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EARLY ROADS IN MISSOURI

by

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INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this study are to present a brief survey of some of the outstanding Indian trails of the State, an abbreviated account of the development of the important traces of the French and Spanish regimes, and a more detailed account of the main trunk line roads in the territorial and early state periods.

Because of the variability in meaning of the terms "trail," "trace," and "road," particularly as used in the writings of early travellers, some kind of line of demarcation will be attempted in this discussion. "Trail" will refer to a route of the Indians, and "trace" and "road" to routes used by the white men. A difficulty arises, however, in making a distinction between "trace" and "road." A route of the white men in its primitive stage when it accommodated people, on foot or horseback only, will be called a "trace." This "trace" will be called a "road" when it reached a stage where wagons passed over it freely. However, the exact time when a "trace" became a "road" cannot be definitely determined,

owing to the fact that there is no documentary evidence concerning the change in the type of travel. Consequently, the use of the terms will, of necessity, be somewhat arbitrary.

A general survey of the main topographical features and waterways of the State is also necessary in order to have an adequate background for an understanding of the early settlements of the State, and consequently, the direction of its early roads.

The Mississippi river borders Missouri on the east. The Missouri river borders the State from the northwest corner southward about one-third of the distance of its western border, before it turns across the State in a direction a little south of east. This river divides the State into its northern and southern sections. Flowing into the Missouri river on the north, from east to west, are the Chariton river and Grand river. On the south in the same order are the Gasconade, the Osage, and the La Mine rivers. The St. Francis, the Black, and the Current rivers drain the southeastern part into the Mississippi, while the White river drains the southwestern part of the State southeastward to the Arkansas river.

The northern section of the State is a broad, undulating plain with fertile soil. It is the so-called prairie region. The fertility of the soil and easy ac-

cessibility of the region from the Mississippi river were great inducements to early settlers. Travel in this region was comparatively easy. No great difficulty was experienced in breaking a new trace or in extending an old one.¹

The southern section of the State is the only part that has a really conspicuous topographical feature. This is the great dome-like Ozark uplift south of the Missouri river, stretching from the northeast to the southwest. It is a broad, relatively even tableland with deeply eroded hill flanks on all sides, except the west. These hill flanks caused the Ozark region to be isolated in the early period. Roads across this tableland were easy to locate and to construct, but the difficulty lay in reaching the plateau from the east, north, or south, because of the hill flanks on these three sides. The roads across the flanks were forced to follow the ridges or stream valleys and were often quite circuitous. Early settlers in these regions located on these roads in order to have a way out.

1. Bratton, Samuel T., Missouri, A Geographical Reader, p. 12.

Chapter I

SOME NOTED INDIAN TRIBES OF MISSOURI
AND THEIR TRAILS

This study, as it is here given, developed from an investigation on the subject of the roads of Missouri during the early period of statehood. References to traces or Indian trails were so frequent that interest soon centered on them as a starting point for the discussion. An aim of the study also is to show, as far as possible, that some of these roads follow, in a very general direction, some of the best known Indian trails. For these Indian trails were the only routes of travel that existed in Upper Louisiana west of the Mississippi at the time when white men arrived in the region.¹ Tribes of Indians were known to have inhabited the region at the time of the voyage of Marquette and Joliet in 1673, and they continued to live there until 1837, when the last of the Indian lands in Missouri were

1. Hulbert, Archer Butler, Red Men's Roads, p. 6.

ceded to the government.²

The principal tribes inhabiting the present State of Missouri were of the Siouan linguistic stock.³ Hence, several of them were responsible for some of the main trails in this area. Tradition and some evidence exist for the belief that the Siouan tribes moved west in four great migrations, two of which concern Missouri. The upper Dhegiha (one of the two subdivisions of the Dhegiha migration) included the Omaha, Osage, Kansas, and Ponca tribes.⁴ Apparently, these tribes dwelt for some time at the mouth of the Missouri River. One by one, they left these villages and moved farther up the river.⁵

The Missouris, the Little Osages, the Great Osages, the Kansas, the Otoes, and the Mahas (or Omahas) are listed as belonging to the district of the Missouri river in a report on the various Indian tribes receiving presents in the district of Illinois in 1769.⁶ Cruzat,

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2. Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report, 1896-1897, Vol. II, p. 768.
 3. Bureau of American Ethnology, 15th Annual Report, 1893-1894, p. 172.
 4. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Vol. II, p. 156.
 5. James's Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820, in Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, edited by R. G. Thwaites, Vol. XIV, pp. 132, 133. (Hereafter referred to as Long's Expedition.)
 6. Houck, Louis (editor), The Spanish Regime in Missouri, Vol. I, p. 44.

MAP NO. I

LOCATION OF INDIAN TRIBES



LOCATION OF INDIAN TRIBES

Spanish commandant at St. Louis, in his report of November 15, 1777, gave a more extensive description of these tribes receiving presents at St. Louis.⁷

In 1806, the Kansas tribe had their villages at some distance west of the mouth of the Kansas river. Zebulon M. Pike, on his map of that date, shows this village. He also shows an abandoned village of this tribe at the mouth of the river.⁸

The Osage nation consisted of three villages, the Great Osages, the Little Osages, and the Arkansas Osages.⁹ The villages of the Great Osages were on the headwaters of the Little Osage river and the village of the Little Osages was not far distant.¹⁰ Nuttall, in 1820, located the village of the Arkansas Osages, with its seven or eight hundred men, on the Verdigris river about sixty miles from its mouth. He placed the Great

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7. Houck, The Spanish Regime in Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 145-148.
 8. Pike, Zebulon Montgomery, Expeditions to the Headwaters of the Mississippi River, Through Louisiana Territory and in New Spain, During the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807, edited by Elliot Coues, Vol. III, Maps of the Interior of Louisiana, Part I. (Hereafter referred to as Pike's Expeditions.)
 9. The Arkansas Osages were influenced to leave the Great Osages by Pierre Chouteau. He led them to the Verdigris river, where they planted their village, about sixty miles above its confluence with the Arkansas. (Pike's Expeditions, Vol. II, p. 529.)
 10. Pike's Expeditions, Vol. II, p. 385.

Osage village about sixty miles slightly east of north of this village on the headwaters of the Osage river. He reported the number of the Osages to be eight thousand, according to the enumeration made by Governor Clark.¹¹ Both the Great and Little Osages were obliged to go to the Arkansas river and to Red river every winter to kill their summer's provisions. They obtained their horses from west of the Verdigris and Arkansas rivers.¹² The Great and Little Osages hunted also in what is now southwest Missouri on White river and its tributaries, along which they established camp sites when on hunting expeditions.¹³

The Missouris, a tribe of the Chiwere migration of the Siouian family, were allied to the Iowas and Otoes. According to tradition, after leaving the Winnebago at Green Bay, they moved westward to the Iowa river, where the Iowas stopped. The rest moved to Grand river, and down to the Missouri. There they established a village.¹⁴

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11. Nuttall, Thomas, Journal of Travels in the Arkansa Territory During the Year 1819, in Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, edited by R. G. Thwaites, Vol. XIII, p. 237. (Hereafter referred to as Nuttall, Journal of Travels).
 12. Pike's Expeditions, Vol. II, p. 530.
 13. Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, pp. 52, 53, 69.
 14. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Vol. II, p. 911, Article on "Missouri."

Father Marquette's autographed map of 1673 places the Missouris northwest of the Osages and between the Otoes and the Osages.¹⁵ They seem to have disappeared from the mouth of Grand river before 1804, however, for Lewis and Clark mention an abandoned Missouri village at that place.¹⁶ They were very probably conquered and dispersed by the Sacs and Foxes and some of their allies.¹⁷ The Sacs, according to report, had killed two hundred Missouris at one time.¹⁸ A part of the remaining members of the tribe took refuge with the Kansas, a part joined the Osages, and others fled to their kinsmen, the Otoes.¹⁹

The Otoes had separated from the Missouris at the mouth of the Grand River, and moved westward. Long found them well established on the Platte in 1819.²⁰

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15. Marquette's Autographed Map of the Exploration of the Mississippi, 1673, in Hamilton, R. N., "The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley," American Historical Review, Vol.39, No.4 (July,1934), p. 648.
 16. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, edited by R.G. Thwaites, Vol. I, Part I, p. 49.
 17. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XV, p. 134.
 18. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Vol. I, Part I, p. 47.
 19. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XV, p. 134.
 20. Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 132.

The Iowas, according to tradition, with the Otoes and Missouris had migrated south from the Wisconsin area first to the Iowa river, and later to the shores of the Des Moines river.²¹ Although of Siouian origin, they had formed a confederacy with some Algonquian tribes, the Sacs and Foxes. This alliance was hostile to the Siouian tribes on the Missouri.²² The Iowas are mentioned as having helped expel the Missouris from their lands at the mouth of Grand river.²³ Later on they apparently moved westward, for Lewis and Clark reported an Iowa village at the head of the Chariton rivers.²⁴ In 1818, they seem to have had a village on Grand river about seventy miles from its mouth.²⁵

The Shawnee and Delaware Indians first settled in Upper Louisiana probably in the early 1780's. Colonel George Morgan found about twenty Delawares camped on the lowlands near New Madrid on the lower Mississippi in 1788.²⁶

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21. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Vol. I, p. 612.
 22. Alvord, Clarence W., The Illinois Country, 1673-1818, pp. 160, 175. (This is Volume I of the Centennial History of Illinois.)
 23. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XV, p. 134.
 24. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Vol. I, Part I, p. 49.
 25. Houck, Louis, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 176.
 26. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 208.

In 1793, the Baron de Carondelet, governor-general of the province of Louisiana, authorized Don Louis Lorimier, an agent, to invite the Delawares and Shawnees from the east side of the river to settle on the west side. The Spanish authorities, at this time, evidently were desirous of bringing these Indians across the river, first to protect themselves from the depredations of the Osages, and second to strengthen the west bank of the Mississippi against the English. The settlements of the Shawnees and of the Delawares were made principally between the mouths of Cinque Hommes and Flora creeks along the lower Mississippi above Cape Girardeau and between the Mississippi and White Water rivers. Six villages were reported in this district, the largest of which was on Apple creek and contained about four hundred members. After the Shawnees settled on the west bank of the Mississippi, they appear to have gradually moved westward, first to the White Water and later to Castor river where they were found in 1815. Later they founded a village at the present site of Bloomfield in

27. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. II, pp. 54-56.

28. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 53-57.

29. Harvey, Henry, A History of the Shawnee Indians from 1681-1854, p. 84.

30. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XVII, p. 40.

Stoddard county and another at Kennett.³¹ In 1818, they³² were granted land farther west on White river. The Delawares resided in their own villages first on Shawnee and Indian creeks in the Cape Girardeau District, but in important matters, it seems, they were usually allied³³ with the Shawnees. Some of them later settled on the James Fork of White river in southwest Missouri near the present Springfield, where they received a grant in 1818.³⁴ They established villages on White river near Forsyth, one on James river, and one on Wilson's creek, and hunted³⁵ along White river. In 1832, the Shawnees and Delawares ceded all their lands in Missouri to the United States government.³⁶

The Kickapoo Indians were not one of the early Indian tribes in the region now included in Missouri. They were first noted here by Lewis and Clark in 1804, for these explorers passed a camp of them near Bon Homme creek in the vicinity of St. Charles. This tribe lived at that time on the headwaters of the Kaskaskia and

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31. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 217.
 32. Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report, 1896-1897, Vol. II, p. 692.
 33. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 213.
 34. Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report, 1896-1897, Vol. II, p. 692.
 35. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 218.
 36. Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report, 1896-1897, Vol. II, p. 740.

Illinois rivers, east of the Mississippi, and hunted occasionally on the Missouri.³⁷ They made a treaty with the government of the United States in 1819, by which they received a tract of land bounded by the Pomme de Terre, Osage, and White rivers, and the Osage Indian boundaries in the southwestern part of Missouri Territory.³⁸ This tract they ceded to the United States in 1832.

The Sacs and Foxes were Algonquian tribes, as has been noted previously. They moved their villages from the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the mouth of Rock river in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century.³⁹ By 1822, a small Sac village of five or six lodges was reported on the west side of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Des Moines river. They claimed a large tract of country on the west of the Mississippi from the mouth of the upper Iowa south as far as the Des Moines, and from the Mississippi west and south to the Missouri. Their old men, women and children went in canoes to their winter hunting grounds, but the young men went by land

37. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Vol. I, Part I, p. 26.

38. Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report, 1896-1897, Vol. II, p. 698.

39. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 738.

with their horses. This travel developed quite a well worn trail. The Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos, and Iowas were in alliance, and at times the Potawatomes joined them.⁴⁰ In 1819, Long asserted that the Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas hunted on the plains near the sources of Grand river.⁴¹ Maximilian noted the same fact in 1832.⁴² The Sacs and Foxes often made war raids on the Osages, sometimes alone and sometimes with their allies.⁴³

The published material on the trails of the various tribes just discussed is extremely fragmentary, being mainly found scattered through the accounts of early travellers. This material, together with a few maps which were obtainable, furnished the evidence for the following discussion of the trails.

The Indians, in locating their trails, appear to have been greatly influenced by the relation of the topography of the country to the situation of their vil-

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40. Morse, Jedediah, A Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs, pp. 122-123.
41. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIV, p. 160.
42. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, Travels in the Interior of North America, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XXIII, p. 245. (Hereafter referred to as Maximilian's Travels.)
43. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Vol. I, Part I, p. 51.

lages. Usually these trails followed the general line⁴⁴ of a watershed or of a stream valley.

Most of the tribes discussed in this study were tribes with permanently established villages. For such tribes, the hunting and trading trails were generally the most important; and consequently, these trails were rather well defined. A hunting expedition generally had two main trails, an outgoing one and a returning one. The first of these apparently led from the village to the more remote frontier, where profitable hunting grounds existed. The second took its route over the most direct way to the trading post of the tribe, sometimes retracing the outgoing trail in part, and sometimes not at all.

The Indian trails of Upper Louisiana west of the Mississippi, considered in this study, will be classed in two groups: trails made by tribes living in this region; and trails made by tribes from outside the region. The first group will include: the various trails of the Osages; the Shawnee trail; and the St. Louis-Natchitoches trail.

The Osage Indians were the principal tribe of Indians south of the Missouri river in what is now Mis-

44. Hulbert, Archer Butler, Indian Thoroughfares, p. 14.

souri. Consequently, they were responsible for some of the main trails in that part of the State.⁴⁵ The Osages had such an extensive area of range that many trails developed, but some of these were more frequented than others. The result was a few rather well travelled ones, which are the ones considered in this study. Usually, the Osages used horses, which suggests that their trails were fairly well marked. For the sake of convenience, these Indians would often travel a few miles farther in order to follow a beaten path.⁴⁶ This inclination resulted in the establishment of fewer trails but much better defined ones.

Two of the Osage villages, as has been noted, were on the headwaters of the Osage river in the present Bates and Vernon counties, Missouri. Another lay slightly to the southwest of these on the Verdigris river sixty miles above its confluence with the Arkansas in what is now Oklahoma.

From available evidence, it appears that at least three rather well defined trails left the village of the Great Osages on the headwaters of the Osage. One

45. Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 229.

46. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XVI, p. 272.

led in a northwest direction to the Missouri river. The point at which this trail finally touched the river probably depended a great deal on the location of white settlements. Perhaps in the early period it touched the Missouri at the mouth of the Osage river, where the former Osage village had been.⁴⁷ But as settlements were made in the Boonslick country, this trail probably led to that part of the river in order to permit the Indians to trade with the whites, presumably at Franklin. Long, in 1819, mentioned following this trail for a time after having crossed to the south side of the Missouri river at the present Arrow Rock. Perhaps a branch led to each of these places. Lewis and Clark mention Arrow Rock as a crossing place for the Osages.⁴⁸

The two other trails leaving the Great Osage villages on the headwaters of the Osage river were hunting trails. One led down past the village of the Arkansas Osages on the Verdigris river, to the Osage hunting grounds on the Verdigris, the Arkansas, the Red, and the Canadian rivers. It held to a course a little west of south. The greater part of this trail lay outside the present State of Missouri in what is now Kansas and Ok-

47. Nuttall, Journal of Travels, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIII, p. 237.

48. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Vol. I, Part I, p. 51.

MAP NO. II

INDIAN TRAILS OF MISSOURI

Groups I and II

1. Trail from the Osage Villages to the Missouri River.
2. Hunting Trail from the Osage Villages to the Verdigris River and the Red River.
3. Return Trail of the Osages from the Verdigris River to St. Louis.
4. Hunting Trails from the Osage Villages to the White River Region.
5. Return Trail from the White River Region to Boonville.
6. Shawnee Trail or old "Indian Trail."
7. St. Louis - Natchitoches Trail.
8. Trail of the Sacs and Foxes to the Villages of the Osages.
9. Vincennes - Natchitoches Trail.



INDIAN TRAILS OF MISSOURI
GROUPS I and II

lahoma. The Great and Little Osages were forced to go to the Verdigris river each winter to hunt in order to provide the summer's provisions. They also followed this trail when they hunted wild horses.

The return trail of the hunting expeditions from the Verdigris, the Arkansas, and the Canadian rivers was the longest and perhaps one of the best known of the Osage trails. It led from the Verdigris river northeast to St. Louis. Nuttall, in 1818, mentioned this trail and said it was three hundred miles nearer St. Louis, but he did not state nearer than what other route.

The route of this trail from the Verdigris village lay north between the Verdigris and Neosho rivers to the upper headwaters of the Neosho, which it crossed. From this crossing it followed a northeast direction, more or less on the highland between the waters of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. This route crossed the Gasconade river on its headwaters, near the present Waynesville in Pulaski county. From there it still followed the general direction of the dividing

49. Pike's Expeditions, Vol. II, p. 530.

50. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XVI, p. 272.

51. Nuttall, Journal of Travels, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIII, p. 236.

ridge between the waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri, northeast to St. Louis.⁵² Some of the county histories refer to this as the "Osage trail" or the "Indian trail" which afterward became the St. Louis-Springfield road.⁵³ All of this information helps to identify it as the one to which Nuttall referred. Nuttall says it was scarcely obstructed by hills, which aids in locating it along the highlands as traced, for that is about the only route from the Verdigris to St. Louis which would not have been obstructed by hills.

In early times, this trail was probably used by all of the Osages in their trade with St. Louis, and later, by the Arkansas Osages, particularly in their trade with the Chouteaus.⁵⁴ Histories of some of the Missouri counties formed at a later date refer to this same route as the "Kickapoo trail," for the Indians of this name evidently used the same trail in trading with St. Louis, after they obtained their grant in southwest

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52. Pike's Expeditions, Vol. III, Map of Interior of Louisiana, Part I; Beckman, H. C., Water Resources of Missouri, 1857-1927 (Bulletin XX, Second Series, Missouri Bureau of Geology and Mines), Drainage Map of Missouri.
53. History of Laclède, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps, and Dent Counties, Missouri, (1889), p. 20.
54. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XVI, p. 281.

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Missouri in 1819.

The other hunting trail from the Great Osage villages took its direction to their hunting grounds on White river.⁵⁶ It seems to have proceeded from the Great Osage villages in a direction a little east of south to a good camping site surrounded by springs in the vicinity of the present Springfield in Greene county. The areas surrounding the springs in this vicinity all bear evidence of having been Indian camping grounds.⁵⁷ From this point the main hunting trail appears to have branched into several trails reaching down the numerous tributaries of White river. One led a little west of south down Wilson's creek and the James river, one headed down Bull creek,⁵⁸ and another down Swan creek. In 1818, Schoolcraft referred to the latter one as a "horsepath beaten by the Osages in their hunting expeditions along the White River."⁵⁹ He further noted passing three suc-

55. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps, and Dent Counties, Missouri, (1889), p. 147.

56. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 52.

57. Fairbanks, Jonathan, and Tuck, Clyde Edwin, Past and Present of Greene County, Missouri, Vol. II, p. 43.

58. See Shepard's map in, Past and Present of Greene County, opp. p. 40.

59. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 52.

cessive Osage camps, "large and capable of quartering probably a hundred men each."⁶⁰ Houck, on his map, places a trail from the Great Osage villages southeast to White river.⁶¹ However, it lies to the west of Springfield, and therefore does not coincide with the one on Swan creek mentioned by Schoolcraft, but it does seem to coincide with a trail down one of the western branches of White river, possibly Wilson's creek.

Evidence points to the fact that the Osages, in returning from their hunts on White river, retraced their route to the point on the plateau where the trails branched, and from there to a market. In early times this market was St. Louis, and hence, their trail lay over the same route as the one from the Verdigris to St. Louis. Later the market was probably nearer, perhaps Franklin or Boonville. One writer places an old Osage trail north from the present Springfield to the Missouri river opposite Franklin, at Boonville.⁶²

Houck says an Indian trail connected the four

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60. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 52.
61. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, Map opposite p. 226.
62. Fairbanks and Tuck, Past and Present of Greene County, Missouri, p. 43, and map opposite p. 40.

Spanish posts of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid.⁶³ Much evidence for this can be found in the Journal of Louis Lorimier.⁶⁴ The Shawnees were the most numerous tribe of the southeast region during the Spanish regime, a fact which probably explains why this trail in places was called the "Shawnee trail," particularly between Apple creek and Cape Girardeau. The plat of the first territorial road from St. Louis to New Madrid refers to the old Shawnee trail from Apple creek to Cape Girardeau.⁶⁵ Frequently, this has been called the old "Indian trail" along the Mississippi from New Madrid to St. Louis.⁶⁶ It has often been erroneously assumed, therefore, that this trail and the Shawnee trail were separate routes. Evidence seems to exist for only one trail of consequence connecting these posts along the river. However, a branch of this trail led off to the later settlements of the Shawnees as they moved westward to the White Water and Castor rivers, and then southward to Stoddard and Dunklin counties.⁶⁷ This

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63. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 225.
64. Houck, The Spanish Regime in Missouri, Vol. II, pp. 59-99.
65. This plat was found in the records of the Circuit Court of Cape Girardeau county at Jackson.
66. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 150.
67. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XVII, p. 40.

trail was also designated as the "Shawnee trail," a fact which has naturally caused some confusion. In reality, it was only a spur of the trail connecting St. Louis and New Madrid, referred to as the "old Indian trail."

Nuttall, in his ascent of the Arkansas river in 1819, reported a route between St. Louis and Natchitoches which had been travelled from "time immemorial by the Indians," and had been a hunting and war trail. In this study this trail will be referred to as the St. Louis-Natchitoches trail. It had its direction south from St. Louis to crossings on the St. Francis, Black, Current, and White rivers. From the latter crossing it proceeded somewhat west of south to a crossing on the Arkansas river at the present site of Little Rock, and thence to Natchitoches.

The second group of Indian trails in Missouri includes two trails: the trail of the Sacs and Foxes; and the Vincennes-Natchitoches trail.

The Sacs and Foxes originally had their main

68. Nuttall, Journal of Travels, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIII, p. 145.

69. Featherstonhaugh, G.W., An Excursion Through the Slave States, p. 83.

70. Nuttall, Journal of Travels, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIII, pp. 145, 147.

villages east of the Mississippi river at the mouth of Rock river. But, in the early part of the nineteenth century, one village of the Sacs was located west of the Mississippi river at the mouth of the Des Moines.⁷¹ From both sites these tribes had a warpath down to the Missouri river in the vicinity of Arrow Rock. Lewis and Clark, in 1804, noted this as a crossing place for war parties of the Sacs, Foxes, Iowas, and Sioux against the Osages.⁷² The latter trail connected at this crossing with the one from the Missouri river to the villages of the Great Osages, described in the first group. The Sacs and Foxes used this trail in making war on the Osages and the Osages returned the warfare over the same trail.

The Vincennes-Natchitoches Path, according to Houck, appears to have led from Vincennes across Indiana and Illinois and to have crossed the Mississippi river somewhere in the neighborhood of Cape Girardeau. It proceeded southwest to the St. Francis river. From all evidence, it appears to have crossed the St. Francis at the same place as the St. Louis-Natchitoches trail. From

71. Morse, A Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs, pp. 124, 125.

72. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Vol. I, Part I, p. 51.

this point, these two trails seem to have proceeded as one to the crossing on the Arkansas river at the present site of Little Rock, and from there to Natchitoches.⁷³

In 1778, Hutchins said the settlers of Vincennes had horses which the Indians had brought from the Spanish settlements on the west side of the Mississippi.⁷⁴ Featherstonhaugh, in 1834, after he had crossed the Current river in travelling from St. Louis through Herculaneum to Little Rock, said he understood that an ancient Indian trail from Vincennes to Natchitoches had passed that way.⁷⁵ From the fact that the two trails lay over the same route for so much of the way, the route appears to have received its name in Arkansas from the starting-point of the travellers. If travel was from St. Louis to Natchitoches, the route was called the St. Louis-Natchitoches trail, but if it was from the Indiana country, it was referred to as the Vincennes-Natchitoches trail.

Missouri is credited by many of its State historians with two Indian trails for which the writer can find no evidence satisfactory enough to justify their

73. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 227.

74. Hutchins, Thomas, Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, pp. 99, 100.

75. Featherstonhaugh, An Excursion Through the Slave States, p. 87.

being given a place in this discussion. One of these is the "Great Trail" or "Necomalin's Path,"⁷⁶ and the other is the "Virginia Warriors' Trace."⁷⁷ Houck names both of these and places them on his map, but he does not cite any evidence which could be verified.

Reference is sometimes made to "Field's Trace" in north Missouri as an Indian trail, but seemingly this is an error. This error is probably due to the fact that Long, on his journey by land from St. Louis to Council Bluffs in 1820, speaks of following "Field's Trace" from Chariton for sixty miles. This route was evidently the military road opened by Lieutenant Gabriel Fields from Council Bluffs to Chariton in the fall of 1819.⁷⁸

76. Houck found the Great Trail shown on De Lisle's map published in 1722, and also, on a map of 1755 by Philip Buache. Neither of these maps was accessible for this study. Houck shows this trail crossing the Mississippi at the mouth of the Missouri and running in a northwest direction, more or less on the high ground between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, except where it was forced to cross the Chariton rivers near their headwaters. (Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 227.)

77. In presenting data on the Virginia Warriors' Path, Houck cites a map published in 1720, accompanying a work by Dr. James Smith entitled, Some Considerations of the Consequences of the French Settling Colonies on the Missouri. (Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 226.) The only copy of Smith's book which could be located is in the Library of Congress and was not available for use in the preparation of this study.

78. Missouri Intelligencer, November 4, 1820.

Chapter II

TRACES OF THE FRENCH AND SPANISH REGIMES

1700 - 1804

The traces that developed as a result of early lead mining activities in Upper Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and the one used as a line of communication between the four Spanish posts of Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid, will be the main routes discussed in this chapter. It seems certain that one of these traces developed into a road a short time before the close of the period treated in this chapter.

Prior to 1763, the entire territory on both sides of the Mississippi river, known as Louisiana, was claimed by France.¹ The French had established settlements east of the river at Kaskaskia, St. Phillips, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and Fort Chartres during the first part of the eighteenth century.² No settlements

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1. Stoddard, Amos, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana, p. 71.
 2. Ibid., pp. 232, 234.

had been made west of the river at that time, although reports of rich mineral regions to the west of the Mississippi had been circulated since 1700.³ However, the first production of any worthwhile amount of mineral, as evidenced by the remains, seems to have taken place after 1718,⁴ under the authority of the Company of the West. This company sent Phillip Renault from France to the new world to work the mines in the mineral region. He obtained grants from the officials at Fort Chartres in 1723. One of the grants was west of the Mississippi on the Negro Fork of the Meramec and was known as the Cabanage de Renaudiere. Another grant, also west of the river, embraced two leagues of ground at Mine La Motte, and a third was for land east of the Mississippi adjoining Fort Chartres.⁵ The latter grant was for the purpose of raising provisions for the workers at the mines on the west side of the Mississippi.⁶ Moses Austin stated in his report of 1816 that, in his opinion, great quantities of mineral must have been removed by Renault

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3. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Vol. LXV, p. 105. (Hereafter referred to as Jesuit Relations.)
 4. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. III, p. 575. Contains Moses Austin's report of 1816 on the lead mines.
 5. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. III, p. 590.
 6. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 590.

and large amounts of lead must have been made.⁷ One source states that by 1725 Renault had established a furnace and was taking out fifteen hundred pounds of lead a day.⁸ By 1731, the grants had reverted to the Crown and Renault returned to France in 1744. This was due, it seems, to the financial condition of the company and not to any failure in the supply of mineral.⁹

In the beginning, the lead was carried to the Mississippi river and was conveyed across to Fort Chartres¹⁰ for shipment. The town of Ste. Genevieve grew up on the west bank of the river in the vicinity of this crossing¹¹ place as a result of the activity in lead mining. It must have become a permanent settlement sometime before¹² 1735. Renault and his miners, during a part of their¹³ activities, had their homes near Fort Chartres. But

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7. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol.III, p.610.
 8. Alvord, C.W., The Illinois Country, 1673-1818, p.159. Alvord cites Archives Nationales, Colonies, Cl3A 8: 225.
 9. Ibid., p. 209.
 10. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 284.
 11. Austin, Moses, "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey from the Lead Mines in the County of Wythe in the State of Virginia to the Lead Mines in the Province of Louisiana West of the Mississippi," 1796-1797, in American Historical Review, Vol. V, No. 3, (April, 1900), p. 538.
 12. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 337-338.
 13. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 283.

with the establishment of Ste. Genevieve, many of the miners removed their homes to that place.¹⁴ La Motte and Des Ursins had asserted, as early as 1715, that a well-beaten Indian trail extended from Mine La Motte to the river in the vicinity opposite Fort Chartres.¹⁵ Renaudiere, in his writings of 1723, described Mine La Motte as being two leagues from the "Illinois road," establishing the fact that there was a trace from the direction of Mine La Motte to the river in the vicinity of the Illinois settlements.¹⁶ Because of the large amount of lead removed, Renault was forced to use horses to convey the metal from the mines to the river.¹⁷ The transportation of the lead, the miners, and their provisions necessitated a considerable amount of travel over the trail and caused it to develop into a trace. Mine La Motte¹⁸ lay about thirty miles southwest of Ste. Genevieve.

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14. Austin, Moses, "Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," in American Historical Review, Vol. V, No. 3, (April, 1900), p. 538.
15. Rothensteiner, John E., "Earliest History of Mine La Motte," in Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XX, No. 2, (January, 1926), pp. 205-206.
16. Ibid., p. 208.
17. Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, p. 16.
18. Ibid., p. 45.

Renault's biggest workings, however, were on the Negro Fork of the Meramec at Mine à Renault, which had been known earlier as the Cabanage de Renaudière.¹⁹ It lay about forty-five miles west of Ste. Genevieve. Consequently, a travelled trace had also developed from Mine à Renault to the place where Ste. Genevieve was established.²⁰ In this way, the pioneer traces for horses had developed between Mine à Renault and the river, and between Mine La Motte and the same place at some time between 1723 and the time when Renault had abandoned the mines.²¹ One of these traces extended in a northeast direction from Mine La Motte to Ste. Genevieve and the other led east from Mine à Renault to the same place.

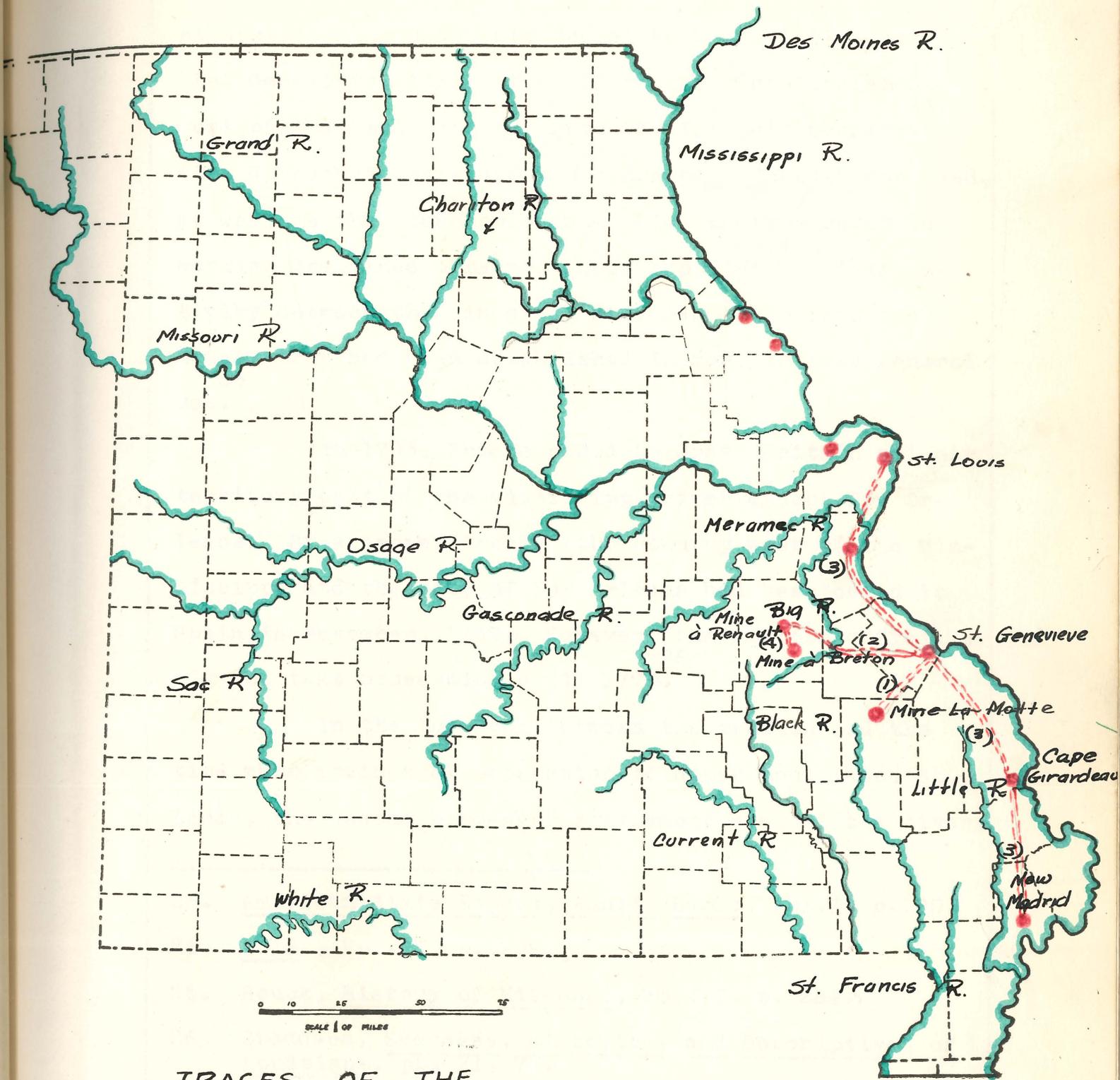
However, activity at the lead mines did not cease when Renault returned to France. The mines west of the Mississippi still remained a source of lead supply throughout the French regime.²² After about 1738, Mine La Motte came to be considered public property and

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19. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. I, pp. 189, 190. Contains a description by Moses Austin of the lead mines in Upper Louisiana in 1804.
 20. Rothensteiner, "Earliest History of Mine La Motte," in Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XX, No. 2 (January, 1926), p. 200.
 21. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 231, 284.
 22. Alvord, The Illinois Country, 1673-1818, p. 209.

MAP NO. III

TRACES OF THE FRENCH AND SPANISH REGIMES

1. Trace from Mine La Motte to Ste. Genevieve.
2. Trace from Mine a Renault to Ste. Genevieve.
3. Trace from St. Louis Through Ste. Genevieve
and Cape Girardeau to New Madrid.
4. Trace from Mine a Breton to Mine à Renault.



TRACES OF THE
FRENCH AND SPANISH REGIMES

the people in general were allowed to work there. This necessitated considerable travel back and forth from Ste. Genevieve, for at that time this mine furnished²³ most of the lead exported from the Illinois country. Ste. Genevieve continued to be the only deposit for lead, as well as the storehouse from which those engaged in²⁴ working the mines obtained their supplies. This activity between the mines and Ste. Genevieve kept the traces that had been established in more or less general²⁵ use.

In 1763, France ceded to Great Britain all her territory east of the Mississippi river except New Orleans. By a secret treaty, the country west of the Mississippi and the city of New Orleans had been ceded to Spain in November, 1762. However, the Spanish officials²⁶ did not take possession until 1770.

In the interval between the cession and the time when Spain took possession of Upper Louisiana, St. Louis, the second permanent settlement west of the river,

23. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. I, p. 190.

24. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 189.

25. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 284.

26. Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana, pp. 71, 72.

had been founded. In 1764, Pierre Laclède Ligueste, with a group of artisans from New Orleans, reached the site of St. Louis, which he had selected for the fur-trading post of Maxent, Laclède and Company of New Orleans.²⁷

After the change in government on the east side of the river, many families crossed to the settlement at St. Louis. By the end of the century, St. Louis had surpassed²⁸ the settlements east of the river.

The west side of the Mississippi was very sparsely settled when the Spanish took control. The only permanent settlements were St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. At first, the Spanish government took little interest in obtaining more settlers, but later the officials began to desire settlers as a check on the English from Canada. They encouraged settlers to come across from the United States. They offered land free of taxes to settlers if they paid the fees for the surveys.²⁹ Mineral lands were not excepted. On the contrary, the government encouraged the settlement of the country by miners and the working

27. Scharf, J. Thomas, History of Saint Louis City and County, Vol. I, pp. 64-70.

28. Austin, Moses, "Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," in American Historical Review, Vol. V, No. 3, (April, 1900), p. 538.

29. Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana, p. 249.

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of lead mines. These liberal inducements offered by the Spanish government caused numbers of people to settle west of the Mississippi in the southeastern part of Missouri. By 1804, about five-eighths of the population of the territory was south of the St. Louis District.³¹

New Madrid became a permanent settlement around 1785. It became a Spanish post in 1789.³² The next establishment west of the river under the auspices of the Spanish government was made by Louis Lorimier at Cape Girardeau.³³ This place was made an independent Spanish post in 1793.³⁴

By 1789 then, three Spanish trading posts, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and New Madrid, had been established along the west bank of the Mississippi south of the Missouri, with several small settlements reaching back into the country for several miles.³⁵ The establishment of these isolated posts, however, could not insure military safety nor facilitate commerce and trade within the country. Something was needed to bind together these

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30. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol.VI, p. 71.
31. Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana, pp. 211, 218, 221, 224.
32. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. III, pp.116,120,125.
33. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol.II, p. 414.
34. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 174.
35. Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana, p. 214.

three posts and the outlying settlements.

As early as 1776, the commandant at St. Louis had realized that a connection was needed between the trading posts of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. He thought that a ferry should be established over the Meramec river near its mouth about seventeen miles south of St. Louis, in order that a "regular intercourse" could be kept up between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. Jean Baptiste Gomache agreed to undertake the establishment of the ferry in return for a grant of land. This ferry remained in operation for the remainder of the century.³⁶

Soon after the establishment of New Madrid, a trace was marked out from New Madrid north to St. Louis. The route agreed in the main with the old Indian trail connecting these points.³⁷ It is frequently referred to as a public road at this period, but it was probably nothing more than a trace, according to the distinction made in this study, for in 1797, when Moses Austin wished to make the trip from St. Louis to Ste. Genevieve, he did not use this trace, but recrossed the river and made the journey down on the east side.³⁸ This trace on the

36. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. II, p. 550.

37. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 150.

38. Austin, Moses, "Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," in American Historical Review, Vol. V, No. 3, (April, 1900), p. 536.

west side was known by different names in different sections. In Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis it was called "La Rue Royale" and in New Madrid it was known as "El Camino Real."³⁹ The English translations of these names are "The Royal Road" and "The King's Highway." Frequently, it is referred to as the "King's Trace." During the Spanish regime, the trace was known to the American settlers south of Apple creek as the "Illinois road," because it led to what was then known as the "Illinois country," north of Apple creek to St. Louis.⁴⁰ St. Louis, during this period, was frequently called San Luis des Ylinoa.⁴¹

The mines had not been abandoned when the Spanish took possession of Upper Louisiana in 1770. Mining activities still continued, and on the whole the output was on the increase, although it varied from year to year.⁴²

39. Chouteau, Pierre, Letter Book, 1804-1819, pp. 28, 29. Manuscript translation in the Library of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.

40. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. II, pp. 150, 152.

41. Houck, The Spanish Regime in Missouri, Vol. II, p. 44.

42. The following table shows the quantity of lead shipped from Ste. Genevieve:

	<u>Quintals</u>	<u>Pounds</u>
1772 ...	600.25	60,025
1773 ...	178	17,800
1791 ...		216,000
1795 ...		327,300
1796 ...		165,000

These figures are found in reports of the various Spanish officials in Upper Louisiana, printed in Houck, The Spanish Regime in Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 53, 87, 326; Vol. II, pp. 143, 368.

The continued removal of so great an amount of metal from the mines from year to year indicated that the traces from the mines to Ste. Genevieve were in rather extensive use. As more lead was removed and as travel increased, these traces became even more clearly defined.

Mine à Breton, a few miles south of Mine à Renault, had been discovered about 1773. This mine was considered such a rich find that the miners had forsaken⁴³ Mine La Motte and other mines to go to that district. The result was that by the year 1797, a wagon road over which a carryall and two horses could travel lay between Ste. Genevieve and Mine à Breton.⁴⁴ Since Mine à Breton lay only six miles to the south of Mine à Renault, in all probability this road followed the same route over the greater distance from Ste. Genevieve as the trace from the same place to Mine à Renault.

As a rule, these traces from the lead mines to the river led along the tops of the most sterile, flinty ridges. A traveller riding over these flinty ridges would have been impressed by the barrenness of the country because of the location of the traces.⁴⁵ The soil

43. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. I, p. 189.

44. Austin, Moses, "Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," in American Historical Review, Vol. V, No. 3, (April, 1900), p. 540.

45. Schoolcraft, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, p. 52.

was well adapted for a good trace, however, and the surface of these traces was usually quite hard. If it became soft from an unusual amount of rain, the traveller could move to the side, for there were no boundaries to these traces except those made by nature.⁴⁶ Because of this, the traces were quite wide. So these traces from Mine La Motte, Mine à Renault, and Mine à Breton to Ste. Genevieve served the purpose of getting the lead to market and provisions to the miners.

In January, 1797, Moses Austin, an owner of lead mines in Virginia, made a visit to the mineral region of Upper Louisiana west of the Mississippi. He obtained a grant of three arpents square from the Spanish officials.⁴⁷ This grant included Mine à Breton, which had been discovered about 1773. As has been noted before, Mine à Breton lay about six miles south of Mine à Renault in a line almost due west of Ste. Genevieve.⁴⁸ Austin returned to Virginia in June, 1797, but arrived in Ste. Genevieve with his family in 1798. They resided there until July, 1799, at which time they removed to Mine à Breton. With the exception of the village of Ste. Gene-

46. Schoolcraft, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, p. 42.

47. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. III, p. 591. Contains Austin's report of 1816.

48. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 189.

vieve, the District of Ste. Genevieve was an uninhabited wilderness at that time.⁴⁹ The miners lived in Ste. Genevieve and went out at certain times of the year to work the mines.⁵⁰ By 1799, Moses Austin had completed a furnace, a blast, a saw mill, a blacksmith's shop, a shot factory and other improvements at Mine à Breton. He manufactured lead and shot between 1800 and 1804 to the amount of from one hundred to two hundred thousand pounds annually.⁵¹

This extensive lead mining activity necessitated a great amount of travel between Mine à Breton and Ste. Genevieve. By 1800 or 1801, Austin had opened a road through his claim to Mine à Renault, which lay north of Mine à Breton.⁵² This new road gave him a connection with the road from Mine à Breton to Ste. Genevieve over which he had travelled in 1797. This latter road was in all probability the first road west of the Mississippi river over which wagons passed.⁵³ In 1808, William Bates

49. Austin, Moses, The Austin Papers, edited by Eugene C. Barker, in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1919, Vol. II, Part I, p. 115.

50. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. I, p. 189.

51. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 591.

52. Ibid.

53. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 284.

testified that this was the only public road in that
 54
 direction at the time it was made.

Prior to 1797, the settlements in the territory
 were not at a distance of more than twelve miles from
 55
 the Mississippi river. However, in 1798, the settle-
 ments seemed to swing to a line in the interior, more or
 less parallel with the Mississippi. The chief of these
 were Murphy's Settlement (the present Fredericktown),
 Cook's Settlement, Caledonia, and Mine à Breton (now
 Potosi). During the next two years settlement pushed
 southward to St. Michaels (the present Farmington) near
 56
 Mine La Motte. This line of settlements lay more or
 less along the route of the old St. Louis-Natchitoches
 57
 Indian trail in this region, along which a trace was be-
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 ginning to develop.

At the close of the Spanish regime, therefore,
 a wagon road and two traces existed in Upper Louisiana,
 with still another trace in the early stage of develop-
 ment. The wagon road extended from Mine à Breton to Ste.

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54. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. III, p. 591.
 55. Austin Papers, in Annual Report of the American
 Historical Association, 1919, Vol. II, Part I, p. 115.
 56. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 367, 375, 376.
 57. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol.
 XIV, pp. 145, 147.
 58. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. III, p. 182.

Genevieve. After 1800 it probably accommodated increased travel, because of the extensive activities of Moses Austin at Mine à Breton. A good trace for horses led from Mine La Motte to Ste. Genevieve. The other trace led from St. Louis to New Madrid, and had been authorized by the Spanish government, but the indications are that the amount of travel over it was not as great as that over some of the other traces. The trace then in an early stage of development was the one along the old Indian trail from St. Louis to Natchitoches. It will be discussed further in the following chapter. In considering the part these different traces played in developing their respective regions, the traces to the lead mines seem to have been the more important.

CHAPTER III

THE ROADS OF THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

1804 - 1821

The trunk line roads instrumental in the opening and development of distinct regions of the territory which later became the State of Missouri will be the main roads included in the discussion in this chapter. Mention will be made of several other roads, some of which had their origin in private enterprise.

With the exception of the roads to the lead mines, and the one connecting the four military posts of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid, no particular need for roads had existed during the Spanish regime. Transportation had been mainly by the rivers. But as settlement advanced, the rivers were not a sufficient means of intercourse. St. Louis was the largest settlement and the center of government. Roads were needed to connect it with the main lines of outlying settlements. Consequently, on July 9, 1806, a law con-

cerning public roads was passed.¹ The first section of this act provides:

Whenever a petition shall be presented to the court of quarter sessions, signed by twelve or more freeholders, inhabitants of the district, praying for the establishment of a public road, to run from a certain place, to a certain place therein specified, it shall be the duty of such court thereupon, if the petition shall appear reasonable, to appoint a surveyor and three discreet and disinterested householders, to view the said proposed road, and to survey and mark out the same of a sufficient width by the nearest and most practicable course, and make and return a plot [sic] thereof under their hands to the next court (noticing thereon the distances and courses, as nearly as may be, of such proposed road), which plot [sic] and return shall be filed, and the said court shall thereupon cause the clerk to publish by posting up in the proper district at the usual place or places of public notification, a certified transcript of the petitions, plot [sic] and return for the information of the inhabitants of said district.

The second section deals with the damages to be paid to the owners of the property through which the road passed. The third section of this act reads as follows:

The said courts of quarter sessions in each and every district shall divide their district into as many road divisions as they shall think proper, and shall appoint one or more supervisors of roads in each division, which supervisors shall have the charge of making and repairing the roads in his or their division or divisions respectively.

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1. Laws 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, Vol. I, p. 86. (Hereafter referred to as Territorial Laws of Missouri.)

And the said courts shall appoint annually two discreet road assessors, to each road division, who together with the supervisor or supervisors of such division, shall assess on each able bodied male person of full age a certain number of days, to labor on the public roads, under the directions of the supervisor or supervisors, not exceeding thirty days nor less than two days, in one year..... And it shall be the duty of such supervisors to cause to be made and kept in repair, all such roads within his division as shall be declared public roads by the court aforesaid...

The fourth and fifth sections deal respectively with the notice to the laborers and the punishment of supervisors for failure in duty. Hence, the first road law passed by the legislature of Louisiana Territory² made it possible for each district of the Territory to have roads surveyed, marked out, made and repaired by order of the court of quarter sessions of the district. The roads were at all times to be subject to the jurisdiction of this court. Roads established under this law might be termed district roads.

Two years later, on June 30, 1808, a law to provide for the "laying out of roads from the town of St. Louis to the town of Ste. Genevieve, from thence to the town of Cape Girardeau, and thence to the town of New Madrid" was passed by the legislature of the Territory of Louisiana.³ The law reads as follows:

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2. The territorial legislative body was composed of the governor and three judges.
 3. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 188.

That the governor be authorized and required to appoint three proper persons, one of whom shall be a practical surveyor, as commissioners, whose duty it shall be, as soon after their appointment as may be, to lay out and designate by plain and distinguishable marks, on the nearest and best ground, a wagon road from the town of St. Louis, to the town of Ste. Genevieve, and from thence to the town of Cape Girardeau, and from thence to the town of New Madrid.

The third section required the commissioners, after they had designated the above road, to make a report to the governor to be laid before the next legislature. This report was to contain an accurate plan of the road, with its several courses and distances, as it was laid out in each district.

The foregoing act provided for the appointment of commissioners to lay out the above roads. On November 10, 1808, another act was passed which provided for the opening of the above roads as one road from St. Louis to New Madrid.⁴ It reads as follows:

1. It shall be the duty of the commissioners appointed in pursuance of an act of this territory, to view and lay out a road from the town of St. Louis to the town of Ste. Genevieve, from thence to the town of Cape Girardeau, and from thence to the town of New Madrid, to make as soon as possible the report of their proceedings to the governor of this territory, and if approved by him, he is required to transmit to the clerks of the courts of quarter sessions, of the respective districts through which the said road is laid out, a copy of the plat of such part of the road as passes through the respective districts, together with its courses and distances.

4. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 225-226.

2. It shall be the duty of the respective clerks to enter the aforesaid transcripts on record, and to lay the same before the court of quarter sessions at their next session.

3. The road so laid out by the said commissioners, if approved of by the governor, is hereby confirmed and declared to be a public road, and it shall be the duty of the respective courts of quarter sessions of the district through which the same passes, upon the receipt of the aforesaid transcripts, to appoint supervisors and cause the said road to be cleared and opened of the breadth of twenty-five feet, in the same manner as is provided by an act of the territory entitled, "An act concerning public roads," and all provisions of the said act respecting the manner of opening and clearing roads, and indemnifying persons who object to roads on account of passing through their lands are hereby extended to the road to be opened in pursuance of this act.⁵

4. The governor is authorized and required to draw his warrant or warrants on the treasurers of the respective districts through which said road passes, for such expenses as may accrue, on account of making the transcripts of the report of the commissioners provided for by this act.

This road from St. Louis to New Madrid was authorized by a law of the Territory of Louisiana. It did not arise from the petitions of the inhabitants of the several districts through which it passed, as the general road law of 1806 had provided. Each district through which the road passed was to take care of the opening and assume the cost of that part of the road which passed through that district. The road was to be opened according to the specifications of the road law

5. This refers to the Act Concerning Public Roads, passed on July 9, 1806.

of 1806. The term "territorial road" might be applied to this road because of the fact that its direction was authorized by a specific law of the Territory. A specific law of the legislature of the Territory was necessary in a case like this because of the fact that the road was to pass through four different districts and therefore could not be authorized by the court of quarter sessions of any one of the districts.

The plat and field notes made in 1808 for the section of this St. Louis-New Madrid road that lies within the Cape Girardeau district were found in the files of the office of the clerk of the circuit court of Cape Girardeau county, Missouri, in October, 1932. Along the route as platted are these words: "This road follows the Shawanae trail the whole distance without any deviation from Cape Girardeau to the Indian town." Below Cape Girardeau it is not so well marked. On the cover of the document are these notations: "1809, February 1, Secretary's circular filed March 21, ordered to be cleared and opened, Territorial road, Cape Girardeau Quarter Sessions, March term 1809, From town of St. Louis to town of New Madrid, Filed, February 1, 1809." A letter from Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Territory, is folded in with the cover of the document. Because of the public utility of the road, this letter urges the same prompt-

ness in opening the road as the commissioners had displayed in laying it out.⁶

The route of this road from St. Louis to New Madrid followed the general direction of the old Spanish trace of the earlier period. This general direction, too, agreed in the main with the ancient Indian trail.⁷ The plat found in the Cape Girardeau records is evidence of the fact that this route had also been known as the Shawnee trail.⁸

A new law concerning public roads was passed by the General Assembly of Missouri Territory on January 18, 1814, in part to amend and in part to supersede the road law of 1806.⁹ The first section reads:

All the roads in the several counties in this territory that have been laid out by order of court and according to law, shall be and they are respectively declared to be public roads; and the said courts of common pleas in the several counties of this territory, now established, or

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6. Southeast Missourian, October 28, 1932. The writer made inquiries of Mr. John Putz, Secretary of the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society, concerning the authenticity of the article in the Southeast Missourian. Mr. Putz replied that he had discovered the document in the files of the office of the clerk of the circuit court, where it is at present. Mr. Putz is the author of the article. (Letter of John Putz, Secretary of the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society, to M. M. Wood, July 7, 1933.)
 7. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 150.
 8. Southeast Missourian, October 28, 1932.
 9. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 323.

hereafter to be established, shall have full power and authority, on application, to order the laying out of any public road or roads throughout their county, when the same shall by them be deemed necessary and to discontinue such public roads as now are, or shall hereafter be, found useless, burdensome and inconvenient, and to alter the roads now or hereafter to be established as often as occasion shall require.

The fourth section reads:

All public roads laid out as now in use, or which shall hereafter be laid out, shall be cleared of all trees and brush at least twenty feet wide, and such limbs of trees as may incommode horsemen or carriages, shall be cut away and no stump shall exceed twelve inches in height; all bridges or causeways made or to be made over small water courses, and causeways, over swamps or low lands shall be made and kept in repair by the hands subject to work on the roads where the same may be necessary, and the materials wherewith the same shall be made, may be taken from any land the most convenient to such causeways or bridges, and shall be laid across the road, and be at least twelve feet long, well secured, and made fast, and covered with earth.

The main difference between this law and the one of 1806, lay in the fact that the jurisdiction over the roads was changed from the court of quarter sessions of the district to the court of common pleas of the
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 county. It contained specifications for the making of

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10. From 1805 to 1812, the administrative functions of a district or county were vested in a court of quarter sessions; from 1812-1815, in a court of common pleas; from 1815-1816, in a county court; from 1816-1820, in a circuit court; and after 1820, in a county court. (Bradshaw, William L., "History of the Missouri County Court," in Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XXV, No. 3, (April, 1931), pp. 387-403.)

a road, and provided for bridges. Neither of these matters had been considered in the law of 1806. This law allowed for the fact that several district or county roads had been established under the public roads law of 1806. It accepted and continued them on the same status.

Before the next road is discussed, attention should be directed to the trend of settlement in the Territory. The last years of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth century had witnessed an influx of American settlers who were mainly interested in farming.¹¹ This meant some change in the area of settlement.¹²

During the Spanish regime, the Boone family from Kentucky had settled in the Femme Osage region about twenty miles west of St. Charles.¹³ In 1806, Daniel Morgan Boone and a brother had gone farther west to the present Howard county to make salt. The Boones did not settle there, but their reports of the country started immigration in that direction and the region became known

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11. Austin Papers, in Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1919, Vol. II, Part I, p. 116.
 12. Austin, Moses, "Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," in American Historical Review, Vol. V, No. 3, (April, 1900), p. 536.
 13. Bradbury, John, Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811, in Early Western Travels, edited by Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 343.

as the Boonslick country.¹⁴ In February, 1810, Benjamin and Sarshall Cooper, from the settlement on Loutre Island,¹⁵ settled in the Boonslick country. This region must have filled up rather rapidly after that time, for in 1811, Brackenridge found seventy-five families along the right bank of the Missouri in the Boonslick country within a radius of four or five miles. Valuable salt works¹⁶ were managed by Braxton Cooper.

During the war between the United States and Great Britain, from 1812 to 1814, troubles with the Indians¹⁷ increased in this frontier region. Immigration was partially checked until 1815, when treaties of peace and friendship with the various tribes of Indians were¹⁸ made at Portage des Sioux.

Nevertheless, a few immigrants had settled in¹⁹ the Boonslick country during the period. After the conclusion of the Indian treaties, immigration to this sec-

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14. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIV, p. 150.
 15. Brackenridge, Henry Marie, Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri, Performed in 1811, in Early Western Travels, Vol. VI, p. 48, n. 11.
 16. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 48.
 17. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIV, p. 133.
 18. United States Statutes at Large, Vol. VII, pp. 123-131.
 19. Missouri Intelligencer, April 1, 1820.

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tion increased amazingly. The astonishing increase in population can be comprehended from the report of Stephen H. Long on his trip up the Missouri river in 1819. Nashville, Smithton, Rectorville and numerous other towns, containing from one to a half dozen houses each, were found a few miles above Little Maniteau Rocks. In three years, the thirty families of whites above Cote Sans Dessein (now Parkersville in Callaway county) had increased to more than eight hundred families. Franklin, which marked the western edge of the frontier, was increasing more rapidly than any other settlement on the Missouri. It was the seat of justice for Howard county. Boonslick lay four miles to the north of Franklin. A newspaper published in the Boonslick region said that immigration to Missouri, and particularly to that region in 1819, had almost exceeded belief. It reported daily arriving immense numbers of wagons, carriages and carts bringing many families. During the month of October, no less than two hundred and seventy-one wagons and four-wheeled carriages and fifty-five two-wheeled carriages

20. Flint, Timothy, Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 203.

21. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIV, p. 146.

22. Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 149.

MAP NO. IV

THE ROADS OF THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

1804 - 1821

1. The St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid Road or King's Highway.
2. Boonslick Road.
3. Salt River Road.
4. Potosi - Herculaneum Road.
5. Potosi - Boonslick Road by the Mouth of the Osage River.
6. Council Bluffs to Chariton River Road or "Fields Trace."
7. St. Louis - Arkansas Road.
8. Cape Girardeau - Arkansas Road.
9. Mine à Breton - Ste. Genevieve Road.
10. St. Michaels - Ste. Genevieve Road.



THE ROADS OF
THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD
1804 ~ 1821

and carts passed near St. Charles bound for the Boons-
²³lick country. At the other end of this route of travel,
 another newspaper reported that for ten weeks about twen-
²⁴ty wagons a week had passed through St. Charles. A
 writer of the period said that during 1815, 1816, and
 1817 the whole tide of immigration was headed toward the
 Boonslick country. He had counted a hundred wagons a
 day passing through the village of St. Charles on their
 way from the ferry where they crossed the upper Missis-
²⁵sippi. They were all bound for the Boonslick region.

The route of travel into the Boonslick region
 before 1816 had developed a trace which was known as
 "the trace" or "the Boonslick trace." It extended from
 the town of St. Charles on the northern bank of the Mis-
 souri river to the Boonslick country. St. Charles had
 been founded as early as 1769, and it had become a great
²⁶thoroughfare to the vast region west of the Mississippi.
 References to "the trace" or "old road" are found in
 old petitions and records filed in the county and circuit

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23. Missouri Intelligencer, November 19, 1819; November
 26, 1819.
24. St. Louis Enquirer, November 10, 1819.
25. Flint, Recollections of the Last Ten Years, pp. 201-
 202.
26. Flagg, Edmund, The Far West, in Early Western Trav-
 els, Vol. XXVI, pp. 277-278.

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 court records of St. Charles county. The first petition asking for a county road from St. Charles in the direction of the Boonslick settlements to the Howard county line was filed on April 23, 1816. ²⁸ Howard county had been organized in 1816. ²⁹ Another petition of later date stated that the old Boonslick road, never declared a county road, had been travelled since the first settlement of the country, and that the new road from St. Charles to Boonslick, although declared a county road in 1819, was untravelled. It therefore asked that the new road be abandoned and that the old road be declared the county road. ³⁰

By 1821, a number of petitions had been filed asking for the extension of the Franklin road through St. Charles county to St. Charles. ³¹ The road had already been extended through the present counties of

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27. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Road Notes 2, 2-6-2; Misc. Road Notes, 3-6-2; St. Charles County, Circuit Court Records, Book A, pp. 73, 232, 273, 317, 330.
28. St. Charles County, Circuit Court Records, Book A, p. 73.
29. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 460.
30. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Road Notes 2, 2-6-2.
31. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Road Notes 2, 2-6-2; County Court Records, Book I, pp. 16, 29, 30, 33, 78.

Howard, Boone, Callaway and Warren. At the end of the period embraced in this chapter, the citizens of St. Charles county were still in disagreement over the permanent county road through that county to the Boonslick region, although there was plenty of travel over the route which had been known as the Boonslick trace. The farmers on the various proposed routes were chiefly responsible for this disagreement, for each group was interested in having its own particular road declared the official road, in order that the tide of travel might bring to their doors a market for their products. They were far more concerned about such a market than about the convenience of the route for immigrants.³² The western end of the road was often called the St. Charles road by the western settlers, because of the fact that it was the route which led back to the settlement of St. Charles. In the same way, at the eastern end it was called the Boonslick road, or a little later, the Franklin road.

As early as 1813, a petition was presented by some of the inhabitants of St. Louis county to the court of common pleas of that county asking for a county road from St. Louis to St. Charles.³³ This road was meant to

32. Gregg, Kate L., "The Boonslick Road in St. Charles County," in Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, (October, 1933), p. 9.

33. This petition is in a collection of manuscripts on roads in the Library of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.

connect at St. Charles with the Boonslick trace, and thus afford a road from St. Louis to the Boonslick country, then the extreme western frontier.

The condition of the road was bad, even though its various sections were county roads and were much travelled. This is shown by the complaints of travellers who had lost the way on this road, because of its numerous forks and the scarcity of finger boards, of which there were only two between St. Louis and the Boonslick region. The complaints stated that the roads leading off through the settlements generally were more beaten than the direct one, and frequently caused weary travellers to be led away from their direction many miles. A complaint against the supervisor, published in the Franklin paper, is evidence that the part of the road in Howard county had been authorized as a county road before 1820.³⁴ Early in 1819, the Missouri Intelligencer contained an announcement that a stage had been running from St. Louis to St. Charles three times a week for several months. It also announced that one was contemplated from St. Louis to Franklin, and another from St. Louis, through Edwardsville and Vincennes, to Louisville. The article

34. Missouri Intelligencer, July 23, 1819.

35. Missouri Intelligencer, January 7, 1820.

stated that when the contemplated lines were established a direct communication would be established from the Atlantic states to Boonslick in Missouri.³⁶ About two years later, the same paper announced that a stage was then running between St. Charles and Franklin once a week.³⁷

However, all of the settlers who came to Missouri in this period of immigration did not take the road to the Boonslick country. After a time, some of them turned northward to Salt river, a western tributary of the upper Mississippi.³⁸ These were not the first settlers in that region, however. Maturin Bouvet, who had lived in St. Charles, made salt near the mouth of Salt river below the Bay of St. Charles as early as 1792.³⁹ In 1799, there was a settlement on Ramsay's Lick above Sandy creek, and another one about sixty-five miles north of St. Louis, near the Mississippi.⁴⁰ The population in this area, however, did not increase rapidly during the early period, because of the proximity of the hostile Indian tribes of the upper Mississippi.⁴¹ This region

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36. Missouri Intelligencer, April 23, 1819.
 37. Missouri Intelligencer, March 26, 1821.
 38. Flint, Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 203.
 39. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. II, p. 537; Vol. III, p. 586.
 40. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 454.
 41. Peck, John M., Annals of the West, pp. 729, 730, 734.

came to be known as the Salt river country, because of the fact that the first occupation in this region was the making of salt, and that the farthest settlement in early times was at the mouth of Salt river.⁴²

By 1818, settlements were scattered along the west side of the Mississippi as far as the present Hannibal.⁴³ Intercourse between this region and St. Louis, then the supply town of the West, caused the early trace to develop into a road.⁴⁴ The connection of this country with St. Louis was made at St. Charles, so the road from the latter point to the Salt river country came to be known as the Salt river road, because of its direction. In the circuit court records of St. Charles county there is a document dated November 18, 1818, which appointed William Van Burkeler overseer of the road from St. Charles to Salt river.⁴⁵ Whether or not this record antedates an existing undated petition and plat for the Salt river road is debatable. The petition calls for "a road from Audrain Mill leading directly to the mouth of Big Creek, intersecting a road now in contemplation

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42. Flint, Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 203.
 43. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. III, p. 185.
 44. Flint, Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 105.
 45. St. Charles County, Circuit Court Records, Book A, p. 300.

by citizens of Lincoln county from Troy by Moscow Mills to mouth of Big Creek which will be of bigger public utility and convenience to people of St. Charles going to the forks of the Cuivre, Moscow Mills, and Troy, as well as those of Lincoln living in the forks of Big Creek, going to St. Charles, St. Louis, etc."⁴⁶ The undated plat of a road from St. Charles to Big creek is also on file.⁴⁷ There is a record of the appointment of commissioners on July 5, 1818, to lay out a road from Clarksville on the Mississippi to intersect the road at Sandy Mills and thence to St. Charles.⁴⁸ On November 23 of the same year, the circuit court also appointed commissioners to lay out a road from Clarksville to Louisianaville and to the mouth of Salt river.⁴⁹ Evidently, these were to be county roads and the result would be a county road from St. Charles to the mouth of Salt river, authorized in the year 1818.⁵⁰ The first postal route for

46. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Road Papers 6, 2-6-6.

47. Ibid.

48. St. Charles County, Circuit Court Records, Book A, p. 262.

49. Ibid.

50. All records of the county and circuit courts of St. Charles County are available at St. Charles, Missouri. (Clerk of the Circuit Court of St. Charles County to M. M. Wood, July, 1933.)

the Salt river country was authorized in 1819. It was to proceed from St. Charles by Clark's Fort, Stout's Fort, Lincoln Court House and Clarksville to Louisiana⁵¹ and the mouth of Salt river in Pike county.

A new road in the mineral region came into existence in the first decade of the eighteenth century. About 1806, Moses Austin and Samuel Hammond bought a concession of four hundred acres of land at the mouth of the Joachim creek, "with all the improvements, ferries and landings, both on the Mississippi and on the Joachim."⁵² They planned to build the new town of Herculaneum at this site. Austin probably realized the value of the cliffs as inexpensive shot towers where he could dispose of much of his lead. But he realized the necessity of a good road from Mine à Breton (Potosi) to Herculaneum, if the town was to prosper, and if it was to become a depot for his lead. The land between the two places was public land. Austin therefore wrote a letter to Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Territory, requesting permission to build a road from Mine à Breton to the river at his own expense. Bates' reply to Austin's request reads:

51. United States Statutes at Large, Vol. III, p. 507.

52. Austin Papers, in Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1919, Vol. II, Part I, p. 123.

St. Louis, Feb. 7, 1808.

You speak of a road from Mine à Breton to the mouth of the Joachim and solicit my permission to make it at your own expense. It is a measure of such manifest utility, that had I the power to do so, I should not hesitate to give it my warmest support. It appears to be my duty to prevent trespasses and intrusions of every kind upon the Public Lands of the United States and although the road which you contemplate, is most clearly without the spirit and meaning of the Laws on these subjects, yet as it appears to be an actual breach of them, it is impossible that I should give it a direct sanction. I will make you, however, this assurance, that I will, by next mail, express to the government my private approbation of the project, and that, until I receive orders on the subject, no prohibitory measures shall be taken.

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Bates then sent the following letter to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in which he cites the reasons and purposes of the road and discloses the project for the new town:

St. Louis, Feb 9, 1808

I beg your attention to a correspondence with Moses Austin in relation to a road through the public lands from Mine à Breton to the mouth of the Joachim. A Better road can be made through that part of the country, and nearer by twenty-five miles than in any other direction. Ste. Genevieve has heretofore been the Depot for lead. The contemplated village of Herculaneum at the mouth of the Joachim will, I think be preferable in many respects. The facility of communication with the Grand River which this Highway would afford, is conjectured to be a secondary object; the first, I have no doubt is the establishment

53. Bates, Frederick, The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates, edited by Thomas Maitland Marshall, Vol. I, p. 273.

of a new town by which a great deal of expensive transportation will be saved.

The banks of the Mississippi are generally insecure, and the Village of Ste. Genevieve has retired at least one and one-half miles to avoid the inundation of the Spring Freshet. The situation of Herculaneum is more elevated, and occupies the intermediate space between two rocky Promontories which will forever prevent a waste of its banks.⁵⁴

The project for this road was evidently carried through, for in 1821, Schoolcraft mentions this road from Potosi (Mine à Breton) to the Mississippi at Herculaneum as one of the products of Austin's great and unremitting exertions.⁵⁵ In another work of Schoolcraft's, he mentions the great width of the wagon road from Herculaneum to Potosi.⁵⁶

Moses Austin, in his report on lead mining, made to the government in 1816, places the establishment of Herculaneum in the year 1810.⁵⁷ But an advertisement of a shot tower at Herculaneum appeared in a St. Louis newspaper in November, 1809.⁵⁸ Austin did not advertise

54. Bates, Frederick, The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates, edited by Marshall, Vol. I, pp. 281-282.

55. Schoolcraft, Henry R., Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley, p. 245.

56. Schoolcraft, Henry R., A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, p. 42.

57. American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. III, p. 609.

58. Missouri Gazette, November 16, 1809.

his shot tower in that place until 1810. By 1816, Herculan⁵⁹eum had become the main lead depot of the region. From the latter fact, it is to be judged that the road from Mine à Breton, the chief lead producing center, to Herculan⁶⁰eum accommodated a heavy travel. If Houck is correct in the statement that the St. Louis-New Madrid road was not completed until 1813, and if Herculan⁶¹eum was established by 1809, or even by 1810, then the road from Mine à Breton to Herculan⁶¹eum was the first of the roads under discussion to be opened in the territorial period. It cannot be classed as a territorial road, however, for it was built by private enterprise.

One other road of this period also had its origin in private enterprise, and had in view, too, the advancement of the mineral region. This was a road from Potosi to the Boonslick region which was authorized by a law of the Territory of Missouri in 1816. The law⁶¹ reads in part as follows:

Whereas, it appears to this general assembly that the opening of a public wagon road from the town of Potosi, in the county of Washington to Boon's Lick on the Missouri, would greatly promote the interest and prosperity of the upper

59. Missouri Gazette, March 8, 1810.

60. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. III, p. 163.

61. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 479.

settlements, and other parts of this territory; Therefore, Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri, as follows:

1. Jacob Petit, Robert T. Brown, and John Perry, Junior, be, and they are hereby appointed commissioners to contract with some person or persons, on the lowest and most favorable terms, to open a wagon road from Potosi in the county of Washington, through said Washington and St. Louis counties to the river Osage by the most direct and best route to Boon's Lick. The said commissioners taking bond with security, to be approved of by them, from the person or persons with whom they shall so contract, in double the amount of the said contract, payable to the governor of the territory and his successors in office, for the use of the county of Washington conditioned for the faithful performance of their said contract, which bond shall be lodged and filed in the office of the clerk of the circuit court of the said county.

2. The said commissioners are authorized to receive all moneys which have heretofore been subscribed, or which shall hereafter be subscribed for opening the said road and should the sums thus subscribed, or to be subscribed not be sufficient for the purpose, then they are hereby empowered to draw on the regimental paymaster and county treasurer of the county of Washington, for the residue of the funds necessary to complete said road, which shall be paid out of the militia fines then in the said county treasury, or which may hereafter be paid into it, or which may be in the hands of said paymaster and properly due by him to the said county treasury.....; provided, however, that the said commissioners shall not draw for more than three hundred dollars from the county of Washington.

The fourth section of the law provided that the commissioners should, within twenty days after the road was completed, make a report thereof to the clerk's office of the county of Washington, with a plat and a true account of the expenses. This road can be classed as a

territorial road, because of the fact that it was created by the legislature of the Territory; but it differs from the St. Louis-New Madrid road in that it was not to be made and paid for by the respective counties through which it passed. According to the law, a part of the cost of the Potosi-Boonslick road was to come from subscriptions, and the remainder was to be made up by only one of the two counties through which it was to pass, namely, Washington county.

That the political influence of Moses Austin was instrumental in obtaining the passage of this law is quite possible. The earliest migration west of the river, as has been shown, had been toward the mineral region and that area had enjoyed a reasonable prosperity. Moses Austin had dreams and hopes for the settlement of Potosi, which he had been instrumental in building.⁶² Washington county (the first county organized after the five original counties) had been organized in 1813, with Potosi (Mine à Breton) as the county seat.⁶³ When immigration began to turn to the Boonslick country in 1815, Austin in all probability grew concerned over it, and planned opening a road from Potosi to the Boonslick

62. Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 244-245.

63. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 285.

region, hoping thereby to divert some of the immigration to the latter place through the district of the mines. At any rate, in 1819, he is credited by Schoolcraft with opening a road from Potosi to the Boonslick settlement, which Schoolcraft asserted was accomplished, and was found to be extremely beneficial to the country at large.⁶⁴ It is quite probable that Austin's interest in this road may explain why a part of its cost was cared for by subscription and the remainder imposed on only one of the two counties through which the road was to pass, namely, Washington county in the mineral region. In 1817, Samuel Brown, a government surveyor, made the statement that a road was then opening from Potosi, the center of the lead mines in Washington county, to the Boonslick, and that it was cut as far as the Osage river.⁶⁵ There is also a reference to this road in the records of Howard county regarding the first road laid out by authority of the county in 1816. This Howard county road was to be routed to intersect the road from Potosi at the Osage river.⁶⁶ There is a record, too, of a post route in 1818, which was to

64. Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley, p. 245.

65. Brown, Samuel R., The Western Gazetteer, p. 173.

66. History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri, (1883), p. III.

proceed from Ste. Genevieve by way of Potosi to Franklin
in Howard county.⁶⁷ It would seem that a road authorized
by the territorial legislature as early as 1816, might
have become a rather important agency in the settlement
and development of the region through which it passed.
However, judging from the lack of evidence concerning
the development and later importance of this road, it
does not seem to have accomplished the objects Austin
had had in mind. In the case of the St. Louis-New Madrid
road, the law stipulated that the road be opened "in the
same manner as provided by an act of the territory en-
titled an act concerning public roads." This public
roads act of 1806 had specifically stated that each dis-
trict should be divided into road divisions and that a
supervisor should be appointed for each division to have
charge of making and repairing roads in that division.
But there was nothing in the law concerning the Potosi-
Boonslick road which provided that it should come under
"an act concerning public roads," passed in 1806, and
amended in 1814, which would have provided for its re-
pair and maintenance. No evidence is at hand to prove
its existence beyond the territorial period. One of two
fates could have overtaken it. Either it could have dis-

67. United States Statutes at Large, Vol. III, p. 456.

appeared because of lack of repair and from non-use, or it could have been given the status of a county road,⁶⁸ either as a whole or in part.

Mention might be made of a military road which at this period was cut from Council Bluffs on the upper Missouri, then the headquarters of the Yellowstone Expedition, to Chariton west of the Boonslick region. In 1819, a newspaper of the latter region reported that this road was needed to facilitate the transportation of articles necessary for the expedition during the winter while intercourse by the river was interrupted. An express from Council Bluffs was to arrive at Chariton once a month.⁶⁹ This road was constructed under the supervision of General Atkinson. The real work, however, was managed by Lieutenant Gabriel Fields. He left Council Bluffs on September 2, 1819, with thirty men and a wagon drawn by six horses. The road was reported completed when he reached the town of Chariton forty-seven days later. All of the streams (about sixty) were bridged except the Platte, the Nodaway, the Nishnabotna and the Grand. On his return, Lieutenant Fields took with him

68. For evidence on this point, it would be necessary to examine the records of the circuit and county courts of the counties through which the road passed.

69. Missouri Intelligencer, November 26, 1819.

one hundred and twenty-seven milch cows and seven hundred stock hogs, thus making use of the road immediately.⁷⁰ Long, in his journey overland from St. Louis to Council Bluffs in 1820, followed the Boonslick road to Franklin, a "rugged and circuitous" road to Chariton, and Field's trace from there northwest to Council Bluffs.⁷¹ Since Fields had finished cutting out this military road in the preceding October, it is a logical supposition that the Field's trace to which Long referred was the road cut out by Lieutenant Fields. On the abandonment of Council Bluffs as a government post, this road was no longer maintained by the federal government.

The Boonslick district and the Salt river region, with the territory lying between, were not the only parts of Missouri which were being settled and into which roads were being opened between 1815 and 1820. The area south of St. Louis somewhat back from the river was filling up, although not so rapidly as the Boonslick region. An indication of the increase in population in this area is the fact that Jefferson, Madison, and Wayne counties were organized in December,⁷² 1818.

70. Missouri Intelligencer, November 4, 1820.

71. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XV, p. 179.

72. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 551, 557, 576.

By this time, a road branched off from the St. Louis-New Madrid road at Herculaneum and proceeded a little west of south to Little Rock on the Arkansas river, and on to Natchitoches on Red river. Nuttall, in ascending the Arkansas river in 1820, referred to this road when he mentioned the fact that at Little Rock he crossed the road which on the right led to St. Louis, and on the left to Natchitoches. In this study, this road will be called the St. Louis-Arkansas road. The route followed the line of the ancient Indian trail from St. Louis to Natchitoches.⁷³ Featherstonhaugh and Schoolcraft give accounts of travelling on this road which seem to coincide in all the main points. Long, on his return from the Little Red river in 1820, also travelled over a part of it. Schoolcraft's account of his return from the White river region in 1819 gives the best picture of the direction of the road and the condition of settlements at that time. He noted the fact that the main road from Missouri to Arkansas crossed White river at Hardin's Ferry, over which mail was carried from St. Louis to the post of Arkansas once a month. He further noted two other crossings for this same road, one at Morrison's Ferry two miles below Hardin's Ferry, and another

73. Nuttall, Journal of Travels, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XIII, p. 145.

at Poke Bayou (Batesville, Arkansas) eight miles below Morrison's. He left the river at this latter crossing and proceeded on foot over the "high road" through the counties of Lawrence (in Arkansas), Wayne, Madison, and Cape Girardeau.⁷⁴ On the first day's journey, he commented on the fact that the farms, the improvements, and the road travelled, appeared new.⁷⁵ He proceeded from Poke Bayou to Current river, which he crossed at Hick's Ferry in the present Ripley county. He noted that the "newness of the buildings, fences and clearings" in the valley of the Little Black river indicated a "recent and augmenting population."⁷⁶ He crossed the Big Black river in Wayne county (now Butler) and recorded the fact that the settlers of the region raised cattle for the markets of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, and Kaskaskia.⁷⁷ Mention of this industry suggests that there were roads to these markets. He crossed the next river, the St. Francis, at the ferry of Dr. Bettis, which was situated at or near the present site of Greenville, and passed through populous settlements on the road to St. Michaels (now Fredericktown).⁷⁸ He continued on the St. Louis-Arkansas road

74. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 80.

75. Ibid., p. 81.

76. Ibid., p. 85.

77. Ibid., p. 86.

78. Ibid., p. 87.

north through Cook's Settlement and Murphy's (now Farmington) toward Herculanum where this road joined the St. Louis-New Madrid road. At Hale's, near the headwaters of Big river, this road crossed the road from Potosi (Mine à Breton) to Ste. Genevieve. He reported St. Michaels, Cook's, and Murphy's all flourishing settlements. Beck mentions the two latter settlements as the principal farming tracts and also that they were situated on the main road from St. Louis to Arkansas.

Schoolcraft, on his return from the White river region in 1819, also mentioned a road which diverged at St. Michaels from the St. Louis-Arkansas road eastward to Ste. Genevieve. This road was in all probability the outgrowth of the well defined trace which had existed between Mine La Motte and Ste. Genevieve at the end of the Spanish period. The same author also noted in 1819, that goods were transported by wagon from Ste. Genevieve to Mine La Motte, thereby establishing the fact that by this date a wagon road traversed the route which had been a trace in the Spanish period. In another place

79. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 90.

80. Ibid., pp. 89, 90.

81. Beck, Lewis C., A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri, p. 256.

82. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 89.

he speaks of it as the "great road from Ste. Genevieve
to the mines" and notes its surprising width. Another⁸³
road rather prominent in this period was the one that
developed along the old Vincennes-Natchitoches trail.⁸⁴
After settlements were established west of the Missis-
sippi, this became the military and wagon road for im-
migrants moving into Arkansas from Illinois and Kentucky.⁸⁵
Immigrants coming into southern Missouri and Arkansas
in 1816, 1817, and 1818, came by way of this road. The
crossing of the Mississippi was at Bainbridge (about ten
miles above Cape Girardeau) or at Cape Girardeau. From
there the road took a westerly direction across the St.
Francis river at Bettis' Ferry (Greenville), south to a
crossing of the Black river near the present Poplar
Bluff, and thence southwest across the Current river at
Pitman's Ferry, to a crossing on White river.⁸⁶ This
route will be referred to as the Cape Girardeau-Arkansas
road.

The roads which penetrated the country west of
the Mississippi to the upper settlements on Red river

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83. Schoolcraft, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri,
pp. 52, 58.
84. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 227.
85. Beck, A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and
Missouri, p. 259.
86. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 227.

and the Arkansas river had been sufficiently opened by this time to admit the passing of wagons. One traveller had encountered many families and had heard of many others who had migrated from Missouri to Red river or from Red river to Missouri.⁸⁷ In 1820, Long followed this road from Little Red river, crossed White river at Hardin's Ferry, then the Current and Black rivers, and the St. Francis river at Bettis' Ferry (Greenville).⁸⁸ Thus far, his route seems to have coincided with that of Schoolcraft in 1819. The junction of the St. Louis-Arkansas road and the Cape Girardeau-Arkansas road seems to have been in this vicinity east of the St. Francis river. Long refers to the Cape Girardeau-Arkansas road as "the road from White River," when he mentions that it joins the one "from the upper settlements" (St. Louis) at some distance beyond Jackson on the St. Francis.⁸⁹ Evidence is furnished by accounts of some of the early travellers that these roads united east of the crossing of the St. Francis river, and pursued, in a general way, the same route to one of the three crossings of White river, and thence to Little Rock and to Natchitoches. Confusion

87. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XVII, p. 32.

88. Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 24, 83.

89. Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 41.

often arises from the fact that these two roads in part followed the same route. The early travellers, when they were south of the junction of these two roads, usually spoke of it in terms of their destination, as the road along either the old Vincennes-Natchitoches trail or the old St. Louis-Natchitoches trail. Schoolcraft in 1819, and Long in 1820, both crossed White river at Poke Bayou and traversed about the same route to the junction on the St. Francis river, when Long took the route to Cape Girardeau, and Schoolcraft proceeded north through St. Michaels, Cook's Settlement, Murphy's Settlement, and Herculaneum, to St. Louis.⁹⁰ Schoolcraft, in another of his writings of 1819, noted Murphy's Settlement and Cook's Settlement as extending along the main road from St. Louis to the Arkansas and Red rivers.⁹¹ In 1834, Featherstonhaugh made the journey from St. Louis to Little Rock over the St. Louis-Arkansas road. He noted the fact that from the Arkansas line a military road had been cut out by authority of the government of the United States and that it was known as the "military road."⁹²

90. Long's Expedition, in Early Western Travels, Vol. XVII, pp. 4,24,83; Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, pp. 85-90.

91. Schoolcraft, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, p. 51.

92. Featherstonhaugh, Excursion Through the Slave States, p. 86.

This helps to explain why this road was at times referred to as the "Arkansas road" and at other times as the "military road."⁹³

In conclusion, four main trunk line roads existed in Missouri by 1821. One of these was the St. Louis-New Madrid road, sometimes called the King's Highway, which led south near the Mississippi river through Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. It coincided with the Spanish trace or King's Highway which had developed in the earlier period and lay more or less along the old Indian trail. This road was the first road established by a law of the Territory, but it was not the first road built in the territorial period, nor did it have the heaviest travel. The second of these main roads was the Boonslick road, a product of this period. This road led westerly from St. Charles on the Missouri river to the farthest settlements along the Missouri in the central part of the State. It did not follow the line of the Missouri river, but took its direction westerly across the land between the two points where it touched the river at St. Charles and Franklin. Immigration to the Boonslick region had caused this trace to develop, and the trace, in its turn, had encouraged settlement

93. Beck, A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri, p. 256.

along and near its course. The Boonslick road became the most travelled road of the period. The third road was the Salt river road, which had developed as a result of the migration in the direction of Salt river. It led west of north from St. Charles to the settlements on the upper Mississippi river. The fourth road was the St. Louis-Arkansas road, which developed along the old St. Louis-Natchitoches trail. It accommodated the travel from St. Louis to Little Rock.

Some roads of lesser importance also existed in the State by 1821. Of these, the one from the lower Mississippi into Arkansas deserves mention as a line of migration for immigrants from east of the river and from southern Missouri into Arkansas. It lay along the old Vincennes-Natchitoches trail.

The road from Potosi to Herculaneum, although started as a private enterprise, later became a public road.

The Potosi-Boonslick road seems to have originated as a speculative scheme of Moses Austin, and with his financial reverses and death, the road appears to have gone the way of his other speculations.

CHAPTER IV

ROADS OF THE EARLY STATE PERIOD

1821 - 1840

The discussion in this chapter will be concerned with the roads that were instrumental in opening and developing one new part of the State, with the main roads leading to the new capital, and with the status and the extension of roads already discussed in previous chapters. All roads for which laws were enacted in this period will be listed in the appendix. Also, the discussion in this chapter will be confined entirely to roads that are designated as state roads. A state road of this period was a road whose route was authorized and determined by a state law, or whose route was accepted by the State as it had existed as a county road. The term "state road" meant only that the State had the power to determine the route of the road; for the cost of building and maintenance was the concern of the county courts of the several counties through which the route passed.

Some of the first road laws passed after 1821

were concerned with the power over roads. The first of these was an act supplementary to the several acts respecting roads and highways which had been passed in the territorial period. The first section reads:

That the several county courts of this state be and they are hereby invested with competent power to order and direct all public roads which now are, or hereafter may be established, according to law, to be laid out and cleared according to the utility of the same; provided that no roads be laid out a greater width than fifty feet, nor less than twenty feet.....

This law was passed on December 3, 1822.¹ It provided that all public roads were to be built and kept in repair under the jurisdiction of the county courts of the several counties through which they passed.

The second road law, passed on January 27, 1827, was an act for establishing state roads therein mentioned as public highways.² The law reads in part as follows:

1. That the surveys of state roads heretofore made under the authority of the State, be and the same are hereby established and declared public highways, subject only to be altered in the manner hereinafter directed.

2. The several county courts of this State, in the counties through which the surveys for state roads are already made, upon a petition

1. Laws of Missouri, 2nd General Assembly, 1st Session, 1822, p. 23.

2. Laws of Missouri, 3rd General Assembly, 2nd Session, and 4th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1826-1827, pp. 56-57.

signed by fifty persons over the age of twenty-one, house holders, and living in the county to which the court to be petitioned shall belong, setting forth a propriety in a change of the route of the said state road, from a given point to some other given point to be mentioned in the said petition, and all within the limits of the county within which the county court to be petitioned as aforesaid shall belong, shall appoint three discreet and disinterested men as commissioners, to view all the suggested routes, together with the one already surveyed by authority of the State, who under oath, having carefully examined and compared them all, shall report to the court which appointed them, in their opinion, the nearest and most practicable route, which, upon the approval of the court to which such report is made, shall be, and is hereby, declared a part of the state road; provided however that nothing in this section shall be so construed as to allow, in any county, any change in the points of ingress and egress of said state road as now surveyed, unless by a special and mutual agreement between the commissioners of contiguous counties, to be sanctioned by the courts of the respective counties concerned.

3. The commissioners appointed as above, in making their views and reviews shall not depart or vary from the present surveyed route or routes, more than one-half mile, unless, in their opinion, a greater departure or variation should be conducive to a preferable and nearer way; provided that in the county of St. Charles, the county court may, according to the provisions of this act, alter such road between the opposite points of intersection with lines of said county in any manner, which they may deem preferable, if such alteration shall not increase the distance more than one tenth of what it is at present.....

4. No alteration shall be affected in any part of the state road as now surveyed, so as to divert it from running through any county seat of justice which is permanently established, and through which it already passes.

This law established the surveys of the six state roads

made under authority of the State on December 19, 1822, as public highways, and therefore placed them under the jurisdiction of the county courts.

In the previous chapters the discussion has shown the development of settlements and of a road north of the Missouri river along the Mississippi river, one north of the Missouri river to the west, and one south of the Missouri river along the Mississippi. But the greater part of the area south of the Missouri and inland from the Mississippi river had not been settled permanently to any great extent before 1821.

Immigration into this interior region had begun in the early part of the nineteenth century and had progressed by way of the valleys of the Meramec, the Gasconade, and the Osage rivers. Settlers and immigrants near the Meramec river had been tempted by the rumors of rich minerals and had followed this river into the interior.³ Immigrants up the Missouri had been interested in the resources of furs, of the valley land, and of timber along the Gasconade and Osage rivers.⁴ In 1811, Brackenridge mentioned the fact that a militia

3. Schoolcraft, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, p. 203.

4. Brackenridge, Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri, in Early Western Travels, Vol. VI, pp. 41, 45, 247.

captain reported that he was able to muster into his company two hundred and fifty men on the Gasconade.⁵ Naturally these straggling settlers penetrated farther and farther towards the headwaters of these streams.

James Harrison had settled near the mouth of the Piney river, in the upper valley of the Gasconade about ten miles southwest of the present Rolla, about 1817.⁶ But settlement in the early period did not advance into this part of the State as rapidly as it had into the Boonslick country. The fact that Crawford county (the first county formed in this region) was not organized until January 23, 1829, is evidence in support of this point. The first court of Crawford county was authorized to be held at the home of the above mentioned James Harrison in 1829.⁷

Another center of settlement south of the Missouri during this period was the site of the Meramec Iron Banks on the Meramec river near the Big Spring (now St. James)⁸ in the present Crawford and Phelps counties. About

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5. Brackenridge, Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri, in Early Western Travels, Vol. VI, p. 40.
 6. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties, Missouri, (1889), p. 20.
 7. Laws of Missouri, 5th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1828-1829, p. 23.
 8. Wetmore, Alphonso, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 69.

1826, Thomas James came to these banks with Samuel Massey and a force of one or two hundred laborers and began the erection of the Meramec Iron Works.⁹ By 1837, the iron was hauled to many parts of the State in wagons sent for this purpose by the consumers and the large surplus¹⁰ produced was sent to the Mississippi by land. All supplies for these mines were hauled from St. Louis in¹¹ wagons. This amount of hauling necessitated roads. Post offices existed at Piney (the Harrison settlement) and at Meramec (the Iron mines) by 1831, with James Harrison¹² and Samuel Massey as the respective postmasters.

Settlers were also penetrating into the southwestern part of the State from another direction at about the same time.¹³ They were coming by way of White river. Schoolcraft, an early traveller, explored the White river region in 1818 and 1819. According to his account, he reached the western summit of the Ozarks, and found the

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9. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties, p. 627.
 10. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 69.
 11. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties, p. 628.
 12. Table of Post Offices in the United States as They Were October 1, 1830; With a Supplement Stating the Offices Established Between October 1, 1830, and April 1, 1831, p. 249.
 13. Escott, George S., History and Directory of Springfield, p. 15.

head of Beaver creek to be the highest location to which¹⁴
 a pioneer hunting population had advanced at that date.
 He encountered settlements lower down on White river,
 however. His guides on this tour, Holt and Fisher, were
 located at the present Forsyth in Taney county.

By the year 1820, settlers began coming into
 the region.¹⁵ At about this time, however, a complica-
 tion arose in the advancement of settlement by white men,
 because of the fact that the government had given reser-
 vations in this region to the Delaware Indians in 1818
 and to the Kickapoos in 1819.¹⁶ These Indians did not
 begin permanently to occupy their territory until about
 1822, when conflicts arose between them and the pioneer
 settlers. An appeal was made to the government and the
 Indians were declared to be within their rights. The
 white settlers then abandoned their claims. Some of them
 went to the headwaters of the Meramec and the Osage Fork
 of the Gasconade, where scattered settlements were al-
 ready formed,¹⁷ as has been shown earlier in this chapter.

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14. Schoolcraft, Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alp-
 ine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and
 Arkansas, pp. 116, 120.
15. Houck, History of Missouri, Vol. III, p. 159.
16. Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report,
 1896-1897, Vol. II, pp. 692, 698, 724.
17. Fairbanks and Tuck, Past and Present of Greene Coun-
 ty, Missouri, p. 57.

In 1832, the Kickapoos and Delawares ceded their claims¹⁸ in this region to the United States.

Many of the early white settlers then returned to their former claims and began permanent settlements. All of this southwest territory was in Wayne county and in Crawford county by 1830.¹⁹ Greene county was organized on January 2, 1833, and became a center of settle-²⁰ment. The dates of the purchase of land, as evidenced by the records of the land offices at Boonville and Springfield, do not necessarily indicate the dates of settlement, for it is quite possible that many of these early settlers were squatters until the land offices in this region were opened and it was convenient for them²¹ to enter their lands.

The land office at Springfield was open by²² 1835. As a result, settlements were spreading rapidly in this region and much business was transacted at Spring-

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18. Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th Annual Report, 1896-1897, Vol. II, pp. 738, 740.
 19. Map of Missouri, 1830. In a bound collection of photostatic maps in the Library of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia.
 20. Laws of Missouri, 7th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1832-1833, p. 49.
 21. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties, pp. 106, 505.
 22. Public Documents, Senate, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, 1836-1837, Doc. 3, Vol. I, p. 9.

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 field. A state road was authorized from St. Louis, the main trading point for this section, to Springfield, the most important town of the southwest region. This road was authorized in several different sections. The first legislation for this road was a law approved on February 6, 1837, which provided for the surveying and marking out of a state road from Shawneetown on the Bourbeuse in Franklin county, through the county seat of Pulaski county to the county seat of Greene county.²⁴ This road yet had no connection with a state road to St. Louis, so the next law called for a state road from Shawneetown (later called Bentonville) on the Bourbeuse to Port William, both in Franklin county. It was approved on December 27,²⁵ 1838. At Port William this Springfield road connected²⁶

23. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 77.

24. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 129.

25. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 264.

26. Port William (sometimes called North's Store) was located on the St. Louis-Jefferson City state road, which ran south of the Missouri river about one mile west of the present Gray's Summit. The location of this site was made possible through the writer's knowledge of family history. Mr. William North, a great, great uncle, founded the place in the early 1800's, but it no longer appears on the map. Shawneetown lay about three or four miles south on the Bourbeuse river, and received its name because it was a camping place of the Shawnee Indians in their travels to and fro from the vicinity of Springfield to St. Louis.

MAP NO. V

ROADS OF THE STATE PERIOD

1821 - 1840

1. St. Louis - Springfield Road.
2. Palmyra - Arkansas Road Through Boonville.
3. St. Louis - Jefferson City Road Through
St. Charles (North).
4. St. Louis - Jefferson City Road (South).
5. Jefferson City - Independence Road.
(Roads 4 and 5 combined made the
St. Louis - Independence Road.)
6. Palmyra - Jefferson City Road.
7. Jefferson City - Fayetteville Road.
(Roads 6 and 7 combined made the
Palmyra - Fayetteville Road.)
8. Clarksville - Jefferson City Road.
9. Hannibal - Jefferson City Road.
10. Salt River Road.
11. St. Louis - New Madrid Road.
12. St. Louis - Arkansas Road.
13. Cape Girardeau - Arkansas Road.
14. Boonslick Road.
15. St. Louis - Potosi Road.

with the St. Louis-Jefferson City state road, which ran south of the Missouri river and gave the travellers from Springfield and intermediate points along this road a state road into St. Louis.

The St. Louis-Springfield state road was routed over the same general line as the trace that had developed earlier from the travel of settlers in the upper part of this southern region to St. Louis, from about 1817. ^{just} It coincided, more or less, with the one that had led from Massey's Iron Works to St. Louis. Consequently, this law did not mean opening a road through an entirely untravelled region. Originally this route had been the trail used by the Osage Indians in passing from their village on the Verdigris river to St. Louis, which was mentioned in Chapter I. (See Map No. II, Trail 3). Later it was used by the Shawnees, Delawares, and Kickapoos in their visits to St. Louis. As white settlers had drifted into this southwestern region, the worn trail of the Indians had become the used trace of the white men. Moreover, in the late 20's and early 30's it was a way for persons from the east to penetrate into the southwest.

The route was rather easy to follow, because of its location practically on the highland between the waters of the Missouri and those of the Mississippi on the northeast. After the passage of the headwaters of

the Gasconade, it followed the highland between the waters of the Missouri and of the Arkansas on the southwest end. ^{start} The earliest settlers had referred to this trail as "the old Osage trail" or "the Kickapoo trail."²⁷ Later it came to be known as the "old Springfield road"²⁸ or the St. Louis-Springfield road. This route was well travelled after 1830, and by 1837 immigrants flocked over it²⁹ St. Louis was the nearest market for the northeastern half, and hauling was done mostly with ox-teams. As much as twenty-five days were required for the round trip from settlements as far west as Waynesville.³⁰ ^{start} This road was one of the main trunk lines from the eastern part of the State to the southwest, and is the only road discussed in this chapter which is concerned in the development of a new section. ^{end}

The St. Louis-Springfield road was not the only important road from another section of the State to the southwestern part of the State around 1835, however, for there was considerable travel from the northeastern

27. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties, p. 100.

28. Ibid., p. 101.

29. Ibid., p. 173.

30. Ibid., pp. 20, 31.

part of the State to the southwestern part and to Arkansas.³¹ This route began at Palmyra near the Mississippi river, crossed the Missouri river at Boonville, passed on to Springfield in Greene county, and proceeded in the direction of the rich settlements of the Arkansas and Red rivers.³² Wetmore, in 1837, called ~~this~~ ^{Start} road the "great road to the southwest." The oldest part of this road was the section from Boonville to Springfield, for it was the route of the old Osage trail from Springfield to Boonville which was mentioned in Chapter I.³³ The white men, as they came into the southwest, naturally continued this broken route as their trace to and from the settlements on the Missouri. In the same way, the trace finally developed into a road.³⁴ Wetmore, in his Gazetteer of 1837, noted that the main road from Palmyra and Boonville to the southwest crossed the Osage river at Bledsoe's Ferry (later Osage, near the present Warsaw in Benton county) on the route to Fort Smith and the Cherokee nation on the Arkansas. It was the chief route of travel from the upper Mississippi to Arkansas

31. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, pp. 40-41.

32. Ibid., p. 76.

33. Fairbanks and Tuck, Past and Present of Greene County, p. 43. (See Map No. II, Trail 5).

34. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 39.

Louisiana and Texas in 1835. The section from Springfield to Boonville was known in Springfield as the "Boonville road" and later, as the "Bolivar road."³⁵ The location of the land office at Springfield after 1835 was the occasion of much travel in that direction. Stock dealers also used this road. People from Missouri and even from northern Illinois used this route in traveling to the southwest.³⁶

Although travelled quite extensively as early as 1835, the Palmyra-Arkansas road, except for two sections, was not made a state road until 1839. The first part, from Marion City through Palmyra in Marion county to Paris in Monroe county, was made a state road on January 2, 1837.³⁷ From Paris it branched off across Randolph and Howard counties on a county road to Fayette. This was made a state road on February 11, 1839.³⁸ From Fayette it ran to a point of intersection with the state road from Jefferson City to Boonville, which had been made a state road on January 25, 1839.³⁹

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35. Fairbanks and Tuck, Past and Present of Greene County, p. 43.
36. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 76.
37. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 118.
38. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 281.
39. Ibid., p. 257.

South of the river, the county road from Boonville to Osage (Bledsoe's Ferry) in Benton county was made a state road on January 4, 1839. At this place it joined the state road from Jefferson City to the southern boundary of the State. The part of this road to the southwest, which extended from Osage (Bledsoe's Ferry) to the southern boundary of the State, had been surveyed as a state road as part of another road which had been authorized from Jefferson City through the county seats of Morgan and Polk counties to the southern boundary of the State in the direction of Fayetteville in Arkansas

40. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 290.

41. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, pp. 271-272, gives the following tables of distances:

From Marion City to Franklin and Boonville:

	<u>Miles</u>		<u>Miles</u>
To Palmyra	7	To Smith's on Grand	
" Clinton on South		Prairie	22
River	16	" Fayette	17
" Main Salt River	12	" New Franklin	12
" Paris	11	" Missouri River	2
" Mulligaris		Across to Boonville	1
Store	16	Total	<u>116</u>

From Boonville to Springfield, Greene County:

To Briscoe's	15	To Pomme de Terre	
" Jameson's	10	Ferry	12
" Williamsburgh	10	" Bolivar (Co. seat	
" Williams'	22	of Polk)	35
" Town of Osage		" Mooney's	20
(Bledsoe's Ferry)	14	" Springfield	20
		Total	<u>158</u>

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on March 7, 1835. This latter road will be called the Jefferson City-Fayetteville road and will be discussed later in the chapter. Hence, with the last piece of legislation on February 11, 1839, the road which Wetmore in 1837 had called the great road to the southwest became a state road. It extended diagonally across the State from Palmyra on the Mississippi, crossed the Missouri river at Boonville, crossed the Osage river at Bledsoe's Ferry (near Warsaw), and proceeded south through Bolivar, Springfield, and Delawaretown (in the northwest corner of Christian county), to the southern boundary of the State in the present Barry county.

The next group of roads to be considered are those in connection with the new State capital, and in order to do so, it becomes necessary to go back to the early period of the State government. The first legislature of the new State provided that St. Charles was to serve as the temporary capital until 1826, after which there was to be a permanent capital which was to be selected.⁴³ By December, 1821, Jefferson City had been selected as the site of the permanent seat of government

42. Laws of Missouri, (Private and Local Acts), 8th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1834-1835, p. 85.

43. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, p. 687.

for the State of Missouri.⁴⁴ The selection of this unsettled site for the new capital called for roads leading from the established settlements to this point.

Quite a number were viewed or marked out, but many of these were not needed at that time and so were not developed.⁴⁵

On December 18, 1822, a law was approved authorizing six state roads, four of which were to extend to the future capital.⁴⁶ Two of these were to lead from St. Louis, the largest city and one of the earliest settlements of the State, to Jefferson City. One of these roads was to be routed north of the Missouri river through St. Charles, the temporary capital, to Jefferson City; the other was to be routed south of the Missouri river to the same point. In 1837, Wetmore mentioned the former as one of the four great roads leading from St. Louis. He placed it on the old Boonslick trace by St. Charles through the tier of river counties on the left bank of the Missouri, branching from Fulton in Callaway county to Jefferson City. From Fulton it was extended, by 1837, through Fayette and Chariton to the frontier of the State

44. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 825, 859.

45. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 31.

46. Laws of Missouri, 2nd General Assembly, 1st Session, 1822, p. 100.

47
in Clay county.

Four acts of legislation concerning the second road from St. Louis to Jefferson City are in the session laws. The first act was passed at the same time as that for the road north of the river to the capital. Another act was passed on January 27, 1835, to establish a state road from the city of St. Louis leading through Manchester in St. Louis county, Union in Franklin county,⁴⁸ and Mount Sterling in Gasconade county to Jefferson City. This act made the location of the road of 1823 more definite. Further legislation in regard to this road was enacted on February 4, 1835, when an act was passed to amend the one of January 27, 1835.⁴⁹ This act provided for the appointment of commissioners by each county to ascertain if any deviation of the previous route was desirable in any county, the only reservation being that the termination of the road at the Osage river remain unchanged. The next legislation concerning this road was a law of February 11, 1839, which provided for⁵⁰ eight state roads in St. Louis county. These were all

47. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 31.

48. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, 1834-1835, p. 78.

49. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 126.

50. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 250.

exits from the city. One of them had to do with the road under discussion. This road had its beginning at the intersection of Park Avenue in the St. Louis Commons, and the road to the Meramec, and proceeded west across the De Peres river, through Manchester to the boundary of St. Louis and Franklin counties. All that this act did for the St. Louis-Jefferson City state road was definitely to locate the eastern end of the state road within the limits of the city of St. Louis. On the following day an act was passed which reads:

Whereas, a state road has been viewed and marked out through the counties of Cole, Gasconade, and Franklin in conformity to an act approved February 4, 1837, entitled "An act to amend an act to establish a state road from St. Louis to the City of Jefferson, by way of Manchester and Union," approved January 27, 1835; and whereas, the county courts of said counties have caused said road to be opened and put in good condition for travelling, the said road is hereby declared a state road.⁵¹

By 1839, the road that had been first authorized in 1822 was opened in good condition for travelling and was declared a state road.

A road from Jefferson City to Independence on the western border of the State was first authorized to be viewed and marked out by a law of January 30, 1837.⁵²

51. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 255.

52. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, pp. 127-128.

This road was also authorized in sections. The first part was to be from Jefferson City, through Palestine in Cooper county to Georgetown (just outside the present Sedalia) in Pettis county. The second section was to extend from Georgetown (Pettis county) through Warrensburg to Independence. Additional legislation concerning the first section of this route was enacted two years later when an act was passed on February 1, 1839, providing that a road be viewed and marked out from Jefferson City through California to Georgetown in Pettis county. Another act concerning the second section of the road was passed on February 12, 1839. The first section provided that the county road from Georgetown by way of Fairview Post Office to the Johnson county line in the direction of Warrensburg be made a state road. The second section of the act provided that the county road which commenced where the above road ended be continued to Independence and made a state road. These separate acts of 1839 served to establish the road from Jefferson City to Independence for which legislation was first enacted in 1837. This road joined the St. Louis-Jefferson City road which ran south of the Missouri river. Although they were each separate roads in themselves, they com-

53. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 260.

54. Ibid., p. 289.

prised a state road across the entire State south of the Missouri river from St. Louis to Independence. This will be referred to later as the St. Louis-Independence road. In 1837, Wetmore names this as the third of the
55
great roads out of St. Louis.

In 1835 and 1837, more state roads leading to Jefferson City were established. One was to extend from Palmyra near the Mississippi to Jefferson City, and was accounted for in two sections. The law providing for the first section was passed on February 14, 1835, and declared the existing county road from Paris in Monroe
56
county to the City of Jefferson a state road. Two years later, the remainder of this road connecting the northern Mississippi with the permanent State capital was declared a state road. Its direction lay southwest from Marion City on the Mississippi through Palmyra in
57
Marion county to Paris in Monroe county. This last named section from Marion City to Paris is the same road described as the first part of the Palmyra-Arkansas road. It was made a state road on January 2, 1837, as has been previously shown. This road from Palmyra gave the north-

55. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 31.

56. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, 1834-1835, pp. 83-84.

57. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 118.

eastern section good connection with the State capital.

In 1835, the year in which the county road from Paris in Monroe county to Jefferson City was made a state road, another state road connecting the capital with the southwestern part of the State was authorized. This act was passed on March 7, 1835, and it provided for a state road to be surveyed and marked out from Jefferson City through the county seats of Morgan, Polk, and Greene counties to the southern boundary line of the State, in the direction of Fayetteville in Arkansas.⁵⁸ Reference was made to this Jefferson City-Fayetteville road earlier in this chapter. The road was authorized in two sections and had two sets of commissioners. The first section was from Jefferson City to the county seat of Morgan county (Versailles) and was authorized on March 7, 1835. The second section was to extend from the county seat of Morgan county through the county seats of Polk and Greene counties to the southern boundary of the State, in the direction of Fayetteville, Arkansas. The commissioners for this section were Jeremiah Sloan of Polk county, Bennett Robinson of Greene county, and John R. Huff of Morgan county.⁵⁹ Presumably, these com-

58. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, 1834-1835, p. 85.

59. Ibid., p. 85.

missioners platted the road from the county seat of Morgan county (Versailles) to Bledsoe's Ferry in Benton county, at that date the noted crossing place on the Osage river. From there they ran it south through the county seat of Polk county (Bolivar) and the county seat of Greene county (Springfield) through Delawaretown in the northwest corner of the present Christian county, and across the present Lawrence and Barry counties to the southern boundary of the State.⁶⁰ This route carried it from Bledsoe's Ferry (Warsaw) to Springfield over the road that already existed from Boonville to Springfield as part of the Palmyra-Arkansas road. Wetmore makes this clear when he notes how the road north from Springfield branched at Bledsoe's Ferry. He says that one fork led seventy-five miles northeast to Boonville and the other eighty miles north of east to Jefferson City.⁶¹ The part of this road from Springfield south through Delawaretown to the southern boundary of the State, in the direction of Fayetteville and Fort Smith in Arkansas, came to be known at a much later date as the "old wire road," because of the fact that the first telegraph line came into Springfield from Jefferson City in 1860, and

60. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 41.

61. Ibid., p. 76.



62

later extended to Fort Smith, Arkansas. The Palmyra-Jefferson City road and the Jefferson City-Fayetteville road served to connect two distant parts of the State with the capital. Also, the junction of the two at Jefferson City provided another diagonal state road having its termini in the same places as those of the Palmyra-Arkansas road, the other diagonal road which was just discussed. The reason for these two roads which lay so much over the same route seems to lie in the fact that the first one was established as a state road because it was the main early travelled road connecting the northeast and the southwest; and the second, because it connected both these distant points with the State capital.

Legislation concerning a second group of roads was enacted on January 23, 1829.⁶³ Only one road in this group will be discussed and that road was to extend from a point in Clarksville (Pike county), "having due regard to the ferry landing on the opposite bank of the river," to Jefferson City. This road was to intersect the state road leading from St. Louis through St. Charles to Jefferson City, within one mile of where that road crossed the river Auxvasse on the east side, in the present Cal-

62. Shepard, Edward M., "Early Springfield," in Missouri Historical Review, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, (October, 1929) p. 53.

63. Laws of Missouri, 5th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1828-1829, p. 48.

laway county. The above road was meant to accommodate the settlers of the Salt river region and those of the country lying between in their intercourse with the State capital.

In 1833, legislation was passed providing for a third group of roads. Four roads were in this group, but only two of them will be considered in this discussion. The first one was to lead from Hannibal (Marion county) through Paris (Monroe county) and Huntsville⁶⁴ (Randolph county) to Keytesville (Chariton county). The second one was to begin at Liberty (Clay county) and extend through Richmond (Ray county) and the county seat⁶⁵ of Carroll county to Keytesville in Chariton county. The junction of these two roads at Keytesville served to create a cross-state road from the upper crossing on the Mississippi to Liberty, the frontier town at that date.

The remainder of this chapter will be given over to a consideration of the legisla^osⁱon of this period in relation to roads which have been discussed in previous chapters.

Among the first six state roads for which laws were passed by the General Assembly of the new State in

64. Laws of Missouri, 7th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1833-1834, pp. 96-97.

65. Ibid., p. 97.

December, 1822, was one from St. Charles to the mouth of
⁶⁶
 the Des Moines river. This route lay in the direction
 of the old Salt river road and much controversy, as is
 shown by the records, was to arise as to which route
 would be declared the official state road. On May 20,
 1822, a petition signed by twelve householders of St.
 Charles county had been presented to the county court

praying.....that the present road leading from
 St. Charles to Salt River may be confirmed and
 opened accordingly, leaving the Boonslick road
 about one mile from St. Charles, and to continue
 to the ford at the Eagle Fork of the Cuivre
 where it intercepts the road already established
 through Lincoln Cy.

Commissioners were appointed "to view and mark said road
 the nearest and most practicable route....and to the
 greatest ease and convenience of the inhabitants." This
⁶⁷
 same road was "declared a public highway until altered
⁶⁸
 by law," on May 24, 1823. No further legislation con-
 cerning this road seems to have been enacted until 1843,
 when commissioners were appointed to view and mark out
 a state road from the ferry landing in St. Charles through
 Troy in Lincoln county to the northeast corner of the
 public square in Bowling Green, Pike county. The report

66. Laws of Missouri, 2nd General Assembly, 1st Session,
 1822, pp. 100-101.

67. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Book I,
 p. 52.

68. Ibid., p. 84.

on the expense for rights of way for this road was made
⁶⁹
 on May 20, 1843. A petition against part of this road
 as established states that "many years ago a state road
 was regularly established from St. Charles to Palmyra."
 It also states

that many roads have been in use for a long time
 from St. Charles to Troy, all of which unite
 near Flint Hill and these roads are better adapted
 to the use of the people than the one reported
 May 24, 1832, in that it varies from the present
 Salt River Road.

There are records of many petitions and counter petitions
⁷⁰
 concerning this road in the forties. Wetmore, in 1837,
 mentioned this Salt river road as the fifth great road
 out of St. Louis. He noted that it diverged at St.
 Charles and continued through Troy and the tier of Mis-
⁷¹
 sissippi river counties to the Des Moines river.

Another state road established by the same act
 of December 19, 1822, was the St. Louis-Ste. Genevieve
 road. From St. Louis as far south as Ste. Genevieve
 it followed more or less the original route of the old
 St. Louis-New Madrid trace of 1789. Wetmore named this
 as the first great road out of St. Louis and gave its
 route as parallel, in a general direction, to the Mis-

69. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Roads 6,
 2-6-6.

70. Ibid.

71. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 31.

Mississippi through the river counties to New Madrid.⁷² However, the indications are that by this date most of the travel south from Ste. Genevieve diverged from the route of the old Spanish trace to Farmington, where it connected with the route of the old St. Louis-Natchitoches trail. The next roads to be declared state roads, in the region south of the Missouri, lay along that route. A law for a state road from Ste. Genevieve to Farmington⁷³ was passed on March 7, 1835. The second law concerning this road was passed on February 3, 1837.⁷⁴ A law authorizing a state road from Farmington by Mine La Motte to Fredericktown⁷⁵ was enacted on January 25, 1839. This line of roads, as has been said, followed, in a general way, the route of the old Indian trail from St. Louis to Natchitoches. A trace developed along this trail in the Spanish period. A well travelled road, referred to in the last chapter as the St. Louis-Arkansas road, existed along this route by the end of the territorial period, as is shown by the account of Schoolcraft in 1819. In 1834, Featherstonhaugh mentioned Fredericktown as the

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72. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 31.
73. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, 1834-1835, p. 84.
74. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 122.
75. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 265.

last village of importance on the route from St. Louis to Little Rock.⁷⁶ In 1837, Wetmore named the St. Louis-Arkansas road as the second of the four great roads out of St. Louis.⁷⁷ By 1839 an official state road had been established along this route as far south as Fredericktown.

Another authorized state road of this period was an extension of a road of a previous period that ran more or less along another old Indian trail. This was the state road from Cape Girardeau to the southern boundary of the State, designated the Cape Girardeau-Arkansas road. The first legislation for this road was enacted on February 25, 1835, and provided for a road from Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi river through the town of Greenville in Wayne county to the southern border of the State.⁷⁸ This road was to intersect the military road leading through Arkansas Territory to Little Rock at Pitman's Ferry on Current river near the present Doniphan. Featherstonhaugh mentioned this military road which had been cut from this point through the Territory of Arkansas by authority of the United States govern-

76. Featherstonhaugh, An Excursion Through the Slave States, p. 80.

77. Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, p. 31.

78. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, 1834-1835, p. 80.

79
 ment. The next law concerning this Cape Girardeau-Arkansas road was passed on February 3, 1837, and was worded in much the same language except that it stipulated that the road was to pass through Jackson in Cape Girardeau county as well as through Greenville in Wayne
 80
 county. Perhaps petitions had been presented during this period, asking for the road to be routed through Jackson, the county seat of Cape Girardeau county. According to the act of January 27, 1827, a road must pass
 81
 through a county seat if possible. This was the route over which Long had returned from the Red river region in 1820. From the crossing on Current river southward, it lay more or less along the old Vincennes-Natchitoches trail and was known either as the "military" road or the Cape Girardeau-Arkansas road.

The Boonslick road, discussed in the previous chapter, became a state road at a relatively early date under the provisions of a general road act. At the beginning of the state period, controversy still existed in St. Charles county as to which of three routes should be the official state road across St. Charles county to

79. Featherstonhaugh, An Excursion Through the Slave States, p. 80.

80. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 121.

81. Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. II, pp. 136-137.

connect with the Franklin road. A petition of February, 1823, asking that the road be laid out "as near the old road as might be practicable," was granted. As a result of this petition, the route reported may be considered as following somewhat the route of the earlier Boonslick trace.⁸² This report, it seems, did not settle the controversy, for a record exists of another big petition being filed on November 26, 1827. A general state law had been passed January 6, 1827, which automatically made the Boonslick road a state road. This petition asked that a commission be appointed to determine which of the three contested routes through St. Charles county to the Boonslick region should become the official state Boonslick road.⁸³ The route chosen was the one which had been reported on February 4, 1824, and which lay somewhere near the old Boonslick trace.⁸⁴ The prevalent opinion that Nathan Boone surveyed the Boonslick road in St. Charles county seems to have had its foundation in the fact that the court did appoint Boone to survey this route in August, 1827. But in the following February, the court appointed Prospect K. Robbins to survey the

82. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Book I, p. 78; also, Read Papers, 6, 2-6-2.

83. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Book I, pp. 185, 186.

84. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Book I, p. 190.

85
road.

Two road acts of this period dealt with the old lead mine traces. One was an act of February 12, 1839, which provided for a state road from Ste. Genevieve to Fredericktown, following, in a general direction at least, the trace of Renault to Mine La Motte, for Mine La Motte lies only two miles north of Fredericktown.⁸⁶ Schoolcraft, in 1819, mentioned the road at St. Michaels⁸⁷ (Fredericktown) which diverged to Ste. Genevieve. The second law was one passed on February 25, 1835, which ap-⁸⁸ proved a road from St. Louis to Potosi. This law did not mention the fact that the road was to run by way of Herculanum, but it evidently did, for a later law of February 12, 1839, mentioned that another road was to intersect the road passing from St. Louis to Potosi by way of Herculanum.⁸⁹ From Herculanum to Potosi, this road had in all probability followed the same general direction as the one from Herculanum to Mine à Breton

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85. St. Charles County, County Court Records, Book I, pp. 185, 188; St. Charles County, Circuit Court Records, Book A, p. 457.
86. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 270.
87. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour Into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 89.
88. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, 1834-1835, p. 79.
89. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 263.

(Potosi), which Moses Austin had asked permission to build in 1807.

The history of any one of the roads discussed, or of any one of those mentioned in the appendix, may be studied more thoroughly, in case it was originally a county road, by reference to the county or circuit court records of the county wherein the road originated. If the original survey of a road was for a state road, the original plat for the part in any one county can also be found in the records of the county or circuit court of that county. In the beginning, several of these roads followed the general direction of old Indian trails, but the later surveys along township lines have changed them, sometimes a great deal, sometimes but little.

In conclusion then, the roads that had been partially instrumental in developing pioneer Missouri were the early roads to the lead mines, the St. Louis-New Madrid road to the lower Mississippi, the Boonslick road to the central part of the State north of the Missouri river, the Salt river road to the upper Mississippi, the road from St. Louis to Jefferson City south of the Missouri river, and the St. Louis-Springfield road to the southwest. All of these roads led from St. Louis, which was natural, since it was one of the early settlements and the largest town. Many other important roads

existed by 1840, some of which were destined to overshadow the above mentioned roads in the future. For by this time these first roads had served their main purpose in aiding in the settlement of their respective regions, and in maintaining for the pioneers a connection with the more settled regions. As Missouri progressed from a pioneer state to one of the central valley, her industries and commercial connections changed and different lines of transportation developed. However, the main roads discussed in this study are easily recognized in some of the main highways of today.

It may be of interest to the reader to identify some of these early trunk line roads with a few of the well known highways of the present road building period. Such identification, however, is made with the very definite reservation that the present highways do not by any means coincide in detail with the ones discussed in this study, for the later surveys have varied greatly in most cases from the lines of the first trails or traces. However, the assertion can be made that some of the present routes of travel do agree in general direction with the first roads; and in many instances sections of each of the present highways lie along the same routes as those herein described.

The present United States Highway 61, as it leads out of St. Louis southward, is recognizable as the old St. Louis-New Madrid road, or the King's Highway. Highway 61 follows the old route rather closely as far as Crystal City. From that point, State Highway 25 lies along the same general course as the old road to Jackson. At this point, United States Highway 61 cuts in again and follows (about as closely as a modern made road can follow an Indian trail) the old Shawnee trail from Cape Girardeau to New Madrid.

The same United States Highway 61, from St. Louis northwest to Wentzville and then north to Salt river and Hannibal, follows the general course of the old Salt river road.

United States Highway 40 follows the general line of the old Boonslick road from St. Charles to the vicinity of New Franklin.

Perhaps United States Highway 66 follows the route of its predecessor more in detail and for a longer distance than any of the other present highways. It leads along the route of the old St. Louis-Springfield road, earlier, the old Osage Indian trail.

United States Highway 67 proceeds southward from St. Louis through Herculaneum, Farmington (Murphy's Settlement), Mine La Motte, Fredericktown (St. Michaels),

across the St. Francis river at Greenville, and the Black river, and in general coincides quite clearly with the early description of the St. Louis-Arkansas road as given by both Schoolcraft and Featherstonhaugh. This road lay along the old St. Louis-Natchitoches Indian trail. At some distance past Poplar Bluff, Missouri Highway 42 takes up the old route to the crossing of Current river, where Missouri Highway 21 starts south to the State line. At this point, it connects with Arkansas Highway 79 and later with Arkansas Highway 11, which crosses White river at the present Batesville, Arkansas, the old Poke Bayou crossing mentioned by Schoolcraft.⁹⁰ Some distance from there, United States Highway 67 again breaks in on the old route and maintains its general direction to Little Rock and to the southwest.

The Cape Girardeau-Arkansas road has been so greatly changed that no present highway coincides with the old route until the junction with the St. Louis-Arkansas road is reached. From this point they are the same.

United States Highway 50 can readily be identified as the old St. Louis-Jefferson City road south of the Missouri river, and the Jefferson City-Independence

90. Schoolcraft, Journal of a Tour Into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 81.

road west of Jefferson City.

United States Highway 24 follows the line of the old Hannibal-Keytesville road.

United States Highway 65, from Warsaw in Benton county south through Springfield to the boundary of the State, follows rather closely a part of the old Palmyra-Arkansas road, which Wetmore designated in 1837 as the "great road to the southwest." Originally, it was in part an Osage Indian trail. In Arkansas, however, this highway takes an entirely different course.

From this it can be seen that the general routes of nearly all of the early main trunk line roads have been preserved, at least in a general way, by United States highways. Identification of many other old roads with present day highways could be made, but for short distances only and in scattered sections. Such identification is therefore not considered in keeping with the purpose of this conclusion.

APPENDIX

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>	
From Crossing of Mississippi River through Jefferson City to Chariton	Dec. 19, 1822	Survey and Mark Out	1
*St. Louis to Jefferson City through Manchester, Union and Mt. Sterling	Dec. 19, 1822	Survey and Mark Out	2
*St. Louis through St. Charles to Jefferson City	Dec. 19, 1822	Survey and Mark Out	3
*St. Charles to the Mouth of the Des Moines River	Dec. 19, 1822	Survey and Mark Out	4

* Indicates roads discussed in this study.

1. Laws of Missouri, 2nd General Assembly, 1st Session, 1822, p. 100.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>
Jefferson City to Intersect Military Road Leading to Council Bluffs at Liberty, Clay County	Dec. 19, 1822	5 Survey
*St. Louis to Ste. Genevieve	Dec. 19, 1822	6 Mark Out and Survey
*Clarksville to Jefferson City to Intersect State Road from St. Louis through St. Charles to Jefferson City	Jan. 23, 1829	7 View and Mark Out
*Hannibal through Paris and Huntsville to Keytesville	Jan. 21, 1833	8 Survey and Mark Out
*Liberty through Richmond and County Seat of Carroll County to Keytesville	Jan. 21, 1833	9 Survey and Mark Out
Louisiana to Paris	Feb. 11, 1833	10 Survey and Mark Out

5. Laws of Missouri, 2nd General Assembly, 1st Session, 1822, p. 101.
6. Ibid.
7. Laws of Missouri, 5th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1828-1829, p. 46.
8. Laws of Missouri, 7th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1833-1834, pp. 96-97.
9. Ibid., p. 97.
10. Ibid., p. 97.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>	
Columbia by Rocheport to Boonville	Feb. 12, 1833	View, Mark and Lay Out	11
Huntsville to Chariton	Jan. 3, 1835	View and Mark Out	12
*St. Louis through Manchester, Union, Mt. Sterling to Jefferson City	Jan. 27, 1835	View and Mark Out	13
Bailey's Landing (Lincoln Co.) through Troy to Danville	Feb. 4, 1835	Survey and Mark Out	14
*Existing Road from Jefferson City to Paris	Feb. 14, 1835	County Road to State	15
Saverton; intersect State Road from Louisiana to Paris to pass New London	Feb. 20, 1835	Survey and Mark Out	16
*Road from St. Louis to Potosi	Feb. 25, 1835	Survey and Mark Out	17

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11. Laws of Missouri, 7th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1833-1834, p. 101.
 12. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, Private and Local Acts, 1834-1835, p. 77.
 13. Ibid., p. 78.
 14. Ibid., p. 83.
 15. Ibid., p. 83.
 16. Ibid., pp. 81-82.
 17. Ibid., p. 79.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>
*Cape Girardeau through Pitman's Ferry & Greenville to Southern Boundary of the State	Feb. 25, 1835	18 View and Mark Out
*Ste. Genevieve through Farmington to Caledonia	Mar. 7, 1835	19 Survey and Mark Out
*City of Jefferson to County Seat of Morgan County	Mar. 7, 1835	20 Survey and Mark Out
*From Southern Boundary of State toward Fayetteville to County Seats of Polk and Greene to County Seat of Morgan County	Mar. 7, 1835	21 Survey and Mark Out
Part of Co. Road Leading from City of Jefferson to Beonville in Cooper Co., a state road	Mar. 10, 1835	County Road Changed to State Road ²²

18. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, Private & Local Acts, 1834-1835, p. 80.

19. Ibid., p. 84.

20. Ibid., p. 85.

21. Ibid., p. 85.

22. Ibid., p. 87.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>
Incorporation of Company to Make a Macadamized Turnpike Road from Caledonia (Washington Co.) to Mississippi River	Mar. 10, 1835	Macadamized Road 23
From Fayette to Arrow Rock	Dec. 16, 1836	County Road to State 24
Rocheport by New Franklin to Arrow Rock	Dec. 16, 1836	County Road to State 25
Road from Arrow Rock to County Seat of Pettis County; and Road to Intersect State Road from Jefferson City to Springfield near Cold Camp Creek (Benton)	Dec. 16, 1836	County Road to State 26
*Marion City to Palmyra and thence to Paris	Dec. 16, 1836	County Road to State 27

23. Laws of Missouri, 8th General Assembly, Private & Local Acts, 1834-1835, p. 88.

24. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 118.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>	
Palmyra through Oakdale and Shelbyville to Centerville, Macon County	Feb. 6, 1837	Survey and Mark Out	28
City of Griswold (Franklin Co.) through Union to Herculeum (Jefferson Co.)	Feb. 6, 1837	Mark Out	29
*From Cape Girardeau to Southern Boundary of State, intersecting Military Road through Arkansas at Pittman's Ferry on Current River	Feb. 6, 1837	Survey and Mark Out	30
From Ste. Genevieve to Caledonia through Farmington; from Caledonia to Harmony near Courtois Mines to Massey's Iron Works (Crawford Co.)	Feb. 3, 1837	View and Mark Out	31
Elk Horn (Ray Co.) through Plattsburg to Western Line of State	Jan. 28, 1837	Survey and Mark Out	32

28. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 119.

29. Ibid., p. 120.

30. Ibid., p. 121.

31. Ibid., p. 122.

32. Ibid., p. 123.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>	
Paris Through Shelbyville, Newark, Monticello to Mouth of Des Moines	Jan. 28, 1837	Survey and Mark Out	33
Boonville to Georgetown Crossing the La Mine River at Scott's Ford	Jan. 9, 1837	County Road to State	34
*Jefferson City to Georgetown (Pettis) through Pulaski County	Jan. 30, 1837	View and Mark Out	35
*Georgetown to Independence (Jackson) through Warrensburg (Johnsen)	Jan. 30, 1837	View and Mark Out	36
Warrensburg to County Seat of Van Buren County	Jan. 30, 1837	View and Mark Out	37
Lexington through Warrensburg to County Seat of Johnson County by John Greer's; thence to County Seat of Rives County	Jan. 28, 1837	County Road to State	38

33. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 124.

34. Ibid., p. 125.

35. Ibid., p. 127.

36. Ibid., p. 128.

37. Ibid., p. 128.

38. Ibid., pp. 128-129.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>	
*Shawneetown (Franklin Co.) to County seat of Pulaski County; County Seat of Pulaski to County Seat of Greene	Feb. 6, 1837	Survey and Mark Out	39
*Eight State Roads in St. Louis County	Feb. 11, 1839	Lay Out and Open	40
Manchester to Potosi by Daugherty's Ferry on the Meramec River	Feb. 1, 1839	County Road to State	41
*Through Counties of Cole, Gasconade and Franklin to line between St. Louis and Franklin Counties	Feb. 12, 1839	Location Approved	42
Jefferson City through Tuscumbia and Waynesville to State Line in Direction of Little Rock, Arkansas	Jan. 25, 1839	View and Mark Out	43
*From Fayette to intersect State Road from Jefferson City to Boonville	Jan. 25, 1839	View and Mark Out	44

39. Laws of Missouri, 9th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1836-1837, p. 129.

40. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, pp.250-251.

41. Ibid., p. 255.

42. Ibid., p. 256.

43. Ibid., pp. 256-257.

44. Ibid., p. 258.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>
*Jefferson City through California to Georgetown	Feb. 1, 1839	View and Mark Out 45
Massie's Iron Works to Jefferson City	Feb. 12, 1839	View and Mark Out 46
Road to Begin Above Union to Intersect State Road running from North's Store (Franklin Co.) to Kickapee Country, at or near Jake's Prairie	Feb. 1, 1839	View and Mark Out 47
Selma (Jefferson Co.) to Potosi (Washington Co.) to Webster (Washington Co.)	Feb. 1, 1839	View and Mark Out 48
Old Mines by Glenfinlas, Jefferson and Hillsboro to intersect Road from St. Louis to Potosi by Herculanum	Feb. 12, 1839	Mark Out 49

45. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 260.

46. Ibid., p. 261.

47. Ibid., p. 259.

48. Ibid., p. 262.

49. Ibid., p. 263.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>	
Road from Potosi to Old Mines	Feb. 1, 1839	County Road to State	50
Road from Caledonia to Potosi	Feb. 1, 1839	County Road to State	51
*Port William (Franklin Co.) to Shawneetown alias Bentonville on Bourbeuse	Dec. 27, 1838	View and Mark Out	52
*Fredericktown by Mine La Motte to Farmington; thence by Yankeetown to Potosi	Jan. 25, 1839	County Road to State	53
Boisbrule Bottom by Perryville to Greenville to Intersect Road from Cape Girardeau to Southern Boundary of State	Jan. 11, 1839	Survey and Mark Out	54
Pratt's Landing (Perry Co.) to Fredericktown (Madison Co.)	Jan. 17, 1839	View and Mark Out	55

50. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 263.

51. Ibid., p. 263.

52. Ibid., p. 264.

53. Ibid., p. 265.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., p. 267

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>	
Brown's Landing to Perryville	Jan. 2, 1839	County Road to State	56
Jackson to Fredericktown to Huntsville, to Caledonia	Feb. 11, 1839	County Road to State	57
Jackson to Thompson Smith's Ferry on the Mississippi	Dec. 27, 1838	County Road to State	58
Jackson to William Shepard's Landing	Feb. 12, 1839	Survey and Mark Out	59
*Ste. Genevieve to Fredericktown	Feb. 12, 1839	View and Mark Out	60
Conn's Ferry on the Meramec by Union to Troy	Feb. 12, 1839	Mark Out	61
Louisiana to New London Road Where It Intersects Old St. Charles Road in Boone County through County Seat of Audrain County	Feb. 13, 1839	Survey and Mark Out	62

56. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 268.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., p. 269.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., p. 270.

61. Ibid., p. 271.

62. Ibid., p. 273.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>
Palmyra to Philadelphia	Feb. 12, 1839	County Road to State 63
Philadelphia to Col. Jones' on Chariton River in Attached Part of Macon County	Feb. 12, 1839	Survey and Mark Out 64
Palmyra through Florida and Mexico to Fulton	Feb. 1, 1839	Survey and Mark Out 65
Palmyra through Kennonsville to Monticello, thence to Sand Hill	Feb. 1, 1839	County Road to State 66
Palmyra through Shelby County, by Oakdale, New Market, and Shelbyville to Bloomington	Jan. 2, 1839	Survey and Mark Out 67
Bloomington through County Seats of Linn, Livingston & Daviess to Plattsburg in Clinton County	Jan. 2, 1839	Survey and Mark Out 68

63. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 274.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., p. 275.

66. Ibid., p. 277.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>
Sand Hill (Lewis Co.) by Holiday's Settlement to Old Fort on Grand Chariton River	Feb. 12, 1839	Survey and Mark Out 69
Waterloo (Clark Co.) by Sandy Hill (Lewis Co.) & Clark's Fort to Bloomington in Macon County	Jan. 25, 1839	Survey and Mark Out 70
Mouth of Des Moines River by Waterloo (Clark Co.) to Monticello (Lewis Co.) to Shelbyville, and thence to Paris in Monroe County	Dec. 27, 1838	Survey and Mark Out 71
Paris (Monroe Co.) to Fayette (Howard) through Smithland (Randolph Co.)	Feb. 11, 1839	County Road to State 72
Schoolhouse near Thos. Poague's (Monroe Co.) to Intersect New London Road at Ignatius Leak's or McElroy's Store	Feb. 13, 1839	View and Mark Out 73

69. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 278.

70. Ibid., p. 279.

71. Ibid., p. 280.

72. Ibid., p. 281.

73. Ibid.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>
Where Glasgow Road leaves Road from Fayette, to Chariton near Wm.Swinney's thence to Glasgow across River to Grand Pass (Saline Co.) to Dover (Lafayette) to Lexington and Independence	Feb. 12, 1839	View and Mark Out ⁷⁴
Richmond (Ray Co.) by Patton Long's Mill to Prairie near Jeremiah Crowley's	Feb. 11, 1839	County Road to State ⁷⁵
Richmond to Plattsburg (Clinton Co.)	Feb. 11, 1839	View and Mark Out ⁷⁶
Plattsburg by Rock House Prairie to Black Snake Hills	Jan. 25, 1839	Survey and Mark Out ⁷⁷
Boonville (Cooper Co.) to Arrow Rock thence to permanent seat of justice of Saline, to Intersect Road from Glasgow to Lexington	Feb. 8, 1839	Mark Out ⁷⁸

74. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 282.

75. Ibid., p. 283.

76. Ibid., p. 284.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., p. 285.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>	
Rocheport by Drake's Mill and New Franklin to Arrow Rock	Feb. 12, 1839	Survey and Mark Out	79
Arrow Rock (Saline Co.) to Warrensburg (Johnson Co.)	Feb. 7, 1839	Survey and Mark Out	80
Versailles by Florence (formerly Williamsburg, Morgan Co.) to Georgetown in Pettis County	Feb. 7, 1839	Survey and Mark Out	81
*Georgetown by Fairview P.O. to Johnson County Line in Direction of Warrensburg, from thence to Independence	Feb. 12, 1839	County Road to State	82
*Boonville (Cooper Co.) through Williamsburg (Morgan Co.) to Warsaw (Benton Co.) to Intersect State Road from Jefferson City to Springfield	Jan. 14, 1839	County Road to State	83

79. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 286.

80. Ibid., p. 287.

81. Ibid., p. 288.

82. Ibid., pp. 289-290.

83. Ibid., p. 290.

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Date of Law</u>	<u>Provision of Law</u>
Lexington (Lafayette Co.) through Wellington to Intersect State Road from Lexington to Independence	Feb. 11, 1839	Survey and Mark Out ⁸⁴
Springfield to Forsyth (Taney Co.)	Feb. 1, 1839	Survey and Mark Out ⁸⁵
Forsyth to State Line in Direction of Carrollton	Feb. 1, 1839	County Road to State ⁸⁶
Act of Jan. 30, 1837, for State Road from Warrensburg to County Seat of Van Buren County repealed	Feb. 1, 1839 ⁸⁷	
Warrensburg to County Seat of Van Buren County	Feb. 1, 1839	View and Mark Out ⁸⁸
Independence to Big Creek P.O. (Johnson Co.) through County Seat of Rives to Warsaw in Benton County	Feb. 1, 1839	View and Mark Out ⁸⁹

84. Laws of Missouri, 10th General Assembly, 1st Session, 1838-1839, p. 291.

85. Ibid., p. 292.

86. Ibid., p. 293.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

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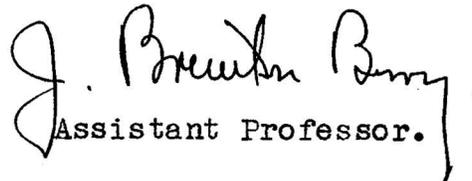
May 22, 1937.

Dean W. J. Robbins,
University of Missouri,
Columbia, Missouri.

Dear Dean Robbins:

I have read the thesis, "Early Roads in Missouri",
which Miss Martha May Wood has submitted to the Graduate
School, and in my opinion it is a very satisfactory
piece of research.

Respectfully,


Assistant Professor.

JBB/M

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