative authority to the people. The unconstitutionality of direct democracy made Vernon County's legal status doubtful for the next several years.³⁶

1852

The election returns for this year showed:

	President		Governor	
	Scott (Whig)	Pierce (Democrat)	Winston (Whig)	Price (Democrat)
Bates	104	*116	*146	129
Benton	167	*328	214	*512
Cedar	65	*162	120	*293
Henry	*266	245	*302	284
Hickory	75	*194	118	*195

	President		Governor	
	Scott (Whig)	Pierce (Democrat)	Winston (Whig)	Price (Democrat)
St. Clair	149	*225	191	*268
Vernon	63	*153	71	*312

The Democratic dominance in the valley was once again broken in Henry County and for governor in Bates County.

1853

William L. Vaughan, the biggest retail merchant in Osceola and captain of the steamer Wave, listed among his products on hand: wines, brandies, boots, shoes, hats, caps, calicoes, axes, saws, chains, collars, hames, crackers, biscuits, coffee, yarn, sugar. In exchange for these products, Vaughan would take dried hides, dried fruit, beeswax, castor beans, flax-seed, deer, coon, mink and fox skins, flour, meal and butter. The products he offered were all either manufactured or exotic to the region. In exchange he wanted the raw materials of the area and those refined by home manufacturing.³⁷

In a very dry spring, the Osage River was too low for navigation and the merchants in Osceola had to supply themselves by horse and ox-drawn wagons from the towns on the Missouri River.³⁸ The difference in cost was immense. Overland freight to Osceola from Lexington or Boonville -- \$2.50/cwt; steamboat freight from those towns -- 20¢/cwt. The need for establishing a permanent channel for navigation was clear to the local merchants. Yet, when the proposition to consolidate the remaining internal improvements fund in the counties along the river to improve navigation came to a vote in the

Missouri Legislature, "... we saw with astonishment, that the Representatives from nearly every county in South-west Missouri, whose people are the parties to be directly benefitted by the improvement of this river, boldly taking a stand against the passage of the bill."³⁹ The county representatives were unwilling to give up their internal improvement funds for the sake of improving navigation on the river. While many legislators, like Dewitt Ballou of Benton County, were more "improvement" minded than their constituents, few of the other legislators would dare to take money from the autonomy-minded county courts for improvement. The counties could use the fund for other purposes, and the constituents, the seasonally adjusted farmers, did not feel a need for year-round navigation intensely enough to pay for it. Failing to get help from the state or county governments in the form of direct grants, the promoters of improved navigation sought to procure from the legislature a private franchise for responsible men "... who will enter bond to make a year round channel of three feet" by constructing wing dams and removing obstructions.

With the Osage River lower than at any time in the last ten years, the dependence of the merchants on a good channel was painfully clear. The Independent, to show the importance of navigation on the river, pointed out that the four principle business towns on the river, Tuscumbia, Linn Creek, Warsaw, and Osceola received about 20,000 sacks of salt per year. The savings from shipping

this product by steamboat was \$1.50 per sack under the cost of overland shipping. The merchants, of course, saw their interest in cheap transportation as the public interest. "The immense saving in the shape of expensive transportation ... is so apparent to all who have profited by shipping up the Osage, that a low stage of water in this river at a time like this, when merchants generally are anxious to get out their supplies, operates very much against the interests of the country"

The traffic on the Osage was seasonal. The merchants counted on high spring water to supply their stores. Other seasons navigation on the river was considered convenient but not as vital as in the spring. With the dry spring of 1853, the merchants were pinched. But the cost and inconvenience of irregular and seasonal navigation was not sufficient to inspire the farmers and their representatives to spend money and energy for navigation. As the Independent pointed out, much to the disgust of the editor, people adjusted to the fickle climate and dangerous river and were unwilling to expend the effort to shape these forces. The seasonal habits of the hunting-trapping-fishing-agrarian life fit comfortably with the seasonal supplying of the merchants in Osceola and Warsaw. The people marketed seasonally anyway.

The merchants rejected seasonal dependence but were not yet able to impose their will on the political process. The Warsaw Review described the situation perfectly saying, "... the improvement of the Osage River is a subject which has

been discussed time after time, until the theme has become worn out, and may now be said to have been laid on the shelf"⁴⁰

But rejection of "improvements" on the river did not mean a rejection of navigation on the river. It just meant that the people felt they could get all their needs from the outside at the convenience of nature, rather than at the convenience of the merchants. Not that they were "agin'it in principle." It just was not worth the effort. Bearing the frustration and defeat of the internal improvements advocates in mind, it might be well to re-examine some of their rhetoric and purposes.

While the internal improvements men wanted improved transportation and bigger markets above all else, and while many of these men were sent to the legislature, most of the farmers were not really willing to give up very much to improve the river. Many might agree in the abstract that bigger markets would be nice, but when it came to paying for them, it turned out the farmers did not want the bigger markets all that much. The eloquence of the internal improvements men was meant to persuade. They tried to get others to agree that bigger markets should be the goal of society to which all else should be sacrificed. It would seem, however, that most of the farmers and taxpayers did not agree.

From river navigation, many of the promoters turned to railroad promotion. At a meeting in Osceola in May, George R. Smith from Sedalia urged Henry County to subscribe its credit to

the stock of the Pacific Railroad. And the Henry County Court approved a \$50,000 subscription to the stock of the Pacific Railroad subject to popular approval and also providing that the road go through the county.⁴¹

Meanwhile, in Warsaw one of the first big temperance campaigns in the valley was launched by the Reverend William Rose and a committee of women including Mrs. Foster P. Wright, Mr. John M. Staley, Mrs. M. C. Bennett, Mrs. S. M. Atkinson, Mrs. Robert C. Henry. The ladies resolved to call on all the local merchants and extract promises to stop selling liquor. If a merchant persisted in selling spirits, the "ladies" would broadcast his name about the community as a man showing his "... determination to scatter broadcast thro' the land the seeds of disease, the bane of society and the curse of the human family"⁴²

In early summer, boating conditions on the Osage River improved with rains upstream from Osceola. The steamer Wave which "... has been lying for some months ten miles below this point [Osceola], landed at our wharf on Wednesday evening last. She brought up principally a lot of salt. The Wave left for St. Louis yesterday loaded down with bacon, wheat, peltries, etc. shipped from our town."⁴³

In June the water in the Osage rose to 9'6" above normal water on the shoal opposite Osceola, giving good boating for ten days. The steamers St. Ange and Wave both went up to Osceola. The

St. Ange carried 400 tons of freight, 225 tons of it for Osceola, the rest for other stops including Warsaw.⁴⁴ In July the water remained high on the Osage and four steamboats supplied Osceola in a one week period. The Wave made two trips and the Carrier picked up freight deposited in Warsaw by the St. Ange carrying it to Osceola.⁴⁵

With the Osage River showing great promise as an avenue of trade, the recently re-opened land office in Clinton did a huge business, the kind of business that gave birth to the expression "land office business." "The town was literally filled with land purchasers It is estimated that there were some six hundred applicants present -- hailing from every county in the district."⁴⁶ Most of these people entered land on the upland prairies in the upper Osage region. The accessibility brought by the steamboat and the consequent improved agricultural market opportunities encouraged farmers to break the tough prairie sod and establish homes on the upland prairies. This big land boom of the 1850's shifted the pattern of inhabitation greatly. It also opened to agriculture lands well suited for extensive, commercial agriculture. The land office business in Clinton was so brisk that officials had to make out numbered tickets and allow the people to draw tickets. The land seeker could then have his turn at entering land in numerical order from 1-1,000. "... [Q]uite a brisk business was carried on in the exchanging and trading of tickets. A number of them sold as high as \$25." In cases of dispute, the land went to the highest bidder on the tract; and

spirited, sometimes violent, contests ensued.⁴⁷

1854-
1858

During the boom in lands, the county courts in the area also managed to dispose of most of their swamp lands. In 1850 the U. S. Government gave the state of Missouri 70,000 acres of "swamp lands." Missouri then gave these lands to the counties to be sold for the benefit of the schools and for building bridges and roads. Some fraud accompanied the disposal of these swamp lands in almost every region of Missouri.⁴⁸

In the period 1848-1853, the U. S. land offices sold less than two million acres of land each year in the whole United States. But in 1854 they sold seven million acres; in 1855, sixteen million acres and in 1856, nine million acres. Much of this boom was in Kansas, just across the border from Bates and Vernon counties. Many settlers from the north and east and border states pouring into Kansas got a look at the rich prairie lands in southwest Missouri on their way to Kansas. Finding much of that Missouri land unentered, they resolved to stay there; or, after looking at Kansas, they returned to the Osage valley to establish their farms.

1854-
1860

These were remembered as the "drouthy years" and the dry summers were especially hard on the new settlers, few of whom had wells. But if the droughts were bad in southwest Missouri, they were almost unbearable in much of Kansas, which encouraged some of the recent settlers there to return east.⁴⁹

1854

The first bank in St. Clair County was

organized in Osceola by a Mr. Rankin of St. Louis.⁵⁰ The Henry County Court paid \$1,100 to the Pacific Railroad on the promise that it would build through the county.⁵¹

Osceola was by this year quite a thriving little city. Miners in the Joplin and Carthage area sent loads of zinc and lead to be shipped from Osceola to St. Louis. In exchange they took tools and goods shipped to Osceola by steamboat. With the economic boom days came an increasing class stratification. Farmers on the small rivers and streams remained more insular and egalitarian, but Osceola was taking on the character of an older southern town with the addition of a quickened commercial pace. Mrs. William G. Whitlow remembered the Osceola of 1854 with these words: "It was Sunday afternoon, and the roads and streets were thronged with negroes, going to preaching -- so many of the citizens owned negroes -- the Douglasses, Harrises, Vaughans, Weidemyers, Coxes -- those that did not own at least one or two were counted poor white trash"

One reason Mrs. Whitlow's memory stuck on this year was because of the memorable drought. Some people living into the early twentieth century remembered 1854 as the driest year ever. Wild fruit dried on vines and bushes. Pastures burned up and there were very few acorns for mast. The corn was a complete failure. Many springs that had a reputation for running even in the driest weather dried up. The few wells in the area were almost completely dry. The Osage almost stopped flowing. One old-timer remembered,

"... few if any people were actually faced with starvation but the phenomena of nature was so severe that some could see nothing but relentless desolation. One young lady accustomed to the regular rains of her old home in the Southeast hung herself to death with a silk handkerchief on an apple tree limb"⁵² After this year, the U. S. land office moved to Warsaw.

1855

Early this year the Missouri Legislature passed an act appropriating \$50,000 to improve the Osage River for navigation from its mouth to Osceola, provided the incorporators of the Osage Improvement Company agreed to disband that company established by an 1847 act of the Legislature. The Legislature now sought to take the responsibility for improving the river out of the hands of the lethargic county courts and put it into the hands of three commissioners, Sydney R. Roberts of Linn Creek, James Atkisson of Warsaw, and William L. Vaughan of Osceola, all steamboat operators or vitally interested in navigation.⁵⁴

Since 1851 Vernon County had existed unconstitutionally, which was an auspicious beginning for a county soon to be known as the "bushwhacker" capital of the world. This year the Legislature recreated Vernon County, named for Miles Vernon, state senator from Laclede County who had fought with Andrew Jackson against the British at New Orleans.⁵⁵ The Legislature also repealed the 1849 act disbanding the Hickory County Court.⁵⁶

This summer the drought was perhaps as bad as it had been in 1854 at least this was the

memory of M. T. Chastain of Warsaw. A few big farmers in St. Clair and Henry counties -- the Fewells, Walls, and Johnsons -- had some corn and sold it as high as \$1.00/bushel, about four times its normal value.⁵⁷ Oats were so short, the few that sprouted, that they could hardly be bound in bundles. Blackberries dried green on the briar bushes. But one advantage the country had in such hard times over later drought years was the unfenced common where cattle and other livestock could subsist on wild plants that were more hearty than the domestic crops that all failed.⁵⁸ Adding to the suffering wrought by drought, southwest Missouri experienced its first serious locust invasion since white settlement.⁵⁹

In December the State Legislature incorporated the Montevallo Academy in Vernon County, a school established by the Christian Church. Its "... only object is the promotion of sound morals, pure literature and classical education."⁶⁰

1856-
1858

Nearly all the vacant land in Bates and Vernon counties was entered.⁶¹

1856-
1870

Rarely in American, or even human, history has an area experienced as much discontinuity and change as the area of Bates and Vernon counties in this fourteen-year period. In 1856 two-thirds of the land in Bates County remained unentered and farms extended only along the edges of streams, which left a large portion of the land wild. In three years all this wild land was entered and much of it plowed. The population of Bates rose to almost 6,000 people, surrounding a good sized

county seat, Butler. There was considerable excess agricultural production for the market. In 1859-60 the area experienced sporadic warfare. With the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, alternate invasions by Northern and Southern armies led to a general condition of lawlessness. In August 1863 by Order No. 11, all the area was ordered depopulated by the Union Army. Farms returned to their wild condition for two years, and no human residents remained except outlaws. In the five years after the war, the residents reclaimed the prairies, fenced the public range, and plowed their farms. This fourteen-year period closed with a tremendous agitation for railroads and high optimism for future prosperity.

1856

The Bates County seat, first established at Harmony Mission and later moved to Papinsville in 1855, was this year fixed in its present location, Butler.⁶² The first county court was held on a dry knoll in the high prairie grass.⁶³ With the establishment of the Bates County seat in Butler, the county seats in all seven counties in the upper Osage valley were fixed in their present locations: Bates County in Butler; Benton County in Warsaw; Cedar County in Stockton; Henry County in Clinton; Hickory County in Hermitage; St. Clair County in Osceola; Vernon County in Nevada.

Election returns for this year showed:

	<u>President</u>				<u>Governor</u>		
	Fillmore	Buchanan (Democrat)	Scott (Whig)	Pierce (Democrat)	Polk (Democrat)	Ewing (Whig)	Benton (Democrat)
Bates	255	*409	104	116	*394	89	202
Benton	159	*467	167	328	*424	52	412
Cedar	163	*391	65	162	*298	145	222
Henry	*402	369	266	245	277	*342	173
Hickory	130	*333	75	194	*269	57	137
St. Clair	210	*347	149	225	*239	134	210
Vernon	172	*302	63	153	*180	87	143

Considering the upper Osage River valley as a political region, the alignment of modern times which divides the prairie from the Ozark counties between political parties, had not yet appeared. The Democratic sympathies brought by the settlers continued throughout the region before the Civil War and were broken only in Henry County.

This year the Denton-Hardwick feud began in Vernon County. While this feud was not as bloody or widespread as the Slicker War in the Pomme de Terre valley in the 1840's, it bore some resemblance to that earlier conflict. As in the Slicker War, the Denton-Hartwick feud also found sides lined up mirroring larger divisions in society, in this case "slave" versus "free."⁶⁴ Tension over the slavery question in the southwestern counties mounted this year and worsened steadily until the outbreak of the Civil War. The abolitionist terrorists in Kansas, Jim Lane, James Montgomery, and John Brown, drove many slave owners out of that territory and into the

border counties of Cass, Bates and Vernon. In the troubles in Kansas and southwest Missouri, historically known as the "border warfare," it is impossible to separate the principles over which the contestants fought from other factors. The terrible drought in these years and the incompetent, corrupt, and short-sighted policies of the U. S. Government in selling public lands, both added to rising tensions in Kansas and Missouri. While the conflict was immediately between slavery versus anti-slavery forces and is portrayed in most accounts as a prelude to the Civil War, the context of these troubles was a terrible drought and an anarchy of land squabbles and speculation all during this period.⁶⁵ As Paul Wallace Gates pointed out in his Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, "... it was 'insatiable land-hunger,' rather than any idealistic notion of making Kansas a free or a slave state, that drew the bulk of the 100,000 people who rushed across the Missouri line in the period from 1854 to 1860."⁶⁶

If the drought was bad in southwest Missouri, it was devastating in Kansas. Land claim jumping, mixed with slavery and anti-slavery sentiments, mixed with an atmosphere of high speculation over railroads and land values, mixed with hostility towards the Indians in Kansas, all contributed to the tensions that spilled over into Bates and Vernon counties in open warfare. Added to all these social tensions, the settlers were moving into an environment on the plains-prairie to which they were not accustomed at a time in the weather cycle least suited for cultivation.

Finally, the Missourians really suffered from two devastating invasions from Kansas. The anti-slavery fanatics were accompanied by a great plague of locusts in 1855 and lesser plagues in 1856 and 1857.⁶⁷

1857

This year Bates and Vernon counties experienced a big wave of immigration, boom, and rise in land values.⁶⁸ The land boom that hit Benton, Henry and St. Clair counties in the 1850-1854 period struck Vernon and Bates counties in 1856-1859. The State Legislature established state roads from Osceola to Nevada and across north Benton County through Cole Camp.⁶⁹ With state roads and intensive cultivation in many parts of Benton, St. Clair, and Henry counties, the region took on more the appearance of the older parts of Missouri. In February the Legislature chartered Clinton College in Henry County, a coeducational institution of higher learning with a capital stock of \$5,000.⁷⁰ The Legislature also authorized Henry County to borrow from its township school money and county school money and other funds belonging to the county or from individuals to pay the county's \$50,000 subscription to the Pacific Railroad Company. The county was also authorized to issue bonds.⁷¹ This railroad subscription was the first in a long line of schemes launched by the county courts in the area that impoverished the public purse to support private enterprise in its promises to bring railroads to southwest Missouri. The State Legislature and the county courts permitted raids on the school funds to finance railroad schemes. In later years the improvident subscriptions

to railroad stock placed a huge burden on the local tax base which made taxpayers suspicious of even traditionally legitimate expenditures like schools.

In March the U. S. Congress authorized the establishment of an overland stage route from the Mississippi River to San Francisco over a southern route that crossed the Osage River at Warsaw. "The adoption of this route ... was attended with no ordinary difficulties, comprising as they did, all the conflicting interests of the Pacific railroad. The schemes of speculating contractors and land jobbers, the jealousies of various sections of the union, the clashing views of the railway companies and the machinations of politicians, all had to be met"⁷² In Missouri and in the U. S. Congress the influence of the pro-slavery, anti-Benton faction prevailed, taking the mail by a southern route, taking it out of the way of established routes through central Missouri, and, instead, going from St. Louis through Arkansas.⁷³ In September the U. S. Postal Department concluded a contract with John Butterfield to carry the U. S. mail over the route specified in the Act of Congress in March of this year. Butterfield got a six-year franchise paying him \$300,000/annum to carry the mails. Thus, the Butterfield Overland Mail was born.⁷⁴ The last four months of this year closed with a huge land boom that disposed of 84,226 acres at the U. S. land office in Warsaw.⁷⁵

1858

The first newspaper in Clinton, the Clinton Journal, commenced publication under Isaac E. Olney.⁷⁶ The launching of newspapers is a good

indication of the stage of evolution of towns before the Civil War. Warsaw had a paper as early as 1843. Osceola got its Independent in 1850. Clinton, by 1870 the biggest of the three towns, did not get its first paper till 1858.

In May about 200 Bates and Vernon county settlers met to decide what to do about the lawless Kansans. The more actively disposed then gathered at the McHenry place in Bates County and laid plans to raid the Free State settlers across the Kansas line. They rounded up about twenty accused abolitionists, shot five of them to death, and then retired back to Missouri certain that they had properly impressed the Kansans with their toughness.⁷⁷

In October the Butterfield Overland Stage made its first trip through the Osage valley on its way from San Francisco to St. Louis. The table of distances in the St. Louis newspapers showed stops at Boliver to Yosts (16 miles) -- to Quincy (16 miles) -- to Bailey's Station (10 miles) -- to Warsaw (11 miles) -- to Burns' Station (15 miles) -- to Mulholland's Station (20 miles).⁷⁸

In December with the border warfare between pro-slavery Missourians and anti-slavery Kansans raging, John Brown raided Vernon County, attacking and murdering many slave owners.⁷⁹

1859

The Missouri Legislature, at the urging of Governor Stewart, placed \$30,000 at the disposal of the Governor to raise a militia force to defend against raids from Kansas.⁸⁰

1860

The census for this year showed:

	White	Free Colored	Slave	Foreign Born*	Total
Bates	6,765	8	442	89	7,215
Benton	8,460	13	599	1,026	9,072
Cedar	6,420	6	211	25	6,637
Henry	8,620	1	1,245	208	9,866
Hickory	4,506	7	195	62	4,705
St. Clair	6,229	9	574	68	6,812
Vernon	4,712	2	136	78	4,850

*Foreign born included in "White" column.

	Improved Acres	\$ Value Agricultural Improvements & Implements	\$ Value Home Manufacture	# Employed Manufacturing	\$ Value Annual Products
Bates	33,781	1,124,004	10,036	6	38,875
Benton	51,371	1,431,916	10,886	44	60,258
Cedar	37,658	1,436,014	20,619	-	-
Henry	72,977	2,810,438	24,545	41	80,190
Hickory	25,632	865,571	11,255	11	10,950
St. Clair	27,723	908,912	6,602	54	73,620
Vernon	27,976	1,145,658	25,939	30	46,967

Through the 1850's Henry County had varied from the region in its voting pattern, giving majority votes to Whig candidates for governor in both 1852 and 1856. Perhaps some explanation for this variance lies in these statistics. Henry County grew faster than any other county in the region. By 1860 it had the most people and twice as many slaves as any other county in the region, and at the same time, the fewest free colored, indicating perhaps a heightened discipline for Blacks in this most intensely, commercially

oriented county in the region. The value of agricultural property in Henry County was double that of any other county in the region. Benton County, with the next biggest population, lagged far behind Henry County in market value of agricultural products. The greater number of free colored in Benton County combined with a lower value of agricultural products may indicate the persistence of a more open attitude toward slave discipline in Benton County which was common in the 1840's among the subsistence planters and which was lacking among the more recently settled, more intensely market oriented staples producers in Henry County. Benton County's principle variance from the other counties in demographic patterns was in its great numbers of foreign born, mostly German settlers, located in north Benton County around Cole Camp. The most striking feature of the 1860 over the 1850 statistics is the rapid advance in population, approximately doubling in each county, combined with the even more rapid advance in the value of agricultural land and implements. (The value of implements takes up only about 5% of the value given in the column "\$ Value Agricultural Improvements & Implements.") If the population doubled, the number of acres brought under cultivation almost tripled. If the number of acres brought under cultivation in, for example, Henry County tripled, the value of the agricultural lands advanced almost nine times! Most of the newly cultivated land was upland prairie, superior in productivity to the river and stream lands cultivated in the 1840's. This

superiority partially accounts for the advance in land values. But much more important in causing this advance was the effect of the land monopoly. By 1858 almost all the cultivable acres in the region had passed into private hands. Obviously not all that land was cultivated, with over half of the land in farms remaining uncultivated. But the public domain in the valley was effectively closed. Men learned that with advances in population pressing the value of land to go up by as much as tenfold in a single decade, they could do better investing in land and holding it for the advance than by putting it into production. The proportion of cultivated to uncultivated acres in farms remained stable. The two prairie counties, Bates and Henry, showed especially rapid growth in all categories (Bates County in 1850 included the area of present Bates and Vernon counties).

St. Clair County, ranking only fourth in population among the counties, surpassed the far more populous Benton and Henry counties in the number of manufacturing employees and manufacturing establishments. Most of these manufacturing establishments were in Osceola, the steamboating and commercial center. Manufacturing establishments included grain mills, furniture and cabinet makers, leather and saddlery shops, saw mills, tin, copper, and sheet-iron workshops, tobacco manufacturers, wheelwrights, and blacksmiths. Osceola, "The Queen City of the Osage," had some of the biggest and wealthiest merchants in the state of Missouri. Its strong southern character and wealth combined with its proximity to the

anti-slavery and anti-southern forces over the border in Kansas made the city a sore spot among the Kansans. Osceola symbolized much they despised in southern society -- slavery and class stratification. Osceola's population was 1,523.

The market value of home manufacturers showed only a small increase; no where near what we might expect if the doubled population kept the old patterns of life. But the value of products produced in manufacturing establishments indicates a quickened commercial pace and erosion of strictly subsistence living.

In January the Legislature established state roads from Warrensburg to Germantown in Henry County to Douglass' farm in Bates, thence to the old military crossing of the Osage River near Harmony Mission and on to Nevada; another road ran from Osceola, north via Leesville, crossing Grand River at Browning's Ferry in Henry County, thence to the Boonville road; and another state road from Caplinger's Mill west to Nevada.⁸¹

As sectional tensions increased all over the country, a mass meeting at the courthouse in Clinton approved Union resolutions, endorsed the Democratic party and Waldo P. Johnson of St. Clair County for Governor.⁸²

The prospects for material advancement in the upper Osage looked impressive. This particular area did not feel the same economic pressures as older parts of the south. In the upper Osage, spirits were high and voters were loathe to see any political phenomenon liable to cloud the

boundless sky of material advancement opening before the valley. Republicans were considered just such a disturbance throughout the valley and were treated roughly if they pushed their views too openly or aggressively. During the election campaign the Lincoln voters were discretely quiet in Bates County and very few tried to vote. After the election many of the Republican voters "made themselves scarce." In Henry County the Republicans were warned against voting beforehand.⁸³ Election returns for this year showed:

	President			
	Lincoln (Republican)	Bell (Union)	Breckinridge (Southern Democrat)	Douglas (Northern Democrat)
Bates	30	386	348	*511
Benton	74	306	100	*574
Cedar	4	266	277	*324
Henry	16	*703	232	623
Hickory	15	197	143	*298
St. Clair	1	338	294	*344
Vernon	-	207	*381	151

Voters in all the counties except Vernon County gave majorities to the two parties of moderation. They desired to see the country plow around the stump of slavery, let it rot and die on its own without inflaming passions with irresponsible rhetoric as many Republican politicians did. The voters were too busy carving a life out of the Osage valley to align with either Lincoln, the nationalist disturber, or Breckinridge, the states' rights disturber. Lincoln received more votes in Benton County with its large population

of German immigrants than in all the other counties combined. But not even the Germans, Lincoln's strongest supporters in other parts of Missouri, voted as a group for the Republicans. With about 1,000 Germans living in the county, Lincoln got only 74 votes. To appreciate the traumatic impact of this election on the region one must imagine, say, a Communist running for President in 1960. In the Osage valley he might have received as many crank votes as Lincoln received in 1860; but the difference between 1860 and 1960 was that Lincoln won in the country as a whole.

Very soon after the election of Lincoln, citizens in Bates County organized "Cummings Battalion" to guard the state border from the expected invasion from Kansas.⁸⁴ As expected, Montgomery's Jayhawkers invaded Missouri to free slaves.⁸⁵ The Henry County Court organized a volunteer company to defend against the incursions of Kansas raiders who murdered and plundered citizens and stole slaves. The court also sent a letter to Governor Stewart asking protection from "[t]he Abolitionists, under command of Montgomery and Doctor Jennison, to the number of from three to five hundred, armed with Sharpe's rifles, dragoon sabres, navy revolvers and bowie knives each, [who] have suddenly commenced a war of extreme ferocity"⁸⁶ The War hit southwest Missouri before most of the United States. At a mass meeting in Clinton the citizens resolved to:

- 1) organize a local militia to protect against the Kansas Redlegs;
- 2) send a message of support to Governor Claiborne Jackson;

- 3) send a committee to Jefferson City to seek arms and supplies;
- 4) organize a local committee to keep citizens informed of events;
- 5) send messengers to Osceola, Warsaw, Lexington, and Warrensburg to establish regional solidarity.

In December Jim Lane and a force of about 150 Kansas troops, called Red Legs by the Missourians, invaded Missouri as far east as Papinsville, aiming to attack Osceola. Learning that the Queen City of the Osage was well defended, they turned back.⁸⁷ The year closed with this preview of 1861, a year which would turn out to be perhaps the most disastrous year in Osage valley history.

1861

The Osage valley was already in turmoil before the outbreak of the Civil War. The phenomenal economic growth in the valley had brought thousands of strangers to the valley making them neighbors. The prospects for material advancement, opened during the 1840's and 1850's, attracted men to the region who could agree on their desire for prosperity but often could not abide one another's principles. Warsaw and Osceola were commercial towns but stood as southern, not northern, commercial centers. The editor of the Southwest Democrat in Warsaw made that paper an advocate of the southern states' rights cause.⁸⁸ But most voters in the area would as soon have seen all the issues that burned so in the public forums sidestepped in the interest of preserving

the upward march of material prosperity. But once the issues surfaced, touched with blood in pre-war skirmishes, the strangers gathered together as neighbors by the pull of economic opportunity, slaughtered one another. One historian titled her book on the War in the valley aptly -- Bitter Ground.⁸⁹

When Fort Sumter fell in April, a great crowd gathered in Warsaw to cheer the Confederate banner. Blue and Gray Confederate companies organized in Benton County under W. S. O'Kane and Stephen F. Hale.⁹⁰ When Major General Sterling Price of the Confederate Missouri State Guard sent part of his army to Papinsville in Bates County, he recruited dozens of men.⁹¹ The leading merchants in Osceola, realizing that civil violence could only disrupt their business and deepen already existing divisions, sent out a message pleading with people of the county to abstain from all violence and keep peace in the neighborhoods.⁹²

Counties in the valley contributed different proportions of troops to the northern and southern sides during the Civil War. From Cedar County about the same number of men joined each side.⁹³ But, most of the counties were more heavily southern. Henry County contributed about 60 soldiers to the Union cause and probably about 1,000 to the Confederacy.⁹⁴ Another estimate put the number joining the Union Army from Henry County at 75 to 80, with about 1,000 joining Confederate armies.⁹⁵ No large area in the valley escaped the impact of the War. The Pomme de Terre valley

was "... stained with brothers' blood -- assassinations in cold blood of neighbor by neighbor, and the awful resort of slaughtering unarmed prisoners without any form of trial; house burning, robbery, and theft -- every able bodied man in the country driven by awful times from home and family; and the destitute and impoverished people left at home to sleep in the brush, and in the open day to prowl and move cautiously in the often vain effort to find something to eat"⁹⁶ In St. Clair County, "... [e]very muscle and fiber of her body [was] ... wrenched and paralyzed through the period of strife, which not only devastated her fields, but drove her people from their homes."⁹⁷

June

The first big battle in the valley, the battle of Cole Camp, set the terrible pattern for other conflicts. This was truly a civil war. All the troops in this battle were from Benton and surrounding counties. Warsaw, the hotbed of Confederate sympathy in Benton County, sent a small army of mounted rebels to attack the mostly German "Home-guards" gathered around Cole Camp. Like most battles during the War, versions differ wildly. Kay Miles' Bitter Ground gives the major ones. John C. Moore's Confederate Military History has the Confederate troops catching the Home-guards by surprise, killing 206 Home-guards, wounding still more, capturing 100 prisoners and over 400 new weapons, while suffering only 30 casualties. Wiley Britton's Civil War on the Border, relying on Unionist accounts, has the Confederates taking the Home-guards by surprise by advancing under the deception of a Unionist flag, but the Home-

guards recovered quickly to drive off the enemy, both sides suffering about 100 casualties. The casualty counts on both sides are suspect, but we do know the Confederate attack on Cole Camp accomplished its major objective, which was to open the road south to Governor Claiborne Jackson who aimed to set up a Rebel Government in southern Missouri. Two days after the battle of Cole Camp, Jackson crossed the Osage River safely.⁹⁸ Earlier this month Jackson had issued a proclamation asking for 50,000 volunteers to protect the state of Missouri from invasions, and he hoped to do some recruiting in southwest Missouri.⁹⁹ After the battle of Cole Camp, Union General Nathaniel Lyon described Warsaw as a "nest of rebels."¹

July

Late this month General John C. Fremont, Thomas Hart Benton's son-in-law and a Union general, relieved General Lyons in command of forces in the Osage River region. Fremont reported the region "Rebellious throughout ... a rebel faction in every county"² Before Lyons was relieved, his Union army marched south from Boonville into Henry County and foraged for supplies. He so punished his troops by this forced march, intending to engage General Sterling Price who was reported near Grand River, that dozens of the Union soldiers perished from sunstroke in the southwest Missouri heat while others drown while crossing the Osage River after becoming weak and careless from exhaustion.³

Aug.

Confederate forces defeated a Union army in the Battle of Wilson Creek near Springfield. This was perhaps the bloodiest and most important

battle in Missouri in the whole war. Though not fought in the Osage valley, many troops on the Confederate side came from the valley. Union General Nathaniel Lyon was killed and his army retreated.⁴

Sept.

General Fremont reported: "The whole line of the Osage River was in the hands of the audacious foe." He issued proclamations taking extreme measures against Confederate sympathizers in southwest Missouri.⁵ In August 1861 Missouri troops under Confederate General Sterling Price camped four miles southwest of Osceola on Sac River to defend that prosperous little southern commercial city. But when Price broke camp in early September and marched north to Lexington, he left Osceola undefended except for a handful of southern home guards commanded by a local merchant, Captain Wiedemeyer. Meanwhile, Brigadier General Jim Lane, a Kansan and U. S. Senator, learned that this wealthy rebel stronghold was left undefended. He marched his army of about 1,500 men toward Osceola passing through Cedar County. People in town heard of the advancing Kansas troops. The Osceola branch of the Merchants Bank of St. Louis called in all its customers and paid off its depositors. Family silver and money were in many cases buried. With Wiedemeyer's local militia numbering only about 50 troops, there was no way to protect the town itself. On September 21, Lane moved down Sac River and camped where Price had camped earlier that month. Lane sought Senator Waldo P. Johnson of Osceola who leaned toward the Confederate side

and was at that time in Richmond, Virginia. On the morning of September 22, Lane broke camp and headed north. The little force of home guards, mostly old or young men, fired one volley at Lane's army, wounding three or four of Lane's men. These armed defenders then fled the town, but Lane used the hostile fire as an excuse to declare all Osceola a free fire zone and set about pillaging and burning the town.⁶ In 1861 Osceola was a busy commercial center with a population of 1,500 to 2,000 people and the biggest trade center southwest of Boonville and Jefferson City. Lane looked high and low for Waldo P. Johnson and swore he intended to hang the traitor. Finding neither Johnson nor the gold and silver for which Osceola was prized in the southwest, Lane and his troops set about pillaging the town.⁷ He had, far-sightedly, brought a long line of wagons with him to carry away the loot. Many Kansans got drunk on the fifty barrels of whiskey they found in Vaughan's and Johnson's store. Lane flew into a rage when he found the bank vault empty and ordered the town burned, leaving only three or four houses which he and his officers occupied.⁸

Lane's own cryptic version in a dispatch to General Fremont differed wildly from local memories:

My brigade is now marching ... from Osceola, where I have been on a forced march, expecting to cut off the enemy's train of ammunition. The enemy ambushed the approaches to the town, and after being driven from there by the advance under Colonels Montgomery and Weer, they took refuge in the buildings of the town to annoy us. We were compelled to shell them out, and in doing so

the place was burned to ashes, with an immense amount of stores of all descriptions. There were 15 or 20 of them killed and wounded; we lost none.⁹

There is no doubt that as Lane said, "... the place was burned to ashes," but the reasons for burning the town are disputed. Osceola never recovered. One side effect of Lane's raid was a proliferation of legends surrounding the gold and silver hidden from Lane by the local people. The most prominent legend had it that Leck Wamsley, a young lawyer in Waldo P. Johnson's office, took \$10,000 in gold to Uncle Jacob Coonce, then living on Brush Creek fifteen miles south of Osceola. Uncle Jake buried the money on a small island in the creek on a dark, rainy, lightning-filled night. For years after, people searched for the treasure and kept alive the memory of days when Osceola was a wealthy town. The treasures of Osceola's glory days must be buried out there in the hills.¹⁰ Lane's legal status, being both a Brigadier General and Senator, was cloudy and his political position made him immune from demands for a full account of his actions as a military man. Official records on the sack of Osceola are therefore inadequate. Quantrill exacted a terrible vengeance on Kansas for the destruction of Osceola in his Lawrence raid two years later. Many St. Clair County men served with Quantrill.

In the fall General Lane and his Kansas troops swept Bates County, rounding up slaves and southern sympathizers. He burned part of Papinsville and destroyed the bridge there. All during the war the balance between Northern and

Southern forces tipped one way then the other depending on which armies occupied the region. Supporters on each side spied on the other or used the excuse of their neighbors' being spies for the other side to bushwhack them.¹¹ Also in the fall, Major General Sterling Price, commander of the Missouri State Guard and now Confederate General, sought to secure strategic water mill locations in the Osage valley to provide supplies for his army. He stationed men at Ritchie's Mill on Sac River in St. Clair County, Caplinger Mill on Sac River in Cedar County, and "the steam mill on the Osage" in St. Clair County.¹²

In October Union General Fremont commenced a march toward Warsaw. He reached the town in mid-month and set to work day and night building a bridge across the Osage River using whatever lumber he could find in town. Fremont hoped to secure the region south of the Osage where Price's forces had been driving out the Kansas Jayhawkers.¹³ Union Generals John C. Fremont, Siegel, Pope, Hunter, McKinstry, and Asboth moved 40,000 troops across the Osage at Warsaw after dismantling much of the town of Warsaw to get lumber to build a pontoon bridge.¹⁴ General Pope's First Brigade marched across the Osage bridge at Warsaw, being careful "... to prevent anyone from straggling from the ranks."¹⁵

Nov.

Confederate Generals Price and McCulloch with 15,000 to 23,000 troops moved north and reached the Osage at Osceola intent on flanking Fremont and attacking Lexington or Jefferson City. This force was more of a dispersed crowd than an

army and could not operate in large numbers outside of friendly territory. However, their movements alarmed the Union army enough that it retreated back across the bridge at Warsaw and evacuated the town.¹⁶ On November 18, Union forces guarding the government stores in Warsaw telegraphed Sedalia for help as the Rebels surrounding the town threatened to take it.¹⁷ On November 21 Warsaw went up in flames. As in the case of the Battle of Cole Camp and the sack of Osceola accounts of this event differ wildly. A Federal dispatch told of an arsonist in civilian dress who set fire to buildings adjoining the U. S. Government stores in Warsaw, and the fire spread to the whole town.¹⁸ People in Warsaw claimed that stragglers from Fremont's army set fire to the town.¹⁹ By the end of the month Confederate Generals Price, McBride, and Rains had 15,000 troops in Osceola, Stockton, Chester, and other towns south of the Osage River.²⁰

Dec.

Sterling Price sent about half his army across the Osage River, one division toward Warsaw, the other towards Clinton, aiming to gather up flour at the several mills in the area.²¹ Pope, apparently recognizing the territory south of the Osage as in Confederate hands, tried only to drive Price's forces back across this line by sending five companies with artillery to scout the area north of the Osage.²² This force advanced south of Grand River near Clinton and chased Price's troops back across the Osage to their secure territory south of the Osage River.²³ Price's headquarters were just a few miles south-

west of Osceola.²⁴ His big encampment was up Sac River.²⁵

To the west, Kansas Jayhawkers under Major Montgomery captured Butler and drove out southern sympathizers and took the county records to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas.²⁶ The year closed with the two major towns on the upper Osage, Warsaw and Osceola, in ruins and the region divided almost in half with Union forces holding the north and Confederate forces the south. This winter when Sterling Price's son went north to Warsaw to recruit soldiers, he and his 500 enlistees were captured by Federal troops.²⁷ When Federal forces tried to push south of the Osage, they were driven back.²⁸

1862
Jan.

As winter set in, Confederate troops south of the Osage and Union forces north of the river abandoned large scale troop movements and turned to probing and foraging missions across the river. The most significant and sharpest conflict from these missions took place near Clinton, Henry County, on January 4, 1862. This "Battle of Clinton" began as a raid by a Confederate scouting party on Federal supplies. The Confederates tried to set fire to Federal hay stacks. A lively skirmish followed during which the Unionist home guards routed the Confederates.²⁹

March

A detachment of the First Iowa Cavalry stationed at Clinton skirmished with rebels four miles southeast of Leesville, killing two rebels and wounding one, capturing ten men, seven guns, ten horses and seven saddles.³⁰ The next week this same Cavalry outfit, commanded by Colonel

Fitz Henry Warren, moved south out of Clinton, across Grand River and Deepwater Creek, towards the Osage. He skirmished with rebels in the hills near Monegaw Springs, killing two enemy and wounding three. On this expedition Warren reported he was "... levying contributions of meat and forage upon the disloyal people of this vicinity."³¹ In all their operations in Henry and St. Clair counties the First Iowa Cavalry captured seventy-five prisoners this month. The Rebel forces between Grand and Osage rivers, under Colonel Sidney Jackman, numbered about 500.³³

April

While Union forces succeeded in operations north of the Osage River, they met with disaster in operations south of the river. Captain Cosgrove's B Company, Second Battalion, M.S.M. (Missouri Militia) was ambushed by Rebels near Quincy in Hickory County and suffered heavy losses. Also this month, twenty troops from the Battalion were taken prisoner in Hickory County on the Little Niangua River by a band of forty Confederates. The Confederates in the Pomme de Terre and Hogles Creek valleys plundered Union sympathizers and ordered them off their land. This region was known as "Little Dixie" for its southern sympathies.³⁴ Then too, this month, the 26th Indiana Volunteers and the First Iowa Cavalry invaded Little Dixie and fought Confederate troops camped at Shiloh.³⁵ The Union command in Clinton reported that the rebels in Little Dixie were hiding in the brush and hard to find but that they had an open operations center at James Tipton's farm on Hogles Creek. The Iowa Cavalry stationed in Clinton and Osceola also pushed west into Vernon

County to attack a rebel camp on Cedar Creek and Horse Creek twelve miles from Montevallo.³⁷ The detachment of Iowa Cavalry stationed in Osceola was busy extracting oaths of allegiance and taking bonds from suspected rebel sympathizers in the area around Monegaw. This area, like the Pomme de Terre region, was a hotbed of Confederate sympathizers.³⁸ The military operations this month included a small skirmish at Warsaw.³⁹

Union scouts on the Marias des Cygnes and Elk Fork rivers in Bates County, Missouri reported capturing several marauders. "Most of these men are of the worst, and ought to be shot or hung. The whole wooded country of the Marias-des-Cygnes, Osage, and their tributaries is full of them."⁴⁰ These marauders were the famous bushwhackers or night riders of southwest Missouri. Unless the territory was held by an occupation army, many neighborhoods in the southwest were ruled by bushwhackers, local toughs made tougher by the brutal and anarchistic conditions brought by the war. Bushwhackers sided with either the North or South and ambushed soldiers or sympathizers from the opposite side. A few especially anarchistic bushwhackers hated the organized forces on both sides and shot at whoever was handy. These bushwhackers, with an especially insular perspective, could not make out the difference between having their flour and livestock eaten by the armies of the Federals or having their flour and livestock eaten by the armies of the Confederates. They shot at uniforms in general, labeling their occupants thieves.⁴¹

May

Captain Bill Trueman and his Confederate

forces had a camp on a large island in the Marais des Cygnes River nine miles from Butler. When the Federal forces of Colonel Warren's First Iowa Cavalry stationed at Montevallo sent out a foraging mission, they were ambushed by Trueman's Confederates and all but one killed. This spring and summer Colonel Warren moved his unit to Butler. Also this month there was a skirmish at Monegaw Springs in St. Clair County.⁴²

During June and July skirmishes were fought at Deepwater, Taberville and Cross Timers.⁴³

Aug. One of the sharpest battles of the whole War in the valley resulted when Colonel Warren's First Iowa Cavalry numbering 135 men attacked a rebel guerrilla force near where Clear Creek crosses the Bates-St. Clair County line. After this battle of Gordon's Farm, the Federal report said, "Murder, plunder, and outrage are rife."⁴⁴ Within a week after the battle of Gordon's Farm, Colonel Barstow and his Third Wisconsin Cavalry captured Montevallo, the Rebel stronghold in Bates and Vernon counties, but were driven out by a force of about 1,500 Rebels.⁴⁵ Later in the month there were skirmishes at Taberville and in Cedar County.⁴⁶

Dec. Union soldiers or sympathizers murdered five Warsaw men on the banks of the Osage River in Warsaw.⁴⁷

1863 The Missouri border counties were nominally under Union control, but the sympathies of the residents and the chronic lawlessness combined to make it a doubtful territory. The Missouri

Legislature labelled Warsaw "... one of the great central depots of treason in our State," and the State Senate attempted to erase the town from the map by changing its name.⁴⁸ The Unionist Legislature wrote off the counties in the southwest, passing a law ending efforts to collect back taxes from the citizens in Bates, Benton, Cedar, Hickory, St. Clair, and Vernon counties owed for the year 1861.⁴⁹

1863
Jan.-
May

Skirmishes were fought at "The Island" in Vernon County; Hog Island in Bates County; and Cole Camp in Benton County.⁵⁰

June

One of the major battles in Bates County during the War, the Battle of Fort Toothman, occurred when a colored regiment stationed at Fort Toothman set out for the Marais des Cygnes River country. Local Rebels lured them into an ambush and killed all but two of the Union soldiers. Their confidence raised, the Confederate guerrillas then burned the town of Butler where Colonel Warren had stationed his First Iowa Cavalry.⁵¹ From June through August there were skirmishes at Papinsville, Stockton, and Ball Town.⁵²

Aug.

On August 21, William C. Quantrill, commander of irregular Confederate forces on the Missouri-Kansas border, led a savage raid on Lawrence, Kansas in retaliation for Jim Lane's raid on Osceola. Quantrill probably had more men with him from St. Clair County than from any other part of Missouri. While Lane looted and burned Osceola, he permitted most of the inhabitants to escape. Quantrill shot and killed

every man and boy he could find, killing between 150 and 180 men. Just as Lane had sought Waldo P. Johnson to hang the "traitor," Quantrill sought Lane. In both cases the object of the search was absent. Continuing the circle of vengeance, Lane urged retaliation against Missouri.⁵³ On August 25, Brigadier General Thomas Ewing gave Lane his Vengeance in the infamous "Order No. 11." Ewing ordered all people living in Cass, Jackson, Bates and most of Vernon counties to leave that territory within fifteen days. Anyone remaining in the region after fifteen days, unless attached to a Union outpost, was declared an outlaw. The Union forces were authorized to burn or destroy all grain, hay, or other bases for subsistence left in these counties. Order No. 11 and the ruthless way it was executed by Kansas Redleg soldiers, commanded by the hated Doc Jennison, outraged even Union sympathizers in Missouri. One of the outraged, George Caleb Bingham, an officer in the Missouri State Militia, warned Ewing that if he persisted in carrying out the order, "I will make you infamous with pen and brush, as far as I am able." Ewing persisted and Bingham carried out his threat in his famous painting, "Order No. 11." Of the counties falling under Ewing's order, only Bates County was entirely depopulated.⁵⁴ One Union officer wrote to his wife of the exodus from Bates County: "It is heart sickening to see what I have seen since I have been back here. A desolated country and men and women and children, some of them almost naked. Some on foot and some in old wagons. Oh God." From September, 1863 to April, 1865,

the history of Bates County is a complete blank. Fires swept the prairies and buildings fell into disrepair; no business, no courts, no taxes, no records.

Sept. One of the few well documented bushwhacking incidents in Hickory County had the Reverend Thomas Glanville shot while sitting in his home in the middle of the night. "It was not known who shot him, or for what reason, but it was believed that his forthright preaching and outspoken condemnation of the evils of the times brought the enmity of some of the lawless element of the country down upon him."⁵⁵ Countless other bushwhackings took place. One family of Smiths (Tom, Nathan, and John) living on the Osage River is said to have bushwhacked sixty-seven Germans in north Benton County during the War.⁵⁶

Sept.-
Oct. In these months Colonel Jo O. Shelby made his famous raid in Missouri and Arkansas, taking his army 1,500 miles, inflicting 600 Federal casualties, capturing 500 prisoners and 10 forts, destroying huge amounts of railroad and telegraph property, and capturing over \$1,000,000 in supplies.⁵⁷ On October 5 Shelby surrounded Stockton, Cedar County, captured Federal stores and arms, destroyed a fort and drove out the Unionist militia.⁵⁸ Shelby had, by various estimates, 600 to 3,000 men in his army at this time. He burned the courthouse in Stockton, but the records were safely stowed away in an Arkansas cave. In mid-October, Union forces on the Osage River, after receiving reports of Shelby's march

north, gathered at Osceola to stand between Quantrill and Shelby. But Shelby moved, by way of Warsaw, up to the Missouri Railroad at Boonville, outflanking and bypassing the plodding Union army.⁶⁰ On his way to the Osage, Shelby captured thirty wagons of goods, moving north of Humansville, and camped ten miles south of Warsaw.⁶¹ At the Osage River on October 7, the few Federal troops guarding the stores in Warsaw set up a line of defense across the river, but Shelby's cavalry forded the two foot deep river and drove them off, capturing huge piles of Federal stores.⁶² The next day, Brigadier General E. B. Brown reached Osceola with 600 men to intercept Shelby.⁶³ If a general was ever at the wrong place at the wrong time, Brown was. On October 9 Shelby passed through Cole Camp in north Benton County pillaging the prosperous German farms in the vicinity.⁶⁴ On October 10 the Unionist forces of the Seventh Missouri Militia fought skirmishes with gangs of stragglers from Shelby's army around Warsaw.⁶⁵ For the next several days, Shelby's army created all kinds of disorder in central Missouri along the Missouri River. From October 14 to 17 the Confederates made a forced march from the Missouri River to within eight miles of the Osage River, crossing on the 17th into St. Clair County about five miles from the Bates-Vernon-St. Clair line.⁶⁶ His army then skirmished in Cedar County with Union forces as he left the Osage River country.⁶⁷ Shelby chose the Osage River country as an avenue to and from the Missouri River partly because he knew he would meet friendly civilians along the way. Union forces were

scattered over 37 posts in the Stockton-Osceola-Clinton-Sedalia-Warsaw district, but many residents kept their Confederate sympathies.⁶⁸

Nov. When Col. Shelby returned to Warsaw, he found the Federal troops standing across the Osage River in sufficient force to prevent his crossing.

1864 Many bushwhackers, driven from the border
Jan.- counties by Order No. 11, shifted their operations
March to St. Clair and Henry counties. On March 27,
 Captain J. H. Little's First Cavalry, Missouri
 State Militia, engaged a band of bushwhackers at
 Deepwater. He captured several irregular Con-
 federate troops after a sharp battle, put them
 under arrest, and shot them summarily. "They
 calmly walked to the grave ... and met death with
 a dauntlessness worthy of a better cause," Little
 wrote.⁶⁹

April In response to the threat posed by bush-
May whackers, Clinton citizens formed a Home Guard,
 "for the defense of the neighborhoods."⁷⁰
 Despite Order No. 11, the border counties were
 still ruled by bushwhackers. In bands of from
 30 to 60 men they moved from Missouri into Kansas
 and confronted Federal troops at their convenience.
 On May 20 they attacked Lamar, Missouri, and on
 May 28 they "... burnt nearly every house in the
 place."⁷¹

June A detachment of the Second Colorado Cavalry
 scouting the Osage River territory described these
 bushwhackers as "... well armed, splendidly mounted,
 and [fighting] desperately." The whole Osage River

country west of Germantown in Henry County was filled with mounted armed riders.⁷² A band of twenty irregular Confederates raided Calhoun, Henry County, burning homes and robbing stores. Other skirmishes with bushwhackers this month included fights at Montevallo and White Hare.⁷³

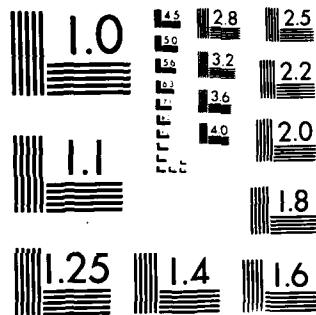
Fall Sterling Price invaded Missouri seeking to return it to Rebel control. About 250 Confederates attacked Clinton in concert with Price's invasion, but they were repulsed.⁷⁴

The presidential election returns for 1864 showed:

	Lincoln (Republican)	McClellan (Democrat)
Bates	27	13
Benton	574	21
Cedar	297	-
Henry	465	232
Hickory	365	1
St. Clair	223	1
Vernon	-	-

Only in Henry County, where many of the old "unionist" Democrats remained as a political opposition force, did the Democratic Party organize an active opposition to President Lincoln. The handful of votes from Bates County and the blank returns from Vernon County indicate the impact of Order No. 11 in depopulating these two counties. Throughout the region fewer than half the number of votes cast in 1860 were cast in 1864.

After the election Major John Cosgrove's Eighth Missouri Militia fought a battle with



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

about 100 Confederate troops on a prairie two miles from Quincy. The Pomme de Terre valley remained a rebel stronghold.⁷⁵ By the end of 1864, the population of Benton County had dropped to 4,975 from its 1860 figure of 9,072. The populations of Osceola and Warsaw, the two major towns on the upper Osage, had been more than cut in half in the past four years.

1865

By the beginning of this year the Union army in America numbered almost a million men. The South had been cut in two by Sherman's march to the sea, and the Confederate army in the west was primarily made up of irregular troops. Still there were skirmishes.

In April General Lee surrendered his Confederate Army to General Grant at Appomattox Court House, and five days later President Lincoln was assassinated. Warfare in the Osage valley did not end suddenly with Lee's surrender. The War in the valley predated Sumter and endured through Appomattox. Irregular Confederate forces continued to harrass Union forces in May.⁷⁶ The Sixteenth Missouri Cavalry pursued a band of Rebels from Lebanon to the Pomme de Terre River but failed to catch them before they reached the Rebel stronghold around Quincy.⁷⁷

In the fall, Radical Unionist Republicans controlled Osceola and exerted a powerful influence on Henry and Benton counties. They established the Osceola Herald, a Radical Republican newspaper.⁷⁸ During the last four years, all formal education and newspapers virtually ceased operating in the valley.⁷⁹ The War

decimated the valley. Not only were houses and businesses burned, but many of the men who should have returned from the armies to rebuild were either dead or wounded. Of the three biggest mercantile families in Warsaw and Osceola before the Civil War, William L. Vaughan had been murdered and the Wiedemeyers and Douglasses both had fled to Texas.⁸⁰ Bates and Vernon counties were in complete ruin. Pleasant Gap was probably the biggest town in that area.

1866

The nearest trading point for Bates County was Warrensburg where prices were very high:

Flour	\$5/cwt.
Butter	25¢/lb.
Eggs	20¢/doz.

To make matters worse, the border counties suffered yet another invasion from Kansas. The invasion of Rocky Mountain locusts this year attracted nationwide attention. In 1867 they invaded again and pushed into the fertile valley of the Mississippi River.⁸¹ Adding to the woes of the suffering and weakened populace, a smallpox epidemic swept Osceola and surrounding country. In one family Tom Johnson, his wife and six children all died. Only cholera killed more people than smallpox in St. Clair County this year.⁸² As the locusts came from the west, a great wave of immigrants passed through the upper Osage valley from the east. Two hundred covered wagons heading west passed through Clinton every week in the spring of 1866.⁸³

The Radical Republicans, trying to rule St. Clair County, met resistance at every turn. The

Radicals in turn labeled the southern sympathizers, including the majority of citizens in the county, "... rogues, thieves, vagabonds and highwaymen."⁸⁴ Beginning with its rebel leanings during the War and its resistance to Radical Reconstruction, St. Clair County gained a reputation for lawlessness that persisted into the twentieth century. Hostility to strangers engendered by the Civil War and perpetuated by Radical Reconstruction was, by some social alchemy, associated with the outside invasions of locusts and disease in the minds of the people, transforming the outward-looking commercial spirit of the Osceola of the 1850's into a more distrustful, more insular spirit after the war. The region suffered adversely from outside contact at every turn. Texas long-horn cattle, thriving, half-wild, during the Civil War, were driven to eastern markets after the war. Some of these drives took cattle through the upper Osage counties to Sedalia carrying the "Texas fever," a disease not fatal to the tough Texas stock but mortal to Missouri cattle. The state of Missouri passed laws restricting these importations in response to vigilante violence inflicted on the Texas drovers by citizens committees in southwest Missouri.⁸⁵ All these bad experiences with outsiders contributed to a resurgence of the insular egalitarian spirit that had begun to decline with the quickened commercial pace of the heyday of the steamboat travel era.

Henry County rebounded from the Civil War much more vigorously than either St. Clair or Benton counties. Henry County agricultural land

showed better prospects for cash crop agriculture than the counties bordering the Osage River and those south of the river. In addition, Henry County bordered on Pettis County with its county seat, Sedalia, railhead for the Texas cattle drives and prospective center for railroad expansion for the whole southwest. Promoters from Sedalia convinced the Henry County Court to subscribe \$150,000 to the stock of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad.⁸⁶ Railroad corporations expected to raise the capital to construct their lines by selling stock to the counties along the prospective line.

Railroad promotion and stock subscriptions by the counties in the Osage River region accompanied the ascendancy of Radical Republicans in local and state politics. Newcomers to politics, many of these Radicals had more interest in promoting new railroad schemes than in preserving traditional institutions. This year George Y. Salmon, Harvey W. Salmon, and DeWitt C. Stone opened the first bank in Henry County, Salmon and Stone Bank.⁸⁷

1867

St. Clair County built a new courthouse to replace the one destroyed in the Civil War.⁸⁸ Osceola still called itself the "Queen City of the Osage" but the best days for steamboating on that river had passed. The political leaders, replacing the pre-War generation, focused the attention of the voters on railroad rather than river navigation schemes.

Lawlessness still prevailed in St. Clair County to the extent that vigilante committees

formed to protect the neighborhoods from outlaws.⁸⁹ In this environment the notorious Younger Brothers, Cole, John, Jim, and Bob, and the even more notorious Jesse and Frank James, became the "pillars of lawlessness," symbols of protest against a government that did not deserve respect. Many respectable people in the Osage valley believed the Unionist victory in the Civil War meant the triumph of evil. They could not abide the result and identified with the James' and Youngers' resistance to established authority.⁹⁰

One of the less exciting but nonetheless important events this year saw the State Legislature establish probate courts in Hickory, Benton, and St. Clair counties. This act marked a big step in the evolution of the present form of county government in Missouri. In the earliest times, the county courts in these counties conducted all kinds of business. In more modern times, other agencies grew up, taking authority away from the county courts and dispersing it among other courts and commissions, state and federal agencies.

1868

Election results for this year showed:

	Governor		Congress	
	McClug (Rep.)	Phelps (Dem.)	Burdett (Rep.)	Phillips (Dem.)
Bates	*775	632	*778	629
Benton	*680	348	*689	340
Cedar	*569	300	-	-
Henry	*970	722	*972	716
Hickory	*441	145	*401	129
St. Clair	*556	331	*546	331
Vernon	336	*586	335	*583

The Radical Republicans remained in control in all the counties except Vernon.

1869

This was a very severe year for drought. Nonetheless, railroad promoters persuaded the Henry County Court to subscribe \$250,000 to the stock of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad Company to encourage that company to build through the county.⁹¹ Vernon County subscribed \$200,000 to the stock of the Laclede, Fort Scott Railroad and \$200,000 to the stock of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad.⁹² Roscoe, ever the rival of Osceola in St. Clair County, tried to get a railroad to come through, giving that town an advantage over Osceola. In this rivalry, Osceolans temporarily submerged their hostility toward outsiders and subscribed their credit to the stock of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad.⁹³

1870

The 1870 census has been called "... one of the most astounding statistical frauds ever compiled in the history of this or any other country."⁹⁴ It was probably more fraudulent than most censuses, the Federal bureaucracy in the southern and border states, like Missouri, being in the hands of outsiders who did not know the neighborhoods well enough to do a good job. This census showed:

	Total	Population		
		Born in Missouri	Born in Kentucky	Born in Ohio
Bates	15,422	5,383	1,258	1,585
Benton	10,198	6,166	709	540
Cedar	9,370	4,919	608	326
Henry	16,632	7,709	1,403	1,509

	Total	Population		
		Born in Missouri	Born in Kentucky	Born in Ohio
Hickory	6,202	3,278	336	338
St. Clair	6,591	3,082	384	598
Vernon	11,022	4,383	993	648

	Born in Illinois	Born in Tennessee	Born in Va. or W. Va.	Foreign Born
Bates	2,423	409	603	538
Benton	552	546	397	1,124
Cedar	626	1,055	438	104
Henry	1,745	432	867	769
Hickory	399	590	242	250
St. Clair	600	283	295	151
Vernon	1,598	446	556	225

	Agriculture (\$1,000's)			
	Improved Acres	\$ Value of Farms	\$ Market Value Pro.	\$ Product Home Mfc.
Bates	113,579	5,023	1,202	21
Benton	79,940	2,449	575	17
Cedar	35,678	1,430	335	17
Henry	148,462	6,024	1,279	5
Hickory	39,191	1,250	399	19
St. Clair	45,492	1,176	326	1
Vernon	71,214	3,560	620	6

	Manufacturing				\$ Value of Products
	# of Estab.	# Steam Engines	# Water Wheels	# Em- ployee	
Bates	64	17	-	163	226,894
Benton	29	4	3	55	83,571
Cedar	10	-	7	22	48,731
Henry	91	11	3	256	585,115
Hickory	19	5	9	50	98,277

	Manufacturing				
	# of Estab.	# Steam Engines	# Water Wheels	# Em- ployee	\$ Value of Products
St. Clair	16	4	1	38	72,645
Vernon	25	9	-	88	142,214

Despite statistical fraud the census figures for 1870 are the best statistical evidence we have for this area. The prairie counties (Bates, Vernon and Henry) continued to show a more rapid growth rate than the Ozark and Osage River counties (Benton, Cedar, Hickory, and St. Clair) despite the fact that two prairie counties, north Vernon and all of Bates, had been depopulated during the Civil War by Order No. 11. Most of the settlers coming to the area after the Civil War were from the eastern prairie states of Ohio and Illinois and settled in the western prairie counties, Bates Henry and Vernon; while most of the settlers born in the eastern hill country of Tennessee settled in the hill counties of Benton, Cedar and Hickory. Perhaps the most striking feature is the remarkable decline of St. Clair County these 1870 statistics suggest. First in manufacturing in 1860, St. Clair County was now next to last among the upper Osage counties. Henry County continued the prosperity of the previous decade, doubling the number of improved acres and doubling the value of farms. Even more impressive for Henry County was the increase in the number of manufacturing employees from 41 in 1860 to 256 in 1870. The Ozark counties of Benton, Cedar and Hickory continued to lead in home manufacturing with the prairie counties, Bates, Henry, and Vernon, leading in the number of manufacturing establishments

and manufacturing employees. The Ozark environment encouraged the persistence of frontier ways of doing things, i. e. home manufacturing. The counties also divided themselves into prairie and Ozark categories in the forms of manufacturing power. Hickory County with nine water mills and Cedar County with seven, led in this category while the prairie counties of Bates and Vernon had no water mills. In contrast, Bates, Henry, and Vernon counties led in number of steam engines, while Cedar County recorded no steam engines in the entire county. The people in the Ozarks continued to rely on an abundant, natural flow of water power which kept them tied closely to the environment while the prairie counties, with less environmental opportunities for water power generation, turned to steam engines and industrialism. By 1870 frontier practices showed greater persistence in Hickory and Cedar counties than in Henry, Bates, and Vernon counties. The prairie counties entered the national market more quickly than the Ozark counties.

The dramatic decline of St. Clair County in almost every respect from 1860 to 1870 partly reflects the Civil War experience and the destruction of Osceola. But Bates and Vernon counties under Order No. 11 had even worse Civil War experiences yet showed remarkable growth during the decade. The decline of St. Clair County reflects more the passing of the importance of the Osage River as the trade artery of the southwest. St. Clair County, with the Osage stretching from the southwest to the northeast corner and the

head of navigation standing in the center of the county, was pre-eminently the "river county" in the region. But the attention of the merchants and farmers shifted away from the prospect of river transportation and toward the prospect of railroad transportation after the Civil War. The local newspapers ignored the river and pressed the county courts to subscribe to the stock of railroad corporations. Ironically, this year, when the census showed the declining importance of the river in the local economy, the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers showed heightened interest in making that stream navigable. Next year the Army made its first expenditures on improving the navigation of the Osage River. Steamers continued to ply the Osage River, but the obstacles to navigation above Warsaw were almost as formidable as they had been before the Civil War. In April the steamer Hesper spent two weeks in Warsaw waiting for a rise to go up river. At the end of the month the Hesper headed up to Osceola and Roscoe with supplies of flour and salt but got hung up on Lilly Island and had to empty half its cargo to float the boat.⁹⁵

Meanwhile the counties turned to railroads, subscribing their credit to the stock of railroad corporations.⁹⁶ Will H. Lawrence, editor of the Clinton Advocate promoted the Kansas City and Memphis Railroad.⁹⁷ The Henry County Court subscribed \$150,000 to the stock of the Clinton and Memphis Branch of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad and \$50,000 to the stock of the Clinton and Kansas City Railroad. Four hundred citizens in St.

Clair County petitioned the county court to subscribe to the stock of the Clinton and Memphis Branch of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad, and in April the county court agreed to do so.⁹⁹ This first subscription included safeguards to protect the county if the railroad company failed to complete its road in the county. But in June the railroad promoters got the county court to drop these safeguards, leading to the infamous railroad scandal that colored St. Clair and Henry county history for the next fifty years. It led to a U. S. Supreme Court decision which made St. Clair County an outlaw in the eyes of industrial America and its enforcer, the Federal courts. In November St. Clair County delivered \$20,000 in bonds into the hands of railroad promoters DeWitt C. Stone and Peter Ladue. Five years later the railroad company was bankrupt, and the road not built. The bonds had passed into the hands of "innocent investors." The county did not redeem the last of these bonds until 1938 and, then, under compulsion.

1871

The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers spent \$25,000 to improve navigation on the Osage River this year. Army Corps expenditures on Osage River navigation during the next two decades included:

1871	\$25,000	1880	\$30,000
1872	25,000	1881	20,000
1873	25,000	1886	10,000
1874	25,000	1888	5,000
1878	20,000	1890	55,000
1879	20,000		

This work included cutting overhanging trees, removing snags and dredging shoals. Almost all the work included in these expenditures improved the river below Warsaw. The Corps did not try to re-establish Osceola as the head of navigation on the Osage River. Steamers continued to reach Warsaw and even Osceola, but traffic on the river was entirely changed from what it had been before the War. In the 1850's the Osage River was a genuine trade route with goods passing up and down stream. After the War, raft and barge traffic predominated. Merchants supplied themselves with goods by railroad or overland routes. Two-way traffic on the river was dying and being replaced by barge and raft traffic that carried bulky raw materials like sand, gravel, and railroad ties down stream to railheads near the mouth of the river. Boats returning up river took some commodities to Osage River towns, but the merchants did not rely on river commerce the way they had before the Civil War. The two most important commodities in Osage River traffic after the Civil War, gravel and railroad ties, both served railroad construction. Many farmers cut ties during part of the year, delivering them to Osage River towns to be loaded on barges and floated down to railheads on the lower Osage River. Railroads also used Osage River gravel for roadbed ballast in Missouri.

By 1871 the Henry County Court had subscribed to the stock of rail corporations for a debt that would ultimately cost the county \$1,046,697.98. For this money the county got 37

miles of railroad, making the cost to the county over \$28,000 per mile.¹

This year marked the high tide of the railroad enthusiasm in the valley. Right after the Civil War, the Osage valley found itself in the hands of a group of Yankee immigrant politicians sometimes called "carpetbaggers." William H. McLane of Henry and St. Clair counties was the wealthiest and most powerful of these new immigrants. Trained as a merchant's clerk since age eight, McLane was a man of steady habits, great ambition and energy. As a youth in Illinois he rose daily at 3:00 a.m. to study his books before going to work as a clerk. In Cape Girardeau, Missouri he married the daughter of a wealthy merchant. During the Civil War, he served in the Union Army with Company A, 56th Missouri Regiment and with the Eighth Missouri Regiment where he rose to the rank of colonel. In spring 1866, he took his family to Clinton to seek his fortune in land speculation and politics amidst the destruction in the Osage valley. In 1868 he represented the valley in the Missouri Legislature and helped ram through legislation aiding the Tebo and Neosho Railroad, the famous "Branch Railroad Act," that gave the valley such grief during the next thirty years. A Radical Republican in state politics, he was elected at a time when many of the ex-Confederates were either disfranchised or refused to participate. McLane was best known among his neighbors for his exacting work habits, business success, and promotional zeal in furthering the common interests of the community.²

Not satisfied with the rewards earned by hard work and studied avarice, these Radical Republicans sought public aid for their transportation schemes, that would, of course, serve the "public interest." In their effort they acted in accordance with a long tradition in American history going back in Osage valley history to 1795 and the Fort Carondelet "franchise" granted to Auguste Chouteau. The old story is: government sponsorship of private greed to serve the public interest through state granted privileges. The Radical Republicans did not create the railroad charter. They just carried it to its logical conclusion.

Even before the Civil War, the Whig dominated Henry County Court subscribed its public credit to the stock of the Pacific Railroad and became one of the first counties in Missouri to make a railroad subscription. Also before the Civil War, the Tebo and Neosho Railroad got its first charter from the State Legislature, known in the language of the day as one of the "most liberal charters in the state." "Liberal" here meant the company was granted more complete freedom from the restrictions of the law and constitution than individuals who continued to live under a traditional standard of law and morality. For example, owners of the Company were exempt from all personal liability for the actions of the Company, except for the amount of stock they owned. More importantly, counties and cities in Missouri could subscribe to the capital stock of the Company "... without the delay and expense incidental to elections, and without raising of the

vexed questions with regard to the right of all interested parties to participate in giving their assent and aid to the enterprise."³ In other words, the county courts in Missouri were free to commit the taxpayers to huge subscriptions to the stock of these corporations without consulting those taxpayers. The company recognized the special importance of this "liberality" in Missouri counties like St. Clair where, as the railroad promoting Radical Republican newspaper, the Osceola Herald, pointed out: "... when the proposition to take ... stock was first agitated many were found who most strenuously opposed it"⁴ Most of the older residents in the valley opposed railroad subscriptions but "... [a]fter months of weary labor by the friends of Railroad enterprises," the county court was persuaded on April 5, 1870 to issue \$250,000 in St. Clair County bonds to exchange for \$250,000 in the stock of the Memphis branch of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad. In November, 1870, the county court delivered the bonds to the company. Just two months after the county subscribed, the Memphis branch of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad was reorganized as the Kansas City and Memphis Railroad. With this reorganization, the county lost the safeguards it had secured from the old "Tebo and Neosho Company" requiring the completion of work before the bonds were delivered.

Promoters of the railroad hurried the subscriptions and reorganizations of railroad schemes for the same reasons the previous generation of promoters had urged improvement of the Osage River.

Why are the people of this area so backward they asked of St. Clair County? "For the very reason that without easy access to markets, they had nothing to stimulate them to industry." The Osceola Herald attacked the "... Rip Vanwinkles [sic] who are slumbering here content with raising sufficient hog and hominy for their own consumption"⁵ The Osage valley was, "... unfortunately in that transitional stage between a back-woods existence and the warm social and business life of perfect civilization." All it wanted was a railroad to make a "warm social and business life."⁶ The urgent demand for railroads to break down the insular tendencies of the people swept aside time-consuming legal impediments to building the railroad. The company needed the bonds to complete the work. Besides, was not the legitimacy of the enterprise insured by the reputations of its advocates? William McLane of Henry County and Waldo P. Johnson of St. Clair County combined the reputations of the new and successful businessman with the probity of the old southern Johnson family as officers on the company board of directors. Henry and St. Clair counties both made huge subscriptions to the Kansas City and Memphis Railroad partly out of fear that the railroad company would locate its route through Bates and Vernon counties if those counties were more "liberal" in making subscriptions. Charles Griswold, chief engineer for the Kansas City and Memphis Railroad, encouraged this paranoia of the county officials by reminding them that "... [b]uilding railroads requires money, and their location depends greatly upon the liberality of communities anxious to

obtain them." When the company said it needed the money, the county courts in Henry and St. Clair counties gave them the bonds.⁷

Construction of the Clinton and Memphis Branch of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad, reorganized as the Kansas City and Memphis Railroad, began in December, 1870. Cornet bands paraded in the streets of Clinton and Osceola. "All hands grabbed shovels and tossed some of mother earth around promiscuously. The plow made its first furrow and the axemen walked into the forest with their eyes looking toward Memphis in Tennessee."⁸ In March, 1871 engineers surveyed the bridge site across the Osage River at Osceola.⁹ By now the Kansas City and Memphis Railroad was reorganized as the Clinton and Memphis Branch of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad.

All summer newspapers reported the workers on the railroad were "working away like beavers." The section between Clinton and Osceola was being surveyed while the section northwest of Clinton was swarming with workers. "One company of Sweeds [sic], in their national costume, is an interesting [sic] feature in the picture Shanties have sprung up in every direction, and tents can be seen all along the line. Everything indicates great push and energy."¹⁰ The optimism over construction of the Memphis road led the Osceola Herald to proclaim, "... we can now speak of the Memphis road as one of our accomplished facts." Grading and rock work was completed between Clinton and Osceola and ties were strewn along the line, and the first boat load of rails had arrived in St. Louis from New Orleans.¹¹ Workers in Clinton

were busy staking off a reservoir and laying the foundation for the depot. Ties were piled up all over. Mr. Colt, the contractor, paid off workers with a huge pile of greenbacks. Men worked on the "big cut," a 1,500 foot long, 26 foot deep trench between Osceola and Clinton, hauling away the dirt in mule carts.¹² All along the line were little white tent cities for the workers. Masonry for the Grand River Bridge was assembled. Local craftsmen took contracts to build bridges, deliver ties, and construct buildings connected with the railroad.¹³

At the height of enthusiasm and expectations, the railroad promoters were dissatisfied with the subscriptions to the stock of the railroad company despite the fact that Henry and St. Clair counties each subscribed \$250,000. These railroad interests proposed that the State Legislature create a new county out of parts of Henry and Benton counties, combined with parts of Johnson and Pettis counties. This new county, Meadow County, with Windsor its seat of government, would be a real friend of the railroad.¹⁴

By fall, 1871, the stockholders of the Clinton and Memphis and the Clinton and Kansas City Railroad met and merged into the Memphis and Mobile Railroad Company.¹⁵ After these numerous organizations and reorganizations in 1870-1871, responsibility for completing the road blurred. The companies could organize and reorganize, escaping the responsibilities of their old charters. However, the county courts were permanent; they could not legally escape the commitment to pay off the bonds.

1872

The Memphis and Mobile Railroad Company was neither a public nor a private institution. It was a corporation with a state charter and with officials from the counties subscribing stock sitting on its board of directors. Henry County sent Colonel D. C. Stone, A. D. LaDue, R. C. McBeth, and Peter A. Ladue to serve on the Company Board. St. Clair County sent Waldo P. Johnson and W. O. Mead.¹⁶

By spring the company started falling behind in meeting its payrolls and purchasing contract payments. A. D. LaDue resigned as superintendent of construction. In July the board meeting of the Memphis and Mobile Railroad Company assured the investors that construction of the road would soon go forward, but the St. Clair County Court already had gotten cold feet and ordered that no more interest be paid on the railroad bonds till the road was built.¹⁷ Later in July the Kansas City Board of Trade investigated the Memphis and Mobile Railroad Company and reported: "We found the Kansas City, Memphis and Mobile Railroad Company, almost entirely broken down, all work suspended, and public confidence in the management thereby very much impaired." To repair this rift in confidence, the Board of Trade recommended yet another reorganization.¹⁸ During the four months of construction in St. Clair and Henry counties, the company had completed grading and masonry work on 70 miles of road and placed 80,000 cross ties in the right of way. But not a single mile of track was laid.¹⁹

When the company failed to complete the

railroad, Henry and St. Clair counties refused to pay interest on the bonds. In the meantime, the company had sold these bonds to eastern investors to get cold cash. These investors expected payment and the courts enforced the claims of these "innocent purchasers." As far as the voters in Henry and St. Clair counties were concerned, the bonds were absolutely stolen. "The only plea that has ever been offered in their behalf is that they are in the hands of 'innocent purchasers.' Just why the innocent purchaser of a stolen bond should have any more standing in the law than the innocent purchaser of a stolen horse is something that it will require a sledge hammer and a ten-penny nail to drive into the heads of the people."²⁰ For the next several years Federal courts and marshalls tried to do just that. The county officials were literally driven into the woods to escape being served with Federal orders to raise taxes to pay off the bonds. For several years in the 1870's and 1880's, the St. Clair County Court held sessions in caves; Judge Thomas Fox won the nickname, the "Swamp Fox," for remaining under cover for an entire year. Farm boys beating the brush for stray cattle often stumbled on sessions of the county court. Deputy marshalls turned up in Osceola in all kinds of disguises, but no matter what disguise -- insurance, book, lightning rod, or patent medicine peddler -- all were discovered by the cautious rural folks. Mining engineers, land surveyors, and temperance lecturers, all were suspected of being revenuers or Federal marshalls seeking the county court.²¹

With the revelations of the railroad scandal,

people in St. Clair County turned from the Radical Republican railroad promoters and their mouthpiece, the Osceola Herald, to the Redeemer politicians represented in the press by the Osceola or St. Clair County Democrat.²² This paper opposed the tariff, Reconstruction, disfranchisement of white voters in the South, and corruption and boodle in politics. During construction work on the railroad, the Democrat was just as likely to print bad news as good. When Johnny G. Wright, a local boy, was catching minnows in a stream near the construction work, a blast was let off sending rocks flying in all directions. Johnny was struck in the head by a forty pound rock which passed on, almost burying itself in the soft earth. "The lad's skull was terribly crushed, the brains protruding from the fracture, and presenting a ghastly and horrible appearance."²³ By such reporting the Democrat appealed to the voters, many of whom had not favored the railroad subscription in the beginning. Radical Republicanism was discredited by its association, in the Herald, with promotion of the railroad swindle.

The Memphis and Mobile Railroad had, by now, undergone yet another reorganizational transformation, becoming part of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, or M.K.&T. Railroad line. Reviewing the reorganizations we find first, the Memphis Branch of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad approached the county courts for subscriptions under the Branch Railway Act of 1868. This Company had become the Kansas City and Memphis Railroad by the time of St. Clair County's subscription in April, 1870. This company split into the Clinton and Memphis

and the Clinton and Kansas City Branches of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad in May, 1870, requiring a renewal of the subscriptions, minus the safeguards for the counties. These two companies then merged into the Kansas City, Memphis and Mobile Railroad Company just two months after the subscriptions, completely erasing the safeguards the counties had enjoyed under the old charters. This company was finally succeeded by the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad in 1872, when the Kansas City, Memphis and Mobile Railroad Company failed to meet its construction contracts and went bankrupt. With this final reorganization, all local control and local participation in the railroad companies in the region passed. Investors and operators in Kansas City, St. Louis, and New York City now effectively controlled the railroad in the valley.

In the fall there was a great silver excitement in St. Clair and Hickory counties that diverted attention away from the railroad troubles. Every man seemed to carry a pocketful of rocks around to be assayed. The focus was on Bear Creek in T38N; R24W.²⁴

Election results for this year showed:

	Governor		President	
	Woodson Liberal	Henderson Republican	Greeley Liberal	Grant Republican
Bates	*1,786	1,514	*1,746	1,499
Benton	814	* 907	807	* 914
Cedar	756	* 777	743	* 772
Henry	*2,131	1,535	*2,124	1,526
Hickory	262	* 644	249	* 655
St. Clair	*1,200	1,025	*1,159	1,027
Vernon	*1,451	602	*1,344	601

These results showed a great shift in voting patterns since 1868. All the counties except Vernon had voted for Grant in 1868. This year all the counties that had taken big railroad subscriptions, under the influence of Radical Republicans, abandoned Grant and the regular Republicans and voted for Greeley's and Woodson's Liberal, anti-Radical party. The three counties that had refused to subscribe to railroad bonds and thus escaped the bitter recriminations over default all remained with the Republican Party and voted for Grant. Grant and the regular Republicans represented public immorality and corruption of the sort Henry and St. Clair counties suffered from in the railroad bond scandal. Benton, Cedar, and Hickory counties did not feel the corruption of the national administration as immediately because they did not have a parallel local scandal. They voted in accordance with the habits established in 1864 and 1868.

1873

Though peace was nominally obtained in the Osage valley, this was a tumultuous year. Railroad promoters agitated for the creation of Meadow County by carving up Henry, Benton, Pettis, and Johnson counties. Quite a lot of speculation circulated about the value of lead deposits scattered throughout the valley.²⁵ In this speculative atmosphere, the one great black cloud was the non-completion of the railroad. With such an obvious wealth of resources, people could point only to the inadequacies of transportation to account for the continued backwardness of the valley. "The delay in the work on our railroad and non-perform-

ance of any material improvement of the Osage River have caused an absence of the mushroom growth so characteristic of western towns."²⁶ Blame for the failure to complete the railroad belonged to "... certain parties in Kansas City."²⁷

By February, A. H. Nicolay, a New York investor, had acquired 233 of the 250 bonds issued by St. Clair County. He picked them up at a fraction of their face value after news of St. Clair County's default on interest payments. Nicolay, arguing that he was an "innocent purchaser," and deserved payment for his bonds despite the non-completion of the railroad in St. Clair County, took the county to court, beginning in the U. S. Circuit Court at Jefferson City.²⁸ When St. Clair and Henry counties began their resistance to paying off the railroad debt, they joined the notorious Younger Brothers and James Gang in resisting the impositions of Radical Republicanism and railroad corporations. The people suffered at the hands of the railroad corporations whose irresponsibility imposed on them a huge debt without fulfilling the contract of completing the railroad. But they had no way to strike directly at the corporations that escaped responsibility through reorganization and alteration of charters. Bankers in Kansas City, St. Louis, and New York contributed to corporate irresponsibility by providing the financial alchemy needed for reorganization.

Banks and railroads earned bad names in southwest Missouri, especially after the panic of 1873 in the summer of this year. St. Clair County created its own extra-legal currency, issuing

\$25,000 in warrants as circulating medium to ease the money pinch. "... [A]lready we observe that our merchants are taking them as freely as the greenback paper ...," the local paper reported.²⁸ The county rejected dependence on the bankers and issued its own money. Meanwhile the James Gang and Younger Boys carried out the fantasies of many people who hated banks and railroads. The Younger's and James' carried justice to the corporations through the barrel of a gun. They were social bandits and primitive rebels. Many people got a vicarious sense of justice reading about the Youngers' and James' robberies of banks and railroads in the newspapers. Any suffering inflicted on the railroads and banks made everyone feel better. Meanwhile, the railroads and bankers hired their own army of policemen, the Pinkertons, to enforce the law that most of the people considered illegitimate.

In December the Younger Brothers were in St. Clair County. A posse tried to arrest them, but warned of the danger by their neighbors, the Youngers captured the posse, gave them a lecture on minding their own business and set them free.²⁹ The local men in the posse spread stories of the essential humanity and justice of the Youngers. The worst thing said about the outlaws in St. Clair County was they they were the results of their conditions -- the War, Reconstruction, disorder. The more sympathetic observers lived vicariously through the Younger's resistance to a law and order that southwest Missourians considered essentially unjust.

1873-
1875

Another reaction against corporations swept the Osage valley in the flourishing "Granger" or Patrons of Husbandry movement that swept the valley. The Grangers displaced the national parties and ruled in local politics throughout the region.³⁰ These Grangers led the railroad bond repudiation movements in many parts of Missouri, including the Osage valley.

1874

Pinkerton detectives, employed by the corporations, invaded St. Clair County and attacked the Younger Brothers in the famous Roscoe Gun Battle, March 17, 1874.³¹

In the summer a severe drought hit the valley hurting crops and making them vulnerable to locust invasions.³² Drought and chinch bugs hit crops before the locusts arrived, but even so "... the locust visitation of 1874 ... will long be remembered as more disastrous, and as causing more distress and destitution than any of its predecessors." In most of southwest Missouri the corn was so shriveled and hard from drought that the locusts could not eat it, but they stripped every green blade and any husks not already killed by the chinch bugs.³³

While the railroads, corporations, and Pinkertons invaded from the north and east, the locusts came from the northwest and Kansas. The insects were the Rocky Mountain Locust or Caloptenus Spretus. These infestations, reminiscent of the invasions of Kansas Redlegs before and during the Civil War, contributed to the resurgence of insularity that had grown up in the valley during the early settlement days before the Civil War.

Neighbors joined together in their local Grange organizations to give what aid they could to one another. The Granges replaced the less formal communitarian, neighborhood aid common in the 1840's. The St. Clair County Agricultural and Mechanical Association formed to promote a fair. Though it failed for lack of decent crops, the idea spread to Bates and Henry counties that sponsored yearly fairs in Appleton City beginning in 1876.³⁴

In the fall, investigations by the St. Clair County Court made the enormity of the railroad swindle clear to all. Not only were the bonds stolen, but the construction accomplished had been accompanied by tremendous boodling in the contracts. People held meetings all over the county vowing neither to pay any taxes to pay for the bonds nor to approve any aid for railroads. In addition to the burdensome debts, the valley also felt the discrimination of the railroad corporations. The M.K.&T. Railroad Company had established the Osage Mining Company with a big shaft mine at Lewis Station called "Osage No. 1." The Railroad Corporation then raised freight rates on coal shipped from other mines in the Osage valley so high that no other miners could make a profit from exporting coal. There were known veins of coal in other parts of the valley five feet thick and lying only 40 feet from the surface that could not be mined because of discriminatory railroad rates.³⁶

1875

In the spring, Albert H. Nicolay, the New York investor owning most of St. Clair County's railroad bonds, got a judgment from U. S. Circuit Court against the county. Witnessed by Morrison

P. Waite, Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, this judgment required the county to pay up. The debt, increasing by \$33,000 per year accrued interest, had by 1875 mounted to \$330,000. Osceola still did not have a railroad but was served by a three to four hour stage ride from Appleton City, where the railroad cut across the northwest corner of St. Clair County making a thriving little city.³⁷

Beginning soon after the Civil War, drovers and cattlemen in Texas and the Indian Territory rounded up the longhorn cattle that had thrived unattended on the great plains during the War. Cattlemen driving their stock to the railhead in Sedalia passed through the Osage valley by two main routes. The more important route went through Henry and St. Clair counties and passed near Clinton. The other route passed through Hickory and Benton counties and crossed the Osage at Warsaw. These cattle carried diseases fatal to the domestic stock in the neighborhoods and the invading drovers were sometimes treated to vigilante justice if their cattle invasions accompanied an outbreak of the "Texas fever." One such incident took place in Hickory County near Wheatland where Samuel Naffziger was killed for importing diseased cattle into the neighborhood from Texas.³⁸

In May and June the upper Osage valley suffered once again from the grasshopper plague. In Henry County, "... they came in swarms, they came by the millions, they came in legions, they came by the mile, and they darkened the heavens in their flight, or blackened the earth's surface..." Oats, flax, corn, wheat, everything was eaten

down to the ground. Chinch bugs followed, filling the air. Grangers in other parts of Missouri offered relief to southwest Missouri farmers, and when a train load of corn arrived in Clinton, upwards of 200 wagons gathered there to get the much needed relief.³⁹

Not since the Civil War had southwest Missouri looked so desolate. In the previous two years, crops had been bad mainly because of the drought and chinch bugs. This year, with an early planting season and timely rains, farmers planted a much larger acreage of spring crops than in any previous year. But as the farmers rejoiced, the eggs of the bugs that had invaded in 1874 hatched. By late May, 1875, the non-timbered sections of the Osage valley were as bare as in winter. A visitor reported, "[o]ne might travel for days by buggy and find everything eaten off, even to the underbrush in the woods. The suffering was great and the people were well-nigh disheartened." Farmers with hogs and poultry were fortunate as these beasts seemed to thrive on locusts. However, their neighbors with cattle and other stock drove their herds to more favored counties in Missouri. Charles V. Riley, entomologist, wrote:

Missouri had never before been visited by a calamity so appalling, and so disastrous in its results, as the locust ravages of 1875. Other years have brought drought, chinch bugs, and partial or total failure of particular crops, but no event ever before so completely prostrated the country within which the ravages occurred ... The farmer saw his green acres smiling with glorious hope to-day, and tomorrow, perhaps, all barren and bleak as in winter.

Soon after Riley's visit, when the bugs were at their worst, "... the flood gates of the clouds were opened, and for thirty-six hours an increasing torrent swept large numbers of them into the streams until the surface of the Osage and its tributaries was black with locusts."⁴⁰

Before the rains some communities, especially in Bates and Vernon counties, were near panic over their distress. Riley and a Mr. Straight visited towns recommending that the people make their distress into a bounty by eating the bugs. In Osceola on June 2, they cooked up a locust feast and the newspaper editor, "... determined to test the cooked locust question"

We found a bounteous table spread we were helped to soup which plainly showed its locust origin, and tasted like chicken soup -- and it was good, and after seasoning was added, we could distinguish a delicate mushroom flavor -- and it was better. Then came batter cakes, through which locusts were well mixed. The soup had banished silly prejudice and sharpened our appetite for this next lesson, and batter cakes quickly disappeared also. Baked locusts were then tried (plain hoppers, without grease or condiment), and either with or without accompaniments, it was pronounced an excellent dish.

The meal was closed with dessert a la John the Baptist -- baked locusts and honey -- and, if we know anything, we can testify that that distinguished scripture character must have thrived on this rude diet in the wilderness of Judea.

... should this insect make his visit oftener and cause greater destruction, future generations will hail its presence with joy. It will be jubilee year -- like manna in the wilderness, or quails in the desert -- food without money and without price.⁴¹

In July the Federal Courts ruled that St. Clair and Henry counties had to pay for their bonds. If the county courts did not comply, the Federal judges would send marshalls to arrest the justices of the county courts. In August the Jackson County Court launched an investigation of the Memphis and Mobile Railroad Company finding, "... the stock of the company has been fraudulently manipulated, to suit the private purposes of the managers and that the funds of the company have been grossly misapplied to fraudulent purposes, and wasted in extravagant payments made to contractors and others."⁴² Under threat of invasion by Federal marshalls, the St. Clair County Court paid off a few of the railroad bonds; but the voters rebelled and the court had to stop payment.⁴³ Marshall George Smith in Jefferson City enlisted William McLane, railroad promoter in Henry County, to serve warrants on the justices of the county courts in St. Clair and Henry counties. During the next five years, the trick was to get service on at least two of the three judges in each county. To accomplish this, Marshall Smith recommended deception: "[To] get service on the Judges, use great care and tell each that he is the last served It seems to me that it ought to be an easy matter to get service on Judge Younger. He lives but a short distance from the R.R."⁴⁴

1875
1885

This ten-year period, between Reconstruction and the coming of industrialism, was remembered as the time when the Osage valley was the "Peaceful Valley." It was a decade of steady, relatively untroubled growth. After 1885, the new railway

connections and extensive mining operations made the valley a bit more tumultuous.

1876

A conference of county elders in St. Clair County hit upon a plan to deflect the zeal of the bondholders and the Federal marshalls in pursuing the county court justices and, at the same time, avoid the need for tax increases to pay the bondholders. The "innocent purchasers" of the stolen bonds agreed to the scheme. Each property owner in the county was to contribute a horse, cow, or hog to be auctioned and the proceeds go to paying off the interest on the bonds. On the appointed day, hundreds of cattle, horses, hogs, and sheep were gathered in Osceola. The auctioneer rang his bell and shouted himself hoarse, but there was not a buyer in the crowd. The planners of this gala event were not surprised at the outcome, but the Innocent Investors were shocked. Within six months the value of the bonds dropped to 22¢ on the dollar on the New York exchange.⁴⁵

1876 election returns showed:

	President	
	Hayes (Republican)	Tilden (Democrat)
Bates	1,478	*2,071
Benton	*1,069	851
Cedar	* 921	904
Henry	1,499	*2,380
Hickory	* 631	390
St. Clair	931	*1,190
Vernon	774	*1,874

The voting pattern established in 1872 continued in 1876 with the Ozark counties that did not make railroad subscriptions staying with the Republicans

and the prairie counties, with big railroad scandals, voting for the Democrats.

1877 Calhoun in Henry County had its great fire, losing almost every business house in town. Unlike Clinton that grew back quickly after its great fire of 1876, Calhoun never recovered.⁴⁶

1878 In January, the steamboat Phil E. Chappel, perhaps the finest boat ever to sail the Osage River, steamed from Jefferson City to Osceola in 48 hours. The Chappel was 165' long, 28' wide, drawing 14" of water, with a capacity of 350 tons. This trip it carried several hundred barrels of salt to Warsaw and Osceola, taking down stream 300 tons of flax seed and wheat.⁴⁷

At a mass meeting in St. Clair County in February, the voters agreed to oppose all compromise of the railroad bonds and any payment for the outstanding bonds. Later this year, the Greenback Party in St. Clair County, supporting repudiation, carried all major county elected offices.⁴⁸

1879 This year tension over the bond controversy mounted in St. Clair County. Many of the well-to-do, commercially interested men in the county urged some sort of compromise to assuage the bond holding investors. They feared that the bond controversy would hold St. Clair County up in its economic development by giving it a bad reputation in the eyes of investors. But the overwhelming majority of citizens favored repudiation; they pointed out that the bonds were stolen anyway. On May 20, fearing that the commercial leaders would compromise the bonds and press down on the

taxpayers the burden of redeeming them, a gang of masked riders called on County Treasurer Wonacott at midnight, took the county tax books for the last ten years to the hills south of Osceola, and burned them.⁴⁹ At county elections, the voters elected the men to be county judges who promised to refuse to levy a tax to redeem the bonds, to run if chased, and to stay in jail if caught.

This year Clinton Academy was established as a teacher training institution.⁵⁰

1879-
1880

These years the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company built a line, the Lexington and Southern Branch, which cut across Bates and Vernon counties from north to south through the coal fields.⁵¹

1880

The census for this year showed:

	(in \$1,000's)					
	1870 Population	1880 Population	Number of Farms	\$ Value of Farms	\$ Value of Farm Implements	\$ Value of Farm Prod- ucts, 1879
Bates	15,960	25,381	3,319	6,317	318	1,686
Benton	11,322	12,396	1,933	2,211	135	497
Cedar	9,474	10,741	1,609	1,611	72	370
Henry	17,401	23,906	3,131	5,187	293	1,400
Hickory	6,452	7,397	1,160	1,069	78	242
St. Clair	6,742	14,125	1,989	2,133	148	535
Vernon	11,247	19,369	2,648	3,891	222	1,014

No. of Manufacturing Establishments
and Dollar Value of Products (\$1,000's)

	Carriage		Grist Mills		Lumber Mills	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Bates			6	190	17	85
Benton			6	104		
Cedar						

	Carriage		Grist Mills		Lumber Mills		
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	
Henry	3	29	9	225	10	32	
Hickory							
St. Clair							
Vernon			6	195	10	42	
	Harness		Stone & earthen-ware		Tobacco		\$1,000 of Net Debt
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	
Bates							8
Benton							165
Cedar							3
Henry	5	31	4	23	3	27	485
Hickory							5
St. Clair							456
Vernon							196

These 1880 statistics show a deepening of differences among the counties established in the previous two censuses. Most importantly, the prairie counties (Bates, Henry, Vernon) showed very rapid growth in all respects while the Ozark counties (Benton, Hickory, Cedar) grew slowly and even declined in respect to manufacturing. Many water mills went out of business in the last decade. Since these had been Ozarkian, their disappearance made the settlements in that region completely devoid of manufacturing establishments. The prairie counties also had railroads. The prairie lands were more viable for market production than Ozark lands, and the accessibility brought by the railroad gave yet another impetus to market production. The demographic impact of the railroads is shown in the towns listed in the

1880 census. Listing the towns by the main reason of their existence we find:

	Population	Located On
Bates:		
Butler	2,162	Missouri Pacific RR.
Rockville	515	M. K. & T. RR.
Benton:		
Warsaw	315	Osage River
Cedar:		
Stockton	407	Sac River
Henry:		
Clinton	2,868	M. K. & T. RR.
La Due	140	M. K. & T. RR.
Montrose	495	M. K. & T. RR.
Lewis Station	154	M. K. & T. RR.
Brownington	251	Brick clay deposits
Calhoun	492	M. K. & T. RR.
Windsor	872	M. K. & T. RR.
St. Clair:		
Appleton City	1,034	M. K. & T. RR.
Osceola	373	Osage River
Roscoe	172	Osage River
Vernon		
Schell City	676	M. K. & T. RR.
Nevada	1,912	M. K. & T. RR.
Walker	200	M. K. & T. RR.

The biggest towns, Butler, Clinton, Appleton City, and Nevada, were all railroad towns. None of these towns had been of much consequence when the river was the main transportation artery in the valley. The three biggest pre-Civil War towns, Osceola, Roscoe, and Warsaw, never recovered from the War.

The sharp increase in St. Clair County's population between 1870 and 1880 was mostly in the prairie townships north of the Osage River and in the railroad town of Appleton City. Osceola, a city and river port of 1,500 people in 1860, was by 1880 barely one-fourth that size. Warsaw was in the same boat. Clinton and Henry County had become the manufacturing and trade centers for a large part of southwest Missouri. Henry County had more manufacturing establishments than Pettis County and Sedalia.

After the violence and destruction of the Civil War, the fraud and speculation of the railroad controversy, and the political restiveness of the Greenbacker and Granger revolts, the valley enjoyed relative peace and prosperity in the 1880's. The biggest events in most neighborhoods in the decade of the 1880's were revivals, carnivals, and the weather.

Though the 1880's showed a marked decline in murders, violence, assassinations, and destruction, the region experienced deeper, more permanent, and lasting changes than even during the Civil War. Farmers for the first time realized what they had given up when they became dependent on market agricultural production. Operating on the national market created by the railroads, they learned the expression "you can't give it away" to describe prices when, in 1887, the market value of apples fell to 10¢ per bushel. In the 1840's, there had been a time when no one sold apples or other orchard or vegetable crops. People exchanged the fruits or vegetables or just

gave the extras away. The difference between that time and the 1880's was that farmers were now accustomed to selling these things. They did not expect to give them away, especially to the anonymous railway corporations or wholesalers who took them for nothing. In the 1840's when people gave away fruits and vegetables, it was to neighbors or needy strangers. In the 1880's the giant railway corporations and newly formed "trusts" claimed the same kind of hospitality from the farmer, but in their ungrateful way, the corporations and trusts took this hospitality and called it "the operation of the market." Wheat crops in Henry County rose to 42½ bushels per acre in the good years during the 1880's, but the value of the crop was often no higher than in the 1850's when farmers were lucky to get 20 bushels off an acre.⁵²

The railroad brought many of the natural resources of the valley into the national market. The railroads themselves used gravel and ties gathered and cut from the river and stream lands in the valley. The railroads also demanded coal to fuel their trains and heat the cities in the middle west. When the M. K. & T. Railroad entered southeast Bates County in 1880, it opened a mining boom around Rich Hill. Before this, the coal taken from the Osage valley had been mined by individuals and families, measured in bushels, and sold to teamsters who hauled it to market. Now the M. K. & T.'s Osage Mining Company took it by the ton and shipped by the carload.⁵³

Together with the birth of the national market, the 1880's witnessed the birth of the national

past-time in the valley. Baseball teams were organized in towns in the valley during the 1880's.⁵⁴

In the spring of 1880, 150 Osceolans, determined to put the fear of the community into murderers in St. Clair County, took three accused murderers confined in the jail out and hanged them.⁵⁵ In November another county seat relocation squabble rose up in St. Clair County. This time Appleton City, three times the size of Osceola, sought to have the seat of government removed to that place. The election results showed a majority in favor of removal (1,356 to 980), but the Missouri Constitution required a two-thirds majority for removal so the county seat remained in Osceola.

Election returns for 1880 showed:

	Garfield (Republican)	President Hancock (Democrat)	Weaver (Greenback)
Bates	1,897	*2,949	245
Benton	*1,204	962	164
Cedar	* 926	900	258
Henry	1,694	*2,821	306
Hickory	* 675	436	252
St. Clair	765	963	*1,053
Vernon	940	*2,338	360

Voting in the valley continued the pattern established in earlier years with the Ozark counties going for the Republicans and the prairie counties going for the Democrats. St. Clair County distinguished itself as the only county in the state of Missouri giving a plurality of votes to the Greenback candidate for president. Mistreatment by the railroad corporations and eastern investors was felt more intensely here than in most parts

of Missouri. St. Clair County voters had more first hand experience with the underside operation of railroad corporations than other counties. The Greenback Party offered relief from the oppression of monopolies, offered to stop corporation corruption of politics, and check the declining value of agricultural goods by issuing "greenback" currency to put money into the hands of the people.

1881 In February a smallpox epidemic hit the valley, claiming nine lives in Clinton in one month.⁵⁶

1882 In early spring a great flood on the Osage River carried away 40,000 railroad ties gathered at Horseshoe Bend in expectation of floating them down river in the spring. In August the Greenback revolt gained momentum. Distressed at losing control over their lives to the railroads, trusts, and dependence on the national market, citizens in Benton County met in Warsaw at the Greenback Party Convention. They passed resolutions to end sectional strife, reduce taxes, establish a free ballot, and control by law all corporations and monopolies that had corrupted public service and established "... absolute dominion over land and labor."⁵⁷ In the fall farmers harvested a tremendous fruit crop in the valley with perhaps one million bushels of apples in Henry County alone.⁵⁸ The biggest manufacturing enterprise in Clinton was cigar manufacturing with four factories producing over 1.5 million cigars this year. The biggest factory was that of Strong and Pechstein with 25 hands, many of them children.⁵⁹ The year ended with one of the severest winters ever, remembered as the winter of '83. All subsequent

winters were said to be mild in comparison.

1883

The folk wisdom that good crops followed hard winters held true this year. This was a bounteous harvest year in every respect. However, farmers found prices for their products very low. Hogs that had sold for \$2 each in 1860 now brought the farmer \$1.50 each. If the farmer transported the hog to St. Louis, he could get \$4.25; but he had to take it on the railroad and the freight rate made up the difference between the \$1.50 Clinton price and the \$4.25 St. Louis price. By this year the M.K.&T. Railroad had been acquired by the Missouri Pacific system and incorporated into the infamous "Gould system" of railroads in the southwest. Most of the track in the Osage valley was controlled by this system. This railroad monopoly with its extortionate rates stimulated two opposing reactions. Many farmers struck out against the corporations for breaking down their old sense of independence and the old unity of the community that marked the older, more insular society. They joined the Greenback and Granger revolts, seeking to find a local collective solution to the disruptions brought by the railroad and dependence on the national market. This reaction was most prominent in St. Clair County where the Greenback Party carried the election of 1880. But the more commercially oriented farmers and the new mining, manufacturing and mercantile interests were carried in the opposite direction by the discriminatory freight rates charged by the railroad. While the commercial farmers pressured by falling prices sought to produce more

on a bigger scale and become more and more competitive with their neighbors, many manufacturers and merchants tried to come to terms with the railroad to gain competitive advantages over their competitors not by increased production but by controlling the market. The social effect of the heightened competitive spirit among commercial farmers was to break down the old sense of personal independence and old unity of the community or "neighborhood feeling" of the early nineteenth century insular communities. But the merchants and manufacturers began to form a new community of interest based on controlling the market. These commercial types were drawn to Clinton. Clinton's model was Kansas City. The new merchants formed businessmen and commercial clubs.

Henry County, led by the new merchants, was ready to compromise its railroad debt and bury the past. In contrast, the county court in St. Clair County continued to carry out the will of the people not to pay.⁶⁰ Both counties had suffered from the Tebo and Neosho scandal; the difference was in St. Clair County's unwillingness to forget. St. Clair countians also continued to remember the days before the Civil War when Osceola was the Queen City of the Osage and river transportation carried the trade of the valley. The river was free. Anyone could use it. It was not like railroads. Life on the Osage was romantic -- not like life in Clinton.

Moreover, the merchants in pre-Civil War Osceola were grand men. The Johnsons, Wiedemeyers, Vaughans, all were gentlemen who deserved respect.

They were southern gentlemen who knew their customers and earned respect. The merchants and manufacturers in the new Clinton were not grand men, they just did grand things, like building huge brick factories and tile factories and cigar factories employing child labor and digging big coal mines for railroad corporations.

1884

The pressure of the railroad's demand for ties combined with wasteful frontier practices and the rapid expansion of agricultural acreage, all depleted the forests in the Osage valley until the U. S. Department of Interior reported this year, "... the best trees have been cut in the neighborhood of all settlements, and for a distance varying from 5 to 20 miles back from all lines of railroad. This is especially true of the best white oak and of black walnut, once common, but now almost exterminated"⁶¹ Logging had never been a big commercial enterprise in the Osage valley like it had been in southeast Missouri. Rather, cutting timber had always been an activity of the self-reliant farmer. He might use shingles, ties, or fence rails to exchange for necessities in town, but few men tried to make a living exclusively off lumbering in the valley. With the good timber depleted, one other base of local market and subsistence was eroded.

This year Virginia Alice Cottey established the Vernon Seminary for Women in Nevada, Vernon County, now called Cottey College.⁶² Henry County got two of its biggest commercial enterprises this year when Anheuser-Busch of St. Louis built a warehouse and distribution center near the M.K.&T.

Railroad depot in Clinton and a small clay and tile manufacturing company, later the parent of the "tile trust" of America, built its first plant in Deepwater, south of Clinton. But the new merchants, now called "businessmen," with their "hail-fellow-well-met" greetings were not the only new types spawned by the new surge of growth. The prohibitionists also rose up with prosperity. The Reverend Ben Deering gave prohibitionist speeches on the Henry County courthouse lawn, and this year the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) opened a reading room in Clinton. Just as the external friendliness of the businessman was an effort to make up for the lost sense of community eroded by the transformation of the old familiarity of local markets into a national more anonymous market, the moral strictures and discipline-preaching prohibitionists yearned for the same sense of community that was fast being eroded. The prohibitionist's message was not nearly as urgent in the old Osage River towns of Warsaw and Osceola as it was from the mouth of the Reverend Deering in Clinton.⁶³ In Ozark communities, the liquor problem remained a family or neighborhood matter not an occasion for agitation.

Election returns for president in 1884 showed:

	Blaine Republican	Cleveland Democrat	St. John Prohibitionist
Bates	3,004	*3,785	103
Benton	*1,531	1,289	13
Cedar	1,449	*1,562	8
Henry	2,280	*3,292	56
Hickory	*1,063	626	7
St. Clair	1,631	*1,687	34
Vernon	2,007	*3,781	38

Cedar County this year joined the defection from the Republican Party, leaving Benton and Hickory counties the only hardcore Republican counties in the Reconstruction Republican tradition in the upper Osage valley. The vote for the new Prohibitionist Party was hardly big enough to be significant. Still, it was portentous. Prohibitionists made almost no inroads in the Ozark counties while gaining a small but dedicated contingent in the prairie, railroad dominated counties of Bates and Henry with the two biggest towns in the region, Butler and Clinton.

1884-
1888

This was perhaps the biggest boom period ever in the history of the valley. In Henry County alone -- Clinton, Windsor, Deepwater, and Montrose -- built more new institutions, more newspapers, more manufacturing establishments than ever before or since in a comparable period. In November, 1884 the town of Urich picked up and moved itself bodily two miles north to the new railroad depot on its present location.

1885

New towns were laid out along railroad lines at Garland, Maurine, and Blairstown in Henry County.⁶⁴ If the prices farmers received for their produce were low (corn 20¢/bushel; wheat 60¢/bushel; butter 16¢/lb.), the prices for products from the outside brought in by the railroad were also down (coffee \$1/13 lb.; bleached muslin cloth 5¢/yard; mackerel 55¢/24 lb.).

The Keith & Perry Coal Company promised to make Deepwater a boom town by building a reservoir, developing coal, shale, and clay resources. Dickey Clay Works located its plant in that town. This

year Clinton and Osceola were finally connected by a railroad, only fifteen years after Henry and St. Clair counties made their subscriptions to build the line. Engineers for the M.K.&T. Railroad investigated coal deposits along their line through the valley.

H. T. Baird of Hardin College founded a female academy in Clinton known as Baird College. This institution's standards spearheaded the drive for Victorian morality that accompanied the new commercial spirit in Clinton. Professor Baird proclaiming that "... extravagance in youth leads to poverty in old age ...," prohibited the scholars from having either sweets or money above pocket change (\$10/year). All visitors and correspondence had to be cleared through the president of the college.⁶⁵

Victorian morality, prohibition, anti-horse thief associations, all were efforts to put behind the days of insularity and lawlessness characterizing the old society that grew up depending on the undisciplined irregularity of the Osage River. Change came quickly to Clinton, Butler and the prairie counties in the 1880's. But the farmers along the Osage River and residents of river towns in Roscoe, Osceola, and Warsaw lingered with the older ways, floating rafts on the river when conditions were favorable. The railroads ran on "time" and were not dependent on nature. The farmers along the rivers maintained a closer, more sustained reliance on the natural environment than the budding agri-businessmen on the prairies; and though considered backward by residents in the

newer cities, these river land farmers enjoyed certain advantages. The whole region continued to be subjected to drought and wet weather cycles. While the river land farmers were hurt by floods like the one this year, by some estimates the worst since 1844 flooding the Osage valley and making the Pomme de Terre River a half mile wide at Fairfield, most river land farmers had some bit of high ground they could cultivate.⁶⁶ If not, they could get through the year hunting, fishing, and cutting wood. Wet years were good years on the prairie, but in dry years the prairie farmers had no escape from the weather. Adaptation was difficult. Prairie farmers thought of life in terms of "good years" and "bad years." River land farmers were more adaptable and leveled out the weather cycle by keeping more sense of continuity and less sense of progress and disaster. Guessing on the state of the river became a traditional way of life and adapting to it was a part of the river land farmer's way of looking at the world. Their calculations mixed with a heavy dose of fatalism and less willingness to mold or shape the environment than on the prairies where farmers spoke optimistically of "building up the land." River promoters in the 1850's spoke optimistically of "building up the river," but they had been replaced by railroad promoters. Not even the Army Corps of Engineers gave the river much attention above Warsaw in terms of "improvement." In August the prosecuting attorney in Clinton launched an anti-booze fight, charging the saloon keepers with selling to minors.

1886

A tremendous storm hit the valley with hail, rain and high winds, uprooting trees, washing away

crops and killing livestock. In some places hail stones stood on the ground a foot deep.⁶⁷ Another railroad speculation fever swept through Henry County over the Missouri Kansas and Western Railroad; however, it never passed the paper stage.⁶⁸ The surge of prosperity was peaking in Clinton. This year the town got a water works, electric light plant, macadamized streets around the courthouse square, and a daily newspaper, the Daily Democrat.⁶⁹

- 1886-1887 The Kansas City, Pittsburg and Gulf Railroad was surveyed through Bates and Vernon counties parallel to the state line.⁷⁰
- 1887 The Natural Gas and Development Company organized in Clinton drilled 800 feet to a fine artesian spring which made Clinton famous as the "Artesian Princess of the West." This strike and the publicity it gave to mineral waters in the valley gave impetus to the mineral water craze in the valley.⁷¹
- 1888 In February a convention of 600 delegates from all over southwestern Missouri met in Clinton to form the Southwest Missouri Immigration Society. Sponsored by advertising from the Missouri Pacific Railroad and the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, the Society issued the pamphlet, "Southwest Missouri: A Plain, Simple, and Truthful Statement of its Resources, Possibilities, and the Inducements It Offers to the Homeseeker and the Investor." Why have immigrants passed up this goodly land while entering areas further west, the lands of drought and locusts? The pamphlet asked this and proceeded to describe the attractions of each county. Cedar

County with its hill, timbered east and undulating prairie west had no public debt and one of the lowest tax rates in the state. Its mineral springs were the finest in the world, led by El Dorado Springs famous for the miraculous cures effected by the spring water. "... [H]undreds of health and pleasure seekers daily throng its streets" Two-thirds of the county was labeled "raw land," with raw timber land selling at \$3 to \$8 per acre and prairie land selling for \$5 to \$12 per acre. Why was so much wild land left in Cedar County? "It has long been overlooked by the homeseeker for the simple reason that railroads run on all sides of it and none through it." The county had no railroads, but the pamphlet assured, "... three different lines are proposed." None was ever built.

Henry County dominated the pamphlet with the longest section. With 116 miles of railroad and 12 "good railroad towns" outside of Clinton, the county was really humming. Every one of the 19 townships had some coal production with Windsor, Lewis Station, Deepwater, Brownington, and Hartwell the biggest coal producing towns. In one year the county shipped 15,641 carloads of freight, 10,857 of them coal. The other big freight shipments included livestock, grain, and flour from Clinton and Windsor, and pottery from Deepwater. Windsor with its famous "Windsor Medical Springs" rivaled Clinton in its bustle and was also known as a "hot-bed on temperance." The waters of the Medical Springs had silica, iron, alumina, lime, magnesia, potash, soda, sulphate, and chlorides. "Rhumatism, liver and kidney troubles, diabetes, cancer, neuralgia, headache, dyspepsia have been permanently

cured by a free use of this water."

In contrast to Henry County was St. Clair: "Here, is the prairie home, with all the civilized surroundings of the progressive western farmer; there, the woodland farm of his poorer brother picturesque in its very primitiveness and because of the natural beauty of its surroundings, its wealth of woodland pasture, its dripping spring, the rugged independence that appears to be a 'belonging' to such a place, one is almost ready to choose the evidently inconvenient log house home in preference to the more comfortable prairie home." The railroad boosters were almost ready to give up on St. Clair County ever rising up to the accepted standard of bustle and decided to turn its very rusticity and insularity into virtues. While the Osage River bottom land farms could raise 70 to 80 bushels of corn per acre and there were farms available that could be paid for with two good crops, St. Clair County agriculture had never really recovered from the War. Orchards that had been neglected since slave days were only now being returned to a productive condition. Having little mining or big commercial farms to boost, the pamphleteers instead pointed out that practically every section of land in the county had at least one good spring. If he could not enjoy the uplift of the market, the immigrant could at least be assured of the necessities of subsistence.⁷²

As the promoters who wrote the Southwest Missouri pamphlet recognized, something had happened to St. Clair County. The most active commercial county before the War, now it seemed the

most pastoral of places. The War and the railroads could take credit for this. Henry County compromised its bonds and put the question behind it. But St. Clair countians refused to compromise the stolen bonds and continued to fight. Judges on the county court were fugitives from Federal marshalls who sought to serve them with court orders to levy taxes to pay for the bonds. Election to the county court from about 1886 to World War I was on the acceptance of an almost certain jail sentence for contempt of the federal court. Annually, the judges were arrested, hauled off to Kansas City where they affirmed through their lawyer, John Lucas, known affectionately in the Kansas City Court as "Uncle John," that they "... meant no contempt for this honorable court." Always they said they had not been notified the county owed any money having just been elected. Compromise after compromise was proposed with judgments always going to the holders of the "ghost" railroad bonds. Literally for generations this dragged on. Lawyers for the creditors would travel to St. Clair, negotiate a settlement, the judges would agree to it. They would submit a bond issue to the voters who would reject it. The Federal courts would enforce the judgment and away to jail again would go the county judges. The term of the judge would expire, making him unable to obey the federal court order. That would release him from jail. Two or three times judges were reelected while in jail, on their records, of course. Sometimes the judges hid out in the brush. For a time ex-Confederate General Jo O. Shelby was marshall of the district. He submitted this entry as an expense: "116 days

searching for Judge George H. Lyons of St. Clair County at \$2 per day, \$232."

Judge Thomas D. Nevitt, the only "jail bird" judge left alive when the bonds were finally redeemed in 1938 recalled, "... I didn't mind going to jail We were treated well by our jailers. I remember sitting in the jail window in Kansas City and blowing kisses to the girls as they went by. There was no stigma attached to our imprisonment here in St. Clair County, as evidenced by the fact I served for many terms on the county court. I served contempt sentences in Henry County, Johnson County, Kansas City and Nodaway County jails. I would do it again under the same circumstances. Our people regarded the railroad debt as unjust. We felt we had been defrauded. I considered I was representing the will of St. Clair County when I refused to obey those court orders." Nevitt went to jail in 1892, 1897, 1908 and 1909.

With its county judges in jail much of the time, one might expect a continued contempt for law and order that had characterized much of St. Clair County history in the 37 years since the beginning of the Civil War. In fact, the reverse was true. With effective government at a halt and taxes at rock bottom low, St. Clair was a paradise. With 106 schools (one room each) and farmers who never failed to take top premiums at state and national agricultural expositions, bottom land corn crops of 80 bushels/acre, neighborhood law enforcement, the world famous mineral springs at Monegaw, an endless supply of fish from the Osage River, peace and insularity, other people might

well envy the "lawless St. Clair." The law-ridden columnists in Straus' Investor's Magazine who wrote with astonishment of the contempt for law pervading St. Clair County never thought to compare the disorder of grafters, politicians, crooked cops, murder, violence, rape, etc. surrounding themselves in New York City with the peaceful anarchy in St. Clair County, Missouri.

How could the people of St. Clair County defend and protect the bank robbers, Jesse James and Cole Younger, the bankers and investors in New York asked? Weren't they outlaws? Yes, they were fugitives from the bankers, railroads, and detectives just like the voters and judges in St. Clair County.⁷³ Community contempt for outside agencies of law enforcement drew the people of the county together, making them forget the violence and meanness toward their neighbors they had displayed during the Civil War and Reconstruction. The people distrusted outsiders, but they needed little formal law enforcement to maintain peace and tranquillity in the neighborhoods. In addition, the persistence of the federal courts in attaching every liquid asset of the county to pay for the bonds led the voters to abstain from liquid assets. Money was tight all over America at this time due to the demonitization of silver and the abolition of Greenback currency. But in St. Clair County money was almost non-existent. Even the county sometimes collected taxes in goods and paid men for work on roads and bridges in goods. Marshals seeking to carry out court orders to attach the county assets could not carry away the livestock

gathered around the courthouse in Osceola. Neither could they sell it in St. Clair County. No one would buy it. The resurgence of a barter economy accompanied the resurgence of neighborhood solidarity common in the 1840's river valley communities in St. Clair County.⁷⁴

1888 was a good year for crops in the valley but a very bad year for markets. In the next two years an agricultural depression hit the valley, an economic backslide from the previous four years of prosperity. The depression in American agriculture this year and continuing into the 1890's preceded the panic and depression of 1893 in urban America.

The presidential election for this year showed:

	Harrison (Republican)	Cleveland (Democrat)	Streeter (Union Labor)
Bates	2,674	*3,556	633
Benton	*1,704	1,374	53
Cedar	1,424	*1,434	404
Henry	2,634	*3,289	217
Hickory	*1,076	628	164
St. Clair	1,635	*1,698	321
Vernon	2,252	*4,057	257

The counties lined up in a partisan fashion exactly as they had in 1884 with the exception of the third party vote. Only Green, Jasper, and Douglas counties in Missouri exceeded Bates County's vote for the third party Union Labor candidate. Six hundred thirty-three Bates County voters joined these other mining counties in southwest Missouri in the extent of their dissatisfaction with the established two parties.

1890

Restiveness over bad times and recognition

of the impact of the land monopoly in the valley turned attention away from the traditional Democratic-Republican squabbles of the "ins" versus the "outs" and toward interest in the sources of the industrial-economic problems facing society. The Clinton Eye carried a weekly column, "The Single Tax Department" which seriously discussed the alternative of removing all market values from land in the county, returning it to a frontier condition where every family had dominion over as much land as it could work productively, security of ownership assured by the neighborhood, no one being allowed to attach any claim or value to land he did not work himself. Many farmers and workers pinched by the depression realized the problem was not from their inadequacies of production but from the squeeze put on by the railroad and other corporations. Farmers in Hartwell, Henry County, established a co-operative store. The town of Deepwater, Henry County, founded only five years ago, shipped 3,194 railroad carloads of produce mostly clay products and coal.⁷⁵

The census for this year showed:

	Popula- tion	No. of Farms	Value (\$1,000's)		
			Farms	Imple- ments	Farm Product, 1889
Bates	32,223	3,610	11,442	365	1,700
Benton	14,973	2,209	3,671	170	675
Cedar	15,620	2,214	3,476	145	588
Henry	28,235	2,992	9,521	311	1,469
Hickory	9,453	1,379	1,818	71	311
St. Clair	16,747	2,358	4,466	152	647
Vernon	31,505	3,639	10,086	321	1,448

Manufacturing

	No. of Es- tablish- ments	Capital \$1,000's	No. Em- ployees	Children Employed	\$1,000's Manufactur- ing Product
Bates	117	232	396	28	428
Benton	23	31	56	0	42
Cedar	22	69	64	0	106
Henry	135	503	603	13	930
Hickory	19	39	48	2	67
St. Clair	30	69	92	1	111
Vernon	124	330	673	19	888

These statistics in 1890 showed a further deepening of the differences among the counties established in the previous three censuses. However, an interesting thing had happened in the difference between agriculture and manufacturing since the last census. The differences between the prairie and Ozark counties, important in agriculture, were spectacular in manufacturing. Each of the prairie counties had at least three times as many manufacturing establishments as any one of the Ozark counties, four times the number of employees, and nearly five times as much value of manufacturing product at one point of comparison (between Bates and Cedar) and twenty times at another (between Vernon and Benton). St. Clair County, with its county judges either in jail or hiding out from U. S. marshals in the brush and its tax books burned, showed the slowest rate of growth in the region.

Bates and Vernon counties more than doubled their populations since 1880, with Henry County, the other prairie county, almost doubling its population. Ozark counties, Benton and Hickory, grew by less than 50 per cent. While the population grew in all counties, the number of farms increased only slightly, no where nearly as fast as the population growth. In addition, the value of farm products and the value of agricultural implements increased only slightly, no where as much as 50 per cent, with the value of farm implements in Hickory County actually declining! But the value of farms increased over 100 per cent in Cedar, St. Clair, and Vernon counties and by close to 100 per cent in the other counties. This advance showed the impact of the land monopoly. While the value of the farmer's capital tools and product remained relatively the same, his land showed a rapid advance in value, pushed ahead not by improvements in the land but by the increase in population.

Bates and Vernon counties, with their big coal mining operations opened in the last decade, surged ahead in gross production figures. However, this prosperity was extremely uneven leading to labor unrest. In the election for State Supreme Court Justice, the Labor candidate in Bates County drew more votes than the Republican, making the first really contested election in the county since the Democratic "redemption" at the close of Reconstruction. The Democrats still carried the county, but with less than a majority of the votes.⁷⁶

1891

Henry County voters, showing a recovery from the aversion to bond issues that was established

during the railroad bond scandal, approved a \$50,000 bond issue to build a new courthouse.⁷⁷ St. Clair, Cedar, and Hickory counties refused to approve such appropriations. For several years around the turn of the century, Hickory County went without a courthouse after the old one burned in a fire, the voters unwilling to back a bond issue.

1892

After the main building of the University of Missouri burned this year, there was a considerable agitation in the state legislature and Henry County to have that institution moved to Clinton.⁷⁸ During the election campaign, gubernatorial candidate William J. Stone attended a mass meeting in Warsaw arguing for free coinage of silver and lashing out against protected monopolies. This message was warmly received.⁷⁹

Election returns in the presidential race this year showed:

	Harrison (Republican)	Cleveland (Democrat)	Weaver (People's or Populist)
Bates	1,928	*3,007	1,897
Benton	*1,570	1,058	433
Cedar	*1,354	1,246	624
Henry	2,563	*3,475	399
Hickory	* 927	423	491
St. Clair	1,510	*1,572	600
Vernon	1,847	*3,627	773

While winning in no counties, the new "People's Party," with its radical economic platform, made a remarkably strong showing,

becoming the second party in Hickory County and drawing enough votes away from the Democrats in Cedar County to return that county to the Republican column from the Democratic to which Cedar County had gone in the previous twelve years. The People's Party gathered more than twice as many votes in the coal mining and prairie agriculture county of Bates as in any other in the region.

1892

The agricultural depression of the last five years spread to the cities in Missouri. With prices low and unemployment high, the value of land continued high but showed some decline. A 240 acre prairie farm in Henry County, one-quarter mile south of Maurine sold at \$5,600 or about \$25/acre. This same farm might have brought \$40/acre in 1884. Besides the depression Clinton also experienced another side-effect of its recent urbanization in an outbreak of infectious disease, "lagrippe" or the grippe, an influenza-like infection that touched almost every family. A. A. Kellogg of Clinton built a lighter-than-air airship this year, but the hydrogen filled vehicle burned up in a most spectacular conflagration. The city council in that city gave the Missouri-Kansas Telegraph Company a five-year franchise, the first big franchise granted to outside capitalists.⁸⁰ This year outside capital also got control of the biggest industrial corporation in the valley when the Central Coal and Coke Company or "the coal trust" bought Keith and Perry Coal Company for \$1,780,000. Many unemployed city dwellers and

farmers, unable to afford the high cost of land in Missouri, evinced much interest in the newly opened "Strip" in Oklahoma, the only place left in America where land was still available at government prices. Many left for Oklahoma, but most returned after finding out land in Oklahoma at government prices was no bargain at half the price. The frontier was indeed closed as these bug-bitten and drought-burned returning immigrants reported. Now the race was on in earnest.⁸¹

While many symptoms of the new age or "modern times" surfaced this year, the valley was still a rich place for agriculture and no one needed to go hungry even if the depression worsened. The bounty of the land was sufficient and the generosity of neighbors such that most farm products could be had almost for nothing from one neighbor to another. Indeed, the reputation for productivity on the prairie farms in Henry County traveled clear to Europe and drew Hans Moss and Albert Scherer from Luza, Switzerland to the Osage valley to study agricultural methods.

1894

The biggest news this year was the big flood that inundated most of Warsaw's business district and flooded out most of the bottomland farmers in the valley.⁸²

Election returns this year showed no major re-alignment just increasing strength of the Populists in Bates County, where they outdrew the Republicans and came within 5 per cent of beating the Democrats in the Supreme Court seat election.⁸³

1896

Flooding on the Osage River this year set records that went unbroken for modern times until the giant floods in the 1940's and 1950's aggravated by the construction of Bagnell Dam. The flood of 1896 was especially damaging because of its duration and timing that prevented the bottom-land farmers from replanting their fields in time to get a late crop.⁸⁴ Records from the 1837 flood are impressionistic but suggest that that flood may have remained the all-time record flood till the great flood of 1943.

The Populists held a big convention in Warsaw, but before the election in November, they merged or "fused" with the Democrats under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan for President.⁸⁵ Bryan did better in the Osage valley than any Democratic candidate since the Civil War.

	McKinley (Republican)	Bryan (Democrat)
Bates	2,522	*5,073
Benton	*1,957	1,762
Cedar	1,881	*2,400
Henry	3,234	*4,442
Hickory	*1,194	1,045
St. Clair	1,829	*2,686
Vernon	2,230	*5,133

Running on a platform that urged free coinage of silver, Jacksonian banking policies, regulation of railroads to "protect the people from robbery and oppression," and abolition of the protective tariff, Bryan carried the prairie counties of Bates and Vernon by more than two

to one, carried Henry, Cedar, and St. Clair counties by lesser margins, and perhaps most remarkably, made the election uncommonly close in Benton and Hickory counties where Republicans traditionally got majorities of nearly two to one.

1897 The coal industry in Bates County alone by this year employed about 1,000 men. It had built up Rich Hill to a town of 6,000 and was the major reason for the existence of the towns of Hume, Foster, Amoret, and Amsterdam in that county.⁸⁶ As had been the case with the California gold rush of 1849, gold strikes in the Klondike, Alaska drew many men away from the Osage valley. However, this promise of relief from the depression proved just as illusory as the promise of Oklahoma land for most, and they returned to the valley.⁸⁷

1898 Eighty-three men in Henry County answered the call to serve in the War against Spain. Forming Company F of the Second Missouri Regiment, these men served in the fleet blockading Cuba.⁸⁸

1899 Judges Nevitt and Walker of the St. Clair County Court hid out in the woods to escape U. S. marshals sent to arrest them for contempt of court in the railroad bond matter.⁸⁹ This year had one of the coldest and severest winters ever in the valley.

1900 The census for this year showed:

	Population	Number of Farms	Acres in Farms	
			Total	Improved
Bates	30,141	4,070	513,842	444,528
Benton	16,556	2,575	367,747	190,928
Cedar	16,923	2,765	279,184	185,840
Henry	28,054	3,447	437,720	370,976
Hickory	9,985	1,768	217,947	101,897
St. Clair	17,907	2,851	347,511	219,404
Vernon	31,619	3,988	484,744	408,694

	\$1,000's Value of Farm Property			
	Land	Buildings	Implements	Livestock
Bates	11,414	2,111	435	2,753
Benton	3,836	1,034	209	1,289
Cedar	3,725	820	203	1,055
Henry	9,309	1,855	344	2,009
Hickory	2,053	443	99	629
St. Clair	4,496	1,020	231	1,278
Vernon	9,304	1,922	378	2,099

	No. of Es- tablishments	Manufacturing		\$1,000's Product
		\$1,000's Capital	No. of Employees	
Bates	167	430	238	567
Benton	52	74	31	133
Cedar	75	127	57	216
Henry	166	502	291	614
Hickory	37	51	20	87
St. Clair	85	129	68	215
Vernon	149	535	490	1,211

The 1900 census showed the first signs of what we will call "the modern decline" in the valley. After forty years of rapid and sustained population growth, the most commercially oriented prairie counties (Bates, Henry and Vernon) all showed population decreases since the last census.

Meanwhile, the Ozark and river counties (Benton, Cedar, Hickory, and St. Clair), more insulated from the impact of the depression of the 1890's, continued to show roughly the rate of steady, if slow, growth they had established in the previous ten years. Not until 1910 did the Ozark counties join the prairie counties in the modern decline, a secular trend that endured almost unbroken in almost every township in the valley for half a century. Around the turn of the century, rapid population growth became steady population decline.

1900

Prices in Warsaw markets included these:

Chicken	6¢/lb.
Turkey	4¢/lb.
Potatoes	60¢/bushel
Butter	12½¢/lb.
Eggs	12¼¢/dozen
Corn	25¢/bushel
Hogs	\$4/cwt.

These prices were low compared to the best days in the 1880's but were up from six years before when the depression of the 1890's hit bottom.⁹⁰

During the economic hard times of the previous decade, many of the most important industrial enterprises in the valley, Keith and Perry Coal and Dickey Tile, for example, had passed into the hands of outside capitalists. In addition, the railroads in the region were further consolidated into a single system. This tendency toward consolidation continued as prosperity replaced depression. When Benton County had a mining boom this year with Circuit Clerk

Freund and Captain N. B. Petts respectively, opening mines near Duroc and Hamburg, this activity brought Charles Butterfield from Denver to inspect mining prospects in the region. He reported, "...[t]he prospects ... are the richest I ever saw anywhere, Joplin and Leadville not excepted. The surface indications at those places are marvelously rich" He expected the biggest mines in Missouri to grow up in Benton County.⁹¹ Very quickly after this news, the mines in Benton County were acquired by outside mining companies, R. B. Stratton, millionaire from Cripple Creek, Colorado; Perry and Thomas of Joplin; Mr. Mulvane, a Topeka banker; W. B. Martin and W. S. Allen of Sedalia, all took up mining interest in the county.⁹²

Rapid consolidation and outside ownership proceeded not only in mining and manufacturing but in the ownership of the land itself. The biggest landlord in Benton County was P. H. Coney of Topeka, Kansas, whose holdings of 12,000 acres made a checkerboard pattern right across the center of Benton County.⁹³ In St. Clair County advances in its six cheese factories made the county second only to Caldwell County in the production of that commodity in the state of Missouri.⁹⁴

Election returns for president this year showed:

	Bryan Democrat	McKinley Republican	Debs Socialist	Barker Progressive People's
Bates	*3,591	2,731	106	359
Benton	1,532	*1,980	29	70
Cedar	1,820	*1,845	21	91
Henry	*3,777	2,626	39	47
Hickory	777	*1,270	2	43
St. Clair	*2,036	1,844	2	128
Vernon	*4,306	2,356	61	26

The attraction of third parties was weaker than it had been at any election since 1884. The traditional division between Ozark counties voting Republican and prairie counties voting Democratic that had been established at the close of Reconstruction continued this year.

1901

Though the drought this summer and fall made the valley "as a dry as a Kansas village" and destroyed an estimated 65 per cent of the corn crop, the disaster did not halt the march of "progress" in tying the region to the rest of the nation in the establishment of rural free delivery of mail, and the completion of the Frisco Railroad line from Clinton to Warsaw; and the march of consolidation, as Colonel John L. Woolfork of Clinton consolidated the Clinton waterworks with the Clinton Gas and Electric Company, making a utility monopoly in the valley.

1903

Reacting against the consolidation movement, the city council of Clinton threatened to bring suit against the Frisco railroad for consolidating parallel and competing railroad lines.⁹⁶

Near record flooding on the Osage River this year washed out most corn crops in the bottoms and stayed high long enough to prevent replanting.⁹⁷ All summer the disastrous storms and flooding reached near record proportion.⁹⁸

1904 With sulphur springs and signs of oil in the valley, fifty Clinton residents subscribed \$5,000 to drill for oil and organized the Clinton Oil and Development Company. Next year when their derrick burned, rumors of sabotage by the Oil Trust were rampant.⁹⁹

Election returns for the presidential election showed:

	Parker (Democrat)	Roosevelt (Republican)	Debs (Socialist)
Bates	*2,967	2,956	91
Benton	1,372	*1,963	13
Cedar	1,533	*1,885	30
Henry	*3,222	2,799	36
Hickory	531	*1,245	9
St. Clair	1,761	*1,895	56
Vernon	*3,225	2,450	193

The only realignment from the last election was in St. Clair County's switching from the Democratic column to vote for the reform-minded President, Theodore Roosevelt.

1905 Thinking to make Monegaw Springs a famous resort, a group of Kansas City men formed a syndicate and bought the Monegaw Club, the twenty-one room log hotel built at the mineral springs in 1854.¹ The prosperity in the valley was shaken this year when the Salmon and Salmon

Bank of Clinton failed. Salmon and Salmon was the oldest bank in Clinton and deeply involved with most of the local businesses in Henry and surrounding counties.² The prohibitionists won the local option election in Clinton.³

1906

The reform or "progressive" reaction against the consolidation movement and the power of corporations in American life had many expressions in the valley this year. In January Clinton took the first step toward the municipal ownership of public utilities when the voters rejected a franchise proposition and passed bond issues of \$30,000 for an electric plant and \$70,000 for a water works. The St. Clair Democrat declared, "... [t]he time is past when we should protect trusts and capitalistic combination." Favoring an Interstate Commerce Commission with rate fixing power, free from court review, the Democrat also supported the Republicans, Robert La Follette of Wisconsin in his challenge to the Senate establishment, and Herbert Hadley of Missouri in his pursuit of the Standard Oil Company. The editor wrote of John D. Rockefeller, head of the oil trust, "The richest man in the world ought not to need to be told that it is disgraceful for any man to be a fugitive." This remark referred to Standard Oil's efforts to escape prosecution for breaking the Missouri anti-trust laws. In support of the journalism of exposure recently labeled "muckraking" by President Roosevelt, the Democrat editor wrote, "The journals which expose corruption and fraud are doing the best possible work. It is the

man with the whitewash brush, and not the man with the rake, who is the dangerous factor in public affairs, and who deserves a place in the pillory." On the new national food manufacturers, the "Food Trust," the editor observed, "The fact that some delicate babies required a certain kind of food would not weigh a moment with the trust if it could make more money by driving that food from the market Kindred trusts will slowly poison a whole population with aniline dyes and sulphuric acid, but what is amazing is that a people who call themselves free, and who don't walk on all fours, will stand it." On "The Growth of Land Tenancy," the paper pointed out that centralization of land ownership in the valley was unquestionably tending toward a system similar to that prevailing in Europe. The Scully Land Company alone of Bates County owned 50,000 acres and there were other landlords owning up to 35,000 acres in the valley. In Osceola, the Board of Health found that sanitary and health conditions in the city were "... unsatisfactory, unsanitary, and dangerous ... the air is laden with germs of destruction"⁴

This reform impulse or progressive spirit, kindled by the size and arrogance of public and private corporations and the tendencies toward consolidation in the American economy, cut different ways in St. Clair and Henry counties. In Henry County with its bustling commercial and manufacturing life, the progressive spirit agitated the voters to approve municipal ownership.

But in St. Clair County the progressive complaint was not against the municipal monopoly but against the absence of any service whatsoever. The progressive agitation for bond issues to establish services in Osceola failed, and instead the reformers tried to move the county seat to Roscoe with a promise to provide the needed services there. Getting a majority of the votes (1,821 to 1,631), they failed getting the necessary two-thirds.⁵ Most corporations shunned St. Clair County as long as it remained under the railroad bond cloud, so their impact was not an immediate issue, except in the case of the biggest landlord corporation, the Egger Hereford Cattle Company. Second only to the railroads in landlordship, the company had not paid any taxes for thirteen years. A "taxpayer" asked, "How many bank shares do the members of the county court hold?" This offered in explaining the failure of the court to assess the Egger Hereford Cattle Company lands.⁶ The taxpayer also pointed out that "... political influence is ruining the country and making socialists and anarchists by the score, and it is time to ... return to the doctrine announced in the beginning of 'Equal rights to all, and special privileges to none.'" Many people hated the railroad in St. Clair County on general principles and experience.

The consumer's complaint of high prices accompanied the reaction against the overly large, overly powerful corporations. The St. Clair Democrat showed that 168 large manufacturing

trusts enjoyed the benefit of the protective tariff that had raised prices to consumers so that in 1905 it took \$1.47 to buy what one could buy for \$1.00 only eight years before.⁷ But any direct protest against local food manufacturers did not materialize. In fact, this year when the Osceola Wheat Mill, the biggest manufacturing enterprise in town moved to Moreland, Oklahoma, its removal was called the severest blow, "... since the grasshopper raid"⁸

The reform impulse in St. Clair County was not against bad service but against the complete absence of any service. One group of the new "improvement" men hatched a plan to build a dam across the Osage at Osceola to make the river navigable at all seasons as high up as Taberville.⁹ The Commercial Club in Osceola backed this scheme to cut off contact by river with the region down stream but make the town a local commercial center for the area above.¹⁰

1907

Together with the river improvement scheme above Osceola, a civil engineer also proposed to cut through the narrow part of Horseshoe Bend on the Osage below Osceola, generating sufficient electric power to run an electric railroad from Osceola to St. Louis and Kansas City.¹¹ Neither the dam nor the hydroelectric scheme gained much support at first. In fact, someone along the Clinton to Osceola railroad line was hostile enough to railroads that he placed obstructions on the tracks in an effort to derail trains.¹²

Later, this year saw the first concerted effort to throw a dam across the Osage River at Osceola. The prospect of a dam appealed to many local interests. A 400 foot long dam located just above the Frisco Railroad bridge would provide sufficient electric power for every need in Osceola. It would increase the value of land upstream by \$5 to \$10 per acre because of the cheap transportation made available year round in the slack water created by the dam. The dam would thus improve the local market by making it independent of the railroads and also maintain the independence of the county from the public utility monopolies. At the public meeting to plan the dam, "... everyone agreed in wanting the utility owned by city and local people."¹³

The river in St. Clair County remained an important transportation artery. In April, Walter S. Halliwell brought his motor launch, the Rambler, a 50', 14 ton boat, designed to run between Osceola and points upstream. He hauled freight on three large rafts: hogs, lumber, farm produce, nuts, and fish.¹⁴ In July, a mass meeting voted to take a \$9,000 subscription towards constructing a steel and Portland cement, reinforced dam.¹⁵ However, despite the local interest and promise to build the dam with local money, the county still was relying on "Kansas City money" to raise the rest of the \$18,000 needed for construction. By October the "Kansas City Parties," aware of the credit standing of the county from the railroad bond non-payment and pinched by the financial panic,

backed out; but the promoters determined to go ahead and build a "first class timber dam."¹⁶

By this year, the saloon fight that had proceeded in Henry County in the 1880's and 1890's spread to St. Clair County, with petitions for saloon license and against saloon license at the St. Clair County Court.¹⁷ The push to abolish saloons in St. Clair County accompanied the effort to attract outside capital to invest in the dam. Local preachers pointed to the bad reputation the county had gotten, linking it to the persistence of the saloons in Osceola. But as the "Old Timer" pointed out, whiskey had played a central role in making Osceola a boom town before the War. "... [B]efore the war every man in business was supposed to have a barrel of whiskey on tap for his customers, and it was handed out in tin cups holding half a pint." This liquor was distilled at the big spring where Osceola's Town Branch took its course. When Jim Lane raided Osceola in 1861, the big whiskey warehouse, the main warehouse supplying the Indian Territory in the southwest, had 600 barrels of whiskey on hand, enough to make Jim Lane's army of 1,500 Kansans into "raving maniacs," the surplus flowing into the Osage River killing thousands of fish for miles downstream. After the War, saloons re-opened. In 1871, during Reconstruction, the Reverend D. C. Milner put them out of business; but when he went to Kansas, they re-opened. Ever since then, the evangelical preachers and the saloon keepers had been playing "a game of tag." As

for the effect of the abolition of the saloon in 1907, the Old Timer said, "There will be none." The farmers in St. Clair County did not go into town to buy drink, he said. They had all they wanted in their neighborhoods at reasonable prices.¹⁸

The county court in St. Clair, refusing to pay off the railroad bonds, did not hesitate to place taxes on corporation properties in the county and assessed them as follows:

M.K.&T. Railroad	\$106,303
K.C. & Clinton Railroad	235,667
K. C. & Osceola Railroad	205,882
Western Union	12,785
Missouri & Kansas Telegraph	8,918
Kinlock Telephone	11,000
Eldorado Springs Telephone	600

The financial panic in America this year hit Henry County with its several banks very hard. In October all the big banks in Clinton, Nevada, Butler, Warrensburg, and Sedalia announced they would no longer pay cash to depositors on their accounts in amounts in excess of \$25/day or \$50/week.¹⁹ St. Clair County, with a great deal of counterfeit money in circulation and lots of pewter slugs being found by the merchants in their slot machines, was less pinched by the banker's panic.²⁰ The promoters in St. Clair County decided to go forward in constructing a timber dam across the Osage River for \$10,000 if they could find someone willing to complete the project at that price and give a ten year guarantee.²¹ This year

many farmers who had planted Osage Orange hedges during the 1880's and 1890's to serve as fences replaced these unsightly and space stealing "fences" with barbed wire.²²

1908

Along with the weekly speculations on the height of the river in Osceola, speculations that always took up lots of spare time, the lounging visitors in Osceola also speculated on which big storm would blow over the county courthouse and speculated on whether the circuit judges would consent to hold court in such a rickety structure. When a blizzard hit in January, the Democrat remarked, "The snow is a good thing for the reputation of Osceola, insofar as it hides the condition of the streets."²³ But the county did have its pride, the "Osage Navy" with its flag ship, the Rambler. Good corn raising farms sold for \$70/acre and the county experienced a mining boom when three outside experts investigated the lead and jack deposits.²⁴ The Democrat was also proud of the law-abiding populace and was pleased to point out that the worst criminal, Steve Adams, thought to be from St. Clair, was formerly a resident of Vernon County. "Nearly everybody that has been in the criminal limelight seems to have resided in Vernon County." Osceola was a good town despite the streets and despite the fact she, "... seems to have more than her full quota of beggars and solicitors. Some of them ... rather bold"²⁶ But the county, with the courthouse condemned and a jail consisting of two upstairs rooms in that building, was criticized in the Clinton

Republican for having unsanitary conditions. The Republican blamed these conditions for the death of a Miss Grace Foote. But the St. Clair County Court did not act to clean up the place.²⁷ Henry County with bustling railroad towns could criticize St. Clair County for its backwardness, but St. Clair County had no turmoil like that in Windsor on September 15, 1908. When the M.K.&T. freight pulled into Windsor that day, the conductor was annoyed by the large number of men loitering around the depot. Seeing a large pile of "giant powder" swept together on the depot platform, he remarked, "I'll show you how to scare niggers." The explosion that followed wrecked the depot, rocked the town, killed seven people, mortally injured four more, severely burned eleven others and destroyed the train. The station agent, Frank Yake, was literally blown to pieces.²⁸

This year the Osage River was more fickle than usual with uncommonly high water in April and a drought so severe in August and September that the river was not navigable.

The election returns for this year showed:

	President		Governor	
	Bryan (Democrat)	Taft (Republican)	Cowherd (Democrat)	Hadley (Hadley)
Bates	*3,248	2,754	*3,176	2,846
Benton	1,280	*1,924	1,227	*1,962
Cedar	1,483	*1,933	1,442	*1,985
Henry	*3,577	2,852	*3,455	2,960
Hickory	561	*1,182	541	*1,204
St. Clair	*1,877	1,723	1,877	*1,885
Vernon	*3,705	2,369	*3,538	2,512

The traditional voting pattern established at the close of Reconstruction, with the prairie counties going for the Democrats and the Ozark counties going for the Republicans, continued this election with the river county of St. Clair doubtful. St. Clair was unusual in the political history of the region this year, giving majorities to a Democratic presidential candidate (the Great Commoner, William Jennings Bryan) and a Republican gubernatorial candidate (the trust-busting crusader, Attorney General Hadley), both in the same election.

1909

After St. Clair County had given the trust-busting Hadley a majority in the election, the Democrat was shocked to find that among his first priorities was to help outside capitalists extract favorable settlements in the railroad bond disputes in several counties. Hadley first turned on Macon County in what the paper called "A Contemptible Piece of Business." St. Clair County was also on the legalistic Governor's list of lawless counties.²⁹

This was quite a mixed up year in the Osage valley. It opened with one of the most severe blizzards in memory and reached the mid-part, in July, with one of the worst mid-summer floods on record. The upper Osage and all the Sac River bottoms were flooded, and great damage was done in St. Clair, Bates, Vernon and Cedar counties. Below Osceola the flood was not so bad, but upstream, this was a very bad year for the bottomland farmers.³⁰ Despite the natural disasters and economic recession, the commercial

farmers were well off. They were better off, in fact, than ever before. "In all the depression of the last two years, farm products have remained high and even now, with hard times at their height, wheat and other grains are advancing to dizzy figures. This makes the 'back-to-the-farm' idea all the more logical Prices of the farm will never again reach their low level of years ago" Prices paid in Osceola April, 1909 included:

Hay	\$9/ton
Corn	70¢/bushel
Wheat	\$1.10/bushel
Oats	75¢/bushel
Potatoes	\$1/bushel
Turkey	15¢/pound
Eggs	16¢/dozen
Butter	20¢/pound
Steers	\$5/cwt.
Cows	\$3/cwt.
Sheep	\$5/cwt.
Sheep pelts	60¢ each
Country ham	12¢/pound

With the national market for farm products more attractive than ever before, the Democrat bewailed the absence of a good railroad system in St. Clair County. "If we Only Had a Railroad," the headline read. Cattle drives were still common in St. Clair County. Clays along the Osage River, much more abundant than in Henry County, remained unexploited. Henry County, not St. Clair, had the parent factory of the Tile Trust, Dickey Tile in Deepwater.³¹

Realizing and brooding over this, the editor cast about for a way to uplift the county and hit upon the anti-booze, anti-cigarette campaigns of the W.C.T.U. as a way to "modernize" St. Clair County. Every issue carried articles against booze and cigarettes. If Henry County had an agitated liquor question along with prosperity, so could St. Clair. In August, Thomas Moore Johnson, the wealthiest man in the county, owner of the finest Victorian mansion, world renowned Platonic scholar (The Sage of the Osage), together with his wife hosted the W.C.T.U. district convention in Osceola. Meanwhile, the dries in Clinton succeeded in getting another in a long line of local option elections, but the wets carried the day, 597 wet, 468 dry.³²

1910

The census for this year showed:

	Population	Number of Farms	Acres in Farms	
			Total	Improved
Bates	25,869	3,752	517,021	456,667
Benton	14,881	2,499	391,635	224,061
Cedar	16,080	2,729	289,176	202,958
Henry	27,242	3,448	436,833	376,261
Hickory	8,721	1,627	337,733	114,810
St. Clair	16,412	2,833	374,927	248,852
Vernon	28,827	3,762	486,494	419,384
			% Increase in Farm Value from 1900-10	\$ Value of Land Per Acre
Bates			91.1	43.66
Benton			126.6	24.15
Cedar			94.8	24.77
Henry			101.6	43.06
Hickory			107.1	18.68
St. Clair			122.0	27.77
Vernon			93.4	37.50

The modern decline was well under way by this year. Despite high farm prices and rural prosperity and the St. Clair Democrat's logical idea, the "back-to-the-farm" movement, over 4,000 people left rural Bates County alone. The political division of the region over the last several elections correlated very strongly with the dollar value of land per acre in the counties. The prairie counties (Bates, Henry, Vernon) with the highest dollar value of land per acre were traditionally Democratic. The Ozark counties (Benton, Cedar, Hickory) with the lowest value of land per acre were Republican. St. Clair County with the middlest value of land per acre was doubtful politically.

The reform impulse in St. Clair County linked the county's nonpayment of its bonds to larger problems in American society. Just as the county refused to pay outside capitalists, it rejected outside appropriations by the U. S. Government to improve the navigation of the Osage River. The privileges protected by the protective tariff were compared to the government protection for the owners of the stolen railroad bonds: "What's the difference in favoring an increase in the direct taxes of St. Clair County for the benefit of bondholders, real or alleged, and favoring the tariff that will add to the price paid to the sugar trust, the steel trust and other trusts that afflict the country?" The U. S. military was criticized for draining away the life blood of the nation to protect the imperialist corporations. "No

matter how many new battleships the navy may require (in the estimation of the navy) or how many more soldiers are needed (in the estimation of the army) the Congress should bear in mind that none are needed in the estimation of the people."³³

1911

The big news in the valley this year was the weather. Late frosts in April devastated orchards and early crops. After the frost there were six weeks with virtually no rain, and old timers gave testimony that it was the driest spring in memory.³⁴ During the winter of 1911-12, temperatures dropped to twenty degrees below zero, producing marketable ice on the Osage for the first time in many years. Water pipes froze in many towns, the poor suffered greatly as the resources of charitable organizations were depleted. January 18, 1912 was the last of fifteen straight days of below zero weather and after that, "... [t]here was not much livestock left in the county" Even with this the farmers took solace in the traditional wisdom that good crops always followed cold winters.³⁵

1912

After the severe winter and the resulting drop of property values in the region and the continuing decline in population, the erection of the dam at Osceola was presented to the taxpayers as the one thing, along with prohibition, that could revive the Osage valley. "[M]ay it [the decline] not ... be ascribed to our lack of appreciation of what nature has done for us and our consequent failure to develop her gifts?" A hydroelectric dam at Osceola would make

Osceola the hub of the valley once again with power sent to Clinton, Warsaw, Bolivar, and other towns. A "Capitalist" promised: "We will make the assertion that if this dam is built you will see all properties, business and population of these towns doubled in three years."³⁶

The bad weather of winter continued into spring, with spring rains that flooded the south tributaries of the Osage River washing out early bottomland plantings. Then a terrible summer storm and series of tornadoes killed 26 and injured perhaps 100 people in Henry, Bates, and Johnson counties.³⁷ Despite the disasters, Osceola hosted its first Chautaugua program, an eight day protracted meeting with 1,000-2,000 people attending daily. Events listed in order of their popularity included: William Jennings Bryan, Mrs. Pickett (lecturing on the romances of the Old South), and the Gondolier Band.

The election this year showed:

	Wilson (Democrat)	Taft (Republican)	Roosevelt (Progressive)
Bates	*3,057	1,383	1,301
Benton	*1,209	1,142	618
Cedar	*1,392	1,242	623
Henry	*3,396	1,162	1,500
Hickory	421	* 735	375
St. Clair	*1,710	1,046	727
Vernon	*3,483	1,654	655

Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party's revolt against the Republican Party damaged that party enough to send Benton and Cedar counties, traditional Republican counties, into the Democratic

column.

1913

The weather since 1909 had been very hard on the farmers. People were about ready for the elements to "treat them right." However, drought hit again so hard that by July 10 the Osage was low enough to walk across at shoal places barely getting wet feet.³⁸ When heavy rains broke the drought in September, more farmers planted wheat than ever before.

1914

The main impact of the beginning of the European War was in the increased prices paid to farmers in response to demand for American farm products. Many farmers increased their wheat acreages in the fall in response to the especially strong demand for that crop.

1915

When the Federal Government appropriated \$7,500 to improve the Osage River, the response in Osceola was to say, "... we don't know what it's for. Maybe it can be used to bait a catfish hole at Shipley Shoal."³⁹ Attitudes toward improving the river had changed greatly since before the Civil War. In the 1850's river improvement meant making the Osage navigable and bringing the agricultural production of the region into the national market. By 1900 railroads had displaced the river for most commercial agriculture; however, many extractive industries like tie-cutting and gravel shipping continued to float materials down stream. These extractive activities were mostly carried on by men who built their own rafts and floated them down stream. After 1900 the propositions to dam the river to improve navigation above Osceola sought to

improve transportation for the local market, not as before the Civil War, when improved navigation was considered a way to open the valley to the world. Now the Democrat pointed out, "The improvement of ... the Missouri and Osage Rivers would be a joke if it was not for the millions of money that it has cost [the river] is a mighty good place to raise catfish or get water to sprinkle streets and flush the sewers, but as a highway of commerce its principal business is to keep the 'pork barrel' empty and furnish politicians a place to fish for suckers. Its commercial purposes ceased when canoes and ferryboats became inadequate for the needs of the growing population" When Congressman Dickinson favored an appropriation to widen the Osage above Taberville to give a wider outlet for the Bates County drainage ditch, with the prospect of worse flooding downstream, the Democrat protested, "... this paper would suggest that the Osage River be let alone." This laissez-faire attitude regarding the river accompanied the establishment of the Osage Valley Highway, a state road from Springfield to Kansas City crossing the Osage River at Crow's Island in St. Clair County. This new road crossed the river one mile below the old ford of the first road survey from Lexington to Springfield in the 1840's. The old road left Osceola one mile west of this new highway, following the timber as was then the custom, instead of the prairie as the new road did. The two roads united in the valley below Collins.⁴⁰ All during the spring and summer of

1915 towns along the route through St. Clair and Henry counties worked grading their part of the route.⁴¹ The community effort turned out most everyone. "In cutting down the hill [on the approaches to Crow Island] the colored people rendered invaluable service and as they donated their labor free, they deserve the thanks of the community."⁴²

The construction of this road did not require subscriptions by the counties and towns along the route as had been the case with the railroad. Instead the communities donated labor. This community effort did not focus on making transportation better for marketing agricultural goods, but on making the region accessible to people from the cities, whose patronage at the resorts along the Osage had given some stimulus to the lagging economy despite the terrible weather just before World War I. Many city dwellers could now take holiday fishing trips on the Osage River or enjoy the waters at one of the many popular mineral springs in the valley. They were welcomed.⁴³ This meant the Osage River's natural beauty and plentiful fishing resources were more commercially viable than any prospect of making the river navigable.

A very wet summer and fall relieved the prairie farmers who had suffered so with drought the last five years. They had a very good year. However, the situation was different in the bottom land farms where farmers had not suffered so much from the drought in the last five years. In June flood waters reached within ten feet of

the 1896 record. "The bottom corn was entirely wiped out, but there are other crops that can be raised or the land can be used for pasturage The loss to the bottom farmers has been more than made up in the prairies and timber and as these latter have suffered in the past four years while the bottom land owners reaped a harvest, coming prosperity will strike where it is most needed." In the valley, with bottom land farms and prairie farms, one suffered when the other prospered. Thus the mixture of differing soils and locations blunted the impact of turbulent weather on the valley as a whole. No matter which way the weather pendulum swung, some one benefitted, someone else suffered. This mixed environment insulated the valley from the extremes of bust and prosperity of other agricultural regions like the great plains. It also insulated the valley from the cycle of boom and bust characterizing the American economy in general. In September the rivers flooded even worse than in June, reaching within three feet of the 1896 high. Corn stalks, hay ricks, wheat stacks, and saw logs galore rampaged down the Sac and Osage rivers.⁴⁴

1916

By this year the St. Clair County railroad bond debt had accrued to the incredible sum of \$4,031,593.51. The U. S. District Judge, A. S. Van Valkenburg, proposed a compromise of \$600,000 payment to the bond holders, about 15% of the total sum.⁴⁵ More and more people in the county were coming around to the view that something would have to be paid to get the Federal marshals

off the back of the county. But this year devastating weather precluded any possible settlement. In mid-June heavy rains brought the rivers out of their banks onto the lower bottoms and cut off traffic on the Frisco Railroad.⁴⁶ This flood was followed by six weeks of relentless drought, the worst in the valley since 1894. Even pastures burned up. Cattle were put on full feed and watered from the rivers. "There is, however, but little stock in the county, as the farmers have not engaged extensively in this branch of agriculture for some years."⁴⁷ The situation of last year was reversed. The river bottoms overflowed in June 1916, were replanted, and had full crops of from 40 to 60 bushels of corn per acre. But the prairie farmers, burned out by the drought, could only look with envy at the bottomlands in this year when grain prices soared, taking off with the increased demand in World War I. Wheat climbed over \$2 a bushel.⁴⁸ One side effect of this scorching summer with 100 degree temperatures almost daily was an increase in drownings in the Osage River. People who never went swimming normally, jumped into the river seeking relief and some never came up.⁴⁹ When the new Osage Valley Highway was dedicated in July, the ceremony fizzled due to the demoralizing drought.⁵⁰

With devastating weather during five of the last six years, the new resort trade brought by people from Kansas City became an important buffer in hard times. Hunting and fishing continued to sustain many residents through hard times, but their attraction for outsiders was

becoming more important, as this fall when the Osage Valley Fox Hunters' Association had its first annual "Trials." The organizers chose the country around Monegaw Springs. "We selected this place for these trials for its abundance of foxes, its ideal location as a camping place, and its good grounds over which to run."⁵¹ Recreational hunting and fishing gained quite a vogue in the Osage valley during World War I. The natural wildness of St. Clair County, once called "backwardness" by many, was now becoming an economic asset. With natural beauty an asset, local people opposed the Rivers and Harbors Bill in the U. S. Congress this year with its proposed appropriation for improving the Osage River for navigation.⁵²

Election returns for 1916 showed:

	Wilson Democrat	Hughes Republican	Benson Socialist	Hanly Prohibition
Bates	*3,255	2,597	67	129
Benton	1,285	*1,842	27	26
Cedar	1,410	*1,874	27	74
Henry	*3,652	2,727	49	71
Hickory	552	*1,144	11	59
St. Clair	*1,881	1,718	34	115
Vernon	*3,776	2,211	37	193

With no potent third party challenge as there had been in 1912, Benton and Cedar counties returned to the Republican column, returning the region to its post-Civil War political division -- prairie counties voting Democrat; Ozark counties voting Republican.

1917

With the droughts of the last several years

and an increase in resort business, a movement got under way early this year to turn farming in the Ozark region to "diversified farming." In February and March, a movement spearheaded by the Democrat in St. Clair County sought to make dairying and pastoral agriculture more important in the valley.⁵³

After St. Clair County rejected the bondholder's compromise of \$600,000 payment, the Federal Court enjoined the county from spending money to complete its new courthouse and the Missouri Legislature considered a bill to make the county pay up.⁵⁴ Things had not changed too much in St. Clair County. If anything, trends appeared to be headed towards a return to the pastoral condition of former years. Then came April, 1917. President Woodrow Wilson took the United States into the European War, making it truly a World War. In that very month the Democrat reversed itself from its urging farmers to tend pastures, now advocating that farmers plow up every acre of pasture if possible. Corn planting went up by 20 per cent. Farmers planted more potatoes than ever before.⁵⁵ There were dozens of local neighborhood farm organizations in the counties before the War. Now the Farm Bureau Federation, a national producer organization forged 23 of these local organizations into its national network. "The object of this organization is to increase the production and conservation of food production"⁵⁶

On the eve of the War, much of the valley, especially the Ozark section, seemed to be

returning to old ways of doing things and increased reliance on local markets and a deepened appreciation for the natural beauty of the valley. But the pull of demand for products of the valley turned this around. In the summer the new Farm Bureau organizations sponsored big "patriotic rally days" and many farmers found markets for previously valueless products. Most men remembered the days when straw and corn stalks were simply set afire to clear the fields. Now the straw and fodder was being hauled to market. "In fact, the straw will pay for the threshing of wheat." The tremendous demand for walnut gunstocks stimulated farmers to clear the forests of walnut trees. Even the Osage orange or hedge apple became valuable when German-made dyes became unavailable. The Osage orange provided yellow pigment for dying cloth.⁵⁷

While the newspapers and Farm Bureaus tried to promote enthusiastic participation in the War, many rumblings of dissent surfaced. Some anonymous parties, put off by the St. Clair Democrat's red-white-and-blue campaigns to promote the War, tore down the flags flying outside the office. The paper warned, "... [t]he least punishment the United States inflicts for this offense is a term in prison -- the extreme offense is death."⁵⁸ By summer 1917, the War Department's quota of enlistments (32 from St. Clair County) fell far short of expectations as only four men enlisted.⁵⁹ On "Patriotic Sunday" preachers all over the valley exhorted the people to contribute to the war effort. But as the Democrat observed, most

farmers did not choose to cooperate in the War effort the way the government wanted them to. "There seems to be a disposition upon the part of the farmers to devote more land to corn and in spite of the frantic plea of the government to raise more wheat."⁶⁰

While the War brought many resources of the valley into more intense exploitation, the valley still remained insulated from much of the tumult that accompanied the War. For example, in August 1917, when Attorney General McAllister threatened to seize the coal mines in Missouri accusing the operators of gouging consumers, the Democrat pointed out that coal in Osceola cost the same as it had for years -- 12½¢/bushel delivered. The diversity of resources proved a great boon to the valley at a time of shortages and threatened rationing. One thing the war did do, as the Democrat pointed out, "... the War is teaching the farmer the necessity for organization."⁶¹

After the voters refused to redeem the railroad bonds, the plea went up that "... the people of the County are not conspirators, law breakers nor outlaws ..." as the bondholders believed. But the bondholders brought suit against the opponents of paying off the bonds for conspiracy, going all the way back to 1872 and the formation of the "Taxpayers' Association."⁶² St. Clair County remained the only county in Missouri still in default over railroad bonds, Macon County having compromised its debt in 1911. As "Uncle John" Lucas remembered in past years, "... the county judges were hunted from pillar to

post, pursued like partridges in the forest, attempting to evade the service of process and the consequence of the decree committing them to jail for their refusal to obey its mandates." But now the bondholders threatened to go after the disobedient citizens themselves.⁶³

1918

This year Benton County and Warsaw paid off their railroad bonds and celebrated the event with a big bond burning party.⁶⁴ By this year St. Clair County's railroad debt had accrued to over \$5,000,000. The bondholders and representatives of the county reached a compromise of \$585,000 or 11 per cent of the total. The high prices brought by the war and the artificial stimulation in demand for farm products led the farmers to believe they could afford the 60¢/\$100 increase in assessed valuation required to pay off the bonds. On September 28, 1918, the voters approved the compromise by a vote of 1,901 to 510.⁶⁵

The World War did not take many men from the valley, and almost all those who left returned. Wholly war directed activities never became very important. People did more home canning. The women in the Red Cross rolled bandages and made garments. The banks promoted Liberty Bond quotas. But the lines of cooperation were drawn quickly. Charles E. Higgins excused the wholesale violations of the anti-hoarding law by saying, "... I feel that a large amount of flour that has been bought in excess has been bought without thought of violating the law." When Higgins asked the farmers to plant more

wheat in 1918, most complained they could not because of the drought that made the ground too hard to till.⁶⁶

In the fall of 1918 influenza and scarlet fever carried off many more Osage valley residents than were killed in the World War. Within two weeks six of the seven member Bozeman family in St. Clair County were dead of the epidemic, "... the scourge which has taken greater toll of the American people than all the battles of the world war."⁶⁷ The epidemics closed the public schools; and in December just when it appeared to be subsiding, the epidemic resurged worse than ever.⁶⁸ By the end of this year almost all the commercial walnut trees in this part of Missouri had been cut for gun stocks for World War I rifles.

1919

With the war over, President Wilson sent each of the counties in Missouri a quota to raise for relief of the starving people in Europe.⁶⁹ This was an unforgettable year in America with nation-wide strikes, labor violence and a red scare. In April coal miners in the Osage valley joined those in Arkansas and Oklahoma in a strike.⁷⁰ When the enthusiastic war organizer from Appleton City, Grover C. Shanholtzer, took over the Democrat in May, he combined boosterism with red-baiting, criticising the people for being too tolerant of reds and not energetic enough in getting into "high gear." He lashed out at the people of Osceola for being too tolerant and not being aware and sufficiently aroused by the threat of labor

uprisings and revolutions.⁷¹ Shanholtzer brought together all the elements of "Babbitry" just as the decade of the 1920's turned. His language was well sprinkled with machine-oriented, especially automobile-oriented expressions, as the exhortation, "Let's get in 'high gear' and begin boosting Osceola as we have never boosted before."⁷² When Straus Investor's Magazine and the Literary Digest published articles on the St. Clair railroad bond experience, Shanholtzer threatened to sue the magazines for defaming the county. He also agitated among the businessmen in Osceola to promote a hydroelectric dam at Osceola.⁷³

In spite of the birth of "Babbitry" in the newspapers after the war and the birth of the "Electric Theatre" showing The Unpardonable Sin with Blanche Sweet, most farmers remained in older patterns of life. Revivals and baptisms at the Osage River called together families from many miles around.⁷⁴ Despite the active promotion of the new Osage Valley Highway, with the state promising to provide \$2 for construction for every \$1 raised by the counties, voters in every township in St. Clair County except Osceola rejected the bond issue.⁷⁵

After the War, the impact of the giant landlords in the valley was increased considerably. The St. Clair County Investment Company, the biggest landlord in the county, posted its lands. "The public is warned that any person hunting day or night on any of our land will be prosecuted to full extent of the law." The public domain in the valley had been closed for decades, but

the effect of that closing had been softened by the persistence of wooded and unimproved land and the policy of friendly trespass recognized among neighbors. With an increase in absentee landlords, the neighborhood feeling and friendly trespass disappeared.⁷⁶

1920

The census for this year showed:

	Popula- tion	# of Farms	Acres in Farms	% of Tenant Farms	\$ Value Of Land Per Acre
Bates	23,933	3,500	510,067	35.4	79.71
Benton	12,989	2,157	386,029	23.0	43.93
Cedar	13,933	2,448	284,142	24.6	44.23
Henry	25,116	3,098	432,719	34.2	74.10
Hickory	7,033	1,288	205,046	21.4	35.18
St. Clair	15,341	2,649	378,878	32.7	48.26
Vernon	26,069	3,267	464,069	36.5	60.53

While the census showed another steady population decline in all the counties, the decline was uneven. Of the incorporated towns, twenty-six showed population increases since 1900 while thirteen declined. The important towns with population declines were Nevada, Osceola, and Rich Hill. Rich Hill, with the most concentrated coal mining in the valley, declined by almost half, reflecting the impact of the depression in that industry in the last decade. The increasing populations of most small towns indicated the golden age of the small town in the valley. Most of the new residents were through natural increase combined with the influx of farmers who moved out of the countryside, returning to their farms to work but enjoying the benefits of life in town. Improvements in transportation,

especially the automobile, made this possible. While most small towns grew, almost every rural township declined in population. While most of the townships declined at a rate of about 2 per cent per year over the last decade, the value of land almost doubled.⁷⁷ As the value of land advanced, more and more farmers left the land. Many of those who stayed on the land, from one quarter to one-third, no longer owned their farms but worked them as tenants. Another decline accompanying the advancing land values was the number of farms.

In the spring, the Osage valley was "on fire" with the farm club movement, the purpose of which was to "... get control of the channels through which our products move to the market...."⁷⁸

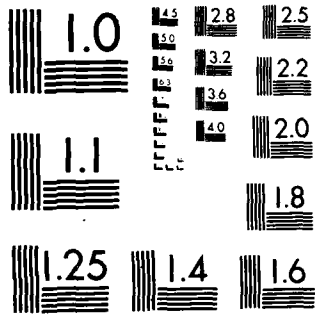
Election returns for president showed:

	Harding (Republican)	Cox (Democrat)
Bates	*4,710	4,213
Benton	*3,369	1,508
Cedar	*3,486	1,943
Henry	5,307	*5,375
Hickory	*2,130	532
St. Clair	*3,249	2,296
Vernon	4,641	*5,430

The Republican tide was strong enough to carry Bates County into that column from its traditional Democratic voting. Henry County came within 100 votes of also making this switch.

1921

With the growing popularity of the automobile and the increased use of petroleum-powered machinery, the rising demand for oil



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

reached the valley. For decades the sulphur springs and trace "signs" of oil near the surface had made people aware of the prospects for oil production, but only with the increases in demand did intensive exploration begin. Parties from Kansas City entered oil leases in St. Clair, Vernon and Bates counties.⁷⁹ Oil wells near El Dorado Springs were drilled to 400 feet.⁸⁰

Outside capital also interested itself in the prospect of damming the Osage River to create hydroelectric power. W. R. Banks of Lamar applied to the Federal Power Commission for a permit to develop water power on the Osage Between Bagnell and a point 40 miles west of Warsaw. Banks and another capitalist, Colonel D. A. Beamer, secured from the U. S. Government the rights to build a dam in Benton County.⁸¹ The 1920's was marked by speculation, promotion, and the organization of businessmen's associations like the Osceola Chamber of Commerce, organized this year to "... better the condition of every man, woman and child in St. Clair County" These organizations defined "betterment" in terms of bringing resources into the market. They proposed to make a \$500,000 resort at Maneola Springs and a hydroelectric dam at Osceola.⁸²

Speculation carried the value of bottomland farms along the Osage River up to \$150/acre. With all the promotion and speculation, the weather intervened to curb expectations and level out the boomers when the Osage River flooded in late spring and stayed high into summer, keeping

the farmers off the bottoms until late in the planting season.⁸³

1922

During the 1920's the out-migration of people from the Osage valley was in full swing. While many moved to cities in Missouri, some picked up and removed to the West. A good sized community of former St. Clair countians established their own neighborhood in Los Angeles, California.⁸⁴ Especially the younger men and women left the farm. While the Democrat promised that "... land owners are to be the kings in this country by and by," more farm boys left the farm than ever before. The rising value of land combined with increased taxes drove them out. Before the Civil War there were good farms in the valley that could be paid for with two good crops. Now there was not good land that could be paid for with the profit of six good crops, supposing one could count on six consecutive good years. The census showed that farms were increasingly encumbered with debt. The market pressed farmers from two sides. The inelastic supply of land combined with increasing population drove land to ever higher values. The farmer had to have more and more of his substance tied up in simply owning land. In the 1840's his ownership was secured by the neighborhood. Now it was made insecure by the market. He could not control the market value and his taxes rose apace. Meanwhile, the market rewarded the farmer with lower prices for his produce during the 1920's than during World War I. Despite the movements to improve rural

life during the 1920's, many farmers fled to the cities to avoid being crushed on the farm. The qualities of rural life that kept many people on the farms were not the new "improvements" so much as the traditional amenities, like community feeling, sense of belonging, a "feeling" of independence, even though the reality of independence was fast eroding.

Like 1921 this was a very wet year. The Osage crested at 28.9 feet above normal in April and stayed high into May.⁸⁵ E. T. Browning, promoter of the power dam across the Osage at Osceola, reported the project ready to go. He planned a \$500,000 dam and power line system and secured power contracts from the city of Clinton and from Dickey Tile, the biggest industry in the valley.⁸⁶ In the midst of promotion, St. Clair County was impoverished by its railroad debt that absorbed over one-half of the expenditures made by the county this year.⁸⁷

1923

In another very wet year with floods on the Osage in June, plans went forward for the hydroelectric dam at Osceola.⁸⁸ Big revivals were common in the valley this year as they had been before and would continue throughout the decade.⁸⁹ The outside capitalist's interest in the water power resources in the valley was matched by the Missouri Game and Fish Commission's interest in the wildlife resources. Keith McCause, Deputy Missouri Game and Fish Commissioner, came to the area twice, "... interviewing the boys and looking at some fishing tackle used in extracting a few fish from the Osage." The Osage valley was

falling under closer surveillance by urban inspired regulators who sought to preserve game and fish for maximum utilization. This meant recreation for city people.⁹⁰

1924

This year the West Missouri Light and Power Company, the utility octopus in western Missouri, acquired Whinrey Mill on Sac River and the Sac River Light and Power Company. W. A. Whinrey had built the concrete power dam at Caplinger Mills on Sac River furnishing power locally. Now the dam was integrated into the West Missouri Light and Power Company's network serving 53 towns.⁹¹

This year the Ku Klux Klan or KKK gained quite a large following in the valley. In April Osceola woke up to see the town plastered with KKK posters: "... take notice! Bootleggers, Gamblers, Home-breakers, and all law violators, white and black, are hereby warned that all law violations must cease", "One Language -- one allegiance -- one flag; the Stars and Stripes Forever." The circulars were not printed locally and there was a good deal of speculation on their origins.⁹² The Klan seemed to gain its biggest following and crowds in the railroad towns. They burned a 36 foot high cross on a hill northwest of Lowry City and paraded in white robes with hoods. Most of the 1,500-2,000 people who attended a KKK meeting one mile north of Filley were from El Dorado Springs.⁹³ The Reverend Ashley, a Christian minister from El Dorado Springs, addressed another crowd of 1,500-2,000 on the KKK and Americanism.⁹⁴

The KKK platform stood for "protection of our pure womanhood," "white supremacy," "closer relationship of pure Americanism." Its appeal was mainly among the people in towns and cities who found the mass and mob gatherings convenient and were especially disturbed by the decline of "American" values eroded by the rapid changes in the economy. But instead of aiming their protest against the causes of their distress, they turned their rage against victims of the same process -- the poor blacks, Catholics, "criminals," -- whose plight was a visible reminder of the injustice in society, as the Mayor of Osceola, William Dollarhide, pointed out.

The Klan failed to gain as big a following in the small river towns and in the communities along rivers and streams. Representatives of the Klan tried to expand into those areas by marching robed and hooded into churches during Sunday services and depositing large donations.⁹⁵ However, the KKK met resistance in these areas. In Osceola, Mayor William A. Dollarhide denounced the KKK as "... un-American and a breeder of lawlessness and crime." After the Klan burned a cross on a hill-top east of Osceola on May 30, Dollarhide issued proclamations against the organization and was, himself, threatened.⁹⁶

This was the third wet year in a row, with the Sac and Osage rivers washing out bottomland corn crops in May and June.⁹⁷ The year ended with a big sleet storm in December that took down 9,000 miles of telephone wires and 1,000 miles of electric wires in southwest Missouri,

leaving most of the region without service.⁹⁸

Election returns for this year showed:

	Coolidge (Republican)	Davis (Democrat)
Bates	4,552	*4,722
Benton	*2,693	1,588
Cedar	*2,802	2,007
Henry	4,616	*4,706
Hickory	*1,895	722
St. Clair	*1,895	2,640
Vernon	3,593	*4,839

This year the voting pattern returned to the traditional with the Ozark counties going Republican and the prairie counties going Democratic.

1925 This was one of the coldest and harshest winters recorded.⁹⁹

1926 Changes in the American economy continued to impinge on life in the Osage valley. The increased demand for fresh fruits and vegetables, especially from Kansas City, encouraged farmers to raise truck crops. The Frisco Railroad and the newspapers urged the farmers to increase their acreage of berries.¹ The whole Ozark country was subject to mining speculation all during the 1924-1927 period.² The valley also experienced some of the negative sides of mineral resource exploitation when oil pipelines crossing the Marais des Cygnes burst, "... hence the Osage became greasy [You can] fry your fish now without lard."³

1927 The series of wet years in the 1920's culminated this year in the wettest year ever,

remembered as the year without a summer. From August 1926 to August 1927, the Osage valley got over six feet of rain, almost double the normal rainfall. The last such year without a summer was supposed to have been the legendary summer of 1817.⁴ During most of March and April the river covered the bottoms. Two weeks of frequent downpours in the beginning of April made the Osage a mile wide in some places and brought the flood waters to within three feet of the 1896 record. Osceola was safe on its seven hills, but towns downstream, especially the town of Linn Creek, suffered greatly. Power lines on twenty-foot high poles were under water. For weeks Osceola was cut off except for boat traffic.⁵ After the spring flood subsided, June rains, running off the water-soaked ground, raised the Osage 22 feet above normal to within eight feet of the spring high. On August 7 and 8 perhaps the greatest rainfall and worst thunderstorm ever in the memory of white men in the valley dumped 15 inches of rain in twelve hours, killing stock, carrying away hay stacks and wood piles. The river rose 21 feet in twelve hours and by August 9 was within two feet of the record set last spring.⁶ Needless to say, this was not a good year to be a bottomland farmer.

In January the U. S. Congress passed a Rivers and Harbors Act authorizing a study of a flood control dam at Osceola. The report was completed in May 1931.⁷ However, local interest in a dam emphasized neither flood control nor Federal aid. Locally, attention to the river

turned on two projects -- the establishment of a state park at Monegaw and building a small power dam across the Osage at Osceola to serve local power needs.⁸

A headline for July 28 read, "Dam It!," urging the development of a power dam at Osceola. Local promoters were enthusiastic but never seemed to be able to raise the money to launch the project. Seeing an opportunity, L. K. Green, millionaire utility magnate of Pleasant Hill, Missouri, promised to build a dam in exchange for the county paying for the local survey and land damages.⁹ Twenty years before, Green had been a small flour mill operator. Last year he had sold his West Missouri Power Company for \$3,000,000 and still owned the Ozark Utilities Company valued at \$1,000,000 to which he planned to add the Osceola dam.¹⁰ Green built the dam beginning in 1927 and finishing in 1928 without issuing securities or bonds. By the end of September, he had a 22' x 44' construction barge on the river, a crew of fifty men, ten teams, one tractor, building materials and \$100,000 worth of power generating equipment ready for installation in the new power house. The 400' long dam would create a pool of about ten acres, raise water 14', and power two 800 horsepower Leffel water wheels.¹¹ As soon as construction began, land values around the projected Lake Sac-Osage or Sacosage rose. North of Roscoe a promoter subdivided thirty-three acres into 236 building sites creating "Sac-Osage Heights." Other cottage builders were also active.¹²

1928 L. K. Green picked a very bad time to build a dam on the Osage as far as the weather was concerned. This year excessive rains in June again put the Sac and Osage Rivers out of their banks and ruined crops in the lowlands. These floods delayed construction work, but Green pressed on despite the elements and finished the dam in August.¹³

Election returns for this year showed:

	Hoover (Republican)	Smith (Democrat)
Bates	*6,133	3,594
Benton	*3,411	1,296
Cedar	*3,340	1,728
Henry	*6,263	4,319
Hickory	*2,233	399
St. Clair	*3,846	1,701
Vernon	*3,783	3,676

In an unprecedented election, Herbert Hoover and the Republicans carried every county in the region.

1929 This year was the last in a series of wet years in the valley. Heavy rains in May sent the Osage River even higher than the 1927 high water mark.¹⁴ In spite of the wet weather, the resort business in the valley reached a peak. Word of good fishing at the Osceola dam attracted hundreds of visitors every weekend. The resort business at Monegaw and the other medical springs boomed. The dedication of the Osceola dam occasioned a carnival, boat races, celebration.¹⁵

1930 This first year of the Great Depression

hit the valley very hard. The wet weather of the previous decade was replaced with searing drought that burned up the corn so it would not even make silage. Towns prohibited sprinkling as the rivers sank to the lowest levels in over a decade. The parched fields and meadows caught fire from railroad sparks and careless motorists who threw their smokes onto the roadsides. When the flaring sun sent temperatures up to 110 degrees, many people sought relief in the Osage River with a consequent rise in drownings. The Farm Relief Board operated in the valley but was much less effective in relieving the farmers than a good rain would have been.¹⁶

The resort prospects of the last year spilled over into the Depression with the Ninnescah Realty Company of Kansas City establishing its resort, Ninnescah Park, at Buzzard's Bluff on the Osage River. This was to be "... a high class, exclusive camping, hunting, fishing, and bathing resort."¹⁷ Work also began on the Boy Scouts of America Camp ten miles north of Osceola on a 460 acre tract having one-half mile of frontage on the Osage River.¹⁸

One of the great assets of the Osage River resorts in the 1920's had been their isolation. While St. Clair and Benton counties like the rest of the United States were nominally "dry" of alcoholic beverages in the 1920's, the rough terrain and isolated valleys provided a good environment for whiskey manufacturing. Prohibition did not change the habits of home liquor

manufacturers except to give them a market for their goods. Not only did people from Kansas City come to the Osage River country to enjoy the fishing and booze, people from Hickory County made runs to the Osage to replenish their supplies.¹⁹

In September Union Electric poured its first concrete in constructing its power station for the Bagnell Dam project. About 3,600 men were employed at the dam site.²⁰

The census showed a continuing decline population in the area.

Bates	22,068
Benton	11,708
Cedar	11,136
Henry	22,931
Hickory	6,430
St. Clair	13,289
Vernon	25,031

1931

In January the Clinton National Bank, the largest in the upper Osage valley, closed its doors because of heavy withdrawals by depositors. February 13, "Black Friday," the Citizen's Bank of Osceola joined many others in closing its doors.²¹ On February 26, construction crews at Bagnell Dam dumped 960,000 pounds of concrete into the spillways of the dam to stop the flow of water, "... and erase, perhaps for centuries, the winding way of the historic Osage River." In one day the river rose 30 feet on the dam and stopped flowing eight miles up.

In the last two years fishermen had

noticed that the upper waters of Lake Sacosage became perfect spawning grounds producing huge crops of minnows. The same could be expected of Bagnell Dam.²² The drought of 1930 continued into 1931 with the Osage River dropping to the same low water mark.²³ But November heavy rains sent the upper Osage out of its banks and filled up the reservoir at Bagnell forming the Lake of the Ozarks.²⁴ River fish seeking flowing water swam up the Osage to the headwaters of the Lake of the Ozarks. The jack salmon made their biggest run in memory in late 1931 and early 1932. Thousands of unemployed people from all over the United States gathered at the dam in Osceola. The fish migrating up stream were stopped here. Fishermen took as many as they could carry. With a state set limit of five jack salmon per person, many fishermen caught their five fish before breakfast, took them to their families camped nearby, ate the fish and returned to the river for each successive meal. Here was free food; not a handout. Fishing, like hunting, was a traditional mode of self-reliant subsistence, and many men unwilling to accept a government dole enjoyed providing for their families by fishing at the dam in Osceola.²⁵

Attracted by archeological finds along the Sac River, Jesse E. Wrench and M. G. Mehl of the University of Missouri floated down that river looking for caves and rock shelters, picking up arrow points and artifacts. They also conducted excavations at Francis Rockhouse Cave, unearthing a mass of human skeletons.²⁶

1932

In the spring fishermen lined the Osage River from the dam at Osceola all the way down to Horseshoe Bend. "Those who came to Osceola for the fishing parked themselves along the top of the dam so thickly that one gazing across the river could see virtually a forest of waving cane poles. The anglers were two and three deep along the ribbon of concrete making it virtually impossible for one to work his way across the dam with any degree of speed." Resort owners at Branson, Roaring River, and other Ozark Parks reported they were nearly deserted because everyone had gone to the Osage River to fish. On Memorial Day weekend game warden John P. McCaslin counted 10,000 people fishing along the Osage from Hogle's Creek to Roscoe. The fish, trying to escape the slack water in the Lake of the Ozarks, created one of the biggest and most peaceful "Hoovervilles" in the middle west. During the Great Depression tent cities or Hoovervilles, named for President Herbert Hoover, grew up in many parts of America. Many unemployed, numbering about one-third of the working force of the country, gathered in these cities to lean on one another. With plentiful fish in the Osage, the unemployed could at least be assured of enough to eat. Many families pitched tents near the dam at Osceola and stayed the summer. Small cabins sprung up all along the river. Towns above the Osceola Dam circulated petitions to the legislature protesting that the Osage River below the dam was full of fish and many that should be caught above the dam were stopped.²⁷

The election returns this year showed an almost complete reversal from 1928. The Great Depression turned voters away from Herbert Hoover and the Republican Party. While Hoover carried every county in the region in 1928, this year he carried only Hickory County.

	Roosevelt (Democrat)	Hoover (Republican)
Bates	*6,220	3,395
Benton	*2,596	2,038
Cedar	*2,834	2,515
Henry	*6,809	3,631
Hickory	878	*1,586
St. Clair	*3,681	2,271
Vernon	*6,687	2,856

1933

Severe weather in January caused considerable destruction. A tornado dipped into the Pomme de Terre valley destroying most of the oldest homes in Avery. This Breshear's valley was home to about 500 descendants of the families of Henry and Alexander Breshears who had settled here in the 1830's. This settlement remained the most important outpost of the nineteenth-century insular egalitarian spirit in the Osage River valley.

In the spring many people returned to fish below the dam at Osceola since that place had earned the reputation of "The Fishing Capital of the World" in 1932. However, the fishing was not good. Many turned away in disgust at the mushrooming commercialism. In an effort to do something about the deterioration of fishing, people were urged to "... kill every water snake

turtle, gar or water dog as they destroy millions of eggs and small fish each year." The fact was that the disruption of the river ecology by Bagnell Dam had caused the great fishing boom of 1932, and the river had by this year returned to a lower equilibrium of fish production and had adjusted to the gross over fishing.²⁸

In May Milton G. Losee of Kansas City visited Butler, Rich Hill, Schell City, Rockville and Osceola stirring up support for the creation of a big dam at Osceola. In 1931 the U. S. Government surveyed the Osage River with the prospect of putting in a big flood control dam. Now Losee had U. S. Government blueprints for a \$31,000,000 dam to be built under the Works Progress Administration or W.P.A. The 2,740 foot long, 65 foot high dam would create a reservoir of 218,000 acres stretching 106 miles up the Osage, Marais des Cygnes, and Sac Rivers, submerging the towns of Roscoe, Taberville, Papinsville, and Caplinger Mills. Losee painted a glowing picture of the benefits -- construction jobs and power.

In June, Captain Wyman of the U. S. Army Engineering Corps told a meeting of 500 people in Osceola of the projected benefits from the dam. The property owners at the meeting adopted resolutions approving the dam provided the government compensate the property owners fully for damages and also providing that "... if the construction of a dam is for the purposes of a private corporation, we are opposed to it." This last provision aimed at avoiding the experience downstream with the arrogance of Union

Electric's Bagnell Dam project where the federal and state governments had provided aid to the corporation without protecting the residents.²⁹

By late 1933 every merchant in Osceola had petitions for customers to sign urging President Roosevelt to push for a big dam at Osceola. The new Osage Development Association, made up almost entirely of merchants, talked up the dam project constantly. Milton Losee assured the Association that the big dam at Osceola was one of the top three priority dams recommended by the Army Corps of Engineers for controlling floods on the lower Mississippi River.³⁰

The promised dam at Osceola was only one "New Deal" program affecting the valley by the end of 1933. By mid-December, 193 men were employed in Civil Works Administration (C.W.A.) projects in St. Clair County alone. Such work in every county put men to repairing roads and bridges and improving sewers and sanitation in the towns. Many women also worked for C.W.A. making and repairing garments. The local Agricultural Adjustment Administration (A.A.A.) officials held meetings, forty-two in Bates County alone, urging farmers to cut back their acreage. Cooperation with the acreage reduction program differed greatly from farmer to farmer. One observer pointed out that "... in those parts of the county, where extension work was most favored, the plans were accepted most readily." The areas with most extension work were on the very commercially oriented prairie farms in Bates, Henry and Vernon counties.

The Ozark farmers in traditionally Republican territory had stubborn objections to interference by the Government. Many saw the New Deal as a threat to what had become an insular egalitarian ideal.³¹

Some young men from every county worked in Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.) camps, many stationed at the camp near Butler.³² Men and women also worked on C.W.A. projects in the counties; but President Roosevelt, in a budgetary move, this year ordered a 25 per cent reduction in this public employment.³³ Promotion of the Osceola dam by Chambers of Commerce and businessmen's associations continued this year.³⁴

Though the U. S. Congressman from this district was a Republican and referred to the ambitious young Democratic politician, Harry S Truman, as "Tom's boy Harry" (an allusion to the well-known fact that Tom Pendergast, boss of Kansas City, had chosen Truman to run for the Senate), Truman carried four of the seven counties in the upper Osage valley. Truman was chosen by Pendergast, but his rural origins proved a political asset in the valley. "Judge Truman, unlike the other candidates seeking the office, was born on a farm. He was reared between the plow handles, and not only knows but understands some of the problems of the present day farm. At one time his parents owned an eighty acre tract near Lewis Station in Henry County." Truman himself had once tried working a western Missouri farm, but like so many others, he never returned to that work after World War I.³⁵

1935

With the first really wet summer in five years, the Osage River crested at 11 feet over the Osceola dam in May and over that level in June, "doing damage that will be hard to estimate." With the first wet year since the closing of Bagnell Dam, people realized that the floods in the upper Osage were going to be worse now than they had been before. Now when the Osage flooded, it went up higher and stayed up longer than it had in previous years with similar rainfall.³⁶ The Osage River had always been fickle. Now Union Electric's dam aggravated its worst moods.

The Missouri River Drainage Basin Committee of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress recommended that the President sponsor a Federal Work Relief project to build a big dam at Osceola giving employment to 5,000 men over two years.³⁷ With Missouri Senator Bennett Clark's endorsement and government engineers working out of Rich Hill surveying the Osage River, this project moved to the top of the list of projects recommended by the Mississippi River Commission for flood control.³⁸

1936

This was a severe drought year in the valley. Hundreds of farm families filed for relief in the Sedalia office. Meanwhile, many of the New Deal programs were running into snags, especially the W.P.A., whose district director, Frank Monroe, withheld funds from counties that refused to give him a free enough hand in managing the county funds. In St. Clair County the W.P.A. had thirty projects but only five of these actually employed men, and by the end of the year, none of the projects was completed.³⁹

The election this year showed:

	President	
	Roosevelt (Democrat)	Landon (Republican)
Bates	*5,681	5,022
Benton	1,950	*3,375
Cedar	2,443	*3,535
Henry	*7,145	4,927
Hickory	910	*2,329
St. Clair	3,302	*3,351
Vernon	*6,872	4,546

1937 Ice, sleet, and snow storms paralyzed the valley during the winter and the sharp recession precipitated by President Roosevelt's cut-backs in Federal programs also hit the valley this year. Several businessmen, however, were cheered by the news that the \$800,000,000 flood control program sent to the U. S. House of Representatives included a proposed appropriation for a dam at Osceola. In October, the Missouri Valley flood control committee of thirty, appointed by the governors of five states, approved a plan for a \$24,663,000 dam on the Osage River at Osceola. While flood control was its avowed purpose, the merchants wanted the project for the jobs it would create.⁴⁰

1938 St. Clair County paid the last installment of its railroad debt; the last county in the region to do so. The county celebrated with a big bond burning celebration ending sixty-two years of railroad history. The county paid \$585,000 to redeem \$250,000 worth of bonds.⁴¹

While businessmen's clubs in the valley

endorsed the proposed Osceola dam, Union Electric indicated some reservations to a flood control dam upstream from its Bagnell Dam that might damage its exclusively power-oriented project.⁴² The Army Corps of Engineers proposed to build three dams on the Osage River system, one at Osceola for \$28,530,000, one on the Grand River for \$10,000,000, and one on the Pomme de Terre River for \$6,169,000.⁴³

Moderate rains in May sent all the rivers in the valley out of their banks, cutting off traffic and raising the waters over the Osceola dam to 10' 10". Once again the flood waters reached higher and stayed up longer than they had in the years before the creation of Bagnell Dam after comparable rainfall amounts.⁴⁴ On June 29, President Franklin Roosevelt signed House Resolution 10618 authorizing the construction of a big flood-control dam on the upper Osage.⁴⁵

1939

Thomas H. Benton, the famous American artist, brought his students to do paintings of the landscape in the Osage valley. "Mr. Benton expressed himself as knowing of few spots anywhere more beautiful than the one near Highway 82 where the Sac and Osage rivers join. When told that some tourists had likened the St. Clair County River bluffs to those along the Hudson, he said that he considered these bluffs equally as beautiful but saw no similarity because the structure was entirely different He and his students expressed a fervent hope that

the rustic natural beauty of our country would be preserved."⁴⁶

Despite this sentiment of the city visitors, businessmen and promoters in the valley launched a campaign to dam the river. The St. Clair Democrat distributed windshield stickers proclaiming, "We Want the Osceola Dam." Two hundred people attended a mass meeting at Osceola on the dam where telegrams of support were read from Kansas City Boss Thomas J. Pendergast and Governor Lloyd C. Stark. Meanwhile, Senator Truman informed the dam supporters that, for some reason, the Osceola dam project did not come in line for an appropriation from the law signed by President Roosevelt in 1938. This news stimulated renewed agitation for the dam project. J. W. "Sparky" Thurman, chairman of the Osceola Dam Conservation Commission, circulated petitions to Congress to get the Osceola dam in line for Congressional appropriations. President Roosevelt told Governor Stark that he thought it might be possible to start the Osceola project even though no funds had been specifically earmarked for the project.⁴⁷

A spirit of optimism seemed to grow in the valley with the best corn crop in years, while American farmers in the eastern and northern U. S. suffered from drought. St. Clair County for the first time since the Civil War had a likely prospect to send a native son to the U. S. Congress as Waldo P. Johnson announced his intention to run.⁴⁸

With good crops and prices up in response to crop failures in other parts of the country and the beginning of the European War, with a construction boom, and with many World War I veterans and widows employed taking the 1940 census, the decade of the 1930's ended a good deal more optimistically than it had begun.⁴⁹

1940

This was a year of several bizarre events in the valley. Earl Smith of Kansas City shot and killed a four foot long alligator in the Osage River not far from Osceola. A tremendous hail storm hit the valley in April causing extensive damage. Some of the stones had a four inch diameter and were piled up in places eight inches deep. "One of the insurance adjusters commenting on the extent of the storm in Osceola said he had been adjusting hail damage alone for the past few years but in [no] instance had he found where a town had been so completely damaged as was Osceola following last Tuesday's storm." In another tragedy, Edward Argalus Bledsoe and four other men were killed while repairing the Brown Ford swinging bridge. "Galus" Bledsoe had been known for decades as the architect and builder of wire suspension bridges, known locally as "swinging bridges."⁵⁰

Election returns in the valley showed:

	President		Senator	
	Roosevelt (Democrat)	Wilkie (Republican)	Truman (Democrat)	Davis (Republican)
Bates	4,978	*5,727	4,856	*5,725
Benton	1,765	*3,912	1,716	*3,938
Cedar	1,973	*4,068	1,933	*4,111

	President		Senator	
	Roosevelt (Democrat)	Wilkie (Republican)	Truman (Democrat)	Davis (Republican)
Henry	6,069	*6,332	5,929	*6,419
Hickory	787	*2,496	772	*2,501
St. Clair	2,859	*3,950	2,807	*3,970
Vernon	*6,271	5,443	*6,238	5,430

Since Reconstruction, no Democratic candidate for President had done as poorly in the Osage valley as did Al Smith in 1928 and Franklin Roosevelt this year. The New Deal Senator, the Senator from Pendergast (as his enemies called him), Harry Truman, did slightly worse than Roosevelt. Many voters reacted against President Roosevelt for seeking an unprecedented third term. But why did they reject Truman? Was not Truman an ardent supporter of the dam projects sought by merchants groups in Osceola? Why then was he defeated in Henry County, the county most affected by the proposed Grand River dam, when Henry County voters had voted for him in 1934? Why did he fail to carry majorities in St. Clair and Bates counties, the two counties most affected by the proposed Osage River dam? The answers to these questions came in later years when it became clear that the valley did not speak with one voice when it came to damming rivers.

1941

Several businessmen and resort owners organized the Osceola Wildlife Federation to improve the river for fishing and to restore the reputation it had earned in the early 1930's as the "Fishing Capital of the World."⁵¹ With heavy rains in mid-April, the Osage rose higher than it had since the construction of Bagnell

Dam. Flood waters stayed on bottomland farms and roads for weeks as flood waters lingered instead of draining down the Osage as in previous times.⁵² This spring flood was almost matched by the fall flood. "It is believed that the crop loss has been greater this year than ever before caused by flood. Some of the farmers worked in water waist deep to gather part of their corn."⁵³ As the aggravated floods after 1931 made bottomland portions of their farms less viable, many farmers took these acres out of production in accordance with the Federal Government's crop restriction programs before and after World War II. The loss of these bottomland acres meant the loss of agricultural flexibility regarding the fickle weather on the Ozark border. In past years, bad years for bottomland acres were good years for prairie acres and vice versa. Now, as many farmers abandoned bottomland farms, soil improvement and conservation programs on the prairies built up the drought resistance of those upland farms, lessening the impact of the loss of bottomland farms.

This year, the eightieth anniversary of Jim Lane's sack and burning of Osceola, the Japanese launched a surprise attack on the U. S. forces stationed at Pearl Harbor sending the United States into World War II. In preparedness programs, the counties had already begun scrap iron and aluminum drives.⁵⁴ Now, compared with the division and lack of direct participation in World War I in the valley, the response was quick and unified. Within a week after Pearl Harbor, guards were stationed at the hydro-electric

dam at Osceola to protect against sabotage.⁵⁵

1942

While World War I had seemed distant and abstract to the Osage valley, and to many people quite pointless, World War II was immediate; the response unified Americans, gave direction to energy with a confidence born of righteousness. The counties appointed air raid wardens and organized aircraft warning services.⁵⁶ The people went on "wartime," moving all clocks ahead one hour to make an extra hour of daylight in the evenings.⁵⁷ Men joined the army or were drafted by the dozens. "Slap-the-Jap-With-Your-Scrap" days accumulated huge piles of scrap iron with the boy scouts helping with collections.⁵⁸ People bought war bonds. On December 14, 1942, the whole valley turned off its lights as an air raid warning practice.⁵⁹ When bands in town squares played, they usually turned to patriotic aires. Shortages, first of sugar and rubber, then by the end of the War of most important consumer goods, meant rationing. But here, as in so many other ways, the New Deal of the past nine years prepared the country for war. The Farm Security Administration had helped many farmers buy canning pressure cookers in the 1930's. By 1942 hundreds of families had the capability to put up enough food for the whole year. One Iconium family used their F.S.A. pressure cooker to can 550 quarts of fruits, meats, and vegetables, releasing commercially canned food for the war effort. F.S.A. families set up canning, drying and storage quotas and many drew their neighbors into these activities.⁶⁰

While in World War I there had been a few self-appointed super-patriots trying to whip everyone else into line, the super-patriot was replaced in World War II by a unified determination to win the war. In World War II there was no spare time for the luxury of flag-waving. People expressed their patriotism through hard work and dedication to the cause of increased production. One of the most enduring effects of this determination on the home front was a profound, by many unnoticed, change in the status of women. Before the war, women might take jobs outside the family, but this practice was not much favored and usually considered a bad reflection on the man in the family. Especially during the Depression of the last decade with unemployment high, fewer women worked outside the home than in the 1920's. Economic hardship meant a retrenchment in many rural families to traditional family roles for women. These women's grandmothers had felt this discipline most strongly on the frontier, and as market agriculture deteriorated in the 1930's to a more self-sufficient, insular condition, traditional female roles became more important. But now with the War, high prices, and a demand for labor, many women got the idea that working meant jobs outside the home. Mrs. L. Steeber left a St. Clair County small town to become a riveter on a California airplane assembly line. And she was written up in the local newspaper as a heroine.⁶¹

1943

Each passing month seemed to add new items to the list of rationed products and more news

of contributions and heroism of men and women from the valley in the World War. In February, Civilian Defense chairmen and county agents met with F.S.A. county supervisors to devise ways and means to get every family in the valley growing victory gardens.⁶² However, the war mobilization in the valley got a severe set-back in May when fourteen inches of rain fell in twenty days sending the Osage River and its tributaries to all time record floods. Headlines read, "Osage Goes Wild." Water flowed twenty-four feet deep over the Osceola dam. This flood did an estimated \$2,000,000 worth of damage to crops, homes and businesses. The flood records set in 1844 were broken. River towns were evacuated. The only thing more amazing than the magnitude of the disaster was the promptness of most people in putting it behind them in concentrating on the war effort. Few people noticed that the record flood of 1943 had not been caused by record precipitation; the rains in 1927 had been much worse.⁶³

However, the 1943 flood had a lasting effect on the two groups most interested in damming the Osage River. The proposed Osceola Dam went to the top of the Army Engineers priority list for construction projects to be launched after the War.⁶⁴ And Union Electric, previously unenthusiastic about the construction of a dam upstream from its Bagnell Dam, was now alerted to the possibility that giant floods might destroy its multi-million dollar investment. An Army flood control dam could mitigate the impact of such floods downstream in the Lake of the Ozarks, provide the Lake of the Ozarks with a more certain water supply, and provide a settling tank for the Lake of the Ozarks, lengthening a life that might otherwise be shortened by silting in.

All this with taxpayers money. As G. E. Norman of Nevada pointed out to Congressman Bennett, "The Union Electric and Power Company of St. Louis would derive some benefit, as I understand their Bagnell Dam does not supply sufficient water for a 365-day supply As we remember several years ago when the [Osceola] dam was considered the engineer trying to put it over finally acknowledged that he had been a former employee of the Union Electric and Power Company of St. Louis." But, if remonstrances against the proposed Osceola dam were circulated, Norman predicted, thousands of people in St. Clair, Bates, and Cedar counties would sign them.⁶⁴

From Washington, Congressman Bennett assured Norman that "... [t]he Osceola Dam project appears to be quite dormant at present and there have been no developments on it about which I have not advised you on previously." But in August, more than a dozen Army Engineers came to Osceola to survey the Osage River Dam site.⁶⁵ Norman replied to Bennett, "Regarding the Osceola project, it is probably idle so far as Congress is concerned at this time, but we are advised that there is a small army of engineers working around the Osceola Dam site, and I have personally met three different ones who have been in this city in the interest of the Osceola Dam." Norman expressed views like those expressed in Missouri Wildlife: "In an era of unprecedented shortage of manpower, it is past understanding why there is never any shortage of army engineers. The army in all its branches is extremely busy with the greatest world conflict in history, and it doesn't seem possible there

could be so many of its engineers left with nothing to do except associate themselves with politicians and promoters to build dams on all American streams."⁶⁶

Locally, the big flood of 1943 had an impact raising the consciousness of flood dangers. But E. J. Evens of Amsterdam argued that big dams were not the way to control floods. Evens pointed out that floods start up on the watershed and the best program for controlling floods was to check runoff by terracing, building small farm ponds on streams and working through the county agents with the farmers.⁶⁷

Cooperation with the war effort in the valley transcended all precedents. Farmers had never really gotten behind the Government's crop reduction programs in the 1930's. Many resented outside interference. But the much more strict disciplines imposed during World War II in the interest of increasing farm production and rationing consumption were accepted with little protest and embraced enthusiastically by most.⁶⁸ In addition, the counties exceeded their war bond quotas.⁶⁹

1944

In another wet year, the Osage and its tributaries flooded again in the spring but no where as severely as in 1943.⁷⁰ D-Day in Europe, June 6, 1944, brought celebration and the launching of the Fifth War Loan drive.⁷¹ In September with millions of Americans fighting in Europe, Africa, and the Pacific theaters, the Army Corps sponsored big meetings to promote its dam project

on the Osage River. At the Tuscumbia meeting, Lt. Colonel S. G. Neff, District Army Engineer, presented plans and listened to those having reservations about the project. Springfield businessmen wanted their Tablerock Lake first. Union Electric wanted compensation for any damage done to its generating capacity. The Bates County delegation protested that the flood control pool would leave an immense swamp, a breeding ground for disease and filth. The Henry County delegation was 100 per cent for the Osceola dam.⁷²

On September 30, 1944, Lt. Colonel Neff met at Rich Hill with people from Bates, Henry, Vernon, St. Clair, and Cedar counties to discuss the project. Neff said the Army intended to purchase about 200,000 acres of land, everything up to the 772' flood pool. The Osceola dam would create a 749' permanent pool and a 772' flood pool.⁷³

Election returns for this year showed:

	President		Representative in Congress, 6th District	
	Roosevelt (Democrat)	Dewey (Republican)	Clason (Democrat)	Bennett (Republican)
Bates	4,096	*5,122	4,047	*5,107
Benton	1,108	*3,294		
Cedar	1,478	*3,576	1,457	*3,587
Henry	4,587	*5,564	*5,637	5,468
Hickory	560	*2,171		
St. Clair	2,119	*3,306	2,019	*3,384
Vernon	4,885	*5,171	4,791	*5,185

Running with Harry Truman, a former resident of the Osage valley as his running-mate, Franklin Roosevelt failed to carry a single county in the upper Osage valley. As a Senator, Truman supported the

flood control laws of 1936 and 1938 under which the Osceola dam would be built. Congressman Marion T. Bennett, an opponent of the Osceola dam, carried every county in the Osage River valley except Henry County, where opinion had been 100 percent for the Osceola dam.

1945

The counties exceeded the Sixth War bond drive quotas by bigger margins than any of the previous drives. By the end of the War in September, St. Clair County alone had about 1,000 men serving in the American armed forces.⁷⁴

As the War drew to a close, U. S. Interior Department maps of the Approved Missouri River Plan showed the big dam at Osceola as one of the projects. At an Omaha, Nebraska meeting the Kansas City District of the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers designated the Osceola dam as one of its two big projects for post-war America.⁷⁵ On September 2, 1945, the Japanese formally surrendered ending World War II.

With the War ended, speculation over the Osceola dam ran high. The Army investigated the housing situation around Osceola, the Frisco Railroad bought the spur line that ran closest to the dam site, there was a speculative flurry of real estate purchases, and several local people made inquiries about timber to be cleared from the proposed reservoir area. Representatives from the Missouri Farmers Association visited the proposed reservoir area to assess the value of farm property to be affected.⁷⁶

When U. S. Senator Murray introduced his

bill to create the M.V.A. or "Missouri Valley Authority" to correspond to the T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority), the drive for the Osceola dam became openly associated with the New Deal. When Congressman Bennett asked the Army if they had a master plan for watershed conservation like the T.V.A., the Army denied this. "The War Department denies it has any intention other than to build the monumental earth and concrete dam at Osceola ..." Bennett wrote. Bennett also had in his possession the new report on this project. "It consists of several thousand pages and innumerable details I am trying to digest. As soon as possible I will prepare a speech or a statement with which to fight this deal. We might as well get ready because not many more months will pass before this New Deal will put on a big drive to get the appropriation. I am going to be loaded for bear when that time comes."⁷⁷

Opinion over the proposed dam was split. A mass meeting in Osceola voted to oppose the project. The Kiwanis Club of Clinton went on record as opposed to the proposed dam on the south Grand River.⁷⁸ However, with the Army Engineers asking Congress for \$28,500,000 for the Osceola dam as part of the "Pick Plan" in October, The Congressional Front reported, "[o]pposition to a dam as a flood control project alone is intense but opponents have shown an increasing reluctance to cooperate in fighting what they regard as inevitable -- construction of the Osceola dam authorized in 1938 and to which opposition is largely local while Congressmen all up and down the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers favor it."⁷⁹

By October the local paper in Osceola reported: "Rumors have been running rife concerning the sale of various pieces of town property"⁸⁰ President Truman asked Congress for money to start construction of a 118 foot high dam one-half mile west of Osceola with a flood pool covering 249,000 acres. The newspaper in Osceola reported this news with the kind of fatalism becoming more prevalent in the valley when it said, "... whether we like it or not; whether we want it or not, it looks like the dam is going to be built"⁸¹ Even Congressman Bennett, while testifying against the project at House Appropriations hearings, was becoming fatalistic, wanting only to salvage something for the district from the project. "... if the appropriation is finally made, I have a bill ready to introduce providing for including power in the project," he wrote. Chester W. Hoff, publisher of the Cedar County Republican reported to Bennett: "I presume you would also like to have a report on the Osceola dam feeling. There isn't a lot. There is some support for it and some against it. Those for it have put this question forward: Can a little farmer buy a tract in this river bottom and pay for it? Also are there any little operators in the bottoms now? The answer to both these questions is invariably no. Cedar Countians I think will try to make the best of which ever way it goes but if it does go through they definitely want some power made available. The spread of the REA has made them 'power conscious.' Locally, it may turn out to be a hot potato either way it goes."⁸²

By November Bennett was beginning to feel he was out on a limb in opposing the project. He was catching hell in the metropolitan newspapers, especially the Kansas City Star, for his opposition to this huge construction project in Missouri, the Osceola dam. As he shifted his position away from hardline opposition to the project, Bennett tried to salvage the good will of those he had represented in opposing the dam. "I do not want those people who oppose this dam to feel that in any way I am letting up on the fight However, facts are facts and it appears to me that this dam is going to be appropriated for next Spring. Therefore, I should do something to get credit for bringing to the District some benefits I hope that I have prepared it in such a way that it will not appear that I am straddling the issue"⁸³

Before Bennett started straddling the issue, one of his supporters, W. H. Maxwell, wrote to him, "... I have been reading about what you have had to say about the Dam on Osage River. I think you are Right about it[.] I sure don't think the country Kneads it[.] I will sure support you again when comes time for a nother Election"

Bennett replied, "It is good to know you approve of the position I have taken with reference to the Osceola Dam. I find that the sentiment in my District is overwhelmingly against such a proposal."⁸⁴

Bennett virtually gave up trying to get the 1938 dam legislation itself repealed. However, he did succeed in getting the House Appropriations Committee to strike out funds for the Osceola dam

for the next fiscal year by pointing out that the Army had not considered the interests of the 5,500 people to be displaced and also pointing out that the Congress had no letters or delegations from the district favoring the project.⁸⁵

While The Congressional Front reported that the "... Army is officially on record as preferring a dam at Osceola for flood control only", the Army in response to political needs began switching its rationale to a multi-purpose project. On November 9 when Colonel Neff of the Army Corps outlined the dam plan to the Osceola Rotary Club, he represented it as a flood control project with potential for conversion to hydroelectric generating.⁸⁶ Many of Bennett's political supporters in the district sounded as fatalistic as Chester Hoff of Stockton when Hoff wrote, "[t]he way we all feel here is that if the dam is built we will have to make the best of what we have." Bennett also tried to justify his shift from opposition to fatalism. "... the 5,500 people the army admits will have their homes destroyed, can't blame me for I did all I could for them. It will be built eventually but these people will remember that their congressman did all he could for them against this New Deal pork barrell project. It has greatly strengthened my political position in Vernon and Bates counties...."⁸⁷

1946

As this year began the pro-dam movement drifted. The "real estate movement" so active in 1945 around the dam site came to a dead standstill. J. W. "Sparky" Thurman tried to kindle enthusiasm for the dam but the people up the river

remained very strong for Congressman Bennett, and other aspiring political leaders, like Waldo P. Johnson of Osceola, showed a lack of sympathy for the dam movement after Congress rejected the appropriation in 1945.⁸⁸ While most of Congress was still out of town on the Christmas and New Years holidays, the House War Department Appropriations sub-committee tried to get a \$1.5 million appropriation to launch the Osceola dam. Bennett lashed out at this "sneak attack" and protested against building a 295,000 acre flood in his district and the permanent inundation of eleven towns.⁸⁹

While Bennett fumed at the Army Corps for trying to put the Osage dam past him in Congress, Army Engineers were busy in his district trying to sell the project. S. C. Davis, civilian engineer and "trouble shooter," visited Osceola and explained the Army's position. "The dam is going to be built let's iron out the rough spots," was the gist of his message. It may be a year, two, five or ten, but it is bound to come sooner or later, Davis explained.⁹⁰ If people did not like the project, they could at least learn to live with it. At this same meeting Thurman attacked Congressman Bennett and State Representative Lula Burns for their opposition to the project. When Mrs. Burns tried to speak in refutation of Davis and Thurman, she was denied attention because she was not a scheduled speaker.⁹¹

With news that Bennett had deflected the Army's "sneak attack" in the appropriations committee, opponents of the dam held their own meeting.

State Representatives from St. Clair, Bates, and Vernon counties explained their opposition. Dr. Ed Clark, geologist from Rolla, spoke on the mineral resources that would be covered by the reservoir. John Short of the Natural Resources Department told of the cost in lost farm lands, pointing out that the dam would flood more land than it would protect downstream. Mr. Zingy, also of Natural Resources, spoke on the damage to the lands in the watershed from erosion caused by the project. And Carl Moun of the State Conservation Commission discussed the destruction of wildlife. State Representative Pascal Bryant said his main objection to the project was due to the damage done to farm lands in the valley.⁹² The seemingly relentless drive for the dam still met lots of local opposition.

The role of power interests in the question, especially Union Electric, was ambiguous. On the one hand Union Electric made high estimates of the "damage" that would be done to its power generating capacity by the Osceola dam, placing this estimate at \$12 million per year.⁹³ But on the other hand, the Bagnell Dam of Union Electric was largely responsible for the huge floods downstream that the Osceola dam was supposed to mitigate. As C. C. Norman of Nevada pointed out, "[s]o far as I know these power interests have never advocated the Osceola Dam; it may not be necessary for them to do so. Perhaps all they need to do is repeat these floods down stream occasionally, and the clamor for flood control is renewed." Norman said that in this way, Union Electric could have

the Army build a \$28,000,000 settling tank on the upper Osage without the inconvenience of lobbying for it and still enjoy compensation for the "damages."⁹⁴

Representatives of the Army Corps spoke in favor of the dam at the Osage Valley Development meeting in March.⁹⁵ Such efforts to overcome local resistance would meet plenty of resistance to overcome as E. J. Evens of Bates County reported. The "... majority of the people consider this project just another spending scheme, that there may be some benefits down the river but when the benefits are all added up and all the disadvantages are also taken into consideration that there can be no justification for this project."⁹⁶ Congressman Bennett continued to take heart from the many letters he received from his constituents supporting his position. "I am greatly encouraged to have your expression of opinion that we are right on the popular side of this question as well as being right on the merits of the issue," he wrote in answer to a letter from C. H. Bailey.⁹⁷

Harry R. Pence of Kansas City wrote to Bennett, "... I am most heartily opposed to the building of a dam at Osceola and approve of your stand against it as it would cover up all of the town of Roscoe where I was born and raised and would also cover up the old graveyard there where all of my people are buried. I think I can do you some good down in old St. Clair this coming election and will be pleased to render you any assistance that I can."⁹⁸ Bennett's political adviser, George W. Davies, was so confident of the

unpopularity of the dam that he looked forward to making it an issue in November. "The dam noise has quieted down," he wrote to Bennett. "We may have to revive it just before election if you think best. Its [sic] a good vote getter for you in this [St. Clair], Henry, Vernon, Bates, and Cedar counties."⁹⁹

But Bennett and Davies did not have to worry about making the dam an issue in November. The State representatives from Vernon, Bates, and St. Clair counties introduced a resolution in Jefferson City: "... in view of the adverse effects of the proposed Osceola reservoir on the economy of the Osage river basin and of the state of Missouri ... we urge Congress to abandon this project."¹ Meanwhile, the Mississippi Valley Association with representatives from twenty-five states in the Mississippi River valley put all its resources back of the Pick-Sloan dam chain and specifically urged the dam on the Osage.² The battle lines were drawn for November. Could the "larger" interests in controlling seasonal floods down stream override the "local" interest of home owners and families in keeping their homes protected from a permanent flood upstream?

In August Sparky Thurman organized a pro-dam group in Bates County and sponsored a steak dinner in Butler to promote the Osceola dam project. The Osage Valley Association, primarily made up of downstream interests, entered Osceola to enlist supporters.³ During October and November Sparky Thurman and a Mr. Ginsberg threw all kinds of bricks at Bennett for opposing the

Osceola Dam. With the dam the major issue, Bennett won handily:

	Hembree (Democrat)	Bennett (Republican)
Bates	2,680	*3,685
Cedar	1,575	*3,155
Henry	3,723	*4,459
St. Clair	1,744	*2,612
Vernon	2,519	*3,053

Most of Bennett's constituents did not believe the Government had considered sufficiently the costs and alternatives to the big dam and the permanent flood of thousands of acres. "A Constituent" wrote, "Why experiment with dams and reservoirs which have been known to fill? Then soil conservation will have to be practiced any way. With reservoirs land will be made useless, causing tax burdens."⁴

1947

After his victory in the election, Bennett gained the confidence to introduce a bill in Congress canceling the Osceola Dam project. Meanwhile, Governor Donnelly attacked the Osceola Dam and was, in turn, attacked by the Osage Basin Improvement Association. An organization, chiefly made up of merchants and land speculators, the Association organized in response to the success of the home owners in the proposed reservoir pool who had appealed to Bennett to oppose the project. One of the dam opposition's features had been its lack of organization. Just before the 1946 election Bennett himself had expressed some doubts as to the strength of opposition to the project but the election returns vastly

reassured him. While lack of organization and majority support characterized the opposition, the minority organized, lobbied in Washington and Jefferson City to put the thing over.⁵ President of the Osage Basin Improvement Association, David Ross, met with General Pick, and together they confronted Governor Donnelly to iron things out and perhaps effect a compromise. Meanwhile Colonel Potter of the Army Corps lobbied in Jefferson City proposing compromises. Potter said, "... the important thing is that when our report goes to Washington and is submitted for approval of Congress, it will go in without any opposition from Missouri because it will be a plan worked out by Missouri people along with army engineers."⁶

While the surveys conducted in preparation for building the big dam had always returned to the Osceola location as the single best spot from an engineering standpoint, the Army now planned to re-survey. The basin was split between Congressional districts. While Bennett's district included Bates, Henry, Cedar, St. Clair and Vernon counties, the ones most affected by any reservoir on the upper Osage, his district did not include Benton County. The Kaysinger Bluffs in Benton County, though not known as the best big dam location from an engineering standpoint, now got serious consideration. In the summer, Army engineers launched an entire re-survey and re-study of the whole flood control plan. The crew included technicians from the Army Corps, the Soil Conservation Department, the Department of Agriculture, the State Geological Survey, and

the University of Missouri Agriculture Department. This re-survey was part of the outcome of a meeting between General Pick and Governor Donnelly in February.⁷ With Donnelly's support the State Legislature appropriated \$30,000 in March to study the Osage River basin with a view to correlating state projects with Army Corps projects. The Republican Legislature, many opposed to any "New Deal-like" dam projects, realized that the Army Corps project was not just the New Deal in disguise and switched their opposition to support and approved this appropriation.⁸

Hearings on the Bennett Bill to take the Osage River dam out of the 1938 Pick-Sloan appropriation were held in May. The Army testified against the bill and promised a compromise. The engineers promised to consider alternate plans and promised not to seek funds for the Osceola dam in the next year. But they objected strongly to any effort to tamper with the 1938 law itself. The members of the Flood Control Sub-committee of the House agreed with the Engineer's main argument. The Committee felt that other individual Congressmen might try to eliminate other portions of the plan and, through log rolling in reverse, the result would be that the entire plan would be torn apart. "Flood control and harnessing of the rivers would be impossible," the Committee said.⁹

The Truman administration itself was moving in the direction of the multi-purpose reservoir concept, seeking money for dams not only for flood control but also for hydro-electric

generation and for recreation.¹⁰ General Pick met with Governor Donnelly and other state and federal authorities to discuss a massive \$250,000 survey of the Osage River.¹¹ By November there was quite a speculative boom in real estate and many new businesses opened, seven new ones in Osceola alone.¹²

1948

In January, Osceola learned that the Army Corps had decided to junk the big dam at Osceola, and "... most everyone agreed they were well off without it."¹³ Instead of a big dam, the Army decided to build a series of smaller dams on the Osage River system. Osceolans were glad they would still have some running water in the county because, "... anyone who likes to fish knows that game fish hunt for the running streams and the still water fishing is not so good."¹⁴ The new Pick-Sloan plan, with four dams in Missouri and five in Kansas, made the farmers in west St. Clair County jubilant, but the farmers in east St. Clair were not so happy. Many of them would have to give up land that had been in their families for generations.¹⁵

The reaction in Henry County to the change was different. The Henry County delegation to meetings discussing the Osceola Dam had been "100%" for that project. But the Clinton Chamber of Commerce now felt that it had been "sold down the river." The Kaysinger Dam would injure Clinton. "Many of the members were startled to hear of this possibility. They had read in the Kansas City Star that the newly proposed dam was intended for the benefit of Clinton."¹⁶ Henry County

farmers now protested to Bennett. Fred Hillebrand of Urich wrote, "It has been estimated that we soon will be a nation of 160,000,000 people. We surely will need production If it was not for the threat of the dam I am sure capital could be induced to come in and put the drainage project over If this [bottom] land were put in production Henry County would be one of the best producing counties in the state"¹⁷ The Clinton Chamber of Commerce took the lead in organizing Henry, Benton, and St. Clair counties against the new dam plan. One Clinton merchant offered radios as awards for the best essays by students opposing the dam.¹⁸ In the State Legislature, Representative W. D. Cruce of Cedar County sponsored a resolution opposing construction of the high dams on the Osage River and its tributaries. The resolution passed 98 to 13.¹⁹ By June, Republican and Democratic representatives from each township in Henry County had organized to protest the Kaysinger Dam.²⁰

That month the irrepressible J. W. "Sparky" Thurman organized a big dam meeting in Osceola with delegates from eight counties in the Osage valley. Perrin D. McElroy, temporary chairman, said the purpose of the meeting was to eliminate the anxiety of the farmers who had protested the Osceola dam. Thurman pointed out that "... Army engineers have been surveying this basin since 1929, back in Hoover's administration in an attempt to find a proper site for a large dam to control the Osage flood waters. These engineers have worn paths almost knee deep along the river

banks but they always returned to the Osceola location."²¹ Thurman hoped to get people interested in returning to the Osceola Dam plan. But, the meeting backfired. Instead, the delegates from the counties voted unanimously to oppose any flood control or power dams on the Osage River. Sparky, with visions of his Osceola hotel constantly filled during the years of the dam construction, was crushed. Allen Bowsher of Clinton, Henry County's representative in the Legislature said, "Speaking for the county, I am opposed to any dams in the basin." Robin Gregory of Benton County said his group opposed the Kaysinger Dam in Benton County and would settle for the Osceola project, "... only if a dam is forced on us." Chester Hoff of Cedar County protested the creation of any permanent floods. "If anything is done to protect our lands, someone ought to get busy on a sound soil conservation plan," he argued.²²

After the big dam meeting, "... it was plain to see that the opposition there was not only to the construction of the Kaysinger bluff dam, but also to the Osceola dam, and any or all other dams that are being considered for the Osage river basin."²³

Bennett was now in trouble in the district. While George W. Davies, Bennett's political adviser in Osceola remained optimistic, Bennett's opponent claimed the dam situation would be a "mill stone" around the Congressman's neck. Davies reassured Bennett, "... we had more dam trouble last election than we possibly can have

this and ... you ran a head of your ticket in this county"²⁴ But the situation had changed since 1946. With the Army Corps' election year switch in projects, any benefit from the dam in the creation of construction jobs had been moved out of Bennett's district. But many of Bennett's constituents realized that the adverse impact would be just as adverse, and in Henry County, even worse. On November 2, Henry, Bates, and Vernon counties turned against Bennett, while Cedar and St. Clair counties, both saved from the Osceola Dam, voted for him. In a close race, Bennett lost 63,390 to 59,959 in the district as a whole. The defections in the Kaysinger basin made the difference. The vote for president in the valley showed:

	Truman (Democrat)	Dewey (Republican)
Bates	*4,371	4,156
Benton	1,360	*2,768
Cedar	2,062	*2,928
Henry	*5,551	4,619
Hickory	733	*1,728
St. Clair	2,489	*2,548
Vernon	*5,342	3,808

In a political alignment by now familiar in the valley, the prairie counties voted for the Democrat, Truman; the Ozark counties voted for the Republican, Dewey.

1949

Bennett and Republican Governor Donnelly had been lured away from firm opposition to the Army Corps dams by the consultation and cooperation the Army sponsored with state officials.

The voters now sent a Democrat, Representative George H. Christopher, to Washington to read their protests against the Kaysinger Dam at an Army Engineers meeting on January 26, 1949. Christopher reported that all the testimony at the committee hearings was for the dam except his own and that from the people who would be flooded. Even the environmentalist organization, the Izaak Walton League, issued a brochure calling the Kaysinger plan one of the best coordinated and inclusive flood control plans in America.²⁵ The Henry County "Anti-dam Association" sent several protests. Congressman Christopher then communicated these protests to the Army.²⁶ When General Lewis Pick wrote to Christopher he said the Army was aware that "... local interests are intensely interested in basin wide improvements for flood control and allied purposes ..." He did not mention the local meeting at which everyone voted against such projects if they included high dams.²⁷ The major opposition was against building a dam on the upper river to protect interests in the lower river.

This fall was very dry making the farmers more interested in drought than flood. The drought set conditions for fires that burned thousands of acres causing the worst fire in the history of Hermitage, Hickory County.²⁸

1950

Agitation over dam proposals simmered this year. The traditional concerns over floods (Heavy July rains that sent water 9'8" deep over the Osceola dam) and drought (fall drought that readied the fields and forests for a great fire

that swept across east St. Clair and west Hickory counties in the first week of December, whipped by a south wind till it traveled north faster than a man could ride on horseback) took over more than at any time since the World War.²⁹ In another seasonal ritual, the boyscouts returned to their camp on the Osage River, Camp Osceola, in St. Clair County.³⁰

1951

This year the weather hit the valley like it had in 1927 and the upper Osage region had another year without a summer. After the drought of the last two years, the heavy rains early this year were welcomed. But in early June the worst windstorm in memory pushed over buildings, uprooted trees and broke off limbs, and with rains the river rose to moderate flood.³¹ By late June the river, swollen with rain, flooded all the way down from Schell City.³² By early July flood bulletins went out all over the valley as the Osage River and its tributaries reached 16'4" deep over the dam at Osceola, the highest since the 1943 flood and 16" higher than the previous historic record in 1896. Floods cut off highway and railroad traffic.³³ And most remarkably, the water did not go down. For two weeks after the high of July 5, the river fell then rose again to within 10 inches of the 16'4" mark. By August 2, 1951 one in every eight farms in St. Clair County had been flooded with crop damages alone estimated at \$475,000.³⁴ In all, the Osage reached high flood three times this year. The rainfall had been 79.87 inches in Osceola, about the same as in 1927. But this year the flood damage was

much worse than it had been in 1927 because the water stayed high much longer. Local health officials had to take special measures because the flood waters stood so long they infiltrated the ground water supplies with disease carrying water. Taberville was surrounded by water for weeks. The valley could thank nature for the height of the flood and thank Bagnell Dam for its incredible duration.³⁵

With the flood waters cutting off traffic and covering the bottomland fields for most of the month of July, the people had a chance to see how the valley would look with Kaysinger Dam's permanent flood. On July 23 at Osceola, voters filled the county court meeting room to protest against the construction of Kaysinger Dam. Mr. Toalson pointed out that the Kaysinger Dam would completely split St. Clair County in half and, at flood level, cover all the bottom land in the county. Sparky Thurman hoped the protest against the Kaysinger Dam could be turned into support for the abandoned Osceola Dam. Emory Hurt, president of Union State Bank in Clinton, joined Thurman in favoring the Osceola Dam over the Kaysinger Dam, as did most of those in attendance.³⁶

A week later Colonel Sidney Davis of the Kansas City Army Corps District visited Osceola to drum up support for Kaysinger Dam. He bribed the stingy taxpayers with the promise that 75 per cent of the money from leases on flood easement lands would go to the counties. He promised full compensation for damages. He promised a booming resort business. Still it was clear from

the questions directed at Colonel Davis that most of the crowd opposed the Kaysinger Dam.³⁷

In August, Judge Haysler Poague, Floyd Sperry, and Emory Hurt, all of Henry County, went to Washington D. C. to investigate the Kaysinger Dam project.³⁸ One of the results of this investigation was the organization of the Kaysinger Basin Association. On August 28, people from Henry, Benton, and St. Clair counties had a mass meeting in Clinton to form that organization and chose Emory Hurt as chairman. Judge Poague discussed his findings in Washington. He said the losses to the counties would be far greater than the proposed condemnation damages could ever make up; the U. S. Department of Agriculture and other soil conservation agencies had not been consulted; the Army had no plans for replacing the destroyed roads; the economic benefits locally from dam construction were "extremely speculative."³⁹ Members of the new Kaysinger Basin Association agreed to pay a \$5 membership fee to raise a fund to fight the dam. The Association publicity read:

ATTENTION! Mr. Farmer; Mr. Business and Professional Man; Mr. Property Owner; Mr. Laboring Man -- Would you sit idly by and have a large number of St. Clair [Henry, Benton] Farmers forced from the county.⁴⁰

In response to the formation of the Kaysinger Basin Association, proponents of the dam formed the Build Kaysinger Now Association, receiving encouragement from the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers who sent representatives to meet and speak

with the Association in October.⁴¹ The year ended with one of the worst snowstorms in the history of the upper Osage valley. The storm dumped 18 inches of snow on Osceola and 20 inches on El Dorado Springs and Nevada stopping movement and closing businesses and schools.⁴²

1952

With the Korean War and induction rates up to the highest levels since World War II, talk of damming the Osage subsided.⁴³ However, in two important actions, representatives of the Kaysinger Basin Association appeared before President Truman's Missouri Basin Survey Commission in Kansas City to speak against the Kaysinger Bluff Dam.⁴⁴ St. Clair countians opposed to the Kaysinger Dam formed an organization to coordinate work with similar groups in Polk, Dallas, Hickory, and Cedar counties.⁴⁵

The drought this year, like the Korean War, diverted attention from the dam. In one of the driest summers and falls in memory, all the small creeks dried up and farmers had to haul water when many wells dried up. The valley started to dry up in June just as the thirty-one projects to repair damages from the 1951 flood were being completed with help from state and federal funds under the Missouri flood disaster program.⁴⁶ By early July Vernon, Cedar, Henry, Benton, and St. Clair counties had been declared disaster drought areas by the Secretary of Agriculture and thus qualified for disaster loans.⁴⁷ By October the glaring sun and searing winds had created so much tinder in fields and forests that the whole valley was in danger of being

swept by fire.⁴⁸

The drought was serious. But not as bad as the 1930's or the 1870's or the 1850's or Farmers had adjusted to drought and flood in the past and for the older families such adjustment was a way of life. The climate conditioned a toughness and perseverance into southwest Missourians that was one of their more distinct and attractive attributes. Now, the valley was, to a great extent, in the hands of the Federal Government. Far from seeing virtue in this turbulent climate, experts sought ways to mitigate its impact. In dry years, the engineers said, the conservation pool of a huge reservoir would be a blessing. In wet years a dam would control flooding. Instead of experiencing dry then wet extremes, the valley would be twice blessed with a permanent flood. Ironically, President Harry Truman, a product of the western Missouri environment, was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of its re-engineering.

Election returns in the valley this year showed:

	President	
	Stevenson (Democrat)	Eisenhower (Republican)
Bates	3,995	*6,002
Benton	1,303	*3,470
Cedar	1,483	*3,814
Henry	4,576	*6,628
Hickory	622	*2,054
St. Clair	1,914	*3,465
Vernon	4,450	*5,924

The tremendously popular General Eisenhower

broke the traditional voting pattern of prairie versus Ozark counties carrying every county in the valley.

1953

Farmers realized the cause of the pattern of prolonged flooding in the valley. It was due to Union Electric's Bagnell Dam. The Breashears family in northeast St. Clair County filed suit against Union Electric for damages to crops in 1951, asking \$9,928 in return for the company's negligence in operating the Bagnell Dam.⁴⁹ Such lawsuits gave Union Electric yet another incentive to support the Army Corps dams that would provide the Company an escape from responsibility for the floods it induced. U. S. Representative E. P. Scrivner of Kansas introduced legislation in the U. S. House of Representatives to begin construction of the Kaysinger Bluff Dam. People in St. Clair and Henry counties once again considered the impact. The 733' high flood pool would put the water 15' above the level of the giant flood of 1943. The list of items affected in St. Clair County alone was impressive.⁵⁰

A mild winter, a rainy spring and a dry summer brought in a record wheat crop in much of the valley with harvests of over fifty bushels per acre common.⁵¹ However, the dry summer turned into another drought that required Federal drought relief once again for the fall harvest.⁵² By January 28, 1954, 812 farmers in St. Clair County alone had signed up for the hay program, and 280 carloads of hay had been imported to keep livestock alive. In the old days, the livestock populations would have been cut back sharply as

farmers would drive their animals to market. Federal relief somewhat leveled out the bad times.⁵³ The traditional modes of adapting to bad times had been eroded by the welfare state. Fishing on the Osage River was not like it was in the old days. The game populations were so badly decimated that the Missouri Conservation Commission declared the deer herd in St. Clair County exterminated and imported fifty deer trapped in Taney County to re-establish the herd.⁵⁴ Moreover, the game laws designed to provide maximum recreation for the most hunters, many of them from the cities, made the man who lived on fish and game an outlaw.⁵⁵ Dependence on the Federal Government and the closing circle of new laws was making the Osage valley more uniformly like the dominant metropolitan culture. But the valley did not succumb without resistance. Many farmers continued to keep fish traps, take their deer when they needed it, and make their own whiskey without paying taxes. Here the law still weighed on people with less pressure than in the big cities. Perhaps as much as anything, the fear that it would press down harder motivated the people who opposed the new dam. Many of the opponents were property owners whose families had lived in the river and stream valleys for generations. Many other opponents, with no direct economic interest at stake, did not want much more "gov'ment."

1954

After the terrible mixture of dust storms and fires induced by the drought in February and March, the weather this year was a duplication of 1953. With a wet spring and dry summer the

the wheat crop broke the 1953 record with some farmers claiming harvests of 60 to 70 bushels per acre.⁵⁶

Despite many old timers' comments that fishing on the Osage was not what it once was, the reputation of the river was good enough to make it the second most popular fishing river in Missouri according to John Funk, fisheries biologist for the conservation commission.⁵⁷ The spring migrations of paddlefish or spoonbills yearly attracted huge crowds of fishermen around the Osceola Dam where men and women stood shoulder to shoulder snagging the migrating polyodon spathula. This year KMBC-TV of Kansas City carried a thirty-minute documentary on fishing in the Osage River.⁵⁸

The dam excitement subsided this year, but people still talked in terms of alternatives to big dams. Many favored building small dams on the streams for water conservation and fishing ponds and building low yield, local hydro-electric dams on the bigger rivers to provide for local needs. The low dams at Osceola and Caplinger Mills had become a kind of technological expression of the insular egalitarianism of the middle nineteenth century, a spirit that still persisted. Rural electrification made people power conscious and power dependent. Some personal independence was thus lost. However, the small dams generating local power had given the valley some independence from the over-all drive for giantism in American society. People thus adapted would have a hard time appreciating a high dam on the

Osage River that would send all its power to Kansas City and other metropolitan areas.⁵⁹ The dry summers of this year and last year further convinced farmers of the need for water conservation. Many built small ponds of their own.

1955 The same cycle of drought and bugs that hit the valley so hard in the 1870's and 1850's reached another climax this year. After drought and chinch bugs in 1953 and 1954, the grasshopper plague hit in June, 1955. But this time, with the help of science, the farmers were ready for the bugs. They spread a combination of 4 oz. aldrin, 4 oz. dieldrin, 2 lbs. Toxaphene and 1 lb. chlordane per acre. Thus ended the locust plagues in the Osage valley.⁶⁰

The good fishing reputation of the Osceola Dam stimulated the local merchants to install a big neon sign, the "Neon Damsite Sign," to add to the carnival atmosphere of that famous place.⁶¹

1956 This summer started wet and seemed a great relief after the droughts of the last several years. Heavy June rains did some damage in the low lands, but even here people were grateful for the water. "There was now a new fresh, emerald green in all the verdure -- a fiery green vitality. And the earth, wherever it was bare, exposed a dark earthy softness -- as the earth ought to be.

"And for the first time in a long time, the Osage and the Sac waters were not skimpy and mean looking. The waters with a generous fullness, breasted their banks And the dam waters

have been splurging and falling and hurling themselves in huge waves, causing a deafening roar."⁶²

By September everything had dried up making fire hazard warnings front-page news. But overall, it was not a bad year.⁶³ This year the Army Corps of Engineers launched construction of its Pomme de Terre Reservoir with an \$800,000 appropriation.⁶⁴

The small farmers, recognizing that "... it is the big farm corporation, or the big business farmer, who receives the huge support checks these days ..." from the Federal Government, turned out 250 strong at a meeting of the National Farmers' Organization or N.F.O. This organization, made up entirely of people who made most of their living from farming, was organized to challenge the existing farm organizations, especially the Farm Bureau Federation. The Farm Bureau Federation claimed to speak for the family farmer but wielded its political clout for the agri-business man who was often not a farmer at all. St. Clair County farmers protested against the Federal farm programs where "... bigness is what counts. Smallness adds up to nothing!" Many farmers were sick of the Federal Government and its bureaucrats who lost no opportunity to expound on the virtues of rural life at the same time as they adopted policies giving the big agri-business competitive advantages and crushing the family farmer.⁶⁵

1957

In the drought years of 1953-55, the Osage River had sometimes looked burned up and its fishing reputation suffered. But in 1956 and 1957 this turned around with wet springs and summers. "Now the mood of nature has changed.

And fish and fisherman have endless rendezvous. Osceola's fame is re-established." In the first week of April, "... there was along the whole hollow of the river a tense atmosphere of electric excitement. The excitement moved through them, fishermen, from one to another. But all in silence. The fish -- all species! -- were there."⁶⁶

By this year the Kaysinger Bluff Dam seemed inevitable. General J. L. Person of the Army Corps assured Senator Stuart Symington that the Army would give fair market value on all the land saying the Army would buy:

47,900 acres in St. Clair
 61,400 acres in Henry
 28,600 acres in Benton
 12,000 acres in Vernon
 11,800 acres in Bates
 2,300 acres in Hickory

The dam would be just for flood control, no hydroelectric power. The whole project was slated to cost \$22,800,000.⁶⁷

1958

In January C. R. Van Orman, assistant chief of the U. S. Army Corps, Kansas City District, spoke at Osceola, using the letters in "Osceola" to spell out the main topics of his talk:

O Ownership
 S Storage
 C Cemeteries
 E Earthwork
 O Osceola Dam
 L Local effects
 A Appropriations

Art Sindt of Warsaw, president of the Osage Valley Flood Control Association, also spoke in favor of the dam.⁶⁸

Opening day of paddlefish season was bigger than ever before. At dawn, March 15, the river below the Osceola dam was lined with campfires. It was a good season with 50-and 60-pound fish common.⁶⁹ In July the flood waters of the Sac and Osage rivers did a staggering amount of damage to roads, bridges, homes and businesses. The water reached 17'9" over the dam at Osceola, covering 60,000 acres of farm land in St. Clair County alone, doing an estimated \$2,500,000 damage.⁷⁰ But it was the flooding downstream that stimulated the first appropriation to begin work on the Kaysinger Dam. In September, President Eisenhower signed the public works appropriations bill for 1959 including \$80,000 for the Kaysinger project. This money was to make aerial photographs and, yes, conduct yet another survey of the Osage River. The estimated cost of the whole dam project was now put at \$100,000,000 with the addition of plans for hydro-electric generating capacity.⁷¹

In October the State Conservation Commission purchased the 3,200 acre Triangle S. Ranch in St. Clair and Vernon counties for a waterfowl refuge and multipurpose wildlife management.⁷²

1959

Some idea of the relationship between projected costs and actual costs of the Kaysinger Dam project came this year when the Army let out the contract for mapping the area and got the low bid, \$153,166. Congress had allocated \$80,000.⁷³

Colonel L. E. Laurion, Kansas City District Army Engineer, spoke at the Osceola Rotary Club meeting. During the "spirited" discussion, the points expressed included:

- 1) The estimated cost of Kaysinger Dam had risen to \$102,000,000.
- 2) Laurion said he saw only slight impairment of the recreational facilities in Osceola.
- 3) There was only the narrowest margin (1 per cent) benefit over costs in building the dam.
- 4) The permanent pool would permanently flood 164,000 acres, only 22,000 less than the 186,000 acres that would be "protected" from floods downstream.
- 5) Laurion said he saw no reason to remove the Osceola Dam.⁷⁴

Since World War II, crop land acreage in the counties had been steadily declining under the U. S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation program. From June 1958 to June 1959, crop land in St. Clair County alone was reduced by 14,548.8 acres.⁷⁵

1960

In April State Representative Calvin Holloway went to Washington carrying St. Clair County's plea to stop what seemed to be becoming inevitable -- the construction of the Kaysinger Dam. He said, "... in our opinion there were many damages which could not be counted in dollars and cents." In Washington he testified: "We, who have studied this proposed dam and have tried to determine what this will do to our

schools, our churches, and communities, and who realize that many of our most productive fields will be growing up in weeds and willows, can only think that nothing much worse could happen to our county ... leaving us with mud flats, dead and decaying vegetation, and stench"⁷⁶

One reaction against the frustration of inevitability was protests like Holloway's. Another reaction was adaptation.

In March the Clinton Chamber of Commerce conducted a post card survey to determine attitudes toward the dam. Of the ninety-three respondents, only three favored the existing Kaysinger Dam plan. However, a majority said they would look much more favorably on the project if it included a higher conservation pool, giving the region a lake with some redeeming recreational value instead of the thousands of acres of marshes and swamps that would result from a purely flood control project.⁷⁷ Since the dam looked inevitable, the Kaysinger Basin Association, organized in 1951 to oppose the project, was now replaced by the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association formed on August 31, 1960. Haysler Poague of Henry County, a leader in the old organization, now took the lead in forming the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association. "The theme song for the organization could just as well be the 'Basin Street' Blues, because the organization is born out of this area's fight first to lose a lot of land because of flood waters, but if so, there'd better be some benefits that at least out-weigh the costs

by a fair margin -- not just a peanut's difference, as has been admitted." This analysis was offered by the Osceola newspaper: "Actually the fight against Kaysinger itself is perhaps lost. Union Electric Company, the big St. Louis based utility which owns Bagnell Dam, wields too much power as compared with a couple of rural counties out in western Missouri. Senator Symington also is deeply in favor of the Kaysinger project."⁷⁸

"Salvaging some benefits out of Kaysinger Dam -- which almost no one in the area seems to want as it is now planned -- is the objective of [a] newly formed organization, the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association, formed at Osceola"⁷⁹

In September, Army Engineers conducted test drillings at Kaysinger Bluff in Benton County, and Congress appropriated \$400,000 for the next fiscal year to finish planning the project.⁸⁰ Organized opposition to the dam changed to adaptation to it. This change came at the time most favorable for the region to salvage something from the project. In April C. R. Van Orman of the Army Corps had met with the Clinton Chamber of Commerce and advised the people who wanted an enlarged conservation pool to get up to Congress and have the appropriation altered.⁸¹ In September people from eight counties in the area met with Senator Symington and Congressman William J. Randall (4th District Missouri Congressman) to demand that the permanent pool of the proposed reservoir be raised to 700 feet above sea level, that the plan include a comprehensive uplands conservation program, and that adequate compensation be paid to land owners.⁸² By October

the unified front of the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association seemed to be having effect, partly because of the local pressure, but even more because its goals were consistent with the desires of the Army Corps for ever increasing appropriations. Colonel Laurion of the Army Corps said his engineers were carefully considering the possibility of including water supply storage to the Kaysinger Bluff Reservoir project. Laurion said this was being done because local organizations requested it.⁸³ However, it was C. R. Van Orman of the Army Corps who had advised the local people to exert the pressure for this demand back in April. Laurion implied that the change in plans was democracy in action.

When the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association went to Kansas City to discuss their three demands, Colonel Rollings of the Army Corps told them all these changes would have to come from Congress, that the project could combine flood control, water conservation, hydro-electric generation, low water navigation, pollution abatement and upland conservation, but all these would have to come under new authorizations. The Congress would have to give the Army a lot more money and authority to include all these purposes.⁸⁴

1961

Though poorly organized the past twenty years, the opposition to damming the Osage River had been overwhelmingly pervasive in the region. In contrast, the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association was well organized with an effective legislative committee made up of State Senator

William J. Cason of Clinton, Art Sindt of Warsaw, Morran D. Harris of Osceola, and James Kirkpatrick of Windsor.⁸⁵ Most of the leaders of the old Kaysinger Basin Association, organized to oppose the dam, now joined the new effort to promote it. However, many of the members of the Kaysinger Basin Association and the old opponents of the dam continued in their opposition, suffering attacks from their old allies and leaders who had been brought in to the Army Engineers' plans.

In early January the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association sent two resolutions to Congress to enlarge the conservation pool and include upland water impoundments to control flooding. Haysler Poague of Clinton asked for unity and urged the people to write to their Congressman.⁸⁶ Both Missouri Senators, Symington and Long, said they would cooperate in securing the resolutions the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association wanted. Meanwhile, Association members attended civic group meetings in other parts of Missouri to gain support.⁸⁷

In the spring, Senators Symington and Long called on President Kennedy asking him to support appropriations for flood control and navigation projects in Missouri to revitalize the state's economy. The Kaysinger Dam was included in their recommendations. In March Congressman Durward G. Hall called on the House Public Works Committee to restudy the whole Kaysinger Bluff Dam with the recommendations presented by the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association in mind.⁸⁹ Symington and Long also reported that

the Army Corps was meeting with the Federal Power Commission for discussions on power installations at the Stockton, Pomme de Terre, and Kaysinger dams. The Army also studied plans to raise the pool level of Kaysinger from 673' to 700'.⁹⁰

In May the Osage River went on a near record rampage, flooding over the 1951 level and reaching the highest stage since 1943. The five highest floods on the Osage River as measured on the bridge north of Osceola were:

December, 1896	34.7'
May, 1943	41.5'
June, 1951	35.9'
July, 1958	33.5'
May, 1961	36.3'

The impact of Bagnell Dam was reflected in these statistics; Bagnell Dam kept the flood waters from draining down the valley. Only one of the five highest floods in the last seventy years had occurred before the Bagnell Dam was closed. With the 1896 flood record standing for almost 100 years before 1943, it was broken three times in the next eighteen years and nearly equalled in another.⁹¹

Brigadier General William H. Shuler of the Army Corps used the occasion of the flood in the Osage and Missouri River valley to spur Congress to appropriate money for the Army's dam projects and testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee.⁹²

The Army Corps of Engineers sought options to buy several tracts of land in Henry and St.

Clair counties for a \$75,000,000 construction program to construct Minuteman missile silos.⁹³

In July when Colonel A. P. Rollins, chief Kansas City District Army Corps engineer, spoke to local people assembled in Clinton, he got a much more favorable response than was given to Army Engineers in past years. Rollins said surveys for the Kaysinger Dam could be completed in twelve months and construction completed in five or six years.⁹⁴

In September the U. S. Government began work on the series of underground missile silos running in an arc from El Dorado Springs to Boonville.⁹⁵ Meanwhile, the Osage River had one of its worst fall floods in years. Though the water did not reach the spring high level, it stayed up a longer time and did more monetary damage.⁹⁶ This fall the Army Corps closed the gates of its Pomme de Terre Reservoir in Hickory County.⁹⁷

As the year closed, Willis Fish of the Army Corps of Engineers submitted a full report on the Engineer's revised plan for the Kaysinger Dam to the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association. It included a permanent pool level of 706' above sea level, a 1,200,000 acre-foot lake with a relatively stable shoreline, and a dam whose height was increased from the previously planned 93' to 96'.⁹⁸

1962

Major William R. Cook, staff information officer at Whiteman Air Force Base, conducted briefings with local groups on the Minuteman

missiles to be installed in west central Missouri. Cook assured residents in the Osage valley that the odds against an accidental detonation of one of the Minuteman missiles was remote. He also told them about the fail-safe mechanism in the missile chain that made unauthorized launchings impossible.⁹⁹

In January the Army Corps board of engineers approved the changes in the Kaysinger Bluff Reservoir and promised to go to Congress and get the money.¹⁰⁰ By March Senators Long and Symington endorsed the new Kaysinger Dam project and issued a joint statement saying: "We are hopeful Congress will authorize the revised plan, because it passes the test of value received." The Engineers's report said the project would return \$1.40 for every one of the \$142,753,000 the plan was supposed to cost.¹

In May the Western Missouri Land-O-Lakes Association organized, gathering together resort interests in Cass, Johnson, Pettis, Bates, Henry, Vernon, St. Clair, Cedar, Dade, Polk, Benton, Hickory, Dallas counties to exploit natural resources, promote cultural advantages, publicize the recreational and cultural advantages of the Kaysinger Basin.² State Senator William J. Cason, former leader of the political arm of the Upper Osage-South Grand Basin Association, presented the bylaws and James L. Kirkpatrick, one of Cason's colleagues on the legislative committee of the old association, became chairman of the interim committee of the new association.³ Cason donated his legal services in helping

found the Western Missouri Land-O-Lakes Association. James Kirkpatrick, the Windsor publisher, later became president.

All summer the U. S. Government was busy drilling and blasting out silos for Minuteman missiles.⁵ In the fall, Congress passed the first appropriation for the Kaysinger Dam in its present (now called the Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir) overall plan. This plan called for a permanent pool surface level of 706.2' above sea level, forming a lake of 55,600 acres with a flood pool height of 733' above sea level, flooding over three times as large an area. The dam would include hydro-electric generating capacity. This was all supposed to cost \$142,000,000. Since that time the main alterations have been in the cost and construction time.⁶

II

FOOTNOTES FOR THE CHRONOLOGY OF OSAGE RIVER HISTORY
INCLUDING REFERENCES TO HISTORIC SITES

II

Footnotes - 1617-1793

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- ⁶⁵Missouri Historical Society, "Fred Bates Letterbook," April, 1807. For discussions of the fur trade and factory system see Hiram M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade in the Far West; A History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Fur Companies of the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountain and of the Overland Commerce With Santa Fe (Stanford: Academic Reprints, 1954), 2 volumes; and Nancy M. Surrey, The Commerce of Louisiana During the French Regime, 1699-1763 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916).
- ⁶⁶Ora Brooks Peake, A History of the United States Factory System, 1795-1822 (Denver: Sage Books, 1954).
- ⁶⁷Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, pp. 184, 188.
- ⁶⁸Ibid., p. 194
- ⁶⁹Chittenden, The American Fur Trade in the Far West; and Surrey, The Commerce of Louisiana.
- ⁷⁰Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, pp. 197-198.
- ⁷¹Ibid., pp. 198-199.
- ⁷²Ibid., pp. 196-197.
- ⁷³Ibid., p. 209.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., p. 233.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 229, 242-243.

⁷⁶ For the treaty see Charles Joseph Kappler, ed., Indian Treaties, 1778-1883 (New York: Interland Pub., 1972), II, pp. 95-99. This is a reprint of the official treaty as it appears in (7 U. S. Statutes, 107-111). Charles C. Royce, Comp., Indian Land Cessions in the United States, in U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Eighteenth Annual Report 1896-1897 (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1899), plates 5 and 37 show the treaty line.

⁷⁷ Voget, Osage Research Report, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 169.

⁷⁹ Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, pp. 224-225.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 587-588.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., p. 202

⁸³ Voget, Osage Research Report, pp. 208-210.

⁸⁴ Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, p. 587.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 588.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 399.

⁸⁷ Missouri Historical Society, "Pierre Chouteau Letterbook," pp. 112, 123, 125.

⁸⁸ Henry M. Brackenridge, Views of Louisiana; Together With a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River in 1811 (Pittsburgh; Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1814), passim. Brackenridge published his observations in the Louisiana Gazette all during 1811.

⁸⁹ "Pierre Chouteau Letterbook," p. 112.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 80-81, 113-115.

⁹¹ Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, p. 588.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 589-590.

⁹⁴Mathews, The Osages, pp. 403-406.

⁹⁵Missouri Historical Society, "Journal of Jules de Mun," typescript, pp. 9-13. Carter, Territorial Papers, XV, pp. 26, 95.

⁹⁶Jules De Mun, "The Journals of Jules De Mun," Thomas Maitland Marshall, ed., in Missouri Historical Society Collections (1928), V, pp. 167-208, 311-326.

⁹⁷Janet Lecompte, "Jules De Mun," in The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., VIII, p. 97.

⁹⁸Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, pp. 712-714.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 674.

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- ¹Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, p. 671.
- ²Ibid., pp. 671-672.
- ³Missouri Historical Society, "William Clark Collection," map, Missouri ... 1814.
- ⁴Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, p. 774.
- ⁵Ibid., pp. 787-788.
- ⁶Ibid., XV, pp. 18-19.
- ⁷Ibid., p. 49.
- ⁸De Mun, "Journals," Marshall, ed., pp. 182-197; Lecompte, "Jules DeMun," pp. 99-103.
- ⁹Mathews, The Osages, p. 407.
- ¹⁰Carter, Territorial Papers, XIV, pp. 196-198.
- ¹¹Ibid., XIX, pp. 60-62.
- ¹²Ibid., XV, pp. 261, 303.
- ¹³Ibid., p. 199.
- ¹⁴"William Clark Collection," November 4, 1816.
- ¹⁵Laws of a Public and General Nature of the District of Louisiana, of the Territory of Louisiana, of the Territory of Missouri, and of the State of Missouri, Up to the Year 1824 (Jefferson City: W. Lusk & Son, 1842, I, pp. 460-464).
- ¹⁶"William Clark Collection," December 7, 1816.
- ¹⁷Carter, Territorial Papers, XV, pp. 303-304.
- ¹⁸Ibid., p. 305
- ¹⁹Ibid.
- ²⁰Missouri Historical Society, "Sibley Collection," January, 1817.

- ²¹Ibid., William Clark letter, April 4, 1817.
- ²²Carter, Territorial Papers, XV, p. 301.
- ²³"Sibley Collection," letter to William Clark, November 11, 1817. Mathews, The Osages, pp. 422-424.
- ²⁴Josiah Murfee, Interesting Facts in Relation to the City of Osage and Osage Valley (Jefferson City: n.p., 1845), passim.
- ²⁵Carter, Territorial Papers, XV, p. 455.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 378.
- ²⁷Thomas Nuttall, Nuttall's Journal of Travels Into the Arkansas Territory, October 2, 1818 - February 18, 1820 (Cleveland: The A. H. Clarke Company, 1905), pp. 247-248.
- ²⁸Kappler, Indian Treaties, II, pp. 167-168, reprint of (7 U.S. Statutes, 183).
- ²⁹St. Louis Enquirer, 21 July, 1819.
- ³⁰Henry R. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour Into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas ... Performed in the Years 1818 and 1819 (London: Sir Richard Phillips and Company, 1821), pp. 4-80; Henry R. Schoolcraft, Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas, Which were First Traversed by De Soto, in 1541 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1853).
- ³¹Henry R. Schoolcraft, Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontier (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1851), p. 41.
- ³²Ibid., p. 62.
- ³³Nuttall, Journal, pp. 281-282.
- ³⁴American State Papers: Indian Affairs (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1834), II, p. 172.
- ³⁵Nuttall, Journal, p. 236.
- ³⁶St. Louis Enquirer, July 21, 1819.
- ³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Kappler, Indian Treaties, II, pp. 182-183, reprint of (7 U.S. Statutes, 200).

³⁹"William Clark Collection," Forsyth to Clark, January 5, 1820.

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⁴¹F. A. Sampson, "Books of Early Travels in Missouri," in Missouri Historical Review, (January, 1915), IX, p. 99.

⁴²Carter, Territorial Papers, XV, pp. 586-587.

⁴³Carter, Territorial Papers, XV, p. 671.

⁴⁴Missouri Historical Society, "Forsyth Collection," letter to William Clark, January 5, 1820.

⁴⁵Carter, Territorial Papers, XV, 627-628. See historic sites - American Fur Company Post.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 629.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 586-587.

⁴⁸American Missionary Register, July, 1820, pp. 29-33.

⁴⁹Carter, Territorial Papers, XIX, p. 220.

⁵⁰Letter from George C. Sibley to Thomas L. McKenney, 1 October, 1820, printed in the Missouri Historical Review (October, 1914), IX, pp. 44-50.

⁵¹Voget, Osage Research Report, pp. 81-82.

⁵²Carter, Territorial Papers, XIX, p. 285.

⁵³Alpheus H. Favour, Old Bill Williams Mountain Man (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), pp. 47-56.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 49. U.S. Statutes at Large, III, p. 682. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, p. 589. See historic sites - Papinsville.

⁵⁵American Missionary Register, February, 1821, pp. 324-328.

⁵⁶Ibid., March 15, 1821, pp. 402-405.

⁵⁷For a journal account of this trip see American Missionary Register, August, 1821; March, 1822; April, 1822. For other materials on this exciting and important chapter in Osage River history, the establishment of Harmony Mission, see: "Harmony Mission Reports," Western Historical Manuscripts, Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia; Sarah Tuttle, Letters on the Chickasaw and Osage Missions (Boston, 1831); William White Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions, 1820-1837 (Oswega, 1949); Missouri Historical Review, 8, pp. 183-191; 19, pp. 409-418; 34, pp. 470-476.

⁵⁸G. C. Broadhead, "Harmony Mission and Methodist Missions," Missouri Historical Review (January, 1915, IX, pp. 102-103.

⁵⁹Tuttle, Letters, p. 68. See historic sites - Papinsville.

⁶⁰W. O. Atkeson, History of Bates County Missouri (Topeka: Historical Publishing Company, 1918), pp. 85-103.

⁶¹American Missionary Register, March, 1822. See historic sites - Harmony Mission.

⁶²Tuttle, Letters, p. 70.

⁶³Peake, A History of the United States Factory System, 1795-1822, pp. 23, 32.

^{63a}Captain William Becknell, "Journal of Two Expeditions From Boon's Lick to Santa Fe," Missouri Intelligencer, April 22, 1823.

⁶⁴"Richard Graham Papers," November 12, 1821.

⁶⁵Carter, Territorial Papers, XIX, pp. 408-411, pp. 337-441.

⁶⁶(3 U.S. Statutes, 682)

⁶⁷Peake, A History of the United States Factory System, 1795-1822, p. 101.

⁶⁸Missouri Intelligencer, September 17, 1822.

⁶⁹Kappler, Indian Treaties, II, p. 201.

⁷⁰"Harmony Mission Journal," 1922-1923.

⁷¹Carter, Territorial Papers, XIX, pp. 581-582.

- ⁷²Favour, Old Bill Williams Mountain Man, pp. 63-64.
- ⁷³"harmony Mission Journal," August, 1823.
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- ⁷⁵Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions, 1820-1837, p. 137.
- ⁷⁶American State Papers: Indian Affairs, II, p. 449.
- ⁷⁷"Report of the Secretary of War Conveying a List of Licenses to Trade with the Indians," House Executive Document 86, 19th Congress, 2nd. Session.
- ⁷⁸Voget, Osage Research Report, p. 222.
- ⁷⁹Arrell M. Gibson, The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 41-51.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., p. 91.
- ⁸¹Ibid., pp. 91-104.
- ⁸²Kappler, Indian Treaties, II, pp. 217-221, reprint of (7 U.S. Statutes, 240).
- ⁸³Voget, Osage Research Report, p. 217.
- ⁸⁴Gibson, The Kickapoos, p. 101.
- ⁸⁵"Exhibit of the State of Indian School at Harmony, Great Osage Nation for 30 September, 1826," Missouri State Historical Society, Western Historical Manuscripts.
- ⁸⁶Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions, 1820-1837, p. 167.
- ⁸⁷Voget, Osage Research Report, p. 231.
- ⁸⁸American State Papers: Indian Affairs, II, pp. 673-674.
- ⁸⁹George Catlin, North American Indians; Being Letters and Notes on Their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839 (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart and Company, 1913), II, p. 50.

⁹⁰The History of Henry and St. Clair Counties, Missouri (St. Joseph, Missouri National Historical Company, 1883), p. 83.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 831. See historic sites - Hogles Trading Post.

⁹²Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions, 1820-1837, p. 211.

⁹³Grant Foreman, Indians & Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830, II, pp. 185-188.

⁹⁴Gibson, The Kickapoos, p. 107.

⁹⁵James H. Lay & George C. Worth, History of Benton County Missouri In Two Parts (Warsaw: Warsaw Times, 1914), pp. 9-22.

⁹⁶History of Henry, p. 375. See historic sites - Bledsoe's Ferry, Ezekiel Williams' cabin.

⁹⁷Augusta Graham, "Jacob Coonce and His Gun 'Betsey'," Missouri Magazine, (July, 1931), p. 26. History of St. Clair, p. 831. See historic sites - Jacob Coonce cabin.

⁹⁸Lay, History of Benton, pp. 9-22. History of Henry and St. Clair, pp. 80-90, 821-841. F. Marion Wilson, History of Hickory County (Hermitage: Wilson Brothers, 1907), pp. 13-25. Kathleen Kelly White & Kathleen White Miles, The History of Benton County, Missouri (Warsaw: The Printery, 1969), I, 1c-28c. The Old Settlers' History of Bates County, Missouri (Amsterdam, Mo.: Tathwell & Maxey, 1897). History of Vernon County, Missouri (St. Louis: Brown & Company, 1887).

⁹⁹Bates County Democrat, November 3, 1882.

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¹Benjamin Franklin Lawler, St. Clair County Democrat, October 19, 1911.

²Frederic E. Voelker, "Ezekiel Williams," in The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, ed. LeRoy R. Hafen (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1972), pp. 393-409. See historic sites - Ezekiel Williams cabin.

³David Sievert Lavender, Bent's Fort (Garden City: Doubleday, 1954), passim; Graham, "Jacob Coonce." See historic sites - Jacob Coonce cabin.

⁴History of Henry, pp. 85-95. "Travelog," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, June-October, 1925. See historic sites - Sardis Baptist Church.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Kappler, Indian Treaties, II, 365-367.

⁷Uel W. Lamkin, History of Henry County Missouri (St. Louis: Historical Publishing Company, 1919, p. 82.

⁸Curtis H. Synhorst, "Introduction to Pomme de Terre Historical Sites," in "Cultural Resources Survey, Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir Project: Lower Pomme De Terre River Arm," June, 1976, pp. 57-87; History of St. Clair, pp. 833-835.

⁹St. Clair County Democrat, October 19, 1911. See historic sites - Harmony Mission, Boonville Trail; Bledsoe's Ferry; crossing of the Osage at Crow and Crutchfield's.

¹⁰Joseph Schafer, "Jesse Applegate: Pioneer, Statesman and Philosopher," Washington Historical Quarterly, I (April, 1907) pp. 217-233.

¹¹Lavender, Bent's Fort, passim. See historic sites - Grand Fork.

¹²Joseph Schafer, "Jesse Applegate, Pioneer and State Builder," University of Oregon Bulletin, IX, no. 6. Jesse Applegate, A Day With the Cow Column in 1843 (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1934).

¹³The Old Settler's History of Bates, p. 15.

¹⁴"Missouri State Archives," Volume 41, pp. 251-252, Missouri State Historical Society, Western Historical Manuscripts.

¹⁵Laws of a Public and General Nature of the State of Missouri Passed Between the Years 1824 & 1836 (Jefferson City: W. Lusk & Son, 1842), II, pp. 419-420.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 427-428.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 451.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 477-478.

¹⁹History of Henry, pp. 101, 378, 95. See historic sites: Calhoun Square.

²⁰Ibid., p. 97.

²¹William G. Bek, trans., "Nicholas Hesse, German Visitor to Missouri, 1835-1837," Missouri Historical Review, XLI, (October, 1946), pp. 30-32. Historic sites for this period include: Atteberry Bridges homes, Berry Bend, Breshears' Prairie, first homesite in Osceola, Johnson Museum, Nigger Springs, John Powell Rogers' cabin, Wisdom Homestead.

²²White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 23c.

²³Lamkin, History of Henry.

²⁴Ibid., p. 96.

²⁵St. Louis Missouri Argus, September 13, 1838.

²⁶J. H. Bronaugh, "Western Missouri in 1837," Missouri Historical Review, XX, (April, 1926), pp. 388-392.

²⁷Ward L. Schrantz, "'Osage War' 100 Years Ago," Carthage Evening Press, November 27, 1937. This article is the second in a series of articles running in the Carthage Evening Press, November 26, 27, 29, 30 and December 1, 1937, hereafter cited by date.

²⁸Other sources for the Osage War include Robert A. Glenn, "The Osage War," Missouri Historical Review, XIV, (January, 1920), pp. 201-210, and Roy Godsey, "The Osage War, 1837," Missouri Historical Review, XX, (October, 1925), pp. 96-100.

- ²⁹Jefferson Republican, August 5, 1837.
- ³⁰Joshua W. Vincent, Tales of the Ozarks (Linn Creek: Reveille Printing House, 1913).
- ³¹History of St. Clair, pp. 844-848; Synhorst, Introduction to Pomme de Terre Historical Sites, pp. 57-87.
- ³²Schrantz, "Osage War," Carthage Evening Press, November 28, 1937.
- ³³Grant Foreman, "Copies of Manuscripts in the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Oklahoma State Historical Society, Oklahoma City, II, 234-239, cited in Voget, Osage Research Report.
- ³⁴Ibid., pp. 240-245.
- ³⁵Robert A. Glenn, "The Osage War," pp. 204-206.
- ³⁶Schrantz, "Osage War," Carthage Evening Press, December 1, 1937.
- ³⁷"Missouri State Archives," f. 112, Missouri State Historical Society, Western Historical Manuscripts; Glenn, "The Osage War," pp. 204-207.
- ³⁸"Missouri State Archives," f. 11911.
- ³⁹Bek, "Nicholas Hess," p. 374.
- ⁴⁰St. Louis Argus, September 13, 1838.
- ⁴¹Jefferson Republican, April 21, 1838.
- ⁴²E. B. Trail Collection, Missouri State Historical Society, Western Historical Manuscripts, notebook 31.
- ⁴³Ibid.
- ⁴⁴History of St. Clair, p. 834.
- ⁴⁵Lawler, St. Clair County Democrat, February 22, 1912.
- ⁴⁶St. Clair County Democrat, March 13, 1924.
- ⁴⁷History of Henry, p. 407. Almost all the historic sites for this period of early settlement are within in sight of flowing water. See, in addition to those noted

above: Alexander home, Brookshire homestead, Coon Creek Baptist Church, Dripping Springs, Fairfield, Marshall Creek Settlement, Whitley Bend rockhouse, Chastain homestead, Chalybeate Springs. For one of the early prairie settlements, see Allen Prairie.

⁴⁸Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 95. See historic sites - Tebo Baptist Church.

⁴⁹History of Henry, pp. 422-423. See historic sites - Bronaugh homes.

⁵⁰St. Louis Missouri Argus, February 23, 1839.

⁵¹Ibid., May 10, 1839.

⁵²Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States (Washington: Thomas Allen, 1841). Hereafter these compendiums are referred to in the text as U.S. Census for each succeeding ten year period. Because of space limitations, they are not cited individually. The printed census volumes are available at most large libraries around the country.

⁵³Miller County Autogram, August 19, 1937.

⁵⁴Murfee, Interesting Facts.

⁵⁵G. C. Sibley, "Report of the Board of Internal Improvements, to the General Assembly of Missouri," December 29, 1840. "Report of the Chief Engineer of the Board of Internal Improvements," and "Appendix," all in Senate Journal of the Missouri Legislature, 11th General Assembly, 1840-1841, pp. 481-525.

⁵⁶Victor Tixier, Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies, edited by John F. McDermott (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), pp. 264-284.

⁵⁷Synhorst, "Introduction to Pomme de Terre Historical Sites," pp. 57-87.

⁵⁸St. Clair County Democrat, April 28, 1921.

⁵⁹History of Henry, pp. 103-106.

⁶⁰Charles Pancoast, A Quaker Forty-Niner, edited by Anna P. Hannum (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp. 85-86.

⁶¹Old Settlers' History of Bates, p. 26.

⁶²"Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey," in the Missouri State Historical Society, Western Historical Manuscripts, f. 11845. Cited below as W.P.A.--H.R.S.

⁶³Ibid., Benton County.

⁶⁴J. B. Johnson, editor, History of Vernon County Missouri (Chicago: C. F. Cooper and Company, 1911, I, 181-182.

⁶⁵A. Loyd Collins, "Manuscript History of Henry County," typescript, n.d., Missouri State Historical Society.

⁶⁶Old Settlers' History of Bates, pp. 195-197.

⁶⁷St. Clair County Democrat, July 31, 1913.

⁶⁸Ibid., March 20, 1913. One of the greatest obstacles to transportation was crossing rivers; shoal places became fords. See Piper Ford. Not until later in the 1840's were bridges built. See Fairfield covered bridge.

⁶⁹Tixier, Tixier's Travels, pp. 264-284.

⁷⁰St. Clair County Democrat, July 27, 1911; October 9, 1913.

⁷¹Synhorst, "Introduction to Pomme de Terre Historical Sites," pp. 57-87.

⁷²St. Clair County Democrat, December 26, 1912.

⁷³Ibid., May 1, 1913. For historic sites illustrating this stage of settlement see: Brookshire Silver Mine, Gregory Valley, Stockton Spring, Tebo Baptist Church, village of Leesville and Tebo.

⁷⁴B. B. Ithrig, History of Hickory County, p. 38. To contrast the big houses of the wealthy with the common dwellings of ordinary families, see historic site: Alexander home, Anatok, Drake farm, Ferguson House, John Powell Rogers cabin.

⁷⁵St. Clair County Democrat, June 22, 1916; April 24, 1913. Many settlers used caves and rockshelters as dwellings or storage places. See historic sites: Francis Rockhouse Cave, Roger's Shelter Rockhouse, Whitley Bend Rockhouse.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷St. Clair County Democrat, September 18, 1913.

⁷⁸St. Clair County Democrat, February 16, 1911. Also important to the local market were the grist mills, the first industries in the neighborhoods. Among those before the Civil War see: Caplinger Mills, Cooks Mill, Crow's Mill, Hogles Creek Mill, Jackson's Mill, Little Tebo Mill, Mill Creek, Rankin Paxton Mill, Round Bottom Ford and Rock Dam, Ritchie's Mill, Wilkerson's Mill, Williams Mill.

⁷⁹St. Clair County Democrat, August 29, 1912. The counties sold the lands in the sixteenth section of every township to raise school funds. See historic sites: Bates County School lands, school lands, Benton County.

⁸⁰St. Louis Missouri Argus, October 8, 1840. See historic sites: Bone Hole, Koch Hole.

⁸¹St. Louis Missouri Argus, November 21, 1840.

⁸²St. Louis Missouri Argus, December 22, 1840.

⁸³Laws of the State of Missouri, 1840-1841 (Jefferson City: Calvin Gunn, 1841), pp. 32-38.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 68. See historic sites: Harmony Mission.

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 40-41.

⁸⁷Jefferson Inquirer, May 20, 1841.

⁸⁸Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri, 1842-1843 (Jefferson City: W. Lusk and Son, 1843), pp. 199, 256, 284-286, 302. St. Clair County Democrat, October 11, 1906. See historic sites: Roscoe Landing.

⁸⁹"Missouri State Archives," f. 18513.

⁹⁰"Missouri State Archives," f. 10679.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²"Missouri State Archives," f. 10614, f. 10558.

⁹³"Missouri State Archives," f. 10589.

⁹⁴St. Clair County Democrat, December 11, 1913.

⁹⁵St. Louis Republican, December 24, 1842. See historic sites: Koch Hole, Bone Hole.

⁹⁶Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 100-101.

⁹⁷Laws of the State of Missouri, 1842-1843 (Jefferson City: Allen Hammond, 1843), pp. 336-337.

⁹⁸Old Settlers' History of Bates, p. 174.

⁹⁹Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 105.

¹⁰⁰Jefferson Inquirer, September 14, 1843.

Footnotes - 1843-1861

- ¹"Missouri State Archives," f. 11747. Minnie Organ, "History of the County Press," Missouri Historical Review, IV, (April, 1910) pp. 155-156.
- ²White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 23c.
- ³"Missouri State Archives," f. 11640.
- ⁴W.P.A.--H.R.S., f. 11846.
- ⁵History of St. Clair, p. 843.
- ⁶White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 67c.
- ⁷History of St. Clair, pp. 844-848.
- ⁸Ibid., pp. 847-848. See historic sites: Whitley Bend Rockhouse.
- ⁹Laws of the State of Missouri (Jefferson City: James Lusk, 1845), pp. 29-37.
- ¹⁰"Missouri State Archives," f. 11421.
- ¹¹Ibid.
- ¹²Ibid., f. 509.
- ¹³Ibid., f. 11421.
- ¹⁴Ibid., f. 11926.
- ¹⁵Laws of the State of Missouri (Jefferson City: James Lusk, 1847), pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁶History of Henry, p. 150.
- ¹⁷White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 143-17e.
- ¹⁸St. Clair County Democrat, September 9, 1909.
- ¹⁹Collins, "Manuscript History of Henry County."
- ²⁰"Missouri State Archives," f. 11911.
- ²¹Ibid., f. 12166.

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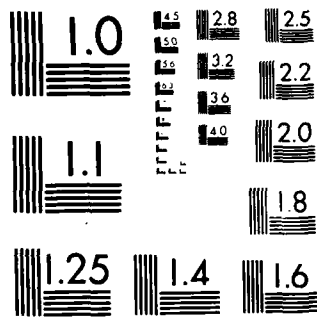
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22. Laws of the State of Missouri (1846-1847), pp. 217-
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24. Warsaw Saturday Morning Visitor, June 10, 1848.
25. Ibid.
26. St. Clair County Democrat, April 28, 1921.
27. St. Clair County Democrat, October 20, 1910.
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29. Laws of the State of Missouri, 1848-1849, (Jefferson City: Hampton T. Boon, 1849), pp. 400-408.
30. St. Clair County Democrat, February 29, 1912; History of St. Clair, pp. 953-954.
31. History of Henry, pp. 124-125.
32. St. Clair County Democrat, August 24, 1911. See historic sites: Osceola Steamboat Landing, West Point.
33. St. Clair County Democrat, January 19, 1911.
34. Osceola Independent.
35. Osceola Independent, January 18, 1851. For a discussion of pre-Civil War navigation on the Osage see Gerard Schultz, "Steam Navigation on the Osage River Before the Civil War," Missouri Historical Review, XXIX (April, 1935), pp. 175-185.
36. Laws of the State of Missouri, 1850-1851 (Jefferson City: James Lusk, 1851), pp. 188-189.
37. Osceola Independent, January 8, 1853.
38. Osceola Independent, April 23, 1853.
39. Ibid.
40. Quoted in the Osceola Independent, April 13, 1853.

- ⁴¹Osceola Independent, May 21, May 28, 1853.
- ⁴²Ibid.
- ⁴³Osceola Independent, May 7, 1853.
- ⁴⁴Osceola Independent, June 11, 1853. See historic sites: Monegaw Hotel.
- ⁴⁵Osceola Independent, July 9, 1853.
- ⁴⁶Ibid.
- ⁴⁷Ibid.
- ⁴⁸History of St. Clair, p. 870.
- ⁴⁹History of Vernon, p. 186.
- ⁵⁰St. Clair County Democrat, January 28, 1915.
- ⁵¹History of Henry, p. 263.
- ⁵²St. Clair County Democrat, July 13, 1913. White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 28c.
- ⁵³White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 23c.
- ⁵⁴Laws of the State of Missouri, 1854-1855 (Jefferson City: James Lusk, 1855), pp. 179-181.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 17-18. See historic sites: Vernon County Courthouse.
- ⁵⁶Ibid., p. 500.
- ⁵⁷Benton County Enterprise, March 4, 1916.
- ⁵⁸St. Clair County Democrat, June 8, 1911.
- ⁵⁹Charles V. Riley, The Locust Plague in the United States (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1877), p. 34.
- ⁶⁰Law of the State of Missouri, 1855-1856 (Jefferson City: James Lusk, 1856), p. 315.
- ⁶¹History of Vernon, p. 188. Historic sites for this period include: Benton County jail, Benton County slave market, Dorman house, Cady property.

⁶²W.P.A.--H.R.S., f. 2767.

⁶³Old Settlers History of Bates.

⁶⁴History of Vernon, pp. 206-212.

⁶⁵For background on the border warfare see, Eli Thayer, A History of the Kansas Crusade (New York: Harper & Row, 1889); Bruce Catton, This Hallowed Ground (Garden City: Doubleday, 1956); Samuel A. Johnson, The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1954); James C. Malin, "The Proslavery Background of the Kansas Struggle," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, X, (December, 1923), pp. 285-301; James Malin, John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six (Philadelphia, 1942); Stephen B. Oates, To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown (New York: Harper & Row, 1970). These books and articles put the Kansas and Missouri troubles into a national context. For documents relating specifically to the upper Osage counties see "Documents Illustrating the Troubles on the Border, 1858," Missouri Historical Review, I, pp. 198-215, 293-306.

⁶⁶Paul W. Gates, Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1854).

⁶⁷Riley, The Locust Plague, p. 35.

⁶⁸History of Vernon, p. 187. For examples of homes built in these boom days, see historic sites: Tennessee house, Hoff family home, Pigg house.

⁶⁹Laws of the State of Missouri, 1856-1857, pp. 817-818, 827.

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 359-360.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 358-359. Also important to transportation in the region, a bridge was built across the Sac River south of Osceola. See historic sites: Sac River Bridge.

⁷²New York Herald, September 16, 1858.

⁷³Jefferson Inquirer, July 4, 1857.

⁷⁴The most thorough account of the Butterfield Overland Mail is in Roscoe P. Conkling, The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869, (2 vols.) (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1947)

- ⁷⁵White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 23c.
- ⁷⁶History of Henry, p. 357.
- ⁷⁷Old Settlers' History of Bates, pp. 32-33.
- ⁷⁸Jefferson Inquirer, October 16, 1858. See historic sites: Bailey Station; Burns Station; Orange City; Quincy Station; Yoast's Station; Warsaw Station.
- ⁷⁹History of Vernon, pp. 222-232; John Brown's raid is described in the Missouri Historical Review, XXVI, p. 79; other references to the "border warfare" in the Review include: I, 198-215, 293-306; II, 27-30, 61-77; 221-232; XVII, 57-61, 266-284; XXX, 39-45; XXXIV, 3-17; XLIV, 221-224. See historic sites: John Brown's Raid.
- ⁸⁰Laws of the State of Missouri, 1858-1859, I, pp. 8-9. See historic sites: Enterprise Print Shop.
- ⁸¹Laws of the State of Missouri, 1860-1861, pp. 625, 587, 617-618.
- ⁸²History of St. Clair, pp. 311-312.
- ⁸³Old Settlers' History of Bates, p. 38. Collins, "Manuscript History of Henry."
- ⁸⁴Ibid.
- ⁸⁵Lamkin, History of Henry, pp. 132-134.
- ⁸⁶"Henry County Court Records," November 20, 1960.
- ⁸⁷St. Clair County Democrat, October 31, 1929. History of St. Clair, p. 985.
- ⁸⁸Kathleen W. Miles, Bitter Ground: The Civil War in Missouri's Golden Valley, Benton, Henry and St. Clair Counties (Warsaw: The Printery, 1971), p. 34.
- ⁸⁹Ibid.
- ⁹⁰Ibid.
- ⁹¹Old Settlers' History of Bates, p. 38.
- ⁹²History of St. Clair, p. 965.

- ⁹³History of Cedar, pp. 34-40.
- ⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 314-315. See historic sites: Cole Camp Battlefield.
- ⁹⁵Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 137.
- ⁹⁶History of Henry.
- ⁹⁷Ibid., p. 892.
- ⁹⁸Miles, Bitter Ground, p. 45.
- ⁹⁹Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 141.

Footnotes - 1861-1870

- ¹Miles, Bitter Ground, p. 64.
- ²Ibid., p. 75.
- ³Letter from Fred L. Harriman in "Vernon County" historic sites file, Missouri State Historical Society.
- ⁴Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 143. Miles, Bitter Ground, p. 72.
- ⁵Miles, Bitter Ground, p. 75.
- ⁶St. Clair County Courier, October 9, 1952.
- ⁷St. Clair County Democrat, October 31, 1929.
- ⁸Ibid.
- ⁹The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Volume III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902) p. 196. Here after cited as W.O.R.
- ¹⁰St. Clair County Courier, October 9, 1952.
- ¹¹Old Settlers' History of Bates, pp. 39-40.
- ¹²W.O.R., Series 1, III, pp. 200-201. See historic sites: Caplinger Mills and Ritchie's Mill.
- ¹³Miles, Bitter Ground, pp. 80-97.
- ¹⁴White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 28e-35e.
- ¹⁵W.O.R., Series 1, III, p. 555.
- ¹⁶W.O.R., Series 1, VIII, pp. 376-377.
- ¹⁷Ibid., p. 376.
- ¹⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁹White & Miles, History of Benton, I, pp. 34e-35e.
- ²⁰W.O.R., Series I, VIII, p. 395.

- ²¹Ibid., pp. 410-11.
- ²²Ibid., p. 409.
- ²³Ibid., p. 443. See historic sites: Ashby Mound.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 424. See historic sites: Harris House.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 458.
- ²⁶Old Settlers' History of Bates, p. 40.
- ²⁷White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 37e.
- ²⁸Jessie Benton Fremont, The Story of the Guard: A Chronicle of the War (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1863), pp. 87-123.
- ²⁹Collins, "Manuscript History of Henry County," p. 80. Collins included a poem about this battle of Clinton. The date here could be May 11, 1862; see Miles, Bitter Ground, pp. 113-114.
- ³⁰W.O.R., Series 1, VIII, p. 341.
- ³¹Ibid.
- ³²Ibid., p. 342.
- ³³Ibid.
- ³⁴Ibid., pp. 365-366. See historic sites: Little Dixie, Little Mill Creek Battle.
- ³⁵W.O.R., Series I, XIII, pp. 51-52. See historic sites: Shiloh Tabernacle.
- ³⁶W.O.R., Series 1, VIII, 366.
- ³⁷W.O.R., Series 1, XIII, 53-57.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 61.
- ³⁹Ibid. See historic sites: Warsaw Christian Church.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 63-64.
- ⁴¹"Bushwhackers!!" in Miles, Bitter Ground. See historic sites: Bushwhacker Museum.

⁴²W.O.R., Series 1, XIII.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 200-201.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 230.

⁴⁷Miles, Bitter Ground, p. 167.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 227.

⁴⁹Laws of the State of Missouri, 1862-1863, p. 206.

⁵⁰W.O.R., Series 1, XXII, pt. 1, pp. 333-334.

⁵¹Fort Toothman was located in Bates County (NW 35, T40N; R32W). W.O.R., Series 1, XXII, pt. 1, p. 376.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 377, 445, 549.

⁵³Miles, Bitter Ground, p. 203. William E. Parrish, A History of Missouri, 1860 to 1875 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), p. 100.

⁵⁴Order No. 11 is printed in the Missouri Historical Review, II, pp. 222-223.

⁵⁵"Bushwhacking Days in Hickory County," Opal S. Butts, 1968, typescript in Western Historical Manuscripts, Missouri State Historical Society.

⁵⁶Miles, Bitter Ground, pp. 190-191.

⁵⁷W.O.R., Series, XXII, pt. 1, p. 678.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 672.

⁵⁹History of Cedar, pp. 422-424.

⁶⁰W.O.R., Series 1, XXII, pt. 1, pp. 626-629.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 672.

⁶²Ibid., p. 673.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 626, 638.

- ⁶⁴Ibid., p. 629.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., p. 626.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 676, 679.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 625-626.
- ⁶⁸Ibid., p. 628.
- ⁶⁹W.O.R., Series 1, XXXIV, pp. 856-858.
- ⁷⁰Collins, "Manuscript History of Henry County."
- ⁷¹W.O.R., Series 1, XXXIV, pp. 936, 941-942, 954-955.
- ⁷²Ibid., pp. 990-992.
- ⁷³Ibid., pp. 1,000, 1,001, 1,009-1,010.
- ⁷⁴W.O.R., Series 1, XLI, pp. 892-893.
- ⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 894-895.
- ⁷⁶W.O.R., Series 1, XLVIII, p. 354.
- ⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 375-276. See historic sites: North Hermitage Mill.
- ⁷⁸Miles, Bitter Ground, p. 260.
- ⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 171-172.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., p. 232.
- ⁸¹Riley, The Locust Plague in the United States, pp. 36-37.
- ⁸²St. Clair County Democrat, December 15, 1910.
- ⁸³Missouri Advocate, May 17, 1866. See historic sites: Sappington Place.
- ⁸⁴Missouri Republican, June 23, 1866.
- ⁸⁵W.P.A.--H.R.S., f. 11850.
- ⁸⁶History of Henry, p. 266.
- ⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 362-363.

⁸⁸History of St. Clair, p. 874. See historic sites:
Corbin -- Bear Creek.

⁸⁹Miles, Bitter Ground, p. 264.

⁹⁰Dozens of books cover the Younger-James chapter in Missouri History, among them: Augustus C. Appler, The Guerrillas of the West (St. Louis: Eureka Publishing Company, 1876); R. T. Bradley, The Outlaws of the Border (St. Louis: G. R. Darrow, c1880); James W. Buel, The Border Outlaws (St. Louis: Historical Publishing Company, 1881).

⁹¹White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 28c.

⁹²W.P.A.--H.R.S., f. 11845.

⁹³St. Clair County Democrat, October 14, 1926. See historic sites: Baker Post Office, Bethel Camp, Hodges House.

⁹⁴History of Henry, p. 175.

⁹⁵Osceola Herald, April 14, 1870, April 28, 1870. See historic sites: Hickory County Jail.

⁹⁶History of Henry, p. 286.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 288.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 269.

⁹⁹History of St. Clair, p. 904.

Footnotes -- 1871-1904

¹History of Henry, p. 286.

²Ibid., pp. 529-530.

³Annual Report of the Tebo and Neosho Railroad Company
(St. Louis, 1869), pp. 6-7.

⁴The Osceola Herald, April 7, 1870.

⁵The Osceola Herald, July 14, 1870.

⁶Ibid.

⁷The Osceola Herald, September 8, 1870.

⁸The Osceola Herald, December 22, 1870.

⁹The Osceola Herald, March 23, 1871.

¹⁰The Osceola Herald, June 1, August 10, 1871.

¹¹The Osceola Herald, October 5, 1871.

¹²The Osceola Herald, November 2, 1871.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴History of Henry, pp. 257-258.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 270

¹⁶The Osceola Herald, January 11, 1872.

¹⁷History of St. Clair, p. 908.

¹⁸The Osceola Herald, July 18, 1872.

¹⁹The Osceola Herald, January 16, 1873.

²⁰St. Clair County Democrat, April 18, 1907.

²¹W.P.A.--H.R.S., f. 9939.

²²Osceola Democrat, August 12, 1872.

²³Osceola Democrat, May 4, 1872.

- ²⁴Osceola Democrat.
- ²⁵History of Henry and St. Clair, pp. 384, 890.
- ²⁶The Osceola Herald, January 2, 1873.
- ²⁷Osceola Democrat, January 31, 1873.
- ²⁸Osceola Democrat, December 6, 1873.
- ²⁹History of St. Clair, pp. 935-937.
- ³⁰History of St. Clair, pp. 954-957.
- ³¹Wilbur Zinc, The Roscoe Gun Battle: The Younger Brothers Vs. Pinkerton Detectives (Appleton City, 1967). History of St. Clair, pp. 930-934. See historic sites: Younger Marker, Bronaugh homes, McFerrine cabin.
- ³²White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 28c.
- ³³Riley, The Locust Plague in the United States, pp. 39-42.
- ³⁴History of St. Clair, p. 885.
- ³⁵Ibid., p. 917.
- ³⁶History of Henry, p. 380.
- ³⁷Osceola Democrat, April 15, 1875.
- ³⁸Osceola Sentinel, May 22, 1875.
- ³⁹History of Henry, pp. 254-255.
- ⁴⁰Riley, The Locust Plague in the United States, pp. 42-47.
- ⁴¹Osceola Democrat, June 3, 1875.
- ⁴²History of Henry, pp. 294-295.
- ⁴³History of St. Clair, p. 919.
- ⁴⁴McLane Papers, Western Historical Manuscripts, Missouri State Historical Society, f. 20.
- ⁴⁵W.P.A.--H.R.S., f. 9939.

⁴⁶History of Henry, pp. 427, 371. See historic sites:
Calhoun Square.

⁴⁷Osceola Sun, January 24, 1878.

⁴⁸History of St. Clair, pp. 920, 949.

⁴⁹W.P.A.--H.R.S., f. 9939.

⁵⁰History of Henry, p. 337.

⁵¹Old Settlers' History of Bates, p. 53.

⁵²Collins, "Manuscript History of Henry County,"
Chapter XVIII.

⁵³Old Settlers' History of Bates, pp. 55-56.

⁵⁴White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 2e.

⁵⁵History of St. Clair, p. 992.

⁵⁶History of Henry, pp. 332-333.

⁵⁷White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 2ld.

⁵⁸History of Henry, p. 187.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 368-369.

⁶⁰Osceola Advance, January 2, 1884.

⁶¹Report on the Forests of North America (Washington:
Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 560.

⁶²W.P.A.--H.R.S., f. 11845. See historic sites:
Cottey College.

⁶³Lamkin, History of Henry. See historic sites:
Anheuser-Busch Building.

⁶⁴Lamkin, History of Henry, pp. 162-163. For historic
sites associated with the prosperity of the 1880's see:
J. H. Britt's home, Deepwater Brick, Dickey Tile, Doyal
Hastain home, Spring Park.

⁶⁵Collins, "Manuscript History of Henry," pp. 128-
170. See historic sites: Leaky Roof Railroad.

⁶⁶White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 5c.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 10c.

⁶⁸Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 172.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Old Settlers' History of Bates, p. 53.

⁷¹See appendix, "Mineral Spring in the Osage Valley." See historic sites: Clinton Artesian Park, Chalybeate Springs, Peelor Spring, White Sulphur Spring.

⁷²Southwest Missouri: A Plain Simple and Truthful Statement of Its Resources, Possibilities, and The Inducements It Offers To The Homeseeker and The Investor (St. Louis: Southwest Missouri Immigration Society, 1888). Jefferson City Daily Tribune, October 27, 1888.

⁷³St. Clair County Democrat, January 5, 1938, May 5, 1938. Walter Heren, "St. Clair County Will End State's Oldest Lawsuit," Kansas City Journal-Post, February 20, 1938. History of St. Clair, pp. 903-924. See historic sites: Jo Shelby home.

⁷⁴Other sources on the St. Clair County bond controversy include: "Why Missourians Insist on Being Shown," Kahoka Gazette-Herald, June 6, 1919; St. Clair County Republican, August 28, 1919.

⁷⁵Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 177.

⁷⁶Tribune Almanac, January 1891, p. 295.

⁷⁷Lamkin, History of Henry, pp. 177-178.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 178-179.

⁷⁹White & Miles, History of Benton, I, 43d. See historic sites: William J. Stone Monument.

⁸⁰Lamkin, History of Henry, pp. 181-182.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 14c. See historic sites: Middle Swinging Bridge, Hackberry Bridge.

⁸³Tribune Almanac, January, 1895, p. 297.

- ⁸⁴St. Clair County Democrat, September, 1915.
- ⁸⁵White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 45d.
- ⁸⁶Old Settlers' History of Bates, pp. 56-57.
- ⁸⁷Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 184.
- ⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 186-187.
- ⁸⁹Ibid., p. 194.
- ⁹⁰Benton County Enterprise, January 19, 1900.
- ⁹¹Benton County Enterprise, February 16, 1900.
- ⁹²Benton County Enterprise, February 23, 1900.
- ⁹³Benton County Enterprise, February 2, 1900.
- ⁹⁴Benton County Enterprise, February 23, 1900. See historic sites: Johnson homes, Thomas Moore Johnson Library, Lay Park, Little Tebo Bridge, Old Quarry, Upper Swinging Bridge.
- ⁹⁵Cole Camp Courier, July 25, September 5, 1901; Lamkin, History of Henry, pp. 204-203. See historic sites: Baker Post Office.
- ⁹⁶Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 206.
- ⁹⁷St. Clair County Democrat, September, 1915.
- ⁹⁸Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 212.
- ⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 215-216.

Footnotes - 1905-1925

¹This building burned in February, 1926. See historic sites: Monegaw Springs Hotel.

²Lamkin, History of Henry, pp. 217-218.

³Ibid., pp. 219-220.

⁴St. Clair County Democrat, January 25, 1906; February 22, 1906; March 1, 1906; May 10, 1906. This weekly newspaper, the St. Clair County Democrat, is the major source for the chronological outline in the early twentieth century and is cited below as the Democrat. It was published in Osceola until the 1950's when it was succeeded by the St. Clair County Courier. Of the many weekly newspapers in the valley I chose to follow the Democrat and the Courier for several reasons: 1) they were published in an Osage River town, Osceola; 2) an unbroken sequence of papers was available throughout the period; 3) major newspapers in the other two major counties in the reservoir region, Benton and Henry counties, have already been used as historical documents in White & Miles, History of Benton and The Annals of Henry County, both available in published book form. My reliance on two newspapers is, obviously, a far from ideal situation, imposed by research time limitations. Nonetheless, it does at least provide an outline to be refined by further research.

⁵Democrat, November 19, 1906.

⁶Democrat, July 19; September 27, 1906.

⁷Democrat, August 16, 1906.

⁸Democrat, June 21, 1906.

⁹Democrat, December 13, 1906.

¹⁰Democrat, January 17, 1907.

¹¹Democrat, January 17, 1907.

¹²Democrat, January 31, 1907.

¹³Democrat, January 31, 1907.

¹⁴Democrat, May 2; May 16, 1907.

- ¹⁵ Democrat, July 25, 1907.
- ¹⁶ Democrat, March 7; April 11; May 16; July 25; August 8; September 19; October 17; October 24, 1907.
- ¹⁷ Democrat, February 7; February 21, 1907.
- ¹⁸ Democrat, October 3, 1907.
- ¹⁹ Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 230.
- ²⁰ Democrat, May 16, 1907.
- ²¹ Democrat, October 24, 1907.
- ²² Democrat, December 26, 1907.
- ²³ Democrat, January 30, 1908.
- ²⁴ Democrat, April 9; July 30, 1908. For a photo of the Rambler see St. Clair County Courier, April 27, 1961. See historic sites: Heath suspension bridge.
- ²⁵ Democrat, July 30, 1908.
- ²⁶ Democrat, August 27, 1908.
- ²⁷ Democrat, August 27, 1908.
- ²⁸ Democrat, September 17, 1908.
- ²⁹ Democrat, April 8, 1909.
- ³⁰ Democrat, February 4; July 15, 1909.
- ³¹ Democrat, October 14, 1909. See historic sites: Dickey Tile.
- ³² Lamkin, History of Henry, p. 236.
- ³³ Democrat, December 8, 1910; June 16, 1910; December 8, 1910. See historic sites: Weaubleau Congregational Church.
- ³⁴ Democrat, June 1; June 8, 1911.
- ³⁵ Democrat, January 11, January 25, 1911.
- ³⁶ Democrat, February 1, 1912; February 8, 1912; August

1, 1912; September 19, 1912. See historic sites: Brown Ford Bridge, Crow Island Bridge.

³⁷Democrat, May 2; June 20, 1912.

³⁸Democrat, July 10, 1913.

³⁹Democrat, January 7, 1915.

⁴⁰Democrat, February 4, 1915.

⁴¹Democrat, February-May, 1915.

⁴²Democrat, January 21, 1915.

⁴³See appendix, "Mineral Springs in the Upper Osage River Valley."

⁴⁴Democrat, July-September, 1915.

⁴⁵Democrat, April 27, 1916.

⁴⁶Democrat, June 15, June 22, 1916.

⁴⁷Democrat, July 27, 1916.

⁴⁸Democrat, August 17, 1916.

⁴⁹Democrat, August 10, 1916.

⁵⁰Democrat, July 27, 1916.

⁵¹Democrat, October 11, 1916.

⁵²Democrat, June 1, 1916.

⁵³Democrat, March 8; March 22, 1917.

⁵⁴Democrat, January 31; March 33, 1917.

⁵⁵Democrat, April 19; April 26, 1917.

⁵⁶Democrat, April 26; May 31, 1917.

⁵⁷Democrat, October 25, 1917.

⁵⁸Democrat, May 10, 1917.

⁵⁹Democrat, June 21, 1917.

- ⁶⁰Democrat, July 1; August 23, 1917.
- ⁶¹Democrat, August 23; June 21, 1917.
- ⁶²Democrat, December 28; November 29, 1917.
- ⁶³Democrat, March 2; November 29, 1917.
- ⁶⁴Democrat, May 30, 1918.
- ⁶⁵Democrat, October 3, 1918.
- ⁶⁶Democrat, February 21; August 22, 1918.
- ⁶⁷Democrat, November 28, 1918.
- ⁶⁸Democrat, December 12, 1918.
- ⁶⁹Democrat, January 9, 1919.
- ⁷⁰Democrat, April 24, 1919.
- ⁷¹Democrat, November 13, 1919.
- ⁷²Democrat, July 10; July 17; September 25, 1919.
- ⁷³Democrat, August 21; June 5, 1919.
- ⁷⁴Democrat, October 16, 1919.
- ⁷⁵Democrat, November 25, 1919.
- ⁷⁶Democrat, December 4, 1919.
- ⁷⁷Democrat, August 5, 1920.
- ⁷⁸Democrat, April 22; May 6, 1920.
- ⁷⁹Democrat, February 17, 1921.
- ⁸⁰Democrat, March 3, 1921.
- ⁸¹Democrat, April 21; July 14, 1921.
- ⁸²Democrat, November 3, 1921.
- ⁸³Democrat, May 12; June 30, July 7, 1921.
- ⁸⁴Democrat, May 25, 1922. The article here gives a list of family names.

- ⁸⁵Democrat, April 13; April 20; May 18, 1922.
- ⁸⁶Democrat, June 22, 1922.
- ⁸⁷Democrat, June 1, 1922.
- ⁸⁸Democrat, March 29; June 14, 1923.
- ⁸⁹Democrat, September 27, 1923.
- ⁹⁰Democrat, September 11, November 8, 1923.
- ⁹¹Democrat, May 22, 1924. See historic sites: Cap-
linger Mills, Peterson Mine.
- ⁹²Democrat, May 1, 1924.
- ⁹³Democrat, June 19, 1924. Eldorado Springs Sun,
June 19, 1924.
- ⁹⁴Democrat, July 3, 1924.
- ⁹⁵Democrat, June 26; July 31, 1924.
- ⁹⁶Democrat, June 5, 1924.
- ⁹⁷Democrat, June 5, 1924.
- ⁹⁸Democrat, January 15, 1925.
- ⁹⁹Democrat, April 16, 1925.

Footnotes - 1926-1946

- ¹Democrat, February 4, 1926. See historic sites: U.S. 65 Bridge.
- ²Democrat, December 16, 1926. See historic sites: Mining 40.
- ³Democrat, December 16, 1926.
- ⁴Democrat, September; August 11, 1927.
- ⁵Democrat, March 24; April 14; April 21; April 28, 1927.
- ⁶Democrat, June 23; August 11, 1927.
- ⁷Democrat, December 20, 1934.
- ⁸Democrat, January 20; July 21, 1927.
- ⁹Democrat, August 11, 1927.
- ¹⁰Democrat, October 6, 1927.
- ¹¹Democrat, September 15, September 22; September 29; August 18, 1927. See historic sites: Osceola Dam.
- ¹²Democrat, November 10, 1927; October 6, 1927.
- ¹³Democrat, June 14; August 23, 1928.
- ¹⁴Democrat, May 16; May 23, 1929.
- ¹⁵Democrat, July 4; September 19, 1929.
- ¹⁶Democrat, July 31; July 24; August 14; August 28; August 19; September 4; May 1, 1930.
- ¹⁷Democrat, March, 1930.
- ¹⁸Democrat, February 13, 1930. See historic sites: Camp Osceola.
- ¹⁹Democrat, August 14, 1930.
- ²⁰Democrat, September 25, 1930.
- ²¹Democrat, January 29, 1931.

- ²²Democrat, April 9, 1931.
- ²³Democrat, July, 1931.
- ²⁴Democrat, November 26, 1931. See historic sites:
Lake of the Ozarks.
- ²⁵Democrat, February 4; February 11, 1932.
- ²⁶Democrat, March 26; June 4; August 27, 1931.
- ²⁷Democrat, May 12; May 19; June 2; July 28, 1932.
- ²⁸White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 43c. Democrat,
May 11; July 6; July 13, 1933.
- ²⁹Democrat, May 25; June 8, 1933.
- ³⁰Democrat, December 20; July 20; November 23, 1933.
- ³¹Democrat, December 14; December 28. W.P.A.--H.R.S.,
f. 11835. Carl Withers, Plainville, U.S.A. (New York:
Columbia University Press, 1945), passim.
- ³²Democrat, April 5, 1934.
- ³³Democrat, February 22, 1934.
- ³⁴Democrat, July 26, 1934.
- ³⁵Democrat, July 12, 1934. For Truman's career in
agriculture see: Richard S. Kirkendall, "Harry S. Truman:
A Missouri Farmer in the Golden Age," Agricultural History,
XLVIII (October, 1974), pp. 467-483.
- ³⁶Democrat, May 30; June 20, 1935.
- ³⁷Democrat, May 9, 1935.
- ³⁸Democrat, April, 1935. Kansas City Times, October
8, 1935.
- ³⁹Democrat, October 8; September 24; October 1, 1936.
- ⁴⁰Democrat, January 14; May 27, 1937. Kansas City
Star, October 14, 1937.
- ⁴¹Democrat, February, May 5, 1938.
- ⁴²Democrat, April 28, 1938; April 18, 1946.

- ⁴³Kansas City Star, April 15, 1938.
- ⁴⁴Democrat, May 26; June 2, 1938.
- ⁴⁵Democrat, July 7, 1938. See historic sites: Hunt Limestone Quarry.
- ⁴⁶Democrat, May 18, 1939. See historic sites: Grand Fork.
- ⁴⁷Democrat, February 2; February 9; March 2, 1939.
- ⁴⁸Democrat, August 19; August 26, 1939.
- ⁴⁹Democrat, August 19; November 23; December 7, 1939.
- ⁵⁰Democrat, September 26; April 4; June 27, 1940.
See historic sites: Brown Ford Bridge, Knisely Quarry.
- ⁵¹Democrat, February 27, 1941.
- ⁵²Democrat, April 24, 1941.
- ⁵³Democrat, October 9, 1941.
- ⁵⁴Democrat, July 17, 1941.
- ⁵⁵Democrat, December 18, 1941.
- ⁵⁶Democrat, January 28, 1942.
- ⁵⁷Democrat, February 5, 1942.
- ⁵⁸Democrat, August 27, 1942.
- ⁵⁹Democrat, December 3, 1943.
- ⁶⁰Democrat, November 19, 1942.
- ⁶¹Democrat, November 26, 1942.
- ⁶²Democrat, February 4, 1943.
- ⁶³Democrat, May 20, 1943. White & Miles, History of Benton, II, 46c.
- ⁶⁴Marion T. Bennett Collection, Western Historical Manuscripts, Missouri State Historical Society, f. 845-851.

- ⁶⁵Democrat, August 26, 1943.
- ⁶⁶Bennett papers, f. 846; Missouri Wildlife (July, 1943).
- ⁶⁷Bennett papers, f. 349.
- ⁶⁸Democrat, December 17, 1942.
- ⁶⁹Democrat, October 7, 1943.
- ⁷⁰Democrat, April 13, 1944.
- ⁷¹Democrat, June 8, 1944.
- ⁷²Democrat, September 7, 1944.
- ⁷³Democrat, October 5, 1944.
- ⁷⁴Democrat, March 1, 1945.
- ⁷⁵Democrat, July 19; August 30, 1945.
- ⁷⁶Democrat, September 13, 1945.
- ⁷⁷Bennett papers, f. 346.
- ⁷⁸Bennett papers, f. 608, 406.
- ⁷⁹The Congressional Front, volume III.
- ⁸⁰Democrat, October 11, 1945.
- ⁸¹Democrat, October 18, 1945.
- ⁸²Bennett papers, f. 600.
- ⁸³Bennett papers, f. 346.
- ⁸⁴Bennett papers, f. 759.
- ⁸⁵Bennett papers, f. 346.
- ⁸⁶Democrat, November 15, 1945.
- ⁸⁷Bennett papers, December 1, 1945.
- ⁸⁸Bennett papers, f. 283.
- ⁸⁹Democrat, January 17, 1946.

- ⁹⁰Democrat, January 24, 1946.
- ⁹¹Democrat, January 31, 1946.
- ⁹²Democrat, February 7, 1946.
- ⁹³Democrat, March 21, 1946.
- ⁹⁴Bennett papers, f. 846.
- ⁹⁵Democrat, March 14, 1946.
- ⁹⁶Bennett papers, f. 352.
- ⁹⁷Bennett papers, f. 352.
- ⁹⁸Bennett papers, f. 283.
- ⁹⁹Bennett papers, April 16, 1946.

Footnotes -- 1946-1962

- ¹Democrat, May 23, 1946.
- ²Democrat, March 28, 1946.
- ³Democrat, August 8; September 5; September 12, 1946.
- ⁴Bennett papers, f. 423.
- ⁵Democrat, January 23, 1947.
- ⁶Democrat, February 20, 1947.
- ⁷Democrat, February 20; March 13; October 30, 1947.
- ⁸Democrat, March 13, 1947.
- ⁹Bennett papers, f. 345. Democrat, June 12, 1947.
- ¹⁰Bennett papers, f. 415.
- ¹¹Democrat, August 14, 1947.
- ¹²Democrat, November 13, 1947.
- ¹³Democrat, January 22, 1948.
- ¹⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁵Democrat, January 29, 1948.
- ¹⁶Democrat, January 29, 1948. See historic sites:
Kaysinger Bluff.
- ¹⁷Bennett papers, f. 408.
- ¹⁸Democrat, March 4, 1948.
- ¹⁹Democrat, March 19, 1948.
- ²⁰Kansas City Times, June 15, 1948.
- ²¹Democrat, June 17, 1948.
- ²²Democrat, June 17, 1948. Kansas City Times, June
15, 1948.

- ²³Democrat, June 17, 1948.
- ²⁴Bennett papers, f. 282.
- ²⁵Democrat, June 16, 1949.
- ²⁶Democrat, February 3, 1949.
- ²⁷Democrat, June 2, 1949.
- ²⁸St. Clair County Courier, December 1, 1949. Cited below as Courier.
- ²⁹Courier, July 20; December 7, 1950.
- ³⁰Courier, June 8, 1950.
- ³¹Courier, June 14, 1951.
- ³²Courier, June 28, 1951.
- ³³Courier, July 12; July 5, 1951.
- ³⁴Courier, July 19, August 2, 1951.
- ³⁵Courier, July 5, 1951.
- ³⁶Courier, July 26, 1951.
- ³⁷Courier, August 2, 1951.
- ³⁸Courier, August 16, 1951.
- ³⁹Courier, August 30, 1951.
- ⁴⁰Courier, September 13, 1951.
- ⁴¹Courier, October 4, 1951.
- ⁴²Courier, November 8, 1951.
- ⁴³Courier, January 24, 1952.
- ⁴⁴Courier, June 12, 1952.
- ⁴⁵Courier, October 9, 1952.
- ⁴⁶Courier, June 12, 1952.

- 47 Courier, July 10, 1952.
- 48 Courier, October 30, 1952.
- 49 Courier, February 26, 1953.
- 50 Courier, February 5, 1953.
- 51 Courier, June 25, 1953.
- 52 Courier, September 3; October 8, 1953.
- 53 Courier, January 28, 1954.
- 54 Courier, January 22, 1953.
- 55 Courier, January 22, 1953.
- 56 Courier, March 18; September 23; July 1, 1954.
- 57 Courier, January 28, 1954.
- 58 Courier, May 13, 1954.
- 59 Courier, November 4, 1954.
- 60 Courier, June 30, 1955.
- 61 Courier, June 23, 1955.
- 62 Courier, June 7, 1956.
- 63 Courier, October 4, 1956.
- 64 Courier, December 27, 1956.
- 65 Courier, January 26; April 12, 1956.
- 66 Courier, April 11, 1957.
- 67 Courier, June 6, 1957.
- 68 Courier, January 16, 1958.
- 69 Courier, March 27, 1958.
- 70 Courier, July 24, 1958; July 24, 1958.
- 71 Courier, September 11, 1958.

- ⁷²Courier, October 23, 1958.
- ⁷³Courier, January 8, 1959; February 12, 1959.
- ⁷⁴Courier, August 13, 1959.
- ⁷⁵Courier, June 11, 1959.
- ⁷⁶Courier, April 14, 1960.
- ⁷⁷Courier, March 24, 1960.
- ⁷⁸Courier in Osceola library, undated but c. September or October, 1960.
- ⁷⁹Courier, September 1, 1960.
- ⁸⁰Courier, September 23, 1960.
- ⁸¹Courier, April 21, 1960.
- ⁸²Courier, September 30, 1960.
- ⁸³Courier, October 27, 1960.
- ⁸⁴Courier, December 22, 1960.
- ⁸⁵Courier, January 26, 1961.
- ⁸⁶Courier, January 5, 1961.
- ⁸⁷Courier, January 12, 1961.
- ⁸⁸Courier, March 2, 1961.
- ⁸⁹Courier, March 16, 1961.
- ⁹⁰Courier, April 7, 1961.
- ⁹¹Courier, May 11, 1961.
- ⁹²Courier, May 18, 1961.
- ⁹³Courier, June 22, 1961.
- ⁹⁴Courier, July 13, 1961.
- ⁹⁵Courier, September 7, 1961.

⁹⁶Courier, September 23, 1961.

⁹⁷Courier, December 21, 1961.

⁹⁸Courier, January 18, 1962.

⁹⁹Courier, February 1, 1962.

¹Courier, March 22, 1962.

²Courier, May 31, 1962.

³Courier, May 31, 1962.

⁴Courier, July 12, 1962.

⁵Courier, May 31, 1962.

⁶Courier, October 18, 1962.