

An Historic Preservation Survey
in the town of Marshall, Missouri

presented to

The Department of Natural Resources,
Historic Preservation Program
Jefferson City, Missouri

by

The Missouri Valley Regional
Planning Commission
Marshall, Missouri

January, 1984

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INTRODUCTION

A city should provide growing minds with cultural memories and imaginations.

James Michener, The Quality of Life, 1970

This historic preservation survey is an exercise in "public history." Public history is a generic term applicable to numerous historical endeavors, which are outside of traditional teaching and writing careers. In the present case, the state preservation program funded the Missouri Valley Regional Planning Commission to conduct a survey in Marshall. That survey would provide the state office with a general historical context of Saline County and the town of Marshall as well as specific information, especially photographic data, about some 300 historic sites in the heart of the city's landscape. To execute this charge, the Missouri Valley Regional Planning Commission hired, on sub-contract, an historian, Lynn Morrow.

The survey process began in June, 1983 and continued until January, 1984. Morrow acted as principal investigator, but he was assisted by his wife, Kristen Kalen Morrow, also an historian. Throughout the survey Morrow initiated various consultations with persons in the Missouri preservation community. Each of these consultations contributed insights to the process and to the final product, a three volume report. The consultants included James Denny, Section Chief of National Register nominations and survey, Department of Natural Resources. Denny's photographic skills, exhibited in Chapter X, Builders and Buildings, provided an exceptional element in Volume One. Claire Blackwell and Jill Johnson, Technical Services, Department of Natural Resources, provided guidance toward integrating the survey with a potential

certified historic district application. Patrick Steele, Director of the Missouri Heritage Trust, encouraged a larger scope of the Old Town survey plat and emphasized the importance of boundary justifications. Professor Gary Kremer, historian at Lincoln University, encouraged the inclusion of black historic data in Chapter IX, The Black Community. Professor Robert Flanders, member of the Missouri Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and historian at Southwest Missouri State University, offered suggestions for local context in state and national historic experiences. Mike Everman, information specialist and historian at the Missouri Cultural Heritage Center, University of Missouri, toured the survey area, and discussed its significance within Missouri regional studies and within the context for statewide preservation planning.

The Saline County Historical Society, individual members and its library, provided the most valuable assistance of all. Without local resources, which the Society pledged to the funding process, the quantity of work accomplished in this survey would have been much less. Many Society members hosted Kris and Lynn Morrow in their homes and citizens allowed the inconveniences requisite in measuring and photographing selected properties. Russ Nicholas and the staff at the Missouri Valley Regional Planning Commission served as important informants themselves, as they have been longtime members of the Marshall community. The fact that this survey was identified with a trusted local governmental body greatly eased community anxiety about "strangers" who asked questions about local society and who took hundreds of local photographs. And last, but certainly not least, Lee's Studio provided quality custom prints at reasonable prices, which added

to the overall value of the report.

The survey is one that emphasized an historical context, not an architectural context. The survey considered general socio-economic patterns which were crucial in the formation of county society, the county seat, and the districts around the square and east of the square. These town districts named Old Town and Eastwoods, were found to have had the same general land use and social complexion for more than a century. Volume One is a summary of that inquiry. Volume Two and Three include the inventory sheets with various site specific data drawn from Sanborn insurance maps, county plats and atlases, county histories, local publications and ephemera, and 5x7 black and white custom prints. All of these contributed to the generalizations made in an honest investigation about the reputation, historical facts and events, and the corporate personality of Saline County.

From surveys of this kind historical themes emerge which offer fruitful areas for continued research by scholars and lay persons alike. Such is certainly the case in Saline County, where primary and secondary sources are voluminous. In Volume One, several references and comparisons are made about the Ozarks and the Boonslick. This was done to encourage a better understanding of regional differences, which are considerable, in the state of Missouri. Preservation in the state should account for and interpret the multitude of regional variations in statewide preservation planning.

Historic preservation in Missouri wears numerous mantles, that of survey and planning, national register nominations, certified historic districts, acquisition and development of significant state properties, support of various organizations

engaged in raising the consciousness of a preservation ethic, public programming through conferences and lectures, and more. Energies poured into preservation activities vary from academic solutions for documentation and preservation in archives to the preservation of buildings as significant cultural artifacts.

Missouri's cultural landscapes, which have received preservation attention, have varied from modest, folk traditions to high style architectural monuments. Landscapes often survive because of a community's neighborhood's ambience. The East Woods district is such a neighborhood.

Respect for values that transcend one generation into the next has been an ideal sought by most societies. The desire to preserve a neighborhood or a commercial district is a monumental undertaking; the planning demands energies, resources and cooperation from many constituencies. The very enterprise is one of middle class values and outlook. Many districts and neighborhoods selected for preservation were built by a middle class, documents used to comprehend and interpret those districts were written by a middle class, and it is a middle class society in Marshall which seeks to preserve something of its own past.

For the most part, this story of Marshall's origins follows a documentary record left by people concerned for the present and future of their built environment. The articulate society of Chapter VIII are descendents of a frontier society whose frontier was but a "brief recreation;" their frontier was a temporary impediment to the hope for sure foundations of a predictable, stable community. The present Old Town and East Woods districts are occupied by the inheritors of that vision.

FIRST SETTLEMENT: ISSUES AND THE IDENTITY OF PLACE

The whole current of immigration set towards the Boon's Lick was the common center of hopes, and the common point of union for the people. Ask one of them whether he was moving, and the answer was, "To Boon's Lick, to be sure."

Timothy Flint, 1828

"So the pageant marched through the Boon's Lick country and on to the West. Some dropped out of the procession and tarried in Saline."

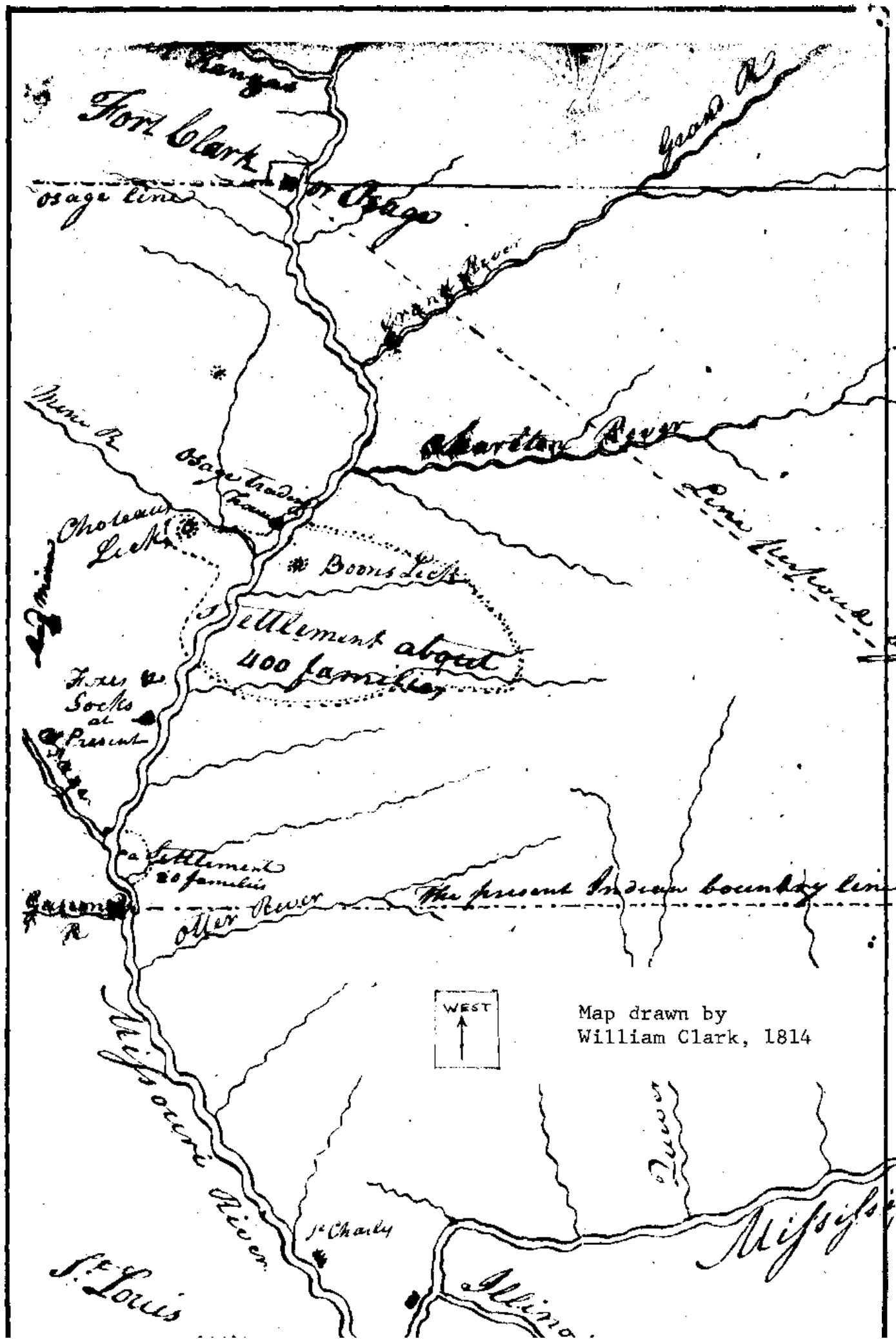
A Centennial Celebration for Marshall, Mo., 1939

Saline County's historic and geographical circumstances have been interwoven with major movements in and throughout one of Missouri's first regional settlements - the Boon's Lick. The historic nucleus of the Boonslick began on the north side of the Missouri River in Howard county. It expanded eastward into Boone county, south across the river into Cooper county and westward into Saline county. Professor David March explained,

At first the name Boone's Lick was applied to the place in southeast Howard County where salt was manufactured. The Boone's Lick settlements later became part of the "Boone's Lick Country," as the area settlement west of Cedar Creek was called. As time passed, the name was sometimes used loosely to refer to an undefined area that embraced interior settlements in the vicinity of the Missouri River. (1)

Like many regional designations the Boon's Lick space was enlarged over time. The name itself became a primary destination for Missouri immigrants. They headed for a place, and that place was in Howard County, which became the entrepot for a Boon's Lick dispersion.

The name of the Boone family was important in attracting an entourage of diverse Missouri River entrepreneurs to Missouri's fabled region west of St. Francois basin, the Bellvue settlement south of Big River and the Old Mines' region had somewhat earlier developments, the Boonslick immigration, following the War of 1812,

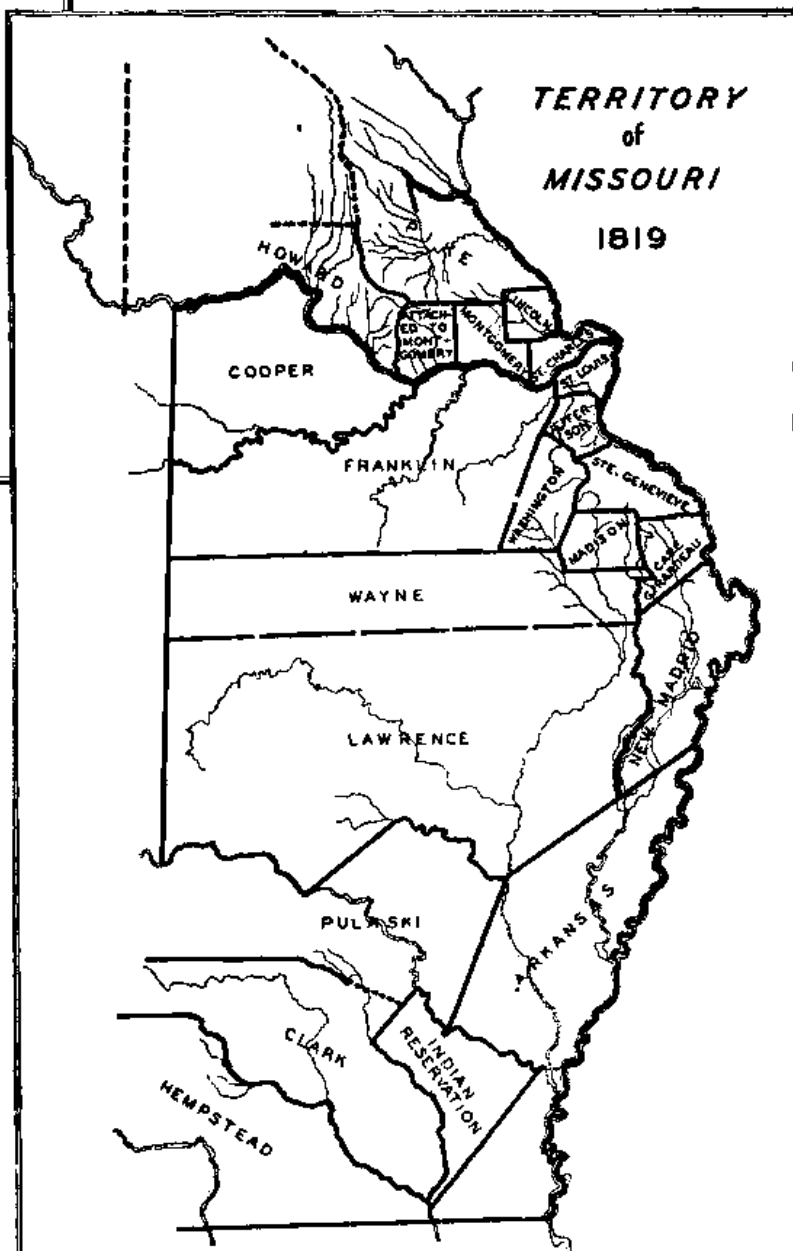


Map drawn by
William Clark, 1814

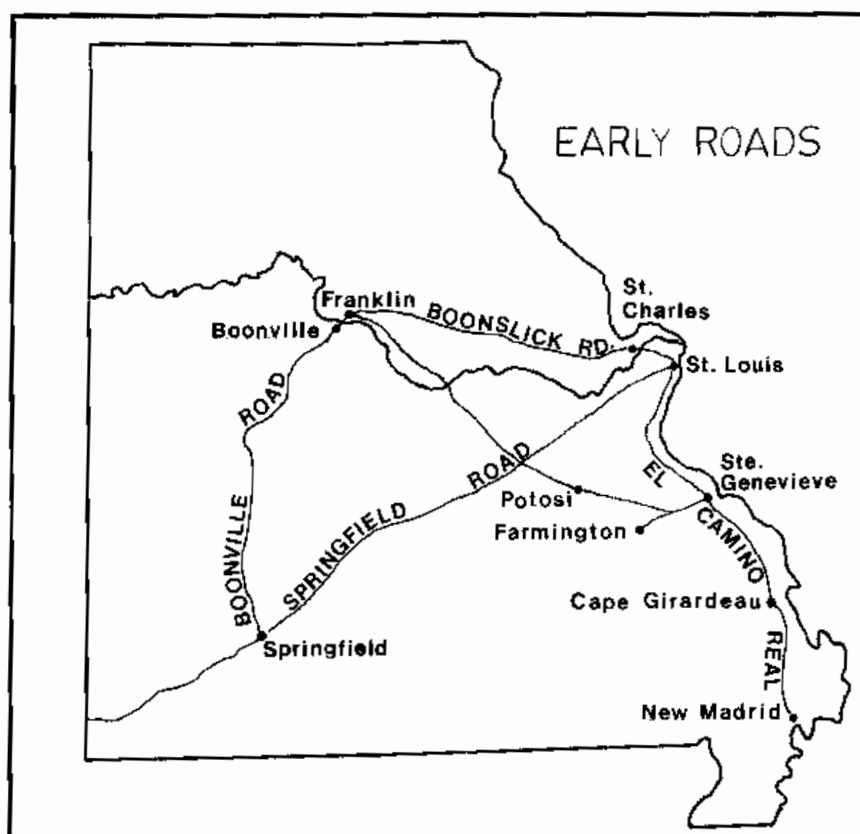


Territorial county formation prior to the founding of Saline County in 1820.

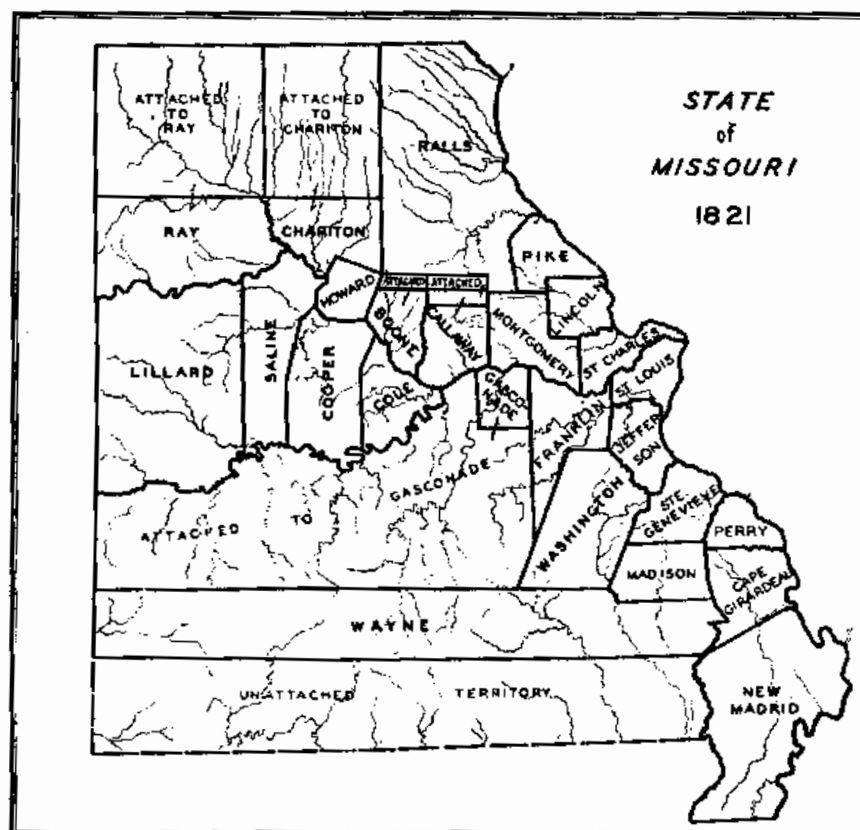
Beahan, Missouri's Public Domain . . . July, 1980.



Kristen Kalen Morrow,
August, 1983

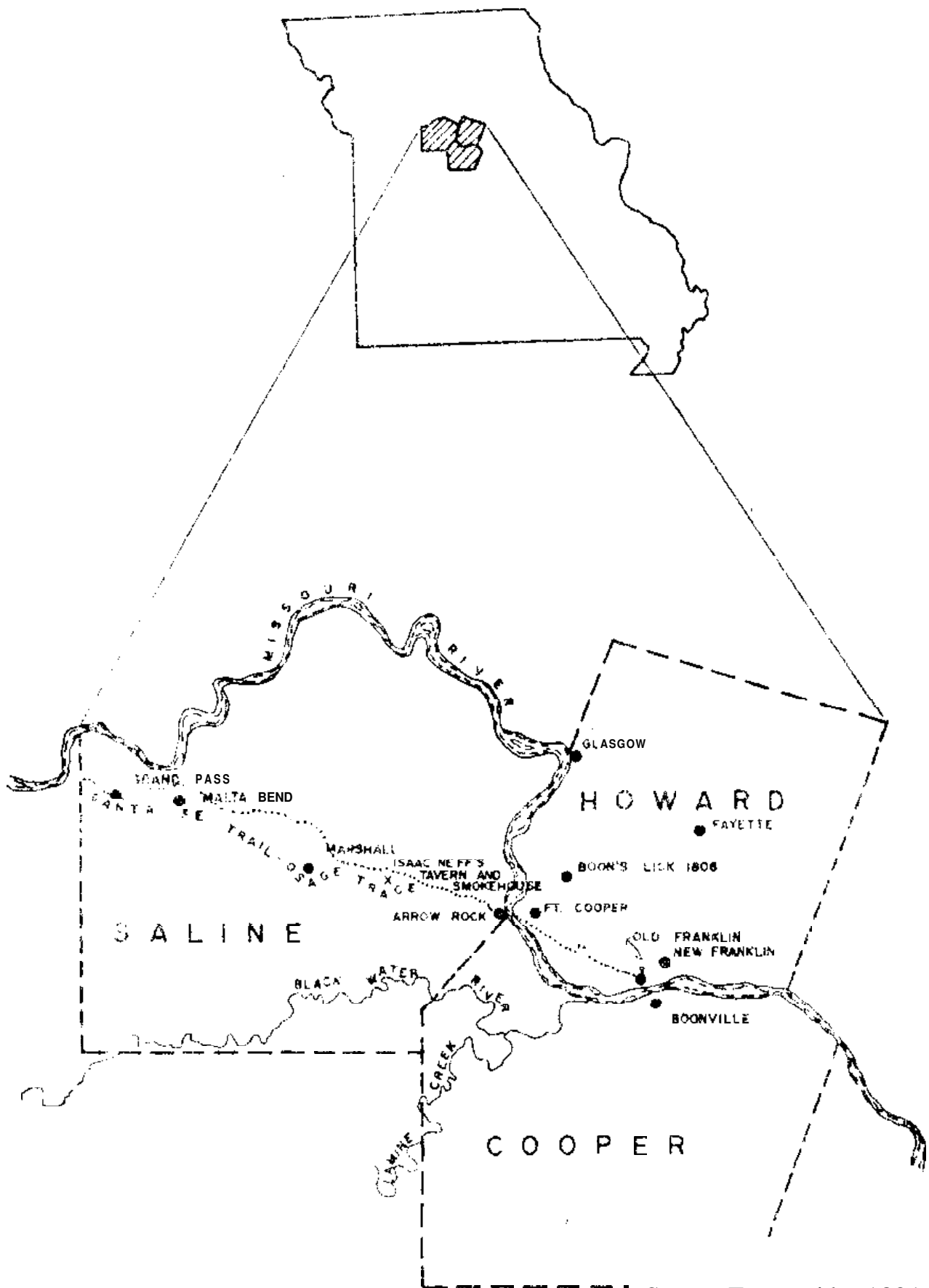


Beahan, Missouri's
Public Domain . . .
July, 1980.



Map by V. D. Nelf, from original supplied by Floyd C. Shoemaker.

This is how Missouri looked when admitted to statehood in 1821. There were twenty-five counties, most of which have since been subdivided to make up the present 114 counties, which, with the city of St. Louis, also a separate county, make up the Missouri of today. Only the Platte Purchase, embracing the present counties of Atchison, Nodaway, Holt, Andrew, Buchanan, and Platte, has been added to the state since that time.



Sante Fe trail, 1821-1828
 in Neff Tavern
 National Register of Historic
 Places nomination, DNR

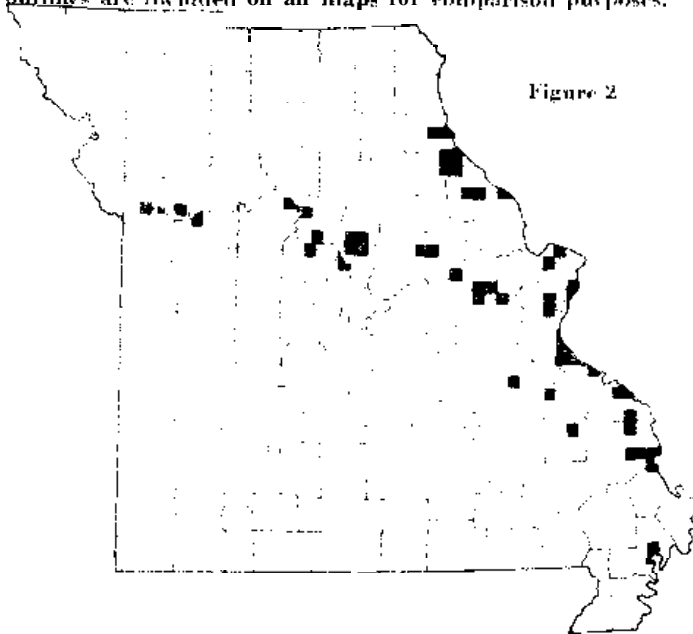
immediately became much more influential. Its location along the mainstream of movement, its vastly superior numbers, and its cadre of men and groups with substantial resources, vision and political and economic connections that stretched eastward to St. Louis, up the Ohio River and to the Atlantic seaboard, all accounted for portentous beginnings in "interior Missouri."

The memory of these auspicious beginnings and the continuity of resourceful, foundational families have persisted throughout the Boon's Lick. The report to the Saline County Historical Society for Marshall's Centennial celebration of 1939 echoed firm recognition of and desire to preserve the Boon's Lick heritage of which Saline County was a vital part. The Centennial pageant was planned by chairman W.C. Gordon, president of Farmers Savings Bank, L.W. Van Dyke, presiding officer of Van Dyke real estate, merchant F.C. Barnhill, and others who have played important roles in maintaining continuity of Saline County's past with the present. (2)

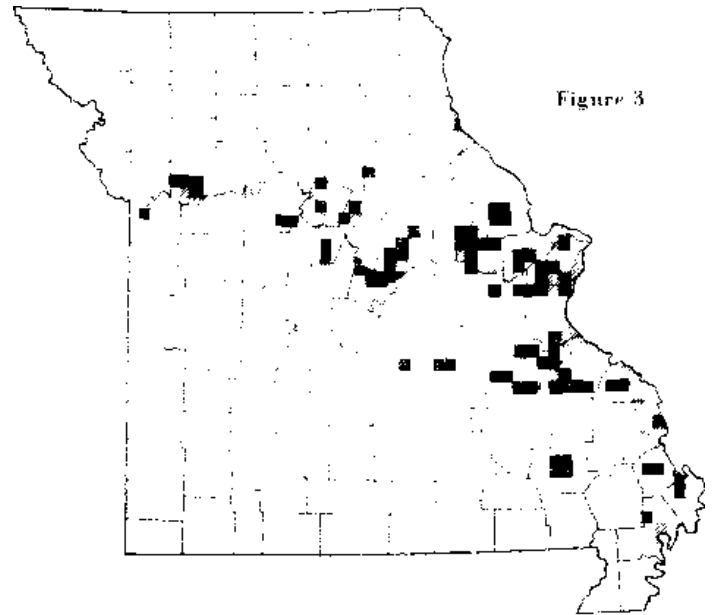
James Shortridge's postal map and Walter Schroeder's pre-settlement prairie map graphically portray Saline County's crucial position in the upriver march of westward immigration from St. Louis. The Boon's Lick region, whose focus at statehood was Franklin, Boonville and their environs, lay along the first main highway not dictated by Indian precedent. The route left St. Louis directly for Franklin and extended to Lexington and beyond. The establishment of post offices and counties followed the corridor of this road, with the notable exception of Saline and Lafayette county prairies, which were bypassed during the 1820's post office foundings.

Although Saline County had "salt, soil, timber and prairie," it was the prairie which was avoided in the initial settlement

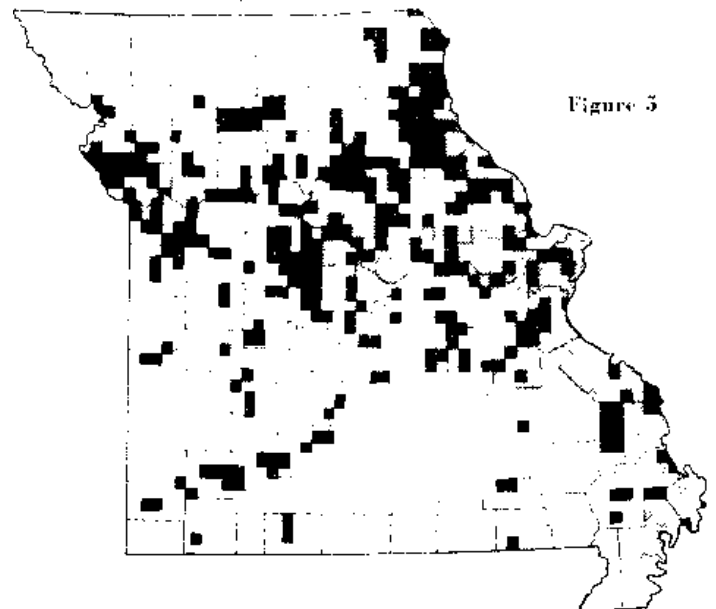
Missouri settlement before 1823 is shown on the map below. On this and the following maps, black represents the area settled in the title period. On the following maps, gray will indicate the area previously settled. Present-day county outlines are included on all maps for comparison purposes.



Missouri Settlement, 1823-1829



Missouri Settlement, 1830-1839



Movement of post office foundings, 1823-1839. Notice how they followed the Boonslick Trail and how they avoided the Saline-Lafayette prairies until the 1830s. Shortridge, MHR, October, 1980.

years. Schroeder's map demonstrates that the Saline prairie is the first significant, large-scale prairie block encountered by westward immigration moving up the Missouri River. Since the Boone's Lick road arrived at Franklin the westward route from there had to go around Saline County by water, more than 90 miles, or across the tall grass prairies to the River, approximately 32 miles. Pioneers embarked at the Arrow Rock prairie, crossed the rolling grasslands through Grand Pass and arrived at Lexington, which had been founded in the timberlands on the west side of the Saline-Lafayette prairies.

During initial settlement this great prairie block developed into one of Missouri's two marshalling points for stock feeding and stock drives from the southwest. By c. 1830 the larger of the two, the Springfield Plain, and the prairie of the Boon's Lick were scenes of great herds of cattle and horses. Numerous networks in the southern uplands and Ohio Valley, extending into the southwest, fed into corridors of the mobile stock trade. They included cattle and horses from the Boston Mountains in Arkansas, various hill country throughout the Ozark region, the Red River country and the Springfield Plain which marketed cheap southern cattle northward to higher-priced markets. In Missouri by the 1820's the marshalling grounds on the Kickapoo Prairie, Grand Prairie and southwest Missouri collected and drove stock to St. Louis, Kentucky and Illinois. The Boon's Lick prairies and especially Saline County prairie, which was the "adjacent range" to Cooper and Howard counties, were soon tied into these markets. These regional markets were augmented by an expanding trade west so that by 1850 the Springfield Plain and the Boon's Lick had attracted a significant number of commercial stock tradesmen.

The salt springs of the Boon's Lick attracted a host of entrepreneurs including the fabled Boone family, Chouteaus, John Smith T. and others. These mineral speculators, however, did not become founders of Saline County society. The commercial salt trade was a precarious enterprise and apparently only a few ever did well for any sustained period. However, the smaller, more local salt operations did last into the 1850's with some competing for government contracts at the western military forts near Indian reservations. But the salt trade did not transcend the Civil War as the stock trade did.

Estimates from various sources indicated that Saline County timber coverage varied from ten to twenty per cent of the county. The contemporary perception by southern uplanders of this deficiency, termed "a partial defect" in Saline County, led the immigrants to settle in and along the timber belts. P.Y. Irvine, from Rockingham County, Virginia, settled three miles east of Miami in 1833. He once commented to his wife about the lack of timber of any size in their neighborhood. Mr. Irvine trimmed up two small oak bushes with his pocketknife and remarked that one day they might provide building timber for their sons. (3) In reality, early settlement continued along the Missouri River and up the Blackwater valley breaks which left a void of settlement in the west and southwest. Consequently first generation immigrants encircled Saline County on the north, east and south.

The soil throughout the county has been termed "brown loam (loess)" and as a county, Saline has more acreage of it than any other. The Boon's Lick possesses "the first deep loess region upstream from St. Charles." Although southerners first came to timbered Howard County, which with Cooper county possessed signi-

THE MISSOURI COMMISSION
LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION
ST. LOUIS 1904

A SOIL MAP
OF
MISSOURI
prepared for
"THE STATE OF MISSOURI"
WALTER WILLIAMS, EDITOR
by
C.F. MARBUT
Professor of Geology in the
University of Missouri
and
H.J. WATERS
Dean of the College of Agriculture
University of Missouri
1904

Scale of miles
0 6 12 18 24 30 36 miles

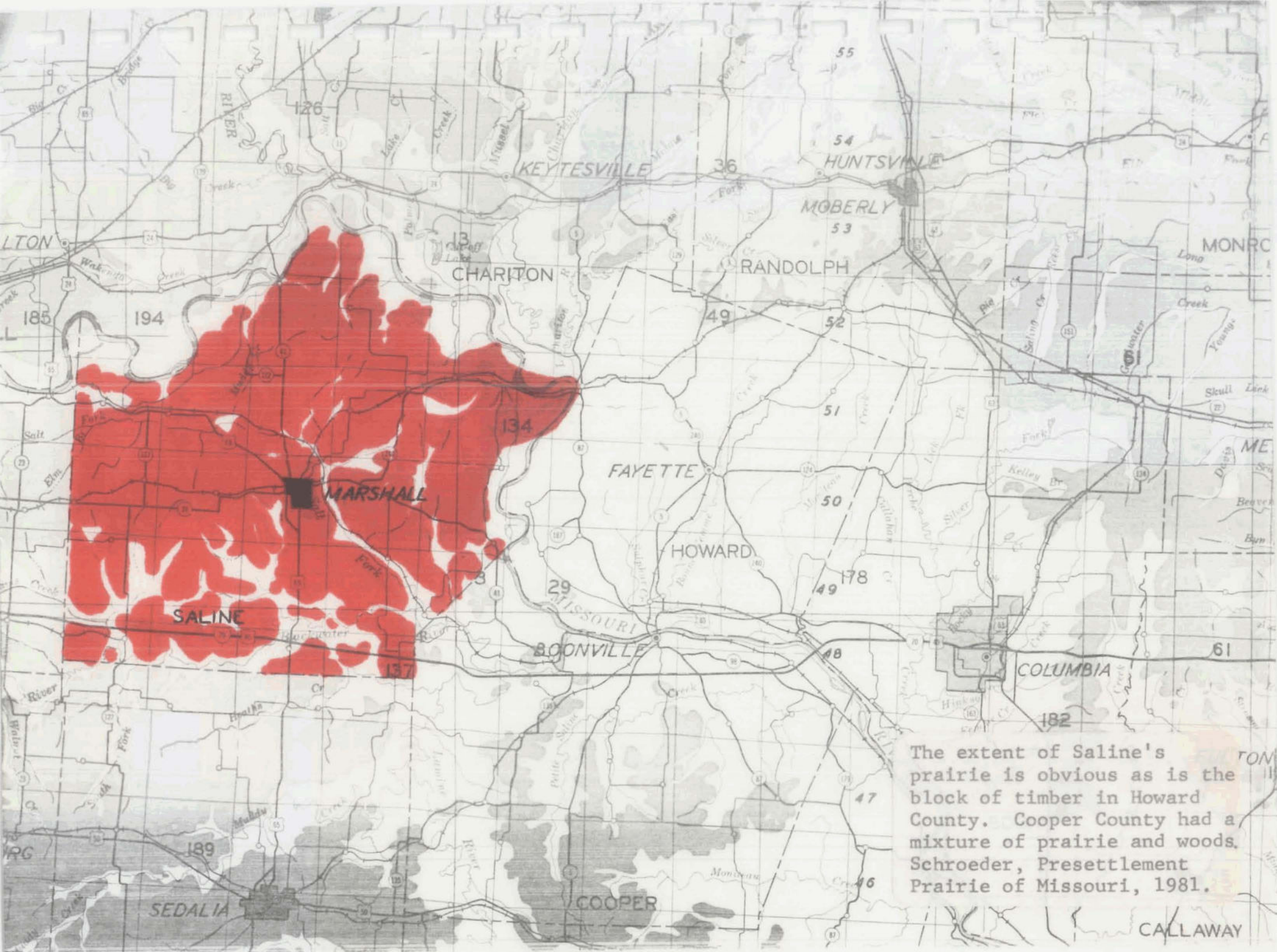
LEGEND

TRANSPORTED SOILS

- | | |
|---|--|
| d | Alluvium |
| c | Brown loam
Loess |
| k | Black Prairie |
| J | Rolling Prairie |
| h | Level Prairie |
| s | Limestone shale clay |
| f | Sandy clay loam |
| e | Red limestone clay
Moderately thick
Ozark border |
| b | Limestone clay flint
Ozark center |
| a | Red limestone clay |

RESIDUAL SOILS





The extent of Saline's prairie is obvious as is the block of timber in Howard County. Cooper County had a mixture of prairie and woods. Schroeder, Presettlement Prairie of Missouri, 1981.

CALLAWAY

ficant acreages of the brown loam loessal soil, it is Saline County and its vast prairie stretches which encompass most of it. Its value would later be realized when Saline County lands became the highest priced acreages in Missouri. (4)

Many first generation immigrants to Saline County made use of and located along the transition border of timber and prairie. The grassy prairie land served as grazing for their animals and when fired, the prairie provided the setting for a great hunt. The timber provided shelter, building material, a place to run swine, plots for small-scale agriculture and a safe, cozy place. This pattern of environmental land use had long been in practice and had been adopted especially by stockmen pioneers. During 18th century Louisiana French colonials created a dramatic example at Arkansas Post utilizing the Grand Prairie to the north. Thomas Nuttall observed the phenomenon throughout his Arkansas River travels in 1819, and GLO surveys in Greene County, Missouri, bore the same testimony when the early diversified plantations of the Josiah Danforth, Nathan Boone and others were examined by the author, and numerous Saline County immigrants followed suit. Alexander Majors recalled this settlement process,

All the first settlers in the State located along the timber belts, without an exception, and cultivated the timber lands to produce their grain and vegetables. It was many years after the forest lands were settled before prairie lands were cultivated to any extent, and it was found later that the prairie lands were more fertile than they gave them credit for being before real tests in the way of farming were made with them. The sage grass had the tenacity to stand a great deal of grazing and trampling over, and still grow to considerable perfection. It required years of grazing upon the prairie before the wild grass, which was universal in the beginning, gave way, but in the timber portions the vegetation that was found in the first settling of the land gave way almost at once. In two years from the time a farmer moved upon a new spot and turned his stock loose upon it, the original wild herbs that were found there disappeared and other vegetation took its place. The land, being

exceedingly fertile, never failed to produce a crop of vegetation, and when one variety did appear and cover the entire surface as thick as it could grow for a few years, it seemed to exhaust the quality of the soil that produced that kind, and that variety would give way and something new come up ... (5)

Furthermore an 1817 traveler wrote,

This is probably the easiest unsettled county in the world to commence farming in. The emigrant has only to locate himself on the edge of a prairie and he has the one-half of his farm a heavy forest and the other half a fertile plain or meadow, he has then only to fence in his ground and put in his crop. (6)

In the hinterlands this settlement pattern persisted longer than along major highways. In 1852 locally famous Arrow Rock and Marshall merchant, town promoter and author, T.C. Rainey, "rode horseback to southern Missouri (from Tennessee) when a much greater part of it was unentered, broad prairies, the settlements being mainly along their borders or in the timberlands surrounding." (7) During the 1820's in Missouri, the geographical and historical circumstances of Saline county in the bustling Boonslick provided the opportunity for a timely enterprise which dramatically illustrated a change in the normal reaction to prairie environment.

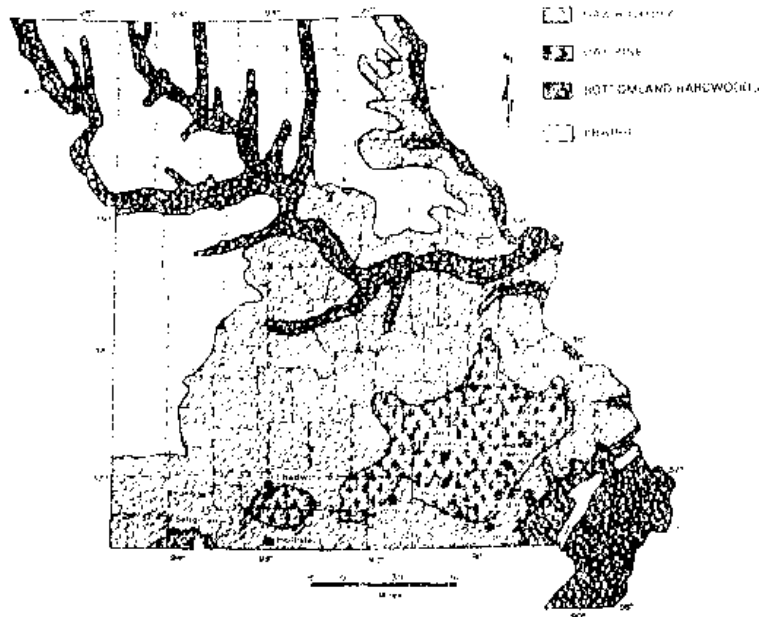
General Thomas Adams Smith, a Virginian from Essex County, William and Mary College graduate, and retired army professional, came to the Boon's Lick in 1818 to assume an appointment as "receiver of Public monies" at the government land office in Franklin. As the younger brother of John Smith T., the general's family was not without reputation, resources or imagination. General Smith speculated in the abortive Boone County seat town of Smithton and in Boon's Lick lands.

In 1826 he brought Howard county lumber to his newly adopted home on Salt Fork in southeast Saline county. There he began the life of building an estate and becoming one of the landed gentry.

He did not choose a pastoral or idyllic name for his farm, but instead named it the "Experiment." The experiment symbolized a two fold desire: one, to prove that a retired professional military officer could make a good living as a commercial farmer, and two, to prove that extensive prairie lands could be commercially profitable. He planted trees, flowers, shrubs and crops on the prairie. A sod fence enclosed several acres of his gardens. The time was ripe for just such an "experiment" as immigrants poured into the Boon's Lick. For the first time a very large prairie land had to be dealt with on the Missouri settlement frontier. The "experiment" became something of a resort for the "quality people" of the day, but more importantly General Smith provided a model and proof positive that prairie agriculture could succeed. Continued research may illuminate Smith's example. Was he a national prototype for prairie agriculture? a state prototype for Missouri? (8)

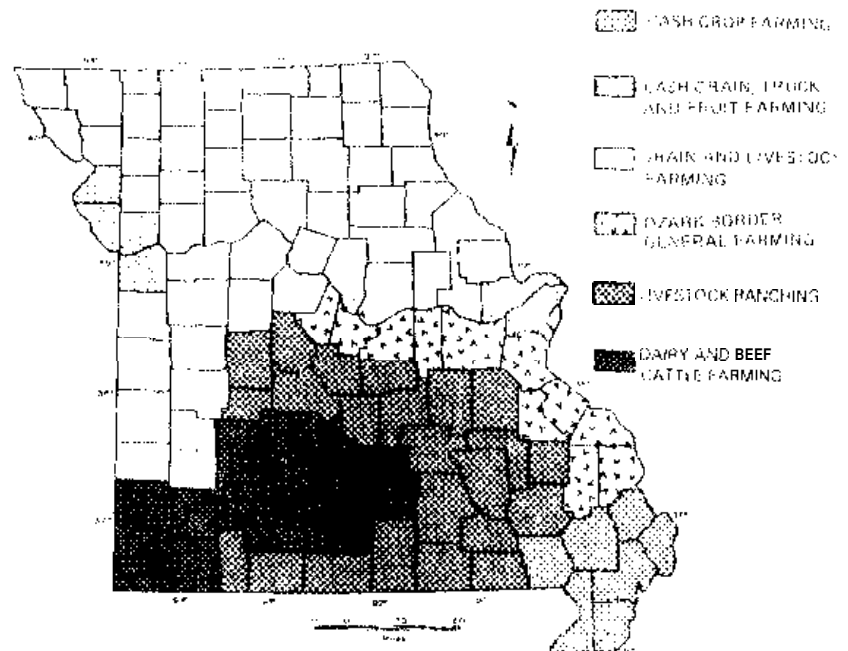
Forest cover. Notice how Saline County is encircled. Pioneers established first settlements in this timber belt.

Rafferty, Missouri, 1983:106



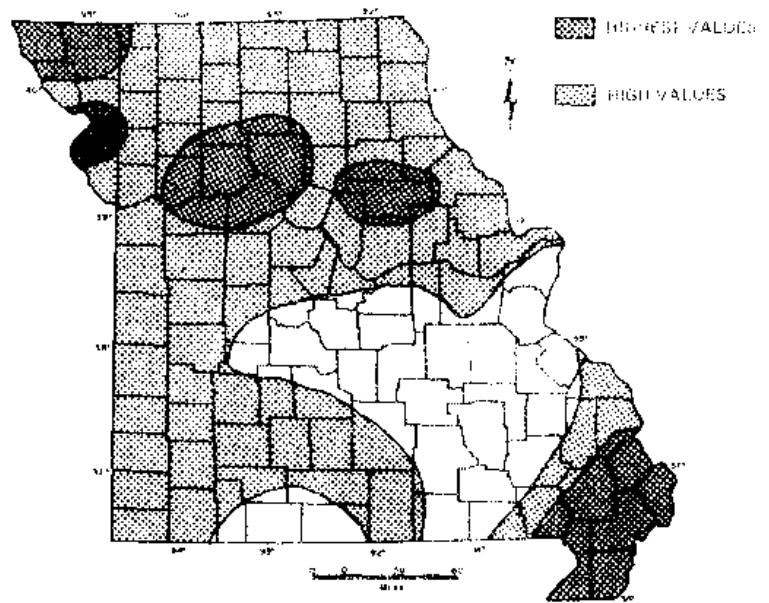
Agricultural regions. Saline is one of many prairie counties devoted to grain and livestock farming.

Rafferty, Missouri, 1983: 97



Value of farm products, 1979. Except for the Blackwater valley, Saline retains its historic position in this category.

Rafferty, Missouri, 1983: 97.



Chapter One: Notes

1. David March, History of Missouri, New York and West Palm Beach: Lewis Historical Company, 1967: 314
2. Democrat-News, February 3, 1939, and Thomas Spencer, "A Centennial Celebration for Marshall, Missouri," 1939. During the twentieth century cultural geographers and folklorists have regionalized many parts of the United States. In some cases regional terms, like the "Illinois Ozarks" have no relationship to the historic use of a key word, i.e. Ozarks. Robert Crisler and others have tried to force the use of "Little Dixie" into Boone's Lick counties. In this case Little Dixie is a post-Civil War term at best when encountered in central Missouri. In Saline County R.N.Hains, long-time editor of the Democrat-News told Crisler and others only first heard Little Dixie used during the great Depression and "a search of old newspapers for use-of the term in print prior to 1940 was surprisingly unsuccessful." Not so surprising I'm afraid if one examines the etymology of regional terms. Howard Marshall wrote "The county histories and travelers' accounts of Missouri do not mention the term Little Dixie." These are strong testimonies that both Crisler and Marshall may have applied the wrong term to some counties. Common, usages of Boone's Lick and Ozarks, for example, exist in regional primary sources that date from the first generation of settlement or in the case of the Ozarks even prior to settlement.
3. "P.Y. Irvine" in Saline County Atlas, 1876.
4. C.F. Marbut, Soil Map of Missouri, for Walter Williams, The State of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri: E.W. Stephens Press, 1904 and Milton Rafferty, Missouri, A Geography, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983: 57.
5. Alexander Majors, "The Earliest White Settlers in Missouri," in Missouri Reader, Frank Mott, editor, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1964: 26.
6. Stuart Voss, "Town Growth in Central Missouri, 1815-1880," Missouri Historical Review 64: 68.
7. T.C. Rainey, "Along the Old Trail," Marshall: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1914: 21.
8. Saline Countians prior to General Smith utilized prairie lands. In 1819 William Wolfskill "settled a farm out on the prairie, where he lived for the next fifty years." In the early 1820s "Thornton and Nave had demonstrated that the prairie lands were susceptible of cultivation... but in almost every instance these prairie farms adjoined the timber growing on the water courses..." See History of Saline county, Missouri, St. Louis: Missouri Historical Co., 1881: 156 and 197. Clearly though General Smith, due to large investments and commercial farming, brought recognition and appreciation of prairie lands to a wide audience.

DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS IN ORIGIN, MIGRATION,
AND SETTLEMENT OF THE BOONSLICK POPULATION

"...came on to the Arroyo Rock at Mt. Becknall where I tarried all night. Becknall's house stands on the north bank of Missouri on a bank of sand. Two small cabins, bad appearance but good fair bill, Ferriage and all 87½ cents. 20th crossed the Missouri into Saline county and proceed on through Prairie. after passing two or three hours entered open prairie, houses scarce."

Glover Diary, 1826

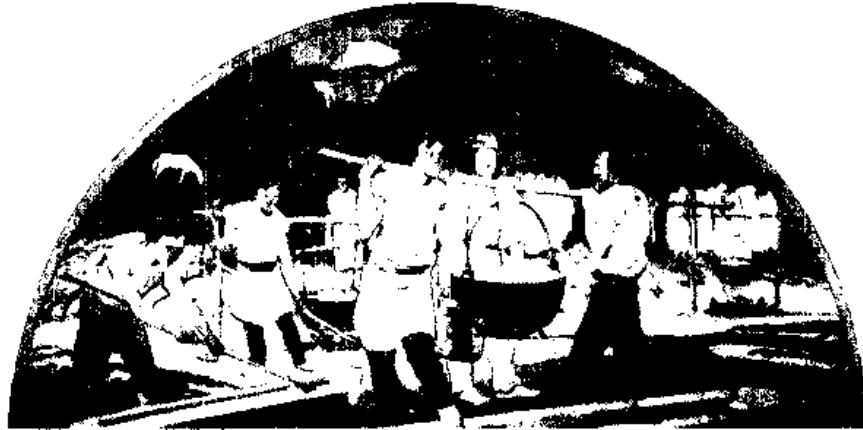
The first settlers of Missouri chose their homes lying along adjacent the Missouri River. Wood was the fuel used, log cabins were strung along near the river from Arrow Rock to Miami. Our food was hog meat, hominy and wild honey; our drink spring water, cider and occasionally old Kentucky Bourbon. O, those were glorious old times!

George C. Barnes, 1930
Bingham Family Papers

The post-War of 1812 immigration from 1815-1819 had a profound effect upon Missouri's future. "The territorial population increased from an estimated 25,000 in 1814 to more than 65,000 in 1820." Franklin became an overnight boom town in central Missouri and "by 1820 the Boonslick country had a population in excess of 20,000 persons." (1) The expanding population demanded new units of local government. For a decade old Spanish administrative districts along the Mississippi had served as counties in Missouri Territory until two interior counties were formed: Washington County in 1813 and Howard County in 1816. Then the Territory, anxiously looking toward Statehood, formed eight counties in 1818 (Cooper was one) and ten more in 1820 (Boone, Saline and Lafayette were three). (2) Just as population and economic stimuli poured into Saline county from Howard and Cooper counties, Saline county land was organized from Cooper county and its boundaries firmly established by 1829. Thus like other central Missouri counties, its space was early established - an important milestone for stability in local government.

Prior to county formation and during its early years Saline county was a scene of numerous frontier endeavors. Aborigines, Indian traders, explorers and military men passed through and resided within its bounds. George Sibley's short-lived fort near Arrow Rock during the War of 1812 symbolized much of this traffic. Small-scale extractive enterprises in lead, coal, timber and salt, had varied local histories. Salt, symbolic of the region's initial attraction, became locally important in the antebellum years. Manufacturers produced some during the Civil War. Lead never was prosperous beyond local limits, although miners occasionally sent exports down river to St. Louis. Timber in the Missouri River bottoms and the Blackwater served the local population, but due to few manufacturing installations, the first generation often imported lumber from Howard and Cooper counties. Coal was locally consumed throughout most of the 19th century. All of the above activities, which usually demanded outside capital investment and significant deposits of the natural resource, did not assume a dominant historic role in Saline county. Instead, the stockman and agriculturalist founded a community of commercial agriculture that thrived regionally and reaped enormous benefits from the Santa Fe trade during the 1830s and 1840s.

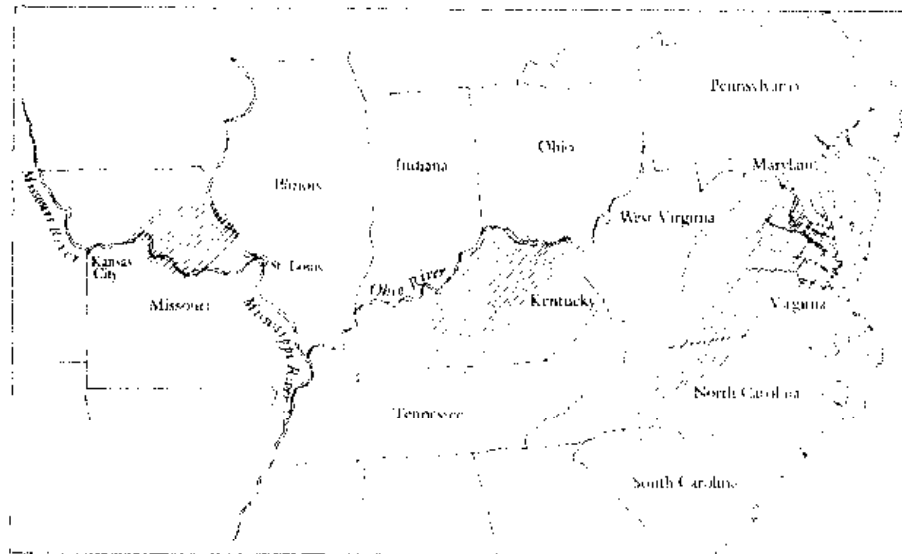
The Boon's Lick immigration is distinctive for the "quality" or upwardly mobile character of its Virginia, Kentucky Bluegrass and Nashville Basin populations. In general these people came from the "mainstream" usually located in major valley lands, and basins. Others were from piedmonts and the region near Knoxville, Tennessee. Family backgrounds were commonly English and included people with significant economic investment in society. Their resources included political connections, a merchant's cosmo-



Victor Higgins has painted this scene in the state capitol building showing Daniel Boone's sons making salt in Saline County. The iron pot used by the Boones is on display in the capitol in Jefferson City.

Saline's reputation as a place of salt resources has been represented by artists.

Meyer, The Heritage of Missouri, 1973: 137.



The Boonslick and Salt River immigrants came, in general, from the source areas indicated by Marshall in Folk Architecture in Little Dixie, 1981: 6.

politan experience, plantation or diversified agricultural lands, slaves and cash money. In all of these respects they differed greatly from their mountaineer neighbors in the Carolinas, east Tennessee and southeast Kentucky, who came to Missouri in a different movement. Founders and decision-makers in the Boone's Lick, i.e. Saline County, came directly to the region bringing their resources, knowledge and an entourage of family and retainers. They competed in a veritable "race for improvements."

The mountaineer immigrants, with a significant Tennessee and Scotch-Irish ancestry, more often moved or migrated in stepstone fashion several times through the southern uplands before arriving in central and southern Missouri. In fact, they often travelled to several places north, west and south of the Ozarks before finally settling in the hills, and even then, the hunter-hillman and small subsistence agriculturalist in the Ozarks often moved around within the region. But in the Boonslick numerous, permanent farms did begin in the 1820s and 1830s. These agriculturalists were careful to maintain an entrepot for the import and export of commodities. In this respect the "port-town" of Arrow Rock served a strong, commercial hinterland.

County origins, as they are a part of some region, may at some time offer important insights into the diffusion of house types throughout a specific built environment. The mountaineer immigrant who lived in a half-dozen locales in North Carolina, Tennessee and Missouri did not build Greek Revival central passage houses in southern Missouri. Those who came directly from the Valley of Virginia or the Kentucky and Tennessee Bluegrass regions built traditional houses, but they aspired to and built folk houses that were pretentious when compared to the more numerous, conser-

vative, traditional dwellings. In addition to county origin, Missouri histories have not dealt in any significant degree with the group migration phenomena. The group migration of clansmen and friends was a profound factor in the development of many Missouri locales. (3)

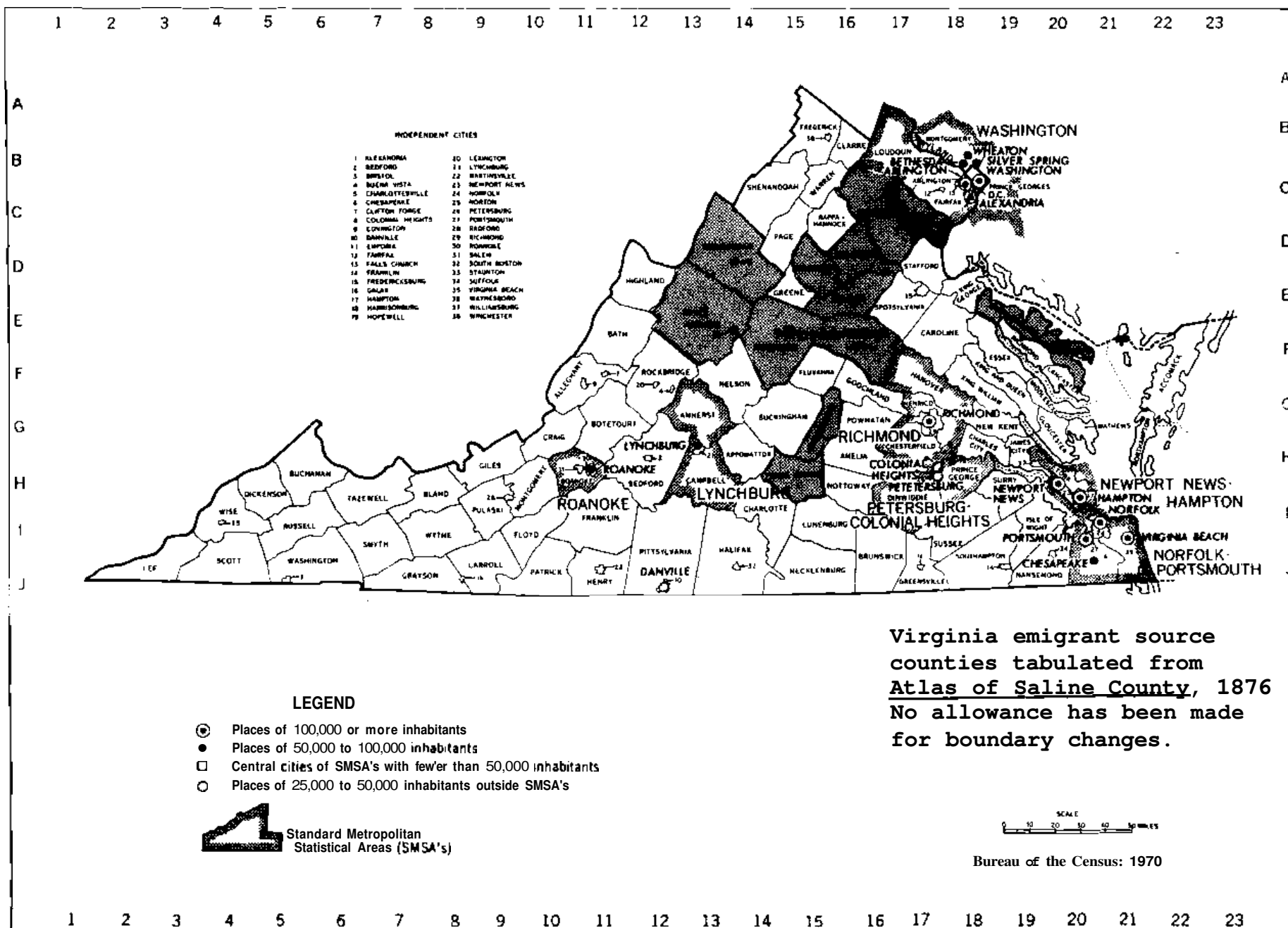
The Atlas of Saline County, 1876 provided a window to several upwardly mobile families that came to Saline County during its formative years or shortly thereafter. Various historical and social groupings can be made which offer further ways to elucidate the historical fabric of the county.

As already mentioned a great number of Boone's Lick arrivals in Boone, Cooper and Howard counties literally spilled over into Saline county. These included

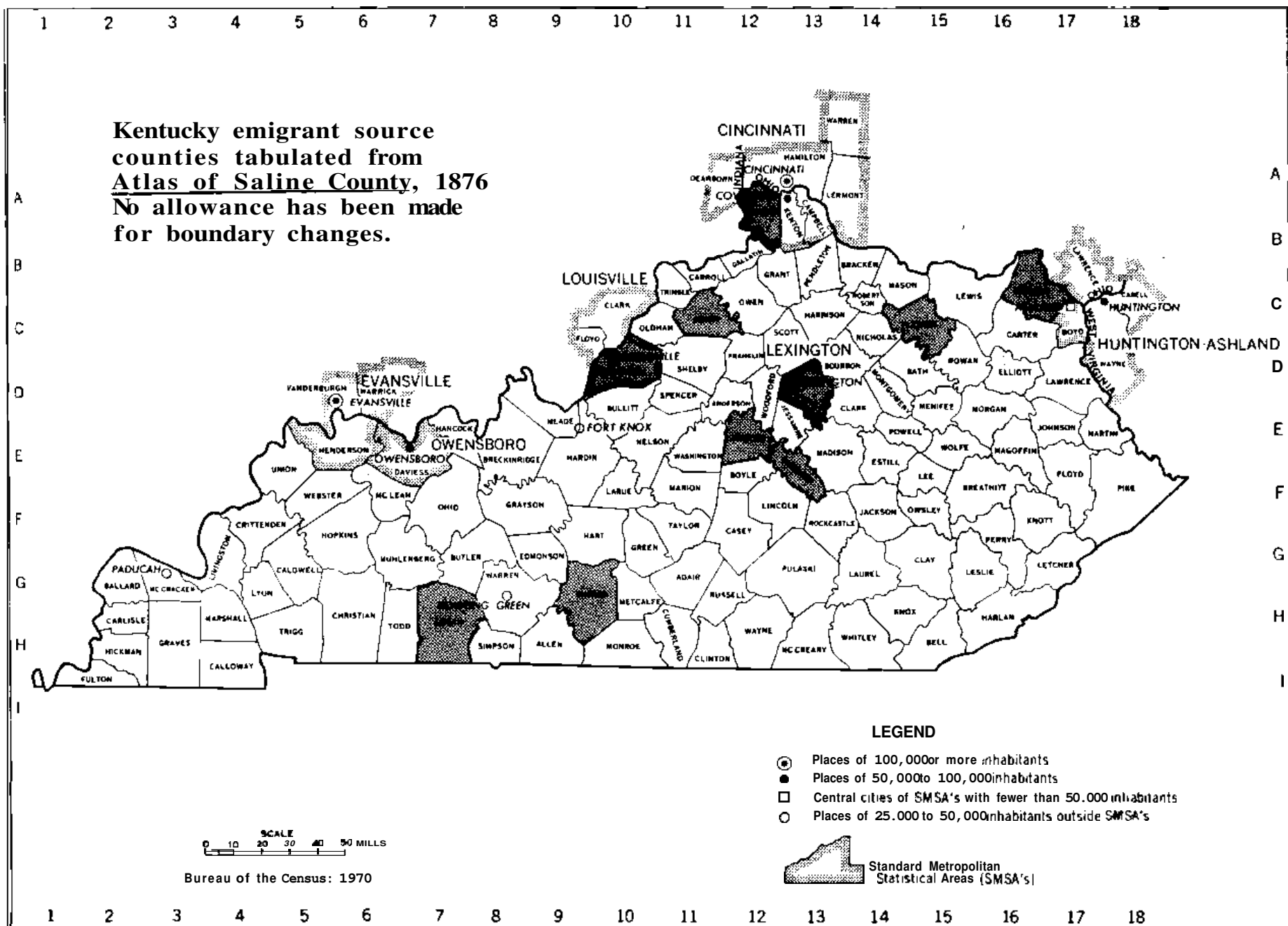
Duggins	Jacksons	McClellands	Sappingtons	Wooldridges
Ferrils	Jamisons	McDaniels	Sutherlins	and more.
Gwinns	Lynes	Reynolds	Thompsons	
Hays	Marmadukes	Russells	Thomsons	

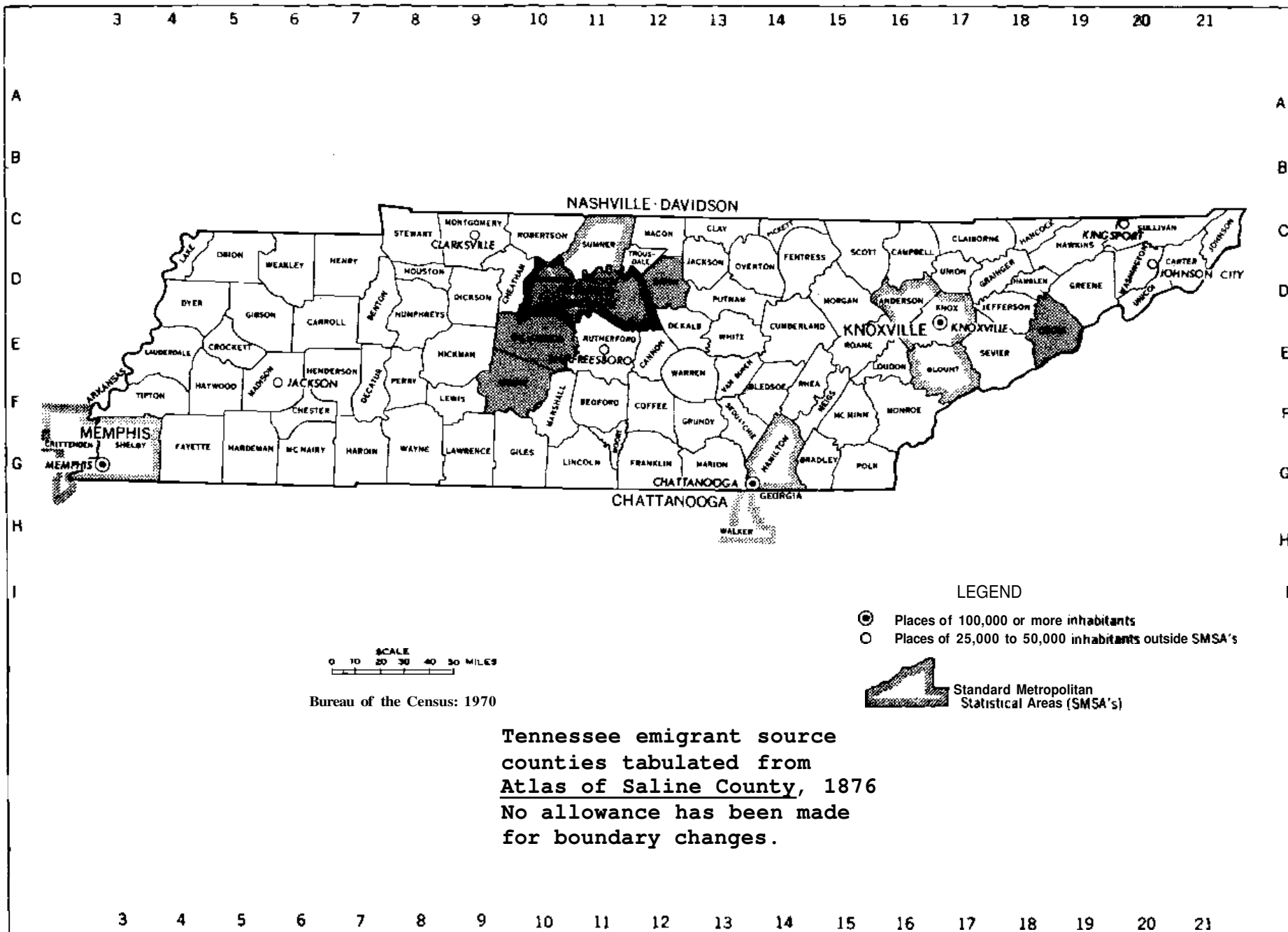
Virginia counties that became demographic source areas included Albemarle, Augusta and Rockingham, Cumberland, Culpepper, Fauquier, Louisa, Madison, Orange, and Prince Edward and Tidewater counties, Northumberland, Prince William and Westmoreland. Central Kentucky and Bluegrass counties included Boone, Fayette, Henry, Garrard, Jefferson and Mercer. Bowen and Logan counties to the southwest and Fleming and Greenup counties in the northeast were included in Kentucky source areas. Far less important source areas for the "movers and shakers" came from Tennessee counties, Davidson and Smith in Middle Tennessee and Cocke county east of Knoxville. (4)

A group often overlooked in local history is the German immigrants who came to America during the 18th century. Given the term, Palatinate Germans, they seem always to exert an influence



**Kentucky emigrant source
counties tabulated from
Atlas of Saline County, 1876
No allowance has been made
for boundary changes.**





locally that is far beyond their numbers. The Palatinates, people with village and town background, possessors of skills and trades, aware of a cosmopolitan world and experienced as Old World land-owners, became famous in America for their tidy farms in southeast Pennsylvania. Others followed the Scotch-Irish into the Valley of Virginia and through the southern uplands. The migration experience of Palatinates who came "West" Americanized them in culture, attitudes and often in the change of surname spelling. When they reached Missouri their "Germanness" was barely recognizable, but due to their general cultural history they wielded important social and economic influences on Missouri frontiers.

In Saline county several Germanic Palatinates became farmers and merchants. They included the Bigelows, Dinkels, Letchers, Lunbecks, Nave-Neffs, and Nicholas Smiths. The Neff Tavern on the Santa Fe trail is well-known. Nicholas Smith came from Henry County, Kentucky, purchased a 1,000 acre tract in southeast Saline, engaged in the commercial cattle trade and made a "handsome donation toward the endowment of William Jewell College."

Scotch-Irish backgrounds of course pervade the southern uplands. In Saline county the

Ferrils
Guthreys
Jamisons

Porters
Quesenberrys
Reynolds

Scotts
Whitakers
and more

demonstrated Scotch-Irish migrations. Perhaps someone unusual for Saline County was James Jamison. A Virginia planter, who was reared in Rockingham County, Jamison spent the year of 1839 in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. Returning to Illinois, he stayed four years and then in 1843 he came to Saline County. He purchased a herd of cattle in 1844 and drove them to Ohio. In 1845-46 he farmed in Lafayette county and sold

merchandise at Waverly. In 1846 he married a daughter of Sanders Townsend and the following two years he was a merchant in Independence selling goods for the Santa Fe trade. In 1849 he went to California for eighteen months, mined and sold goods by pack trains. He returned to Saline County in 1850, bought a farm, and engaged the stock trade and commercial farming. Jamison's dramatic movements over a decade symbolize western entrepreneurship for which many Scotch-Irishmen are famous. (5)

Englishmen who came to Virginia and Kentucky and then to Saline County include the

Bakers	Lynes	Thomsons
Browns	Parsons	Walkers
Duggins	Rhodes	Wheeler
Eubanks	Sappingtons	Willises
Heralds	Sutherlins	Withers and more.

The role of Dr. John Sappington in Saline County is legendary. His influence locally was much greater than he has been given credit for, which will be discussed later. The Thomson clan, of which Pike Thomson was a descendant, represented one of several important career military families who came West. General William Thomson died in Virginia, General Roger Thomson died near Georgetown, Kentucky, and General David Thomson died in Sedalia, Missouri. Thomson's Greek-Revival house in Sedalia is listed in Missouri's National Register of Historic Places. Pike Thomson's father, Captain John Thomson, was an early Howard County settler in 1820. Following the Captain's accidental death, the family returned to their old home in Fayette county, Kentucky. The sons, however, returned to Howard County in 1839 and 1841, both shortly removing to Saline County. Pike Thomson bought 1200-1300 acres and engaged the stock trade. (6)

During the 19th century the claim of cheap lands in the West

had often been overstated. Prior to the Graduation Act of 1854 and the Homestead Act of 1862 pioneers normally settled a claim, which they later proved upon and purchased, or they paid cash money for land. Cash money in the Boone's Lick or any other Missouri region during the 1820s and 1830s was not a ready commodity possessed by most people. Barter was crucial in the regional marketplace and those who brought money with them stood a good chance to quickly increase their fortune in land, stock or the Santa Fe trade. Settlement along any mainstream of movement commanded substantial investments. Some early Saline county examples of initial investment included,

Baker	1100 acres	Latimer	400 acres	Russell	600 acres
Brown	1300 acres	Lunbeck	600 & 2500	Smith	1000 acres
Duggins	1200 acres	Lyne	1000 acres	P. Thomson	1200 acres
Eubank	980 acres	McDaniel	1000 acres	R. Thomson	2500 acres
Field	250 & 1000	Murrell	300 & 400	Wheeler	740 acres
Harvey	400 & 2800	Orear	540 acres		

A significant number of these large first generation landholders, who settled antebellum in an area near the environs of Miami, Arrow Rock and Jonesborough (Napton), later migrated to the county seat, Marshall. They often maintained rural and town properties and participated in county seat politics, merchandising and neighborhood development. This is particularly obvious in a study of the town square and the neighborhoods east of the square on the Eastwood, North and Arrow street axes. Of the above names Duggins, Harvey and Murrell demonstrate the case.

In 1838 Thomas Duggins, a native of Louisa County, Virginia, educated, surveyor and a school teacher migrated to Boone County. He secured an interest in a government contract for surveying the Platte purchase. He then moved to Saline county in 1840, entered lands, taught school three years and was elected to county office

as surveyor, which he held for sixteen years running. He built a 1200 acre stock farm, and one son, Dean D. Duggins, became a much beloved attorney in Marshall. The Duggins family owned and developed town subdivision lots and descendants still reside in a late-Victorian house on Arrow Street.

In 1835 Thomas Harvey, a native of Northumberland County, Virginia, made a "prospecting tour" of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. He invested in 400 timber-covered acres of Saline County land, later known as "Harvey's Grove," and in 1836 he returned with his family and entered an additional 2,800 acres of prairie land. Harvey had been a representative in the Virginia legislature and in 1838 in Missouri he was elected to the same political position. In 1840 he held the seat of state senator from Saline, Pettis and Benton counties and in 1843 President Tyler appointed him superintendent of Indian affairs for the western Indians and later, President Polk reappointed him. His sons continued in prominent Saline county roles and descendants resided in Marshall on North Street.

George Murrell was a native of Barren County, Kentucky, whose father was from Albemarle County, Virginia. The elder Murrell successfully exported tobacco from Kentucky to the New Orleans market. George inherited a good estate, traded in mules to Mississippi and Alabama, and came to Lexington, Missouri, on a "prosoecting tour." He temporarily ran a store in Carrollton, but soon bought 300 acres in Saline County to which he added an additional 2,000 acres. He built eight farms, invested in the State Bank of Missouri at St. Louis, the Bank of Missouri at Arrow Rock, and the Saline County Bank in Marshall.

Like many Missourians of southern culture, including Saline's M.M. Marmaduke, who had heavy financial investments in society, Murrell opposed the Confederacy. Following the War Murrell's widespread banking interests shifted to the Wood and Huston Bank in Marshall. The Neo-Classic Murrell house on Eastwood street became a dramatic symbol of the Murrells' success in Saline County.

Saline County immigrants often followed kith and kin to Missouri, who had preceded them by a few years or by a generation or more. In 1852 attorney John Breathitt, grandson of Kentucky governor, John Breathitt, came to the Cooper-Saline county line. He read law and worked hard prior to being admitted to the bar in 1873 in the Saline County Circuit. Three years later, without opposition, he was elected prosecuting attorney. Breathitt undoubtedly would not have come to Saline county if he had not have had connections with local society. These connections included his uncle and aunt, Dr. and Mrs. John Sappington and many cousins in the related Sappington, Marmaduke and Jackson families. (7)

T.C. Rainey, merchant, banker, real estate man and author, represents an immigrant who followed his connections to a nucleus of town builders and promoters in another part of Missouri, but like so many, the Civil War changed his course of life. He, however, after the war, still sought an upwardly mobile society which he found in Saline County.

A group of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had prospered in the late 18th and early 19th centuries in and around Charlestown, South Carolina. Some of them, heirs of General Nathaniel Greene, migrated to middle Tennessee to claim their landed inheritance. From Maury County, Tennessee, during the late 1820s and 1830s

some migrated to Greene County, Missouri. Rainey, whose family background was in Virginia, was born in middle Tennessee and had managed a Whig newspaper in Columbia, Maury County. In 1852 he rode horseback to Springfield, Missouri, seeking friends and connections and settled four miles south of town. Civil War hostilities forced him and his family to flee to safety at Rolla. There he managed a hotel and speculated in the historic stock trade that moved toward St. Louis markets. His wholesale merchandising prompted him to move to the city of St. Louis and eventually through the Northeast and to New York. But in 1865 at war's end he returned to Missouri and arrived at an old established trading entrepot, Arrow Rock. After fourteen years he again saw fresh opportunity in the predictable railroad boom-town of Marshall and in 1879 he located there. Rainey entered a real estate partnership with Jacob Van Dyke, which continued for three decades; he built a handsome suburban Victorian house on Eastwood, was treasurer of Missouri Valley College, and then, in 1901, following property speculations, he removed to Kansas City. Rainey had followed connections, in addition to opportunity and good business. (8)

The Breathitt, Duggins, Harvey, Murrell and Rainey stories typify those who came to Saline County with resources and visions of improvements. Their connections created and helped establish a distinctive county reputation among Missouri's commercial agricultural societies. In the county seat that entity became the nucleus of what I have termed in Chapter VIII as "Marshall: An Articulate Society."

Contrasting with "reputable Boon's Lick settlers," the squatters were always within the county environs during the first several decades of settlement. Squatting was ubiquitous through-

out the South and continued in a few places in southern Missouri until the mid-twentieth century. Traditionally uneducated, squatters left no primary sources of their own, but they were described by others in contemporary accounts. Usually perceived as "another class of people," and as Rev. John Mason Peck wrote, they were derided as the "ignorant, filthy, wretched squatters." Another commentary said, they were "Social misfits, they found depression's answer (of 1819) in the abundance of the frontier and a whole system of existence was unconsciously developed accordingly." (9)

Misfits they were not. Quite the contrary, they were quite well adjusted in their own social and cultural environment. In Peck's observation they were not reacting to the depression of the early 1820s, but they had reacted consciously to the encroachment of society's institutionalized forms of organization and government. As "mainstream society" came nearer to them they simply migrated further into the great American wilderness where they felt few restrictions and enjoyed the absolute freedom of choice and movement. Their "system of existence" was one enjoyed by generations of mobile, hunter-hillman-herdsman types, usually with little or no property, except stock and tools for a marginal, subsistence lifestyle. The family that Peck described fit exactly the description of a great host of these squatters who were always found on the fringes of southern upland and other American frontiers.

The "social misfits" in the Boonslick wore only skins, "saturated with grease, blood and dirt" and did not possess any manufactured textiles. They had left North Carolina and "moved beyond the settlements and had continued to move as the settlements came near them." Although the woman of the house knew of religion, the

children "had never heard a human pray in all their born days..." Squatters did not profess an institutional religion, but were normally unchurched. Over time their avoidance and dislike of institutions and modernity, in general, made them a great evangelical harvest for holiness-pentecostal movements of the early 20th century. In Saline County and in the mainstream of American movement the "squatters era" did not persist long, as towns, capitalism and local government effectively removed squatter lifestyles. The squatters either minimally joined the developing society or retreated further into the hinterlands. In the Missouri uplands they often constituted a critical culture mass but this was less so in lowland areas or counties of widespread and large landowners. In a place like Saline County they may have become tenants, but not just occupants.

Chapter Two: Notes

1. William Foley, A History of Missouri, Volume 1, 1673-1820, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971: 167.
2. Duane Meyer, The Heritage of Missouri, St. Louis: State Publishing Co., 1973: 763
3. Examples include Maury County immigrants to Springfield, Greene County, Iredell and Lincoln Counties, North Carolina, and Green County, Tennessee immigrants to Caledonia, Washington County, and Giles County, Tennessee, immigrants to Barry County.
4. Compilations from Atlas of Saline County, 1876, by author.
5. "James Jamison" in Atlas, 1876.
6. "Pike Thomson" in Atlas, 1876.
7. "John Breathitt" in Atlas, 1876.
8. T.C. Rainey, "Along the Old Trail," Marshall: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1914: 5-8.
9. "A Squatter Family living near Boonville" in Bicentennial Boonslick History, compiled and edited by Lyn McDaniel, Boonslick Historical Society, 1976: 32.

YEOMAN GENTRY AS MISSOURI ENTREPRENEUR:
BOONSLICK PIONEERS CONFRONT THE WILDERNESS

"We want men of enterprise and capital here, though we have more wealth in this County (Saline) agreeable to the number of inhabitants. Our County is in high repute. Our Society is good, though scarce."

Daniel Snoddy, 1833

Some of the Missouri and Mississippi River portions of the state of Missouri still retain in large part dominant southern traits and are referred to occasionally by their political antagonists as Bourbon districts.

Carl Sauer, 1920

By the 1830s Saline County was a "boomers" land for the merchant-capitalist and commercial agriculturalist. William Becknell had accidentally founded the Santa Fe trade by stumbling onto friendly Mexicans while engaged in the Rocky Mountain fur trade. (1) The return of mules and horses and silver contributed to a dynamic regional trade in stock and merchandising. Although Independence became the center of western outfitters, the commercial entrepreneurs of central Missouri continued to participate in western trade throughout the antebellum era.

By 1830 General Thomas Smith at his "Experiment," and others, had conquered the previously unknown prairie. Men were busy building farms, fence, houses, trade networks and families. In 1833 Daniel Snoddy provided an extraordinary window into Saline county.

I think we have the advantage of people in timber. We have great range for cattle stock - here abundantly.. .. there is no scarcity of firewood in this part of the country though tall timber is scarce here (Snoddy was within six miles of the Missouri River). It is not uncommon to haul rails five miles off of vacant land. It is not common for a man to use his own lumber here where it is scarce. We get it principally off of Government land.

I have nearly finished one house which is about fourteen feet square. I intend to have it floored below and above. The logs of this house are principally slippery elm which is wonderful for last....I have got my logs together for a dwelling house. They are seventeen feet long. I expect

to have a stone chimney and shingle roof to it. I expect to winter in the first house mentioned. I have it in contemplation to have brick houses when I get able, as they are the best and cheapest.... Our tenable land is from two to four feet soil of a dark mulatto color, with very fine sand which is not injurious to axes. In hewing we have no dread of stone or gravel to take off the edge(of the axe).

Our land is very productive and as rich as we wish to have it. Tobacco thrives abundantly. Watermelons, pumpkins, planted in the corn thrive vastly. Our land stands wet and dry better than any I ever saw.. . Cotton doesn't do we'll here.. . I have eighty acres of timber and eighty Prairie.. . There is good chance of vacant timber nearer to me than that which I shall use without paying, for it is a practice of the country. There is firewood plenty if I keep off the fire, when the Prairie is burned.

Merchandizing is profitable here. From New Orleans to St. Louis carriage is 75 cents per hundred lbs., the same from there to here, Franklin in Howard County has a steam mill, as does Boonville in Cooper County. They take in as much wheat as can be ground at 50 cents per bushel. They make 75 barrels a day of flour and sell it in New Orleans at \$6.00 per barrel. I expect the price of carriage is one dollar. There is a steam mill now building at Arrow Rock by some young men of ordinary circumstances.

I am in hopes I shall get to my high place, which is called the Pilot Grove, out of reach of ague and fever.... My place is thought to be healthy, out of the way of fogs. (2)

Snoddy's descriptions portray a number of traditions, attitudes and pioneer conditions. The practice of obtaining timber from government lands did not persist long in central Missouri compared to generations who "lived off the king's woods" in Ozarks. Burning the prairie land for grazing and hunting also ended in central Missouri long before it did in the Missouri Ozarks. But Snoddy's house construction was typical of many pioneers: he adopted the traditional "pen method" of building rooms. His first building probably became a detached kitchen, the pen or room of the kitchen was smaller than his dwelling room, his stone chimney and shingle roof was a much more expensive construction than those of board and pole roofs and wattle and daub chimneys. His log house was "up-to-date," and he aspired to a

brick house as "they are the best."

Snoddy was well acquainted with export prices and knowledgeable of the New Orleans market. New Orleans had long been the great agricultural market for Western traders, but it soon had serious competition from Philadelphia and Baltimore on account of Ohio River and St. Louis merchants. Snoddy hinted at limited manufacturing in Saline county, a circumstance that persisted throughout the 19th century. He sought a high, dry habitation, free of malaria and "away from fogs," which was a common blame for malaria. Perhaps he soon patronized Dr. Sappington or one of his agents.

H.L. Brown wrote his mother from Saline County six years later. Brown described his yeoman experience and was confident and optimistic about the future of prairies in Saline County.

...I have a good hewed log kitchen with shingled roof 16 foot square in clear. My dwelling house is the same size raised two logs above the joists which makes a very good room upstairs. I have it pointed with lime mortar though it is not proof against water for when we have rain with a little wind the water comes through the pointing. I have the body of a good size smoke house up of hewed logs, but not covered yet. I have fifty acres of land nearly enclosed and have about thirteen or fourteen acres broken up and planted in corn, watermelons, pumpkins and cornfield peas. I think I will be able to get all of it broken by the first of July if we have good weather... I think Father is better pleased with this prairie country than I expected he would be. I have no hesitation in saying that I can make a farm in the Prairie in one fourth of the time that I could in the timber and there not have a stump or a grub to contend with. (3)

Clearly by 1839 the prairies had yielded to the rush of land-hungry Americans. The prairies no longer were entirely relegated to grazing for stock, but became productive ground for commercial crops. Perhaps in the long run corn became the most important crop, grown to feed the tens of thousands of Boon's Lick livestock.

In 1820 Major Stephen Long had described the common gentry

domicile along the Missouri River.

The dwellings of people who have emigrated from Virginia, or any of the southern states, have usually the form of double cabins, or two distinct houses, each containing a single room, and connected to each other by a roof, the intermediate space, which is often equal in area to one of the cabins, being left open at the sides and having the naked earth for a floor, affords a cool place and airy retreat where the family will usually be found in the heat of the day. The roof is composed of from three to five logs, laid longitudinally and extending from end to end of the building; on these are laid the shingles, four or five feet in length; over these are three or four heavy logs, called weigh poles, secured at their ends by withes, and by their weight supplying the place of nails. (4)

The above house, called a dog-trot or dog-run in folk architecture vocabulary, was, by 1820, a common type throughout the southern uplands. It is simply an extension of the one room "pen" building to create a more commodious and functional structure. They were built in one and two story versions. It was just such a house in two story form that Dr. John Sappington had constructed for his domicile.

James Gaines from Culpepper and Albemarle Counties, Virginia, came to Missouri in 1835 with "wagons, and carry-all, stock, negroes, etc." He settled seven miles north of Arrow Rock and claimed "both cows and bees were to be found in great numbers." In 1841-42 he began his first crops of hemp, but claimed "ordinary farm products" were unsalable, butter even being used for axle grease.

The legendary frontier camp meetings were held in Gaines' neighborhood. Spawned in the Second Great Awakening by Presbyterians and popularized by Methodists, the Methodists, Baptists and Cumberland Presbyterians carried the camp meeting into Missouri. Although Gaines explained that until the early 1850s religious worship was held in private houses in his neighborhood,

the camp meetings south of Arrow Rock on Slough Creek drew large audiences. "It was at one of these gatherings that Senator Thomas H. Benton appeared - to the great discomfiture of the minister on duty - who failed to speak with his accustomed fervor in such an august presence." (5) Benton was a family friend of the Sappingtons and he would be only one in a long line of "presence august" of Missouri's political Democracy who made appearances in the Arrow Rock vicinity.

In 1912 Professor Nicholas Hardeman published "Portrait of a Western Farmer: John Locke Hardeman of Missouri, 1809-1858." (6) It is a seminal essay which described one of the gentry who participated in a genteel society in east Saline County. Hardeman's story illustrated several general themes in antebellum Saline County. The following comments are excerpted from Hardeman's essay.

John Hardeman's family were English, immigrants to Albemarle County, Virginia, and residents in the Nashville Basin by the turn of the 19th century. "Locke's father had been a friend of Andrew Jackson and a benefactor of Thomas Hart Benton." (7) The Hardemans advanced to Howard County in 1816-17. There, five miles above Franklin, the regionally famous "Fruitage Farm" and the experimental "Hardeman's Gardens" were established. Another investment, Hardeman's ferry, operated from Howard County across the Missouri River to Arrow Rock.

Like many sons of the rural commercial class John Locke Hardeman was schooled in a profession - law. He maintained numerous other interests, primarily agriculture, that demanded most of his time, leaving little or no time for "professional" legal work.

A number of the Howard County society moved across the River into Saline. They included the Hardemans, Marmadukes, General T.A. Smiths and others. Locke's brother, Bailey, made a fortune in the Sante Fe trade, but the early death of Locke's father, placed Locke under the guardianship of Sante Fe trader, M.M. Marmaduke. Apparently Hardeman served as a "merchant-apprentice" under Marmaduke and their friendship and business relations grew over the years. When Locke's southern agricultural speculations in Mississippi took him away from Missouri, Marmaduke managed Hardeman's Saline county lands. Hardeman increased his Saline county holdings from 560 acres in 1843 to 1750 in less than a decade. He held another 1000 acres in Howard and Pettis counties.

In 1844 Locke built a substantial frame, two-story, central passage, Greek-Revival house on his estate, named "Lo Mismo." Rare among extant houses of its type in central Missouri is the extraordinarily fine walnut spiral staircase and the interior double-hearth fireplaces of marble that face eight separate rooms.

Locke maintained more than a couple of dozen slaves, and they raised large amounts of hemp and hogs. His mechanical inventiveness produced several agricultural novelties including a hemp cleaner, hemp breaker, a moveable fence, and a hemp cutter or mowing reaper.

In the 1840s Locke helped a Saline County friend serving as a farm manager much as Marmaduke had served for him. For at least seven years Locke managed the hog farm, "Ardmore," while Judge Nathaniel B. Tucker returned to a professorship and dean's position at William and Mary College in Virginia.

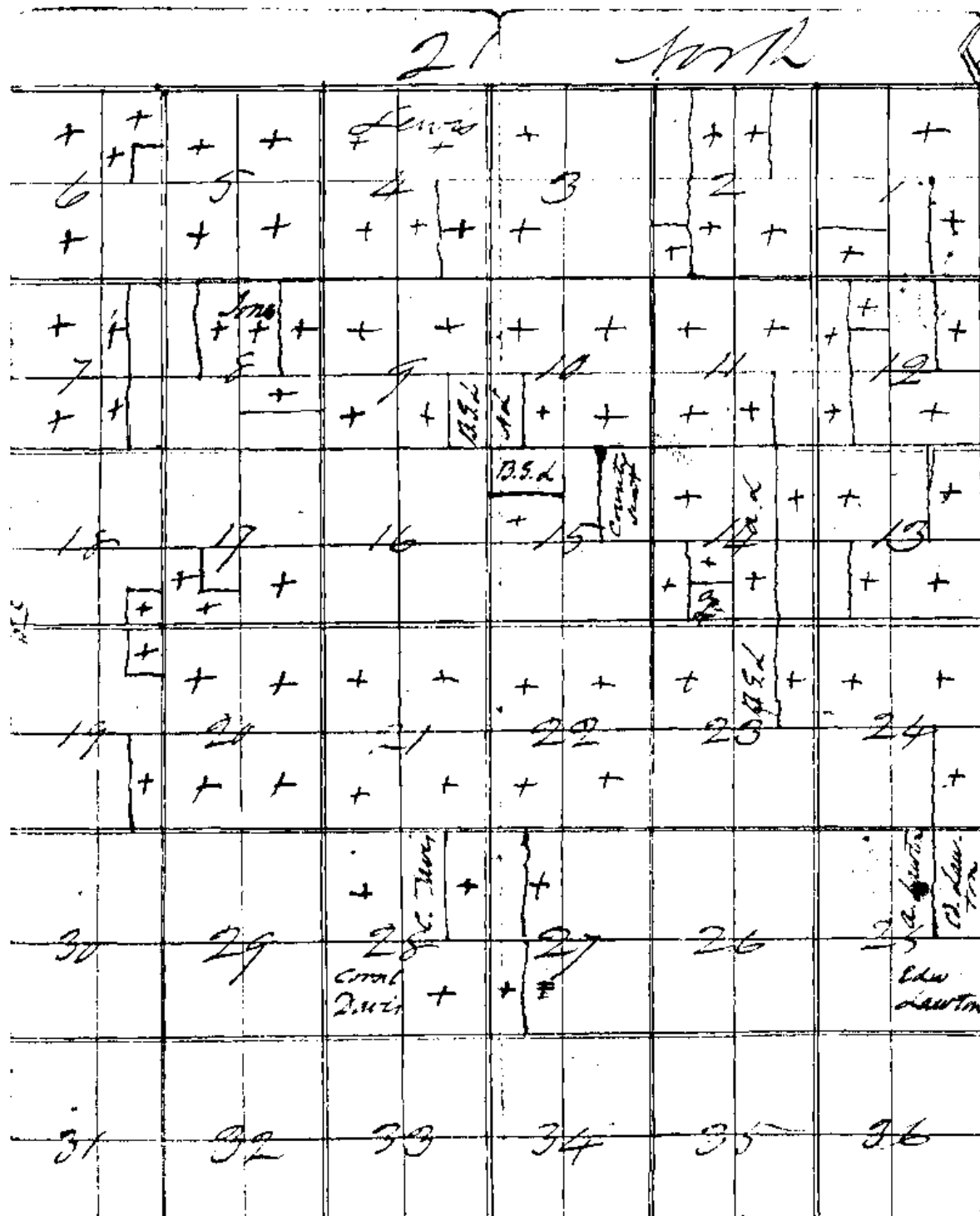
Locke always remained a bachelor, but he financially maintained the interests of his younger siblings. For example, he supported Dr. Glenn Hardeman's medical education. Hardeman

served his community when Governor Sterling Price appointed Locke vice-president of the Missouri State Agricultural Society and he was co-founder of the Saline County Herald newspaper.

John Locke Hardeman's family origins, immigration background, Howard County beginnings in Missouri, mercantile experience, land speculation, a named country seat, and progressive, commercial enterprises all established him as representative of Saline County's rural gentry who promoted a society of improvement. The gentry did not revel in the enjoyment of a pristine wilderness, but eagerly sought to tame the wilderness environment and mold it into a manageable, profitable, and social milieu.

Many in the propertied class invested money in land speculation. General T.A. Smith, while government land office receiver in Howard County, bought large tracts in Saline County and speculated in the abortive Boone County seat of Smithton. John G. Guthrey, native of Cumberland County, Virginia, speculated in land from his broker's house on Wall Street, New York, before coming to Saline County to manage his \$100,000 in real estate holdings. Hardeman and others had more modest investments regionally, but still, they entailed a few thousand acres. County seat promotion at Marshall in 1839 attracted merchant-speculators, C.F. Jackson, M.M. Marmaduke and W.B. Sappington. Sappington even acted as trustee for the Philadelphia merchant firms of Siter, Price and Company and Montelius and Fuller in buying land near the square. Sappington's investments allowed him to donate a lot to the Presbyterian church. (8)

The Leonard family in nearby Howard and Cooper counties were among the heaviest investors in regional and out-of-state land speculation. Notice the land around Marshall and northwest



A speculator in thousands of acres of land, Nathaniel Leonard of Cooper County, used this map to locate unentered tracts. Notice the county seat land of Marshall in section 15.

Abiel Leonard Collection, Joint Manuscripts, UMC

+	+	+	+	+	+
5	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
8	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
17	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
20	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
29	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
32	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
33	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
34	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
35	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+
36	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+

Abiel Leonard Collection, Joint Manuscripts, EMC.

of Marshall on the accompanying two maps that Nathaniel Leonard considered for investment. Leonard instructed the land agent at Fayette, "the tracts marked thus(X) were entered some years since this map was made. Please mark in the same way, so as to show what land is now vacant." (9)

The emergence of a centrally located county seat was a factor of discussion and argument for some years prior to the founding of Marshall. The location of county government near the Missouri River was a logical and necessary act during the formative years of the county. The location moved around the center of commercial activity in east Saline county. Jefferson, Jonesborough and briefly, Arrow Rock, all vied for the benefits to be reaped from a county seat town. In 1833 Daniel Snoddy wrote that he was moving within

six miles of the center of the County, on the south side which is laid off for the County Seat. It is not yet ascertained that it will be at that place; some are trying to get it on the River. I expect it will be a year or two before it will be ascertained where the County Seat will be fixed. (10)

Actually it was six more years before the site of Marshall was officially designated. Jonesborough and Arrow Rock had functioned as sites of small industry, but Arrow Rock in particular was the entrepot for traders and merchants involved in the Sante Fe trade and it was the export depot for commercial agriculturalists. The first road in the county from Arrow Rock to Grand Pass and to Lexington had become firmly established and by the 1830s it served as a post road from Franklin to Fort Osage. (11) The prairie had become increasingly attractive to farmers by the mid 1830s, so perhaps it was only a matter of time when the old eastern focus near the Missouri River would have to yield the location of county government to a central place on a major county road.

Arrow Rock continued to be an entrepot for commercial agriculturalists. It never became "town" for landed gentry in east Saline County, because "society" remained in the countryside, nurtured by plantation culture. The named country seats, each resembling a small hamlet with cabins, stables, barns, cribs, smithy, black and white folks domiciles, all represented a dynamic social stage upon which the yeoman gentry built for the future.

One attempt at locating the county seat northeast of its present location apparently failed for lack of clear land title but the petition is instructive for the potential site qualities desired by town founders.

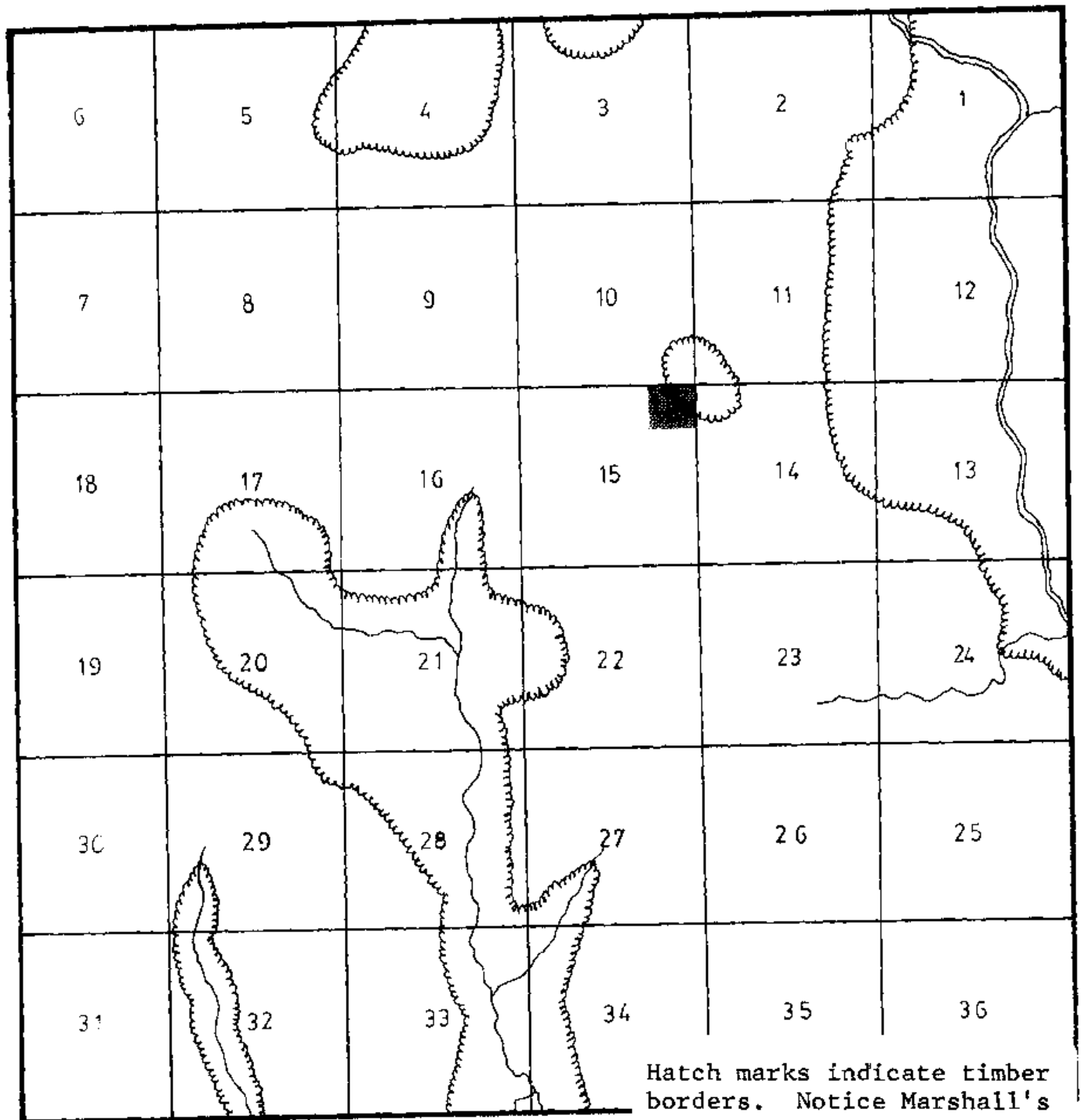
To the honorable County Court of Saline County. The undersigned Citizens of Saline County pray your honorable body to appoint Commissioners to select a county seat on section one in township fifty range twenty one it being in about one mile of geographical center of Saline County on the north side of Salt Fork and within one half mile of the ford across Salt Fork known by the name of Walker's Ford and between the mouths of Rock and Cow creeks.

The above location the undersigned believe will combine as many advantages such as fine woods, stone, coal, rock and water as any other place or point within reasonable distance of the Centre. (12)

Apparently not long afterwards Jeremiah Odell donated sixty-five acres which settled the issue of where to locate county government.

The selection of the Marshall town site was typical for many 19th century town sites in Missouri. Flat, relatively high ground, with drainage away from the center, including a nearby source for local timber, was a much desired locale (see Marshall site map). The Marshall hamlet remained a small trading center among local government services until after the Civil War. Dr. Glenn Hardeman, younger brother to Locke, came to Arrow Rock in 1840 to commence his professional career and in 1848 he moved to Marshall. Harde-

TOWNSHIP 50 NORTH RANGE 21 WEST
August 31, 1858



Hatch marks indicate timber borders. Notice Marshall's convenient location in 1839, close to wood, the Salt Fork River, and prairie.

man described the county seat as "a straggling village of but few inhabitants with prairie grass growing in the streets." Of his practice he said, "We puked, and purged, and blistered a patient in the old orthodox style and I believe with as much success as our modern successors with all their knowledge of microbes, bacteria and other insects." (13)

In 1857 a humorous but serious view of Marshall's antebellum society was written from New York. John McKown, carpenter, machinist, town promoter and construction superintendent for the post-War courthouse, considered re-locating his mother, then a St. Louis resident, to Marshall. A long time family friend cautioned McKown.

Your mother cannot live in Marshall. Its not suited to her taste, age or raising - one who has always been accustomed to good and genteel society (not meaning that there's no such thing in Marshall) where (are found) the abundance of good things, social, intellectual, society and comforts, pastimes and pleasures, the country cannot afford to one of her age, Would kill her outright to wear linsey woolsey, coarse cow hide shoes, go out into the barn yard and pail the cows, clean the fat off the bullock hog and try it out, make candles, soap and play "Rub a Dub" in the wash tub - eat corn bread and hog meat and put up with "common doings" after having so long 'wheat bread and chicken fixings." I say she cannot do it - sleep in a log cabin with the chink all out where the wind, snow, hail and rain come rattling in, shivering cold to sleep on the floor and care with the door while the pigs, hens and chickens and geese all kept up their psalm tunes the live-long night under those puncheons - the howling wolf in the night, he is mournfully calling in piteous notes the hours of the place. (14)

Mrs. McKown stayed in St. Louis.

While Marshall citizens worked out their own destiny during the 1840s and 1850s, the eastern half of the county continued to prosper. The frontiersmen profited by the usual investments in stock, land, lumber and merchandising but an unusual opportunity presented itself in Saline County, perhaps unique in Missouri.

Dr. John Sappington, English descendant and a Maryland

emigrant to Nashville, has been praised as a legendary entrepreneur in Saline County. He and friend, Thomas H. Benton, appointed by the Tennessee legislature, selected the town site of Franklin, south of Nashville. After Benton moved to St. Louis, he influenced the Sappingtons to join him there. (15) Educated in medicine by an apprenticeship to his father, the Philadelphia Medical College, and reading state of the art literature, Sappington became an innovator in the treatment of the "ague or fever," otherwise known as malaria. He experimented on himself and other willing patients until he developed a satisfactory dosage of quinine extract for fevers. (16)

Following a couple of years near Glasgow, Sappington and several of his Howard County friends crossed over to Saline County in 1819, invested in nine tracts of land, accumulating 7,000 acres with his inherited wealth. His vast agricultural empire supported many tenants; whites and blacks got their start in Saline County in Sappington's employ. His exports were shipped to Midwestern regional markets and to New Orleans. As a man of means, he afforded the introduction of one of the first McCormick reapers in Saline County.

By 1835, Sappington, with the help of slaves and family, began to market his home-made quinine pills throughout the Mississippi Valley markets, and into the Sante Fe trade. The success of his venture depended greatly upon the adjunct partnerships formed with family relations. Of particular importance was the generation of great amounts of cash money during relatively short periods of time. This circumstance gave impetus to several family related "fortunes" among the Sappington network. In addition, Sappington hired a number of agents and salesmen from an ambitious

DOCTOR
JOHN SAPPINGTON'S
ANTI FEVER & AGUE
PILLS

For Sale at

Price Reduced

VICKSBURG WHIG—PRINT.

Circular ad for
Sappington's pills.
Marmaduke Papers, Joint
Manuscripts, UMC.

clientele of newly arrived, aspiring Saline Countians, as well as from men of his own acquaintance in the county. The ready cash made by the salesmen, who bundled quinine pills into saddlebags and sold them "on the road" for a year or two, provided the necessary foundation to purchase homesteads in Saline County.

The "John Sappington and Sons" company consisted of his sons William Breathitt and Erasmus Darwin and sons-in-law, M.M. Marmaduke, Glairborne Jackson, William Price and Alonzo Pearson. In 1844 following the publication of Sappington's controversial book, Theory and Treatment of Fevers, the single family partnership dissolved and four new ones were created: William and Erasmus, Marmaduke and Becknell, William Price and Clairborne Jackson, and Eliza Sappington's, "Doctor George Bradford and Pearson's Children Company. "

Retailers and merchants who sold the pills received from 10 - 33 1/3% commission. The doctor's agents were hired for \$20-25 per month with all expenses paid by Dr. Sappington. Among his agents who rode throughout the country were William Wood, co-founder of Wood and Huston Bank, and Judge George Rhodes, county J.P. for 14 years and Saline county court judge.

The Sappington pill industry represented a unique phenomena in the Boonslick. Although there was a milling industry on Salt Fork during the 1820s and local agriculture, the Sappington enterprise had the most widespread markets and it represented the first county manufacturing interest that functioned in national markets.

Proper business arrangements were uppermost in antebellum Saline County minds just as they are today. The slave-owning society had many contractual arrangements for the selling and

renting of slaves and their labor. In 1846 Daniel Snoddy contracted for two females and one male slave from Osbert Miller. The accompanying document from the period is often the only record for minimum genealogical and family history among the black community. As was common custom the blacks often took the surname of white owners. Of course, the black Snoddy family is one of Saline County's oldest black families.

Just prior to the official commencement of Civil War hostilities, neighbors James Gaines and Edward Walsh contracted for a vineyard enterprise. Several details had to be worked out to suit both parties. Gaines leased to Walsh, for a period of ten years, $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres (two of which were already set in grape vines) to be cultivated as a vineyard. Gaines agreed to furnish one-half of the labor for cultivation, pay for one-third of all necessary expenses, and furnish the timber "to make sticks or frames for the grapevines to run on." Walsh agreed to manage the vineyard and to annually set out one acre of new vines. He agreed to furnish one-half of all labor and pay two-thirds of the expenses. Walsh agreed to fabricate the sticks or frames and to consult with Gaines on the "best mode of management." Walsh committed one-half of the annual profit to Gaines in grapes, wine or money while also agreeing to pay for any abuse of the vineyard. Gaines agreed to freely furnish the grape slips in order to plant the expanding vineyard. Expenses incurred in the erection of a wine press would be born equally. (17)

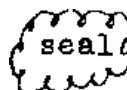
Whether the War interrupted this arrangement or not we do not know. However, propriety in business, "good society," gardens, and pleasant surroundings received much attention from the builders of rural, antebellum Saline County.

Know all men by these presents that I Osbert Miller of the County Saline State of Missouri, for & in consideration of the sum of ~~Six~~ Hundred Dollars to me in hand pass by the Daniel Snoddy of the County & State aforesaid, at and before the sealing and delivery of the presents. (The receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge) have bargained, sold, granted & confirmed, and by these presents do grant & bargain sell & confirm to the said Daniel Snoddy a certain female negro slave named Darky and a female negro child named Eveline also a male negro boy named Stuart. To have and to hold the said female negro slaves and their future increase and the said male negro boy to the only proper use & behoof of the said Daniel Snoddy, his executors, administrators & assigns forever. And the said Osbert Miller, for myself, my executors and administrators, the said female negro slaves, with their future increase, and the said male negro boy, to the said Daniel Snoddy executors, administrators and assigns, against me the said Osbert Miller my executors, administrators and assigns and against all and every other person & persons whatsoever, shall & will warrant and forever defend, by these presents. I the said Osbert Miller do further warrant the said negro slaves to be sound in both body and mind

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand & seal this Eighth day of April in the year Eighteen Hundred and Forty Six Sealed & delivered & possession delivered in presence of

J. H. Irvin

Osbert Miller



Chapter Three: Notes

1. Paul Nagel, Missouri, Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977: 59.
2. Daniel Snoddy Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
3. H.I. Brown letter, May 25, 1839, Missouri Historical Society fragment, given to author by James Denny, Office of Historic Preservation.
4. Quoted in Francis A. Sampson, "Glimpses of Old Missouri By Explorers and Travelers," Missouri Historical Review, October, 1973: 92.
5. James Gaines Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
6. Nicholas Hardeman, "Portrait of a Western Farmer: John Locke Hardeman of Missouri, 1809-1858," MHR, April, 1972: 319-334.
7. Charles Van Ravenswaay, "Arrow Rock, Missouri," Missouri Historical Society Bulletin 15: 212
8. Marshali Town Plat Book A, Land Entries, Spring, 1839, and Lot 16 of Hawpe's Addition abstract, Van Dyke Abstract Company.
9. Abiel Leonard Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
10. Daniel Snoddy Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
11. Van Ravenswaay, "Arrow Rock, Missouri," Bulletin 15: 206.
12. County seat petition, c. 1838-39, Marmaduke Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
13. T.C. Rainey, "Trails," p. 89-90.
14. Joshua Bradley to John McKown, March 14, 1857, McKown Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
15. Drs. Thomas Hall Jr. and III, "Dr. John Sappington of Saline County, Missouri, 1776-1856," Arrow Rock: Friends of Arrow Rock, 1975: 24.
16. A large part of the Sappington discussion is based upon an excellent unpublished paper by Nancy Counts Sneed, "John Sappington: Frontier Doctor," Department of History, Southwest Missouri State University, May 22, 1969.
17. Indenture lease and contract in James Gaines Papers, Joint Collection, UMC.

MERCHANTS AND STOCKMEN

The merchant or trader is always found in their midst, taking root among them....familiar with every transaction in his neighborhood. He is the counselor without license... and thither all resort, at least once a week both for goods and for intelligence.

Luke Shortfield, The Western Merchant, 1849

Nineteenth-century midwestern civilization was obviously geared to the strength and limitations of horse-drawn transportation. The horse accounted for the carriage sheds and barns in residential sections, for livery and feed barns, for stockyards, harness shops, and blacksmith shops, for the many small carriage factories in country towns, for hitch racks, town pumps, and watering troughs. Cemeteries and schools were laid out with horse-drawn transportation in mind. The horse played a major part in determining trade areas, and his potentialities helped determine nineteenth-century recreational patterns.

Louis Atherton, "The Horse is King," 1964

It was not accidental that Louis Atherton chose the Arrow Rock-Lexington environs as a major source area for an interpretation of his seminal work, The Frontier Merchant in Mid-America. The early name, New Philadelphia, symbolized Arrow Rock's mercantile connections with that Eastern city. Where else, but in the legendary Arrow Rock, would John B. Jones, aspiring man of letters, locate and establish a lucrative mercantile in order to finance his aspirations as an author? By 1840 Arrow Rock trade was booming and the enormous profits from Saline County's hemp exports were on the horizon. John Beauchamp Jones, styled Luke Shortfield in western literature, recorded western trading scenes as he observed them at Arrow Rock and his own distinctive presence added to the cultivated east Saline County society. The men wrote about who established the county's "high repute" had been termed in 1817 by E.P. Fordham, "true farmers and the enterprising men from Kentucky and the Atlantic states who found towns and instituted the means for trade, speculated in land, and laid the basis for

the fabric of society." (1) Thus knowledge was one of the most important resources of this pioneer generation in Saline County. Atherton continued in an appraisal of the storekeepers,

When all these services by the mercantile class are summed up - the building of towns, wholesaling and retailing, banking, the development of a market for farm crops, the promotion of agriculture, and the start of manufacturing - they attain great significance. They were the services necessary for the West to pass from a self-sufficient economy to inter-dependent economic specialization. Without them an advanced economic order was impossible; with them the West rapidly emerged from the pioneer stage. (2)

It was these circumstances which Atherton pointed out that made the "mainstream of Missouri," i.e. the Missouri River Valley, pass relatively quickly from a subsistence lifestyle into an area which thrived in the Commercial Revolution. Arrow Rock and the Boon's Lick environs profited from a strong regional economy dependent upon its hinterlands and connections with national markets.

The merchant's participation in the cosmopolitan world established him as a bearer of culture, style, innovation and trust. The antebellum merchant who sold Eastern goods on Western markets became a travelled man and by necessity educated in manners, dress, diplomacy and letters. By the time Kentucky and Tennessee merchants reached the Boon's Lick they were already acquainted with wholesalers in the East and markets in New Orleans.

Atherton described the role of E.D. Sappington at Jonesboro and how he represented the merchant-capitalist on the frontier. As Philadelphia assumed great importance as a wholesaling base for frontier merchants, Sappington and others made annual and seasonal buying trips there to purchase their stocks of goods. The variety of manufactured products was extensive. Sappington, as a prosperous merchant, bought supplies and filled orders for other

merchants in Saline County. By stretching his own buying power, Sappington dealt with more Eastern merchants and diversified his own purchases to an extent that would not have been possible had he bought for his store alone. The larger merchants, like Sappington, were also apprised of exchange rates on Eastern cities by New Orleans traders. Knowledge of price lists and profitable exchanges were communications that kept the larger merchants in control of advantageous deals that escaped the smaller merchant. (3)

The prevalence of Whig political persuasions among Saline Countians may be accounted for in part by their associations with a dynamic mercantile class. Atherton's study of several dozen merchants, whose politics could be determined, showed 70% to be Whig. In Saline County there were numerous old line Whigs, who like others, joined the Democracy in the 1850s. (4) These Whigs often had roots among the Virginia and Eastern states' propertied classes and merchant-capitalist society. They were increasingly appalled at the Jacksonians' role in the American decision-making process. In many ways the Whig-Jacksonian debates represented sectional Eastern thought compared to Western philosophy. George Bingham, among others in Saline County, championed Whig philosophy. A notable exception to Whigism among the planter class was Dr. John Sappington, who by family connections with the Benton-Jackson alliance, maintained a life-long support of Jacksonian Democracy.

During the 1840s Whigs held the "advantage of the majority of the voters of the county. Compilations of Whig majorities in Saline County follow:

Harrison and Tyler
Van Buren and Johnson

375
322
—
53

Clay and Frelinghuysen	591
Polk and Dallas	<u>446</u>
	145

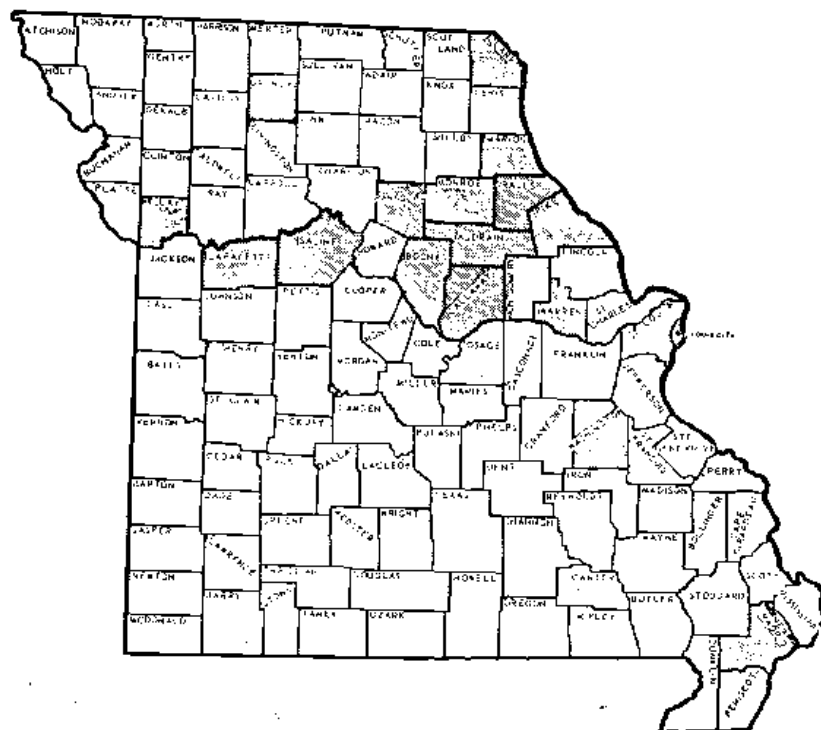
Scott and Graham	514
Pierce and King	<u>443</u>
	71

Unfortunately for Saline County Whigs, their local victories met with state defeats. During the 1850s the national party fell to pieces, but aged Whig veterans long proclaimed their adherence to "old line Whigism" years following the Civil War. (5)

The Santa Fe trade brought together several economic trends in Boone's Lick. Southern cotton, manufactured into textile products by Northern capitalists, became a principal export from the Eastern wholesalers to the Santa Fe trade. The return of furs, stock and specie enlivened not only a regional but state-wide Missouri trade that had consequences extending East and South. The mule trade alone founded an everlasting symbol for the state. Furs continued to stimulate the St. Louis markets, and the specie was welcomed hard money in a state without a bank from 1822-1837. (6)

While Senator Benton lobbied Congress for the need of federal protection along the Santa Fe trail, the trading caravans, guarding investors' property, largely evolved into para-military expeditions. The trade through the 1820s was cyclical and risky, but the founding of Arrow Rock in 1829 came as the trading hub in the Boone's Lick shifted from flooded Franklin to Arrow Rock. The merchant-capitalists had gained requisite experience for safer trips west. William Becknall, famed as the trade's founder, became a two-term legislator from Saline County and a partner in one of the "Sappington pill companies." (7) Whereas Franklin had been the economic and cultural center of the Boone's Lick,

THE WHIG PARTY IN MISSOURI



COUNTY ORGANIZATION OF WHIG PARTY*

COUNTY	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS	
	DATE OF COUNTY ORGANIZATION	IN WHICH COUNTY YIELDED WHIG MAJORITIES
Andrain	1836	1844-1852
Bates	1841	1848
Boone	1820	1836-1852
Callaway	1820	1840-1852
Cape Girardeau	1812	
Chariton	1820	
Clark	1836	1840-1852
Clay	1822	1811-1852
Clinton	1833	1848
Cole	1820	
Crawford	1828	

*Shaded areas are predominantly Whig counties.

COUNTY	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS	
	DATE OF COUNTY ORGANIZATION	IN WHICH COUNTY YIELDED WHIG MAJORITIES
Franklin	1818	
Gasconade	1820	
Grundy	1841	1848-1852
Henry	1834	1848-1852
Howard	1816	1844
Jackson	1826	
Jasper	1841	1852
Jefferson	1818	
Lafayette	1820	1840-1852
Lincoln	1818	
Marion	1826	1836-1852
Monroe	1831	1840-1852
Montgomery	1818	1836-1852
New Madrid	1812	1840-1852
Pemiscot	1851	1852
Perry	1820	
Pike	1818	1844-1852
Rails	1820	1840-1852
Randolph	1829	1840-1848
Ray	1820	
Saint Charles	1812	1836-1840
Sainte Genevieve	1812	
Saint Francois	1821	1844-1848
Saint Louis	1812	1836-1848
Saline	1820	1840-1852
Schuyler	1845	1848
Scott	1821	
Shelby	1835	1844
Warren	1833	1844-1852
Washington	1813	1844-1852
Wayne	1818	

Saline County's Whig majorities came in 1840 through 1852.

Mering, The Whig Party in Missouri, 1967: appendix.

its dispersion following the 1825 flood caused its society to locate throughout the region. Many eventually wound up in Arrow Rock where that town "best characterized the strong upper South tradition under the leadership of the gentry class." (8)

Diversified plantation agriculture in east Saline County, exported its products at Arrow Rock until the Civil War. Receipts from the Marmaduke papers typified major trading items of the antebellum era. In 1856 M.M. Marmaduke imported from the St. Louis Agricultural Warehouse and Seed store, a thresher and separator, and a rake while exporting casks of bacon and sacks of wheat through merchant, Will Wood.

Although brisk merchandising continued at Arrow Rock, manufacturing did not. Boone's Lick industry developed in Howard and Cooper counties, including most of the slaughterhouses required for the eastward moving swine products. The lack of manufacturing interests in the planter-rancher society of east Saline County prohibited the growth of a wage-earning population. One exception was Bingham's mill. The Bingham family were skilled in carpentry and constructed several buildings in the region. By 1860 the "Bingham mill was equipped to make scrollwork, sash and molding, and to plane, mortise and tenon wood." (9) Several of the area's successful planters also had some background in the building trades.

From the earliest accounts about Saline County came testimonies of its luxuriant grasslands that supported a large stock industry. The Missouri Gazette in 1818 advertised "to Emigrants wishing to settle at Boon's Lick,"

Gentlemen, be assured that you can purchase corn fed pork and beef, much cheaper at Boon's Lick than in any other part of this territory, and more than enough to furnish double the number that will settle in that part of the country this season. (10)

12 Casks
Rec'd Arrow Rock mth June
56 of M^m Marmaduke for
Elve Casks Bacon for
Shipments (Hoops off some
of the Casks) Will Wood

Rec'd Arrow Rock June 7th 1866
of C^m M^m Marmaduke fifty
five Sack Wheat

Will Wood
by C. M. Sutherland

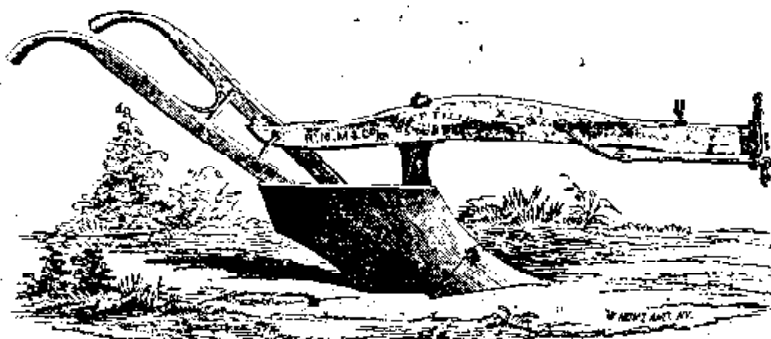
Bacon and wheat agricultural
exports from M.M.Marmaduke
to Will Wood at Arrow Rock.

Marmaduke Papers, Joint
Manuscripts, UMC

ST. LOUIS AGRICULTURAL WAREHOUSE AND SEED STORE,

No. 14 MAIN, BETWEEN MARKET AND CHESTNUT STS.

SIGN OF THE



GILT PLOW.



Terms—Cash, Unless special agreement is made otherwise.

All claims for allowance must be made within 10 days from receipt of goods.

N. B.—The Consignee will, in all cases where property is not delivered in good order, collect their damages from the carrier at the time of delivery.

St. Louis, April 24 1856

M. M. Marmaduke

Bought of WM. M. PLANT & CO.

1 Iron Horse & Road Power mth

Dis for mth

Drayage

1 No 2 Reversing Horse Rake

2 1855 Reversing Horse Rake

5.00 105.00

1.00

5.00

20.00 20.00

Rec'd. Cash
Wm M Plant & Co
W. M. Plant

St. Louis was 'the city' for antebellum Saline Countians who wished to purchase manufactured goods. Marmaduke Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC

DIRECTIONS FOR USING
WILLIAM R. KELSEY'S
ALTERATIVE
BEE-HIVE.

Patented May 9, 1846,

FIRST.—To have a swarm of Bees: Place a piece of tin or zinc over the holes in the top of the middle box to prevent the bees from going into the top one, draw out the zinc bottom, and hive as in old fashioned hives.

SECOND.—Stand the hive on stone, brick or zinc, near the ground, which will create moisture sufficient to prevent the bee moth from hatching.

THIRD.—After the bees have gone to work, place in zinc bottom through the cleets so as to form an inclined plane for the bees to go in on.

FOURTH.—After the bees have filled the middle box and commenced in the bottom one, draw out the top box, raise the other boxes by the slides and put the empty box in the vacant space at the bottom.

FIFTH.—If the hive should be likely to get full before the bees are done breeding young swarms for the season take a top box from another hive of the same dimensions, and place the top box with the young swarm in it into the vacant space of the new hive; then place the empty box from the new hive into the bottom space of the other, which will enable the old swarm to continue at work. Repeat this as often as young swarms can be spared until about the 1st of August, after which time boxes of honey can be taken away from the top and emptied and put in the lower space.

SIXTH.—Be careful to leave plenty of honey in the hive through the winter, as what remains can all be taken away in the spring immediately after the bees have commenced work, and the honey can be kept better in the hive than anywhere else.

SEVENTH.—In the fall shut up the hive by the zinc plate at the bottom to protect the bees from mice, &c., when put in cellars. The sheet of zinc can also be thus used when necessary to remove the hive or to prevent the neighboring swarms from robbing it. When removing boxes of honey or placing swarms in other hives, the sheet of zinc placed between the drawer to be removed and the one below, the zinc being drawn out with the drawer keeps the bees in it, and under entire control.

BINGHAM & MCGILTON,
Manufacturers, Arrow Rock, Mo.

"Observer" Print-Boonville, Mo

Josephine Lawrence
Papers, Marshall

By the mid-1830s Alphonso Wetmore, Santa Fe trader and author, described the Petite Osage Plains as covered with "native strawberry and large herds of cattle, horses and mules there and other Saline prairies." (11) During the 1840s an agricultural boom overtook the county. Corn, wheat, oats, hay, cattle and sheep production doubled while swine increased twelve times! Concurrently the hemp industry, created a veritable "hemp culture" from 1840-1860. Regional warehouses were established at Arrow Rock, Glasgow, Rocheport and Lexington and ropewalks prospered at Rocheport, Miami and Glasgow. (12) Hemp thrived and remained strong until the Civil War.

In 1849 the California trade especially inflated Missouri prices for cattle, horses, mules, oxen and milk cows. These commodities were driven West for significant profits. Saline County hogs were killed, cut in halves, salted down and taken by wagons to California. The 1850s was generally a boom decade throughout Missouri and the West. By 1860 only two other states exceeded Missouri's corn production (Illinois and Ohio) which was largely fed to livestock. Saline was one of five leading counties in Missouri as the Boone's Lick maintained a regional lead in corn production (Lafayette, Boone, Cooper and Platte were the other four). In the production of swine Missouri led all except Illinois and Indiana with Boone County first and Saline County second in the state. The Civil War decimated stock and fields throughout the state, but incredibly, the 1870 value of farm products in Saline County exceeded the 1860 figure! This increase came without any railroad transportation except in the extreme southwest corner of the county. (13)

David March pointed out that the "Kentucky influence in

arousing interest in the improvement of cattle and horses" in Missouri was considerable. (14) In Saline County this fact can be amply demonstrated. During the 1840s the county achieved the replacement of "scrub cattle" with "graded cattle". In 1843 Kentucky imports of Durham cattle reached the county, followed later by other Shorthorns. From St. Louis Col. O'Fallon, Missouri's largest owner of Durhams, sent a bull and two cows to his Saline County friend, General Thomas A. Smith, proprietor of the "Experiment." Near the same time Col. Thompson Gaines of Kentucky, brought Durhams to the farm of his brother-in-law, General William Miller. And General James Shelby of Fayette County, Kentucky, imported a Durham bull from England and sent **it** to his son Richard P. Shelby. These were important beginnings in Saline's cattle industry and **it** would seem that by this time General T.A. Smith had more than proved his point at the "Experiment" that military men could flourish as a planter-rancher. (15)

In the midst of the planter-rancher's domain stood fencing that had a regional character. In 1837 Wetmore observed "several modes of ditching and hedging. **It** was the custom to preserve and cherish with care the clumps of brush and even the patches of hazel." Rail fences and board fences were added to the "natural fencing," but on the prairies Osage-orange fencing became a model fence. Barbed wire began to be used in the 1880s and by the turn of the century Osage-orange hedges were being replaced with wire. (16)

Saline County stockraisers took advantage of a regional market, but they also fed into state and national marketing. Paul Gates wrote,

The cattle ranchers and drovers who flourished in Indiana

and Illinois in the forties, fifties, and sixties and in Iowa and Missouri a little later dominated great areas of the prairies for a time. They built upon them investments by shrewdly buying the surplus stock of neighbors, fattening them on the prairie bluestem with the addition of a little grain, and then driving them to Chicago, Indianapolis, or the East, wherever they could get favorable prices. Later they brought in cattle from Missouri and Texas. (17)

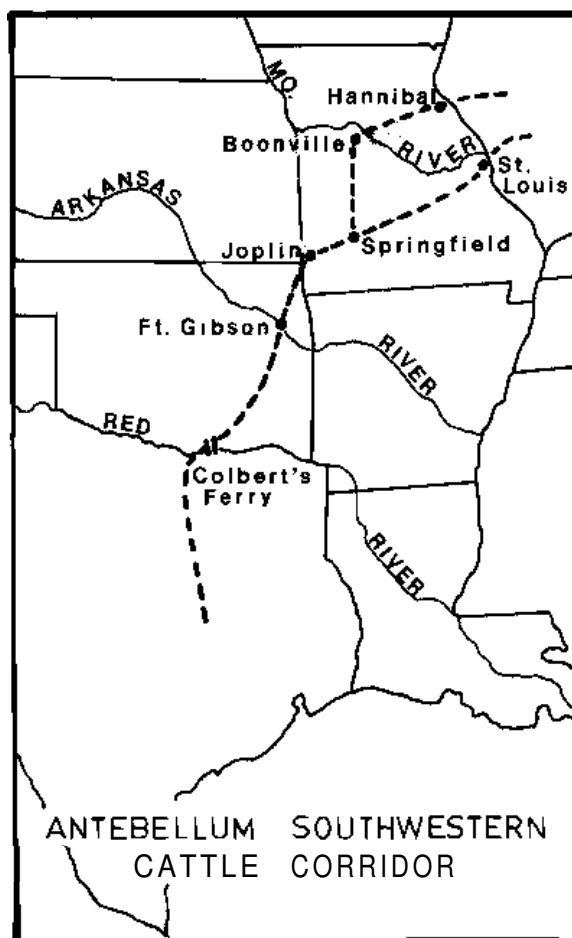
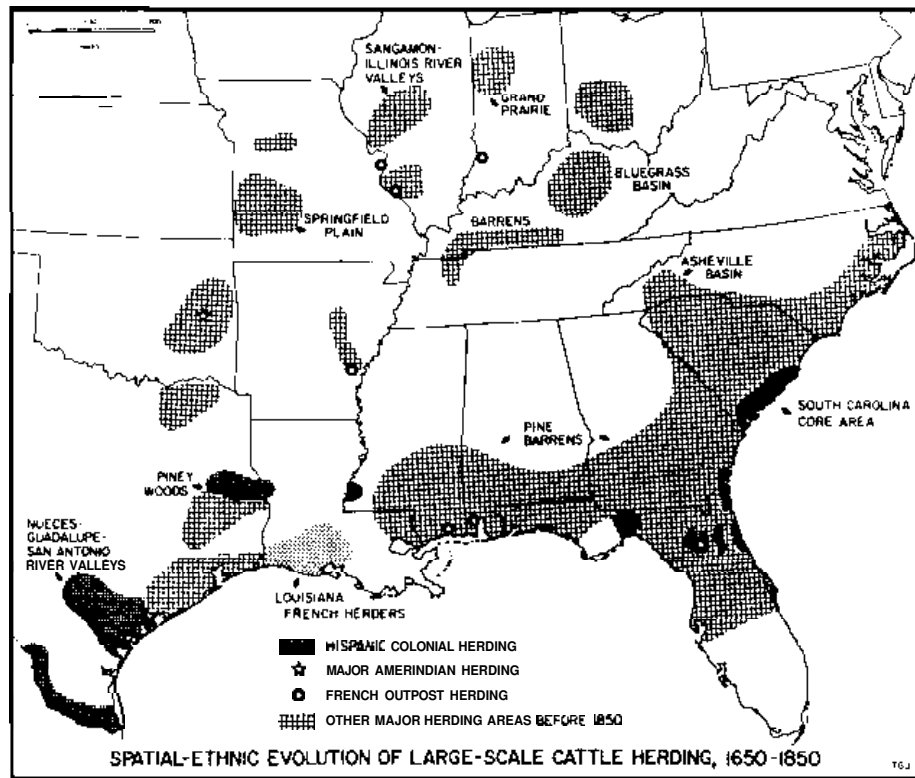
This scenario developed in Missouri long before the time Gates described. By 1819 Ozarks cattle and horses were exported to the Red River country and to Kentucky. Cattle drives from Kentucky traversed the Boon's Lick trail for sale in the Boon's Lick settlements. (18) Throughout the antebellum era and beyond scrub cattle were picked up in Southwest Missouri and driven north to lucrative markets in St. Louis. By 1830 some of this trade from Southwest Missouri headed for the Boone's Lick.

Simultaneously with developments in Indiana and Illinois came the use of open-range cattle raising in parts of Missouri. From a pre-1820 base in the Missouri River Valley between Boonville and Lexington, including the Boonslick country and the Peteatsau (Petitsault) Plains (Saline County), cattlemen from the Ohio Valley moved south to establish a cattle industry in the western part of the Ozark Plateau and adjacent prairie plains westward to the Kansas border. The Springfield Plain, as early as 1832, was major cattle-herding area. Boonville retained its original importance and became a center for slaughterhouses serving the western Ozark counties. (19)

Throughout Missouri cattle grazed on the prairies and wintered on the river and creek bottoms, feeding on native cane that made valleys like the Osage so attractive to stockmen.

During the 1830s

herds of half-wild Texas mustangs were being driven north for sale on the Missouri market.... In eastern Texas there was a superabundance of Longhorn cattle. New Orleans was the only market, small and easily glutted. Though the way was long, the prospect of driving their surplus cattle up through the nations to Missouri and finding a better market appealed to the Texans. As yet, there was no railroad west of the Mississippi and wouldn't be for another fifteen years, but St. Louis had rail connection with the East and was shipping livestock. (20)



Several new slaughterhouses opened in St. Louis during the 1840s to accomodate this growing trade from the southwest.

A stimulus to the Boone's Lick and Springfield Plain cattle trade had been the establishment of the "permanent Indian frontier" with its associated military forts and numerous reservations. Purchasing agents at the forts contracted with stockmen for herds to satisfy treaty arrangements and military consumption. Ft. Gibson became a market for Southwest Missouri as senior officer Nathan Boone, a reputable neighbor among the planter-ranchers of the Grand and Kickapoo prairies in Greene County, apparently provided a meeting ground for cattlemen and purchasing agents. Similarly Boone's Lick stockmen competed at Ft. Leavenworth.

A review of Terry Jordon's antebellum cattle-herding map is instructive for the obvious network that tied East Texas, Southwest Missouri and the Boone's Lick to eastern markets. Until c. 1850 Saline County stockraisers drove herds east to any number of regional markets. Presumably the further east that the drovers travelled, the higher the return for the herd. The Vanmeter family in Saline County followed these markets. Abel Vanmeter, native of Hardy County, Virginia, invested in land near Miami during the 1830s and "became the most extensive cattle dealer in northwestern Missouri." (an exaggeration, but perhaps true for Saline County). He fed cattle for market, which he found by driving his cattle to St. Louis and other cities, there being no Missouri railroads. At one time he drove 1600 heads of cattle and a large number of sheep to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a remarkable feat. (21)

Indeed, this cattle drive was an extraordinary feat in distance and numbers. According to Jordan, cattle drives of the

period normally averaged a couple of hundred miles and about 400 head. But Vanmeter was a participant in a long tradition of cattle drives throughout the upland south. He obviously was well acquainted with the networks, familiar to his family in Virginia, that attracted him and others to the Philadelphia market.. Soon after the Civil War his brother, D.P. Vanmeter, made an astute observation that southern commercial cattlemen capitalized upon throughout the remainder of the 19th century and well into the 20th. He wrote, "I want to know if Texas cattle (and Ozark cattle) will suit as well as oxen as the cattle we buy at home.. ..They can be bought very cheap in the south, if they will suit, for I think there is money in them, more than in any other cattle." (22)

Clifford Carpenter listed several examples of the antebellum southwestern cattle trade that involved western and central Missouri. Between 1849 and 1860 Kansas City and Independence as well as St. Louis had developed as centers for the cattle driven from Texas. By 1858 one newspaper estimated that two-thirds of the stock that reached Kansas City from Texas. In 1853, Illinoisian, Tom Candy Pointing, utilized the old trade routes and the Ozarks "great interior highway" 1-44 corridor when he went to Texas, bought an 800 head herd, came back through Springfield to Union, Missouri, and fattened the herd on Illinois corn and sold them to New York City markets. Southern cattle continued north into Missouri, crossing the Missouri River at Kansas City, Independence, Lexington, Rocheport and especially Boonville on their way to the northeast. (23) Although the Civil War interrupted the growing southwestern cattle trade into central Missouri, the war years allowed tens of thousands of head to build up in

relatively peaceful Texas. Following the War the trade resumed on a much larger scale, but entrepots for Texas cattle soon developed west of central Missouri. However the Boonslick's great corn production and developing feeder industry continued to attract the importation of cattle from the hinterlands and the exportation of fattened cattle fed into national markets.

By the end of the 20th century Saline county had experienced many decades of expanding commercial agriculture. The 1905 Soil Survey reported that the "highest-priced agricultural land in Missouri is on the Petesau Plains." Less than one-tenth of Saline's feeder cattle were being raised in the county with imports coming from ranches in the Great Plains and the Ozarks. Of the six and one-half million bushels of Saline county corn produced in 1899 all but 5% was fed locally to some 30,000 cattle. Only two other Missouri counties exceeded Saline's livestock valuation. The corn-growing, stock-feeding county alternated its corn and wheat ground. By the mid-twentieth century cattle figures doubled again. (24)

Missouri and Saline County cattlemen maintained high quality breeds in central and northwestern Missouri throughout the late 19th century. In 1880 Missouri ranked 2nd behind Texas in number of cattle and by 1884 ranked 3rd behind Texas and Iowa in valuation of the cattle trade. (25) In Saline County the brothers Leonard, William H. and Abiel, sons of famed stockman, Nathaniel Leonard, of Cooper County, built a model shorthorn ranch, named Waveland, on 1800 acres of inherited land. In the 1870s the Leonard~, schooled at Dartmouth, returned to Missouri to begin their cattle ranch and developed a herd "of inestimable advantage to Saline County, as their stock is of the purest blood in the United States." (26)

At the beginning of the county's railroad era, c. 1880,

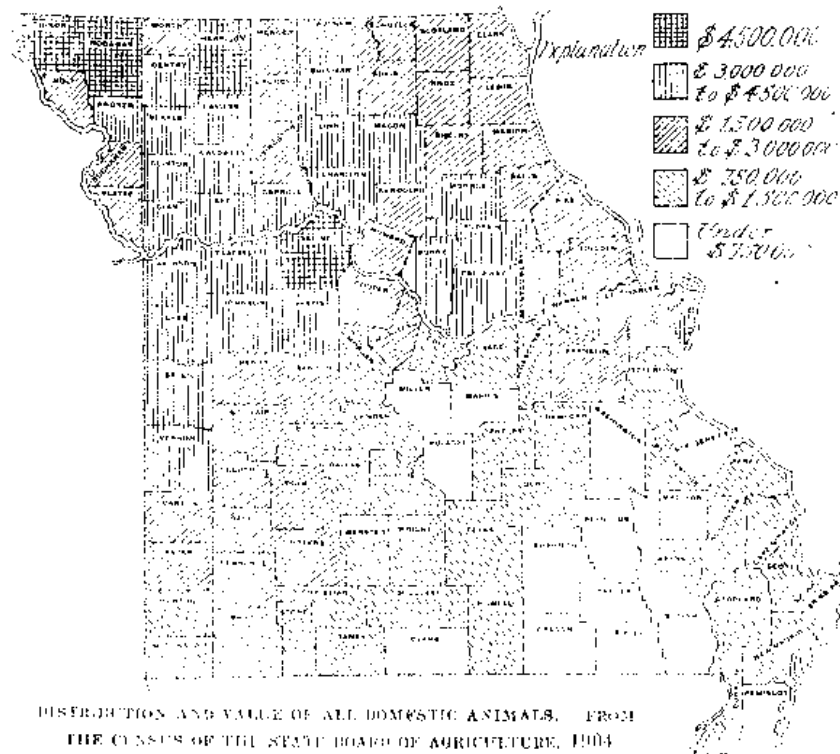
Waveland was

laid off in 100 and 200 acre fields securely fenced with fifteen miles of hedge and barbed wire and further improved with ample and convenient houses, stables, yards, corrals, and fifty acres of thrifty young orchard and for all the uses of husbandry, is one of the most valuable farms west of the Mississippi. Upwards of 1500 acres of this princely estate are finely stocked with blue grass, clover and timothy.... They usually graze and feed from 200 to 300 prize steers and from 500 to 800 Berkshires ... but the chief attraction of the estate is the "Waveland Herd" of thoroughbred short-horns, embracing 100 animals ... all from the famous "Ravenswood" herd at Bellair, Mo., ... and popularly known as the "Prize Ring Herd" The Waveland herd is led by Third Royal of Ravenswood ... He has gotten 125 calves The brothers Leonard come of a family whose achievements in breeding are matters of national fame (27)

The continuity of blooded strains, maintained by regional stockmen, proved crucial in perpetuating quality herds. Stockmen like the Leonards often diversified their business and maintained town and country properties. Abiel Leonard also practice law and dealt in real estate on the Marshall square and lived in a fine Queen Anne house east of the square. (28)

In Saline County breeders like the Leonards and others allowed Missouri stockmen to fare well in stock fairs throughout the country and in international competition. By 1904 one-fifth of all the registered Herefords in America were owned in Missouri. The legacy of the Kentucky breeders of horseflesh who came to central Missouri resulted in two of the four national purchasing stations for government horses to be located in Missouri. When the British army sent agents to America to buy mules for the Boer War, they established their distributing center north of Kansas City at Lathrop. (29)

The general context for Missouri's historic mule industry has been written by G.K. Renner. Commercial-from the very start,



At the turn of the century in Missouri, Saline County held a prominent position of leadership in the value of domestic animals.

Williams, State of Missouri, 1904: 97.

mule breeding had its origins in the Santa Fe trade and among the ever important Kentucky and Tennessee stockmen. Saline County, always an integral component of central Missouri economics, was near the center of jack stock breeding in neighboring Boone and Cooper counties. Nathaniel Leonard, important in Saline County's shorthorn herds, also spearheaded the region's mule trade. The accompanying map indicates how the industry developed along the Missouri River corridor of counties. A compilation of Mule-Raising Counties in 1900 demonstrated that Saline County emerged as something of a center of trade during the 20th century. (23)

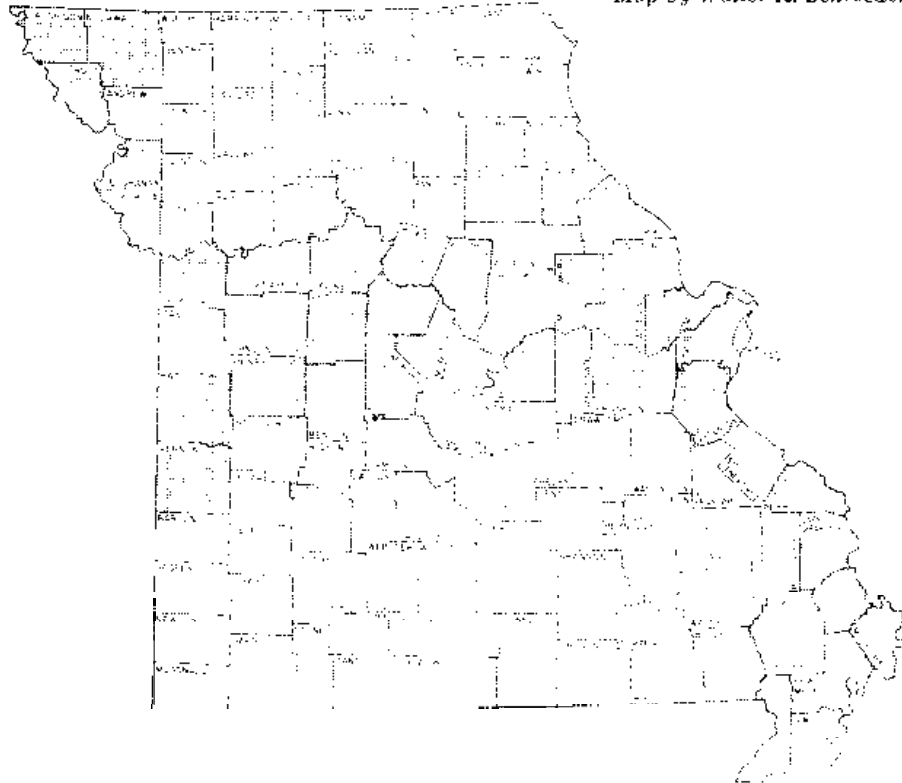
The traditions of stockmen, whether that of scrub or b'looded cattle, is long and widespread in Missouri. Saline County is a prime example and presents a model case study for pride, industry and excellence in many facets of the stock trade whether cattle, swine, horses, mules or sheep. The stock trade has been a major foundation of culture, family and regional economies, and a promoter of Missouri farm development for over 160 years.

Ten Largest Mule-Raising Counties in Missouri in 1900³⁹

County	Total Number of Mules— All Ages	Mules Under Two Years of Age
Saline	6,718	1,761
Callaway	6,314	2,439
Boone	5,465	2,082
Carroll	5,227	1,924
Lafayette	5,189	1,581
Cooper	4,950	1,377
Monroe	4,915	2,190
Chariton	4,638	2,227
Audrain	4,743	1,741
Johnson	4,648	1,894

Missouri Counties with 2,500 or More Mules in the Year 1900

Map by Walter A. Schroeder



In 1900 Saline County led Missouri in the total number of mules as the county was located in the heart of Missouri's mule industry.

Chapter Four: Notes

1. Lewis Atherton, The Frontier Merchant in Mid-America, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971: 15.
2. Ibid., p. 25.
3. Atherton, Frontier Merchant, ad passim.
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5. History of Saline County, St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1881: 235, 237, and 257.
6. F.F. Stephens, "Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade," MHR, July, 1916: 233-262 and October, 1916: 289-312.
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8. Stuart Voss, "Town Growth in Central Missouri, 1815-1880," MHR 64: 216.
9. Marshall Democrat, February 15, 1860, quoted in Van Ravenswaay, "Arrow Rock," Bulletin 15: 219.
10. History of Saline County, 1967: 388.
11. Alphonso Wetmore, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, St. Louis: C. Keemle, Publisher, 1837: 217.
12. March, History of Missouri, p. 635.
13. M. Earl Carr and H.L. Belden, Soil Survey of Saline County, Missouri, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1905: 7, William B. Napton, Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri, Indianapolis and Chicago: B.F. Bowen and Co., 1910: 130 and March, History of Missouri, New York and West Palm Beach: Lewis Historical Co., 1967: 628 and 631.
14. March, Missouri, p. 641.
15. Napton, Saline County, p. 131.
16. Wetmore, Gazetteer of Missouri, p. 215, Handbook of Saline County, Missouri, Chicago: C.S. Burch Publishing Co., 1889: 7, and Soil Survey, 1905: 26.
17. Paul Gates, Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier, Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1973: 315.
18. Jonas Viles, "Old Franklin: A Frontier Town of the Twenties," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 9: 275.
19. Terry Jordan, Trails to Texas, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1981: 55.

- Harry Drago, Great American Cattle Trails, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1965: 28. North of the Missouri River the cattle trade was also brisk. In 1834 newspapers reported thousands of cattle, mules, and horses had been ferried across the Mississippi River at Clarksville headed for eastern and southern markets. See Clifford Carpenter, "The Early Cattle Industry in Missouri," MHR 47: 201-202.
21. Jean Tyree Hamilton, "Abel J. Vanmeter, His Park and His Diary," pamphlet reprint from Missouri Historical Society Bulletin, October, 1971.
 22. Ibid., p. 37.
 23. Carpenter, "Cattle Industry in Missouri," MHR 47: 203-204.
 24. Soil Survey, 1905: 24-27.
 25. Carpenter, "Cattle Industry." p. 214-215.
 26. "William H. and A. Leonard, in "History of Saline Count.", 1881: 666.
 27. Other prominent stock breeders of the 1880s included Beemer, Glover, Graves, Haggin, Richart, Hawkins, Sparks, Thompson, Lail, Brown, Cordell, Stewart and Woodbridge. See Handbook of Saline County, 1889: 11.
 29. Walter Williams, The State of Missouri, Columbia: E.W. Stephens Press, 1904: 107, and 119-120.

A TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE IN SALINE COUNTY

Keep in good cheer for as you say the darkest hour is just before the day and I think it is dark enough now to be near day.

B.F. Lazear, October 17, 1864

The Civil War in Saline County as elsewhere interrupted the usual economic endeavors, modified lifestyles and forever changed the history of the Nation. The county suffered bush-wacker and guerilla activities, burnings and murder, and decimation of buildings, fields and stock. In Saline, the eastern part of the county perhaps suffered the most due to its strong southern sympathy and support of neighbor, C.F. Jackson in the 1860 election. Arrow Rock, Glasgow, Fayette and Rocheport tended to see more destruction than Boonslick towns east and south of them. The large slaveholding landowners of eastern Saline County, Howard County, and western Boone County reaped enormous losses during the "brotherly conflict." (1) Although Arrow Rock's population at the War's beginning was 1,000 it quickly dwindled to less than one-third its size with 15 years following the War.

The one pitched encounter of North and South in the county that has led to some significance as a Civil War event was the Marshall battle. James Goodrich explained,

On September 22, 1863, Confederate Colonel Jo Shelby and his 2,500 troops left Arkansas and began a raid that took them to Neosho, Sarcxie, Humansville, Warsaw, Cole Camp and Tipton. Shelby's forces arrived at Booneville on October 11. With Union forces attempting to surround him Shelby removed to Marshall, where his troops fought for five hours before managing to escape the Union dragnet. (2)

Some local unrest continued until the last Southern fever-pitch of War erupted in Missouri with the fall, 1864 raids of General Sterling Price. A Union report from "Headquarters in

CP 227

Office of Commissary of Exemptions,

Saline County, Mo.

Marshall April 12 1864.

J. H. Ruffman, a Citizen of New York Township,
County, is hereby declared exempt from Militia service for the year 1864, by reason of
Paying the Commutation fee \$30.00

James R. Fulkerson
Commissary of Exemptions for Saline Co.

State—Our Copy to Commanding officer of 71st Regiment.

Some men avoided military
service by paying a fee.

Saline County Records,
Joint Manuscripts, UMC

the Field," September 13, 1864, shed some light on the local Saline County situation.

There has been a reign of terror existing in Lafayette and Saline Counties but (at) this time happily it exists among Bushwackers, their friends, and sympathizers and it was caused simply by they being made to understand that they were held responsible for the conduct of the Guerillas toward Union men and that if Union men could not stay in this country that Rebels could not there was a house plundered in Marshall which was occupied by one Mrs. Shendon, a notorious rebel, and known rebel headquarters for that town. Soon after the arrival of a part of my command under Major Mullins at Marshall, while the command was camped some distance from the town, straggling soldiers were told by some women and negroes that there was a large Rebel flag in that house and that it was waved from that house during the time that the Guerillas were engaged in burning robbing and murdering in Marshall! They went into the house to search for the flag - this frightened the women so they left and did not return for several days and in the meantime the negroes plundered and carried off most of her clothing and other things

As to the meager results reported of the stopping of the murdering, burning and plundering of Union men in Saline County in the short space of ten days; (they) are meager results. I am willing to rest under that censure particularly when I know that I have the heartfelt thanks of Genuine Union men of Saline County ... There are some men living in the country recognized as Union by some; but they are all on some kind of terms or compromise with guerillas or their friends to get to stay at home and do not rely upon the federal authority for protection. (3)

This report is sure witness to the innumerable local fronts of Civil War. Neighbors, friends, slaves, and others all had to make the best deal possible on the local level to insure their own survival. Late in 1864 Col. B.F. Lazear wrote that his company "had to live off the country and that is a poor living for a large body of troops", but with some optimism he wrote his wife,

keep in good cheer for as you say the darkest hour is just before day and I think it is dark enough now to be near day. (4)

Fortunately for Lazear and the country, he was right.

Many Missouri counties before and after the War had experiences with vigilante groups of diverse descriptions. Saline County's

Honest Men's League, sometimes led by deputy sheriff F.M. Sappington, organized for the protection of local property rights and the curtailment of criminal activities. David Vanmeter wrote that defeated Confederates "...came back without any money or clothes and they are riding about doing nothing." A few months later in November, 1865, Vanmeter commented to his brother Abel about the rather quick return to normality in Saline County,

Times are very good here now. At present some little stealing, a horse missing once in awhile. The Civil law is in force again and I think every thing will work out pretty well again. I rented your brick house to a Bush Whacker for one year and 80 acres of land for \$2.50 an acre. (5)

Resumption of local government and local trade was crucial in post-War economics. Considering the guerrilla activity in Saline County and its Southern orientation, both government and trade seem to have returned at a rapid rate. County records remained intact as citizens had hidden them from the marauding Union and Confederate troops that had occupied the courthouse. In 1865 county government mobilized to resume the collection of delinquent taxes for the War-torn years (see circular). Marshall promoter, John McKown, wasted no time in trying to advertise the virtues of Saline County to prospective immigrants. By September, 1865, McKown had orchestrated the organization of a branch office of an emigrant aid real estate company in Marshall (see attached). By winter the plans had been laid for the construction of a new \$30,000 courthouse in Marshall. John McKown was chosen as the building superintendent. (6)

ADVERTISEMENT

TO

TAX-PAYERS!

It is ordered by the County Court, of Saline Co., that the Tax-payers, of said county, meet the collector at Marshall on or before the _____ day of _____ and pay all State and county taxes, due for the years, 1861 1862 1863 and 1864.

This order is made in pursuance of an act passed by the last Legislature of this State and parties failing to comply with the same, will become liable for ten per cent., damages with other costs of collection. Persons unable to appear in person, can get their neighbors to pay for them.

The war interrupted county government and by 1865 the county, like individuals, began rebuilding.
Saline County Records,
Joint Manuscripts, UMC

B. H. HAWPE, Coll. Saline co.

Particular attention given to
SALE OF MISSOURI LANDS,
 PAYMENT OF TAXES for NON-RESIDENTS.
 Collecting Notes, Accounts. Bills of Ex-
 change, and the Investment of Money
 for other parties.

Emigrant Aid, Real Estate and Collecting Agency.

ALLEN P. RICHARDSON & CO.,

No. 57 North Fourth Street.

St. Louis, Mo., Sept 16th 1865

John D. McKown Esq }
 Marshall, Saline Co Mo }

Sir

Your communication of the 7th instant was received this morning and contents noted.

We have concluded to accept your proposition for a branch office in Saline County.

We forward you a Special Contract in duplicate which we enter into with all our branch offices.

If the conditions contained therein suit you please sign them retain a copy yourself and forward us the other.

You will see that they are ~~8~~ + our ~~Mr. A~~ , on in presence of a witness please sign the receipt also attached.

Upon the receipt at our office of the Contract signed by you - we will send you full instructions as to details. We send you one of our catalogues.

Respectfully
 Allen P. Richardson & Co
 Johnson

When the war ended, town and county promoter, John McKown, realized that new immigrants would increase county prosperity.

McKown Papers,
 Joint Manuscripts, UMC

Chapter Five: Notes

1. Voss, "Town Growth," MHR 64: 337-338 and 346-347.
2. James Goodrich, "The Civil War Letters of Bethiah Pyatt McKown," MHR, April, 1973: 359, n. 29.
3. Bazel Lazear Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
4. Ibid., October 17, 1864.
5. Meyer, Missouri, p. 507-508, and Hamilton, "Vanmeter," p. 33 and 37.
6. Saline County Court document dated, February 9, 1866, John McKown Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.

FROM ARROW ROCK TO MARSHALL: THE NEW
CENTER AND THE NEW ORDER OF RECONSTRUCTION

The patrician with his broad acres and retinue of servants has yielded these grand old hemp fields to the "horny handed" democrats who grow grain, beef and bacon to feed and wool to clothe the millions The change from the old order to the new is as beneficent as it is democratic. Twenty years of the new order have given the grandest sanction to mixed farming.

Saline County, Missouri from the
Industrial World, Chicago, 1882.

By the mid-1830s families had located near modern Marshall. The small hamlet seemed not to exceed some 200-250 population prior to the Civil War. Although there was county agitation for a railroad during the 1850s voters were unsure of the benefits to be derived from the new transportation. Rather than lack of county support for a railroad, one author claimed it was a combination of Southern sympathies in Saline County, repugnant to Northern investors, and strong Unionist sentiment at Sedalia and George R. Smith's promotion, that caused the extension of the Pacific Railroad from Jefferson City to go through Pettis County. (1)

With the War years behind them, by 1866 Saline County had quickly settled down to business. Miami, Arrow Rock, Napton and Marshall areas had suffered significant war disruptions in their local societies and were about to enter an era of prosperous, rural agriculture that would exceed its antebellum prosperity. The old hemp culture was now a bygone era as cereal crops and stock production claimed leadership among county enterprises. Bluegrass, white clover, timothy and Hungarian seed was sown across hemp plantations that had formerly grossed \$1½ million collectively for Saline hemp farmers. Late in the century as national markets, via railroads, came within the reach of county farmers,

corn acreages of 100,000 plus were challenged by wheat acreages of 70-80,000. Annual county stock totals of 30,000 cattle and 30,000 swine became common. (2)

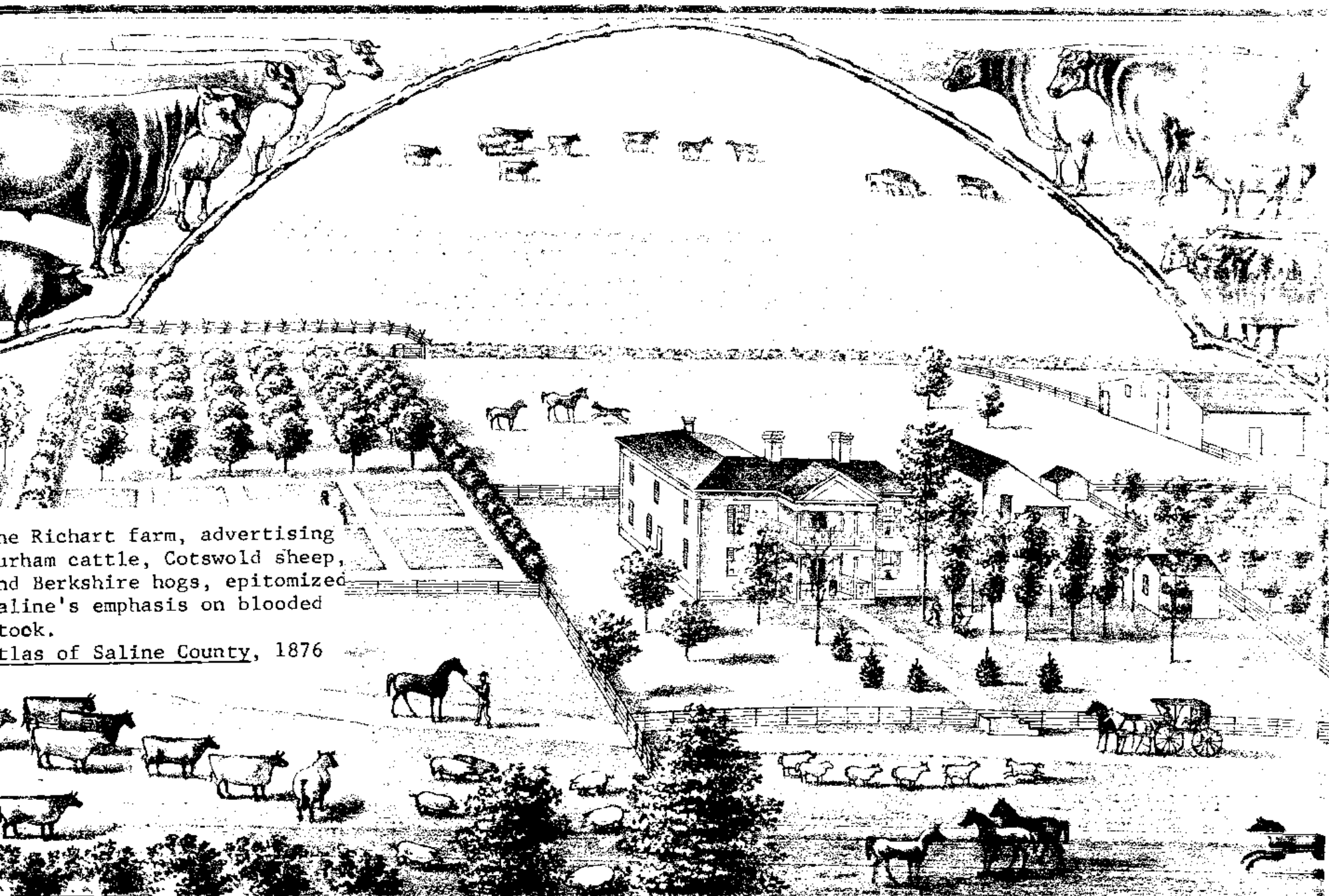
Arrow Rock never attracted a railroad; Marshall did. The commercial center of the county moved from the east to the county's center; and coming with the move were many east county families that had been prosperous in the Arrow Rock and Miami vicinities.

T.C. Rainey reflected upon the great changes that he witnessed during this period of Saline County history. He concluded that "the old Missouri was passing out; the new was at the threshold..." Indeed a new agricultural horizon was eminent. Rainey credited the vision of the Wood and Huston merchants in Arrow Rock for being crucial innovators and men of vision.

After consulting their farmer friends, it was decided by partners to buy and introduce implements necessary for the growing and harvesting of wheat, and for cultivating corn on a large scale, preparatory to the feeding of beef cattle and hogs. To do this successfully required an extensive use of the firm's credit, which was based mainly on its business skill and integrity, backed by the well-known fertility of Saline soil, and the solvency of the farmers who owned it. The firm did not hesitate, but bought the new-fangled tools, and the farmers began to wrestle with them... (3)

Fortunately Wood had escaped Civil War hostilities in St. Louis and Huston weathered the conflict in Canada. When they returned to Arrow Rock they resumed a credit business based upon reputation and the recovery of their gold that had been buried nearby. In 1873 Wood and Huston organized their bank in Marshall. They continued their business acumen and public spirit by capitalizing several major bond issues for the construction of Marshall public buildings.

The county's population had grown steadily for fifty years and the lack of antebellum manufacturing interests in the county



the Richart farm, advertising
Durham cattle, Cotswold sheep,
and Berkshire hogs, epitomized
Saline's emphasis on blooded
stock.

Atlas of Saline County, 1876

Bird's Eye view on the 543 Acre Stock Farm of R.E. RICHART, Sec. 3, T. 49, R. 20. 8 miles S.E. of MARSHALL, Saline Co. Mo.
DURHAM CATTLE, COTSWOLD SHEEP & BERKSHIRE HOGS. FOR SALE AT REASONABLE PRICES.

persisted after the War.

1821	1176	
1830	2873	
1840	5258	
1850	8843	
1860	14699	
1870	21672	(3754 black)

Only with the Chicago and Alton railroad extension to Marshall in 1879 did the situation improve. County merchandising-at Marshall had greatly improved by 1874 as the town doubled the number of its antebellum commercial establishments to 45 stores, three banks and two hotels. Marshall hosted monthly stock exchange sales. Cattle imported from Colorado, Texas and the Ozarks were increasing in numbers. (4)

The post-War farms, like most pre-War farms, cultivated diverse agricultural products. Corn, wheat and hay was cultivated on almost 346,000 acres. Tobacco, a symbol of southern agriculture, reached its zenith in county production in the 1870s as a "specialized crop," even then the acreage involved was only 633. By 1880 the Miami vicinity, an old center of livestock grazing, had attracted significant agricultural investments. The Petite Osage Plains society held the county's most valuable land and was the center of the county's nineteen farms of 1000 acres or more. (5)

The legacy of Kentucky blooded stock and the culture associated with superior horseflesh flourished in post-War Saline County. Participation in the blooded animal markets demanded significant financial resources. Thoroughbred stallions, trotters and brood mares all had to have appropriate pedigrees, documented and published in the buyers and sellers market. Possession of horses with proper pedigrees was one symbol of high status. By the 1880s Marshall had become the county center for wagon and carriage manu-

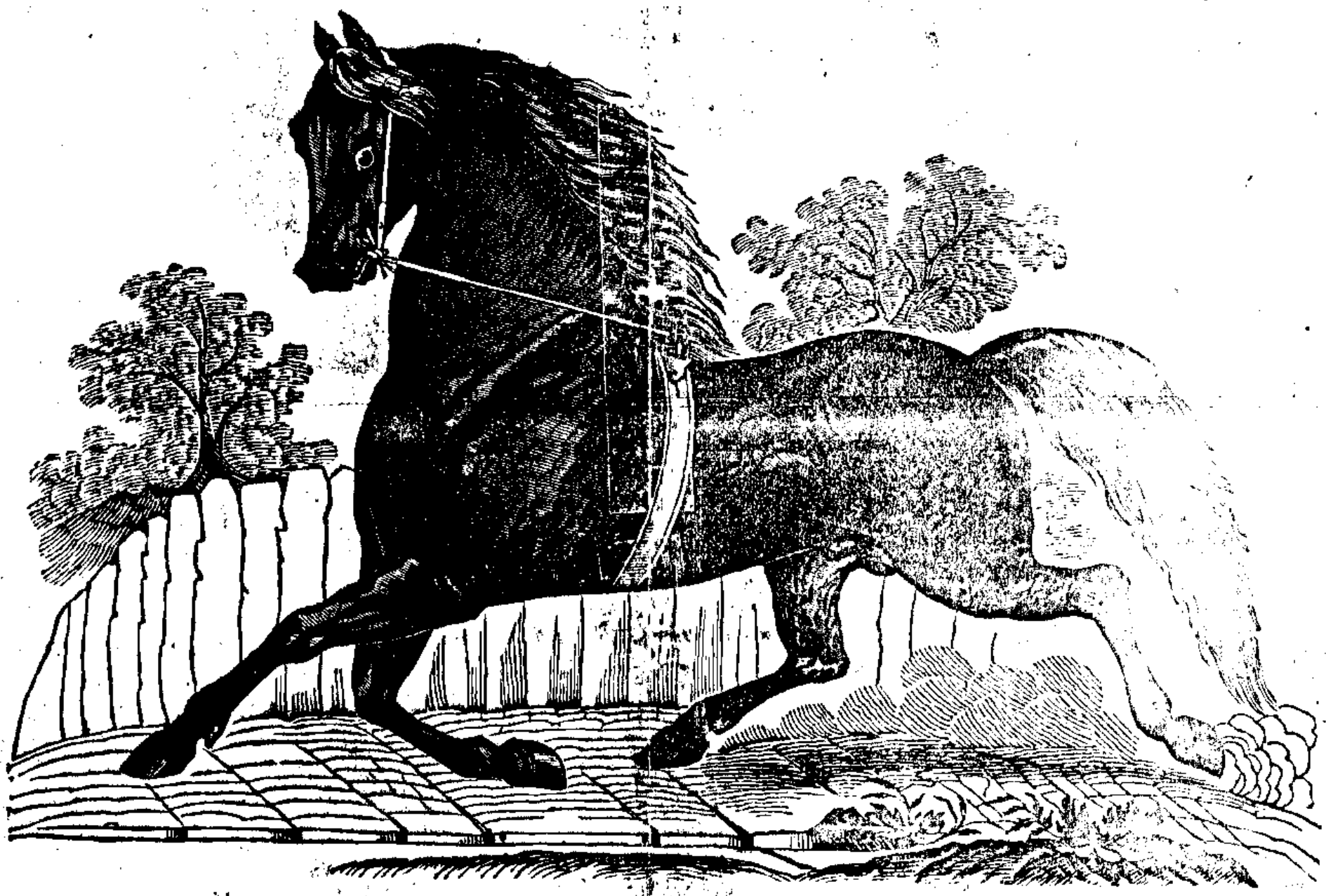
facture and livery and sale barns which provided meeting places for craftsmen, breeder and looker to admire all the trappings of stylish transportation.

Some of the stockmen, of course, became leaders in county fairs and agricultural exhibitions. They also developed a pattern, now over a century old, of owning a town house and/or business in Marshall while managing a farm out in the county. One such person was George B. Blanchard. The Blanchards had migrated from England to Virginia to Ohio and then Missouri. George, the eldest child in his family, reared in Marion County, Missouri and educated at Central Methodist in Fayette, Missouri, came to Saline County in 1865. After farming 280 acres for fourteen years in 1879 he began a lumber business near the Chicago and Alton depot in Marshall. He invested in county land, town houses and lots, and Hambeltonian and Mambrino thoroughbreds. By the 1890s he had accumulated nearly one hundred blooded horses, and thoroughbred cattle as well. He too, took a turn as Director in the County Fair Association. (6)

The village of Marshall almost quadrupled in population from 1865-1870 (c. 250-924). In another six years in 1876 the town doubled in size to 1800. In 1860 Marshall boasted only a half-dozen stores, but several carpenters, painters, and a stone and block mason were active in the town. By the Nation's Centennial year a multitude of products throughout the county were being exported toward Glasgow, Boonville and Sweet Springs. A selected list of salable commodities follows,

- sacks of wheat, oats, rye, corn, hemp seed, and empty sacks
- bales of hemp and broom corn
- barrels of flour, tallow, apples, cider, potatoes, and empty oil barrels
- boxes of dressed poultry, furs, tobacco, peaches

WINFIELD



THIS THOROUGH-BRED STALLION

WILL MAKE THE PRESENT SEASON AT MY STABLES, NEAR FAIRVILLE, SALINE COUNTY, MO., AND WILL BE LET TO MARES AT \$10 THE SINGLE LEAP, \$15 FOR THE SEASON, AND \$20 TO INSURE FOAL. DISPOSING OF THE MARE WILL FORFEIT THE INSURANCE MONEY. SEASON TO COMMENCE ON THE FOURTH OF APRIL AND END ON THE FOURTH OF JULY.

DESCRIPTION.

WINFIELD is a dark chestnut color, full sixteen and a half hands high, without any white. He is a horse of noble carriage, fine action, with a back and loins unsurpassed by any horse, combining great beauty and symmetry of form. His pure pedigree recommend him to racers and to those wanting good saddle horses, while his size and great strength of muscle eminently fit him for farming purposes.

PEDIGREE.

WINFIELD was by Flying Cloud, who was by imported Margrave; his dam Hunkamunka, the prize mare of 1853, by Priam; his grand-dam by Sir Alfred; his g. grand-dam by Sir Harry; his g. g. grand-dam Haxall's mare, Pomona, by Worthy, (own brother to Waxey, by Potros); his g. g. g. grand-dam Comedy, by Buzzard; his g. g. g. g. grand-dam Hunkamunka, by High Flyer, (the dam of many capital racers); his g. g. g. g. g. grand-dam Cypher, by Squirrel; his g. g. g. g. g. g. grand-dam by Regulus, the dam of many capital racers; his g. g. g. g. g. g. g. grand-dam by Bartlett's Childers, Honeywood's Arabian, dam of the Two Blues; Regulus was got by the Godolphin Arabian.

WINFIELD'S dam Fanny Peyton, by Balie Peyton; Balie Peyton by Andrew, the best son of Sir Charles, his dam by Eclipse; grand-dam by imported Emancipation; great grand-dam by Johnson's old Sir Charles; g. g. grand-dam Mary Archer, the dam of Sallie Jeter, a splendid racer, who at five heats beat Garth's celebrated Morgiana and six others, for the Handy Cap Purse, over the Rocky Mount Course, Franklin county, Va. Her owner, Mr. Thomas Hale, after the race, was offered and refused \$1,000 for her, and afterwards offered \$500 for her own sister, by Sir Charles. It will thus be seen that WINFIELD combines as much or more of the old Sir Charles' stock as any other horse now living.

P. A. BROWN.

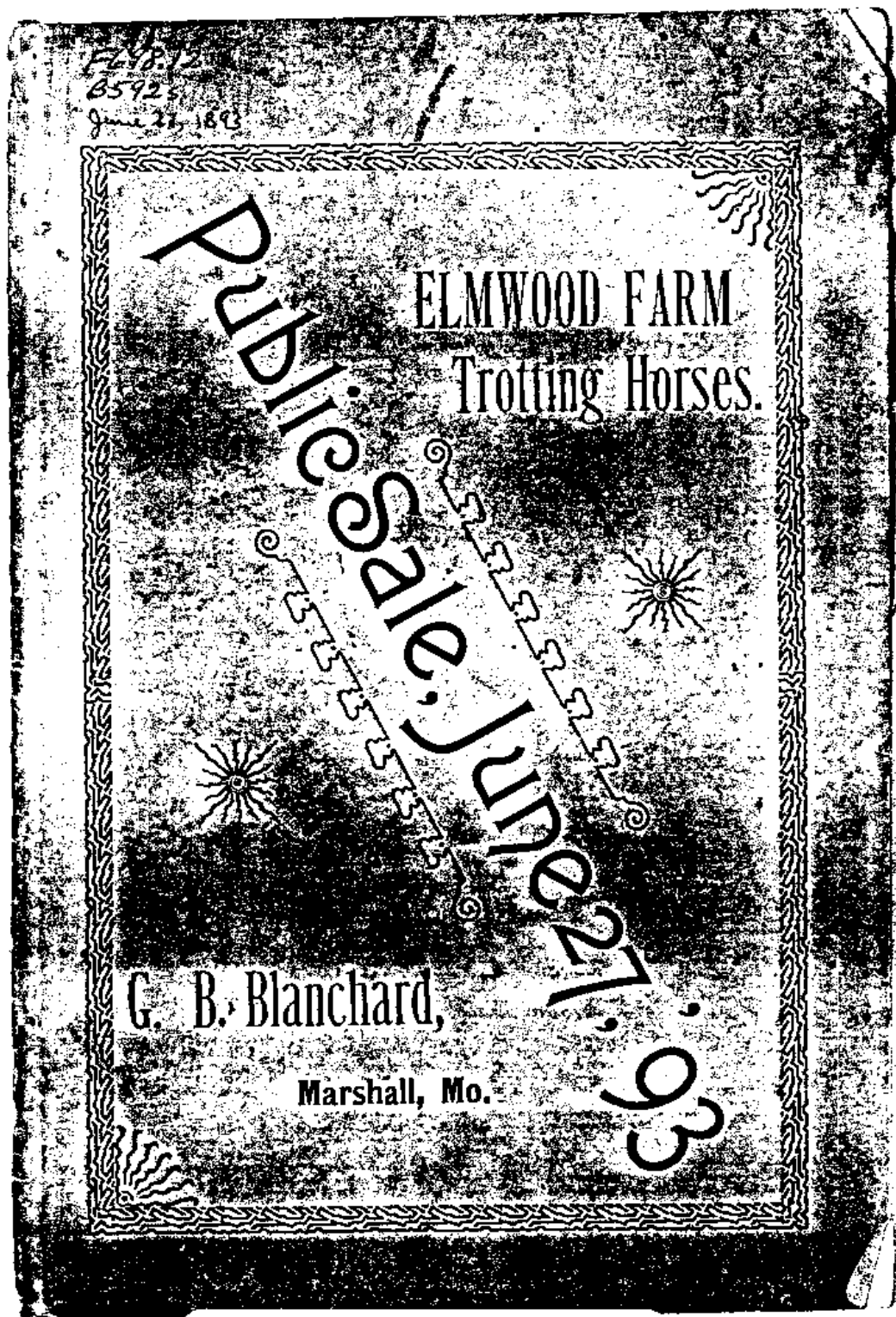
MIAMI, MO., April 4, 1871.

This article of agreement made and entered into this 12th day of May 1868 between Jas. A. Gaines of Saline Co and State of Missouri of the first part and P. H. Guthery of same Co of the Second part Witnesseth; That the party of the first has this day farmed a certain bay mare wick is now in fold: to the party of the Second part, on the following Conditions, The party of the Second part is to take possession of Said mare incurring all risk of the colt's living & c and to have the privilege of breeding said mare, next Spring again incurring the risks of fold & c and return Said Mare to the party of the first part on the 1st day of Sept 1869 after having taken all reasonable Care of her from this dating For and in Consideration of Such Breeding purposes of Said Mare the party of Second binds and obligates him Self to pay to the party of the first part on or before the first day of Sept 1868 the Sum of One hundred & thirty five dollars Witness my hand & seal this the 12th day of May 1868

P. H. Guthery

An 1868 contract involving
a brood mare and colt.

Gaines Papers, Joint
Manuscripts, UMC



Sales, well advertised in advance by promotional pamphlets, were popular social events.

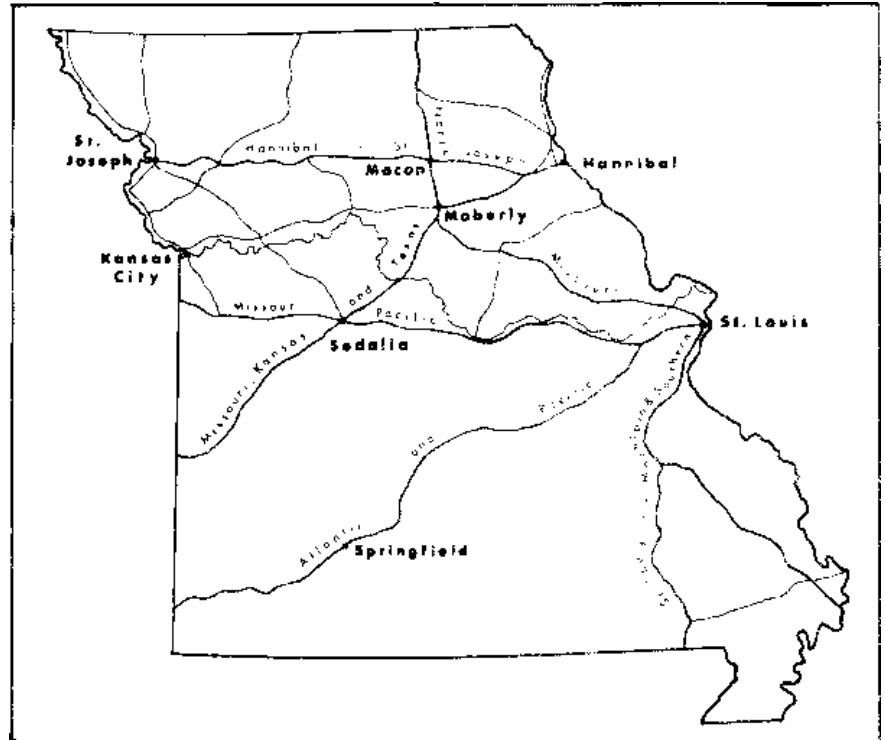
State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia

- bags of wool and sheep pelts
- bundles of peltries, dry and green hides
- bushels of buckwheat
- pounds of bacon, butter, bran
- cases of eggs
- packages of onions, rags, feathers and machinery
- gallons of Sweet Springs water
- cars of hoop poles
- pigs of lead, beer kegs, scrap iron, lumber and
- horses, mules, cattle, hogs and sheep. (7)

The point of this long list is to emphasize that while most farm products were "unsalable" or at least difficult to market during the antebellum years, the advent of state and national marketing into rural areas, via the railroads, created innumerable cottage industries as well as opportunities in local commercial ventures that had not occurred before. The number of participants in the capitalistic enterprises began to include many who had heretofore only subsisted agriculturally, worked as tenants or hired out for wages. In particular women on the farm began to account for crucial economic returns by their managements of poultry-related products. The availability of diverse markets and a central export entrepot for the county came to Marshall only three years after the above list was published. In 1879 economic opportunities at the county seat became the vision and the reality of the T.C. Rainey, G.B. Blanchards, the Farmers' Bank, who moved from Waverly to Marshall and others who engaged the entrepreneurial spirit.

A national boom era of 1879-1882 was a time of important transition for Marshall. From 1876-1883, Marshall doubled its population again. The 1880 census reported 2701 people but a count the following year reported an approximate 3,000. The Ming hotel on the south side of the square was deemed "one of the best in the state," the new Rea and Page grain elevator had been constructed near the railroad tracks, and a directory published in

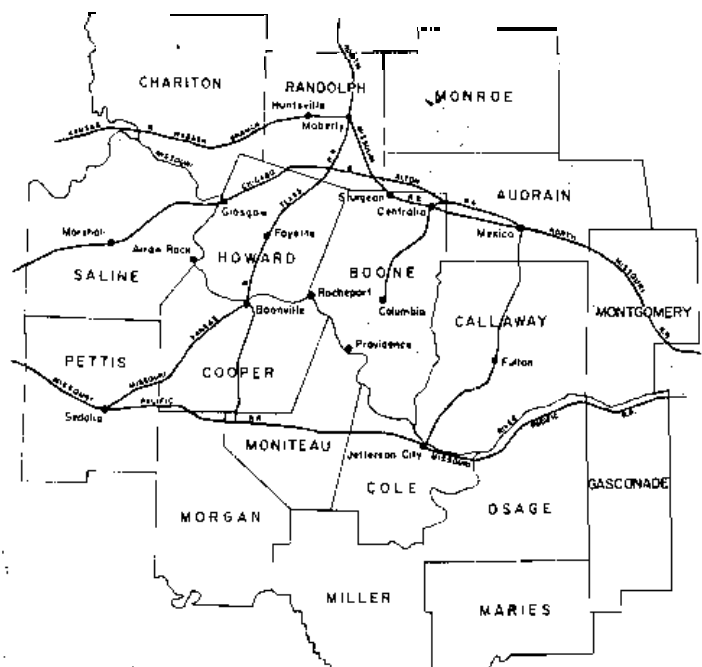
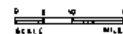
Fig. 10: Missouri Railroads, About 1874. Drawn From Data in *Campbell's New Atlas of Missouri* (1873), and Campbell's 1874 Railway Map of Missouri
Map by Ronald A. Wenzel



A decade following the Civil War, Saline County was surrounded, but not penetrated by railroads.

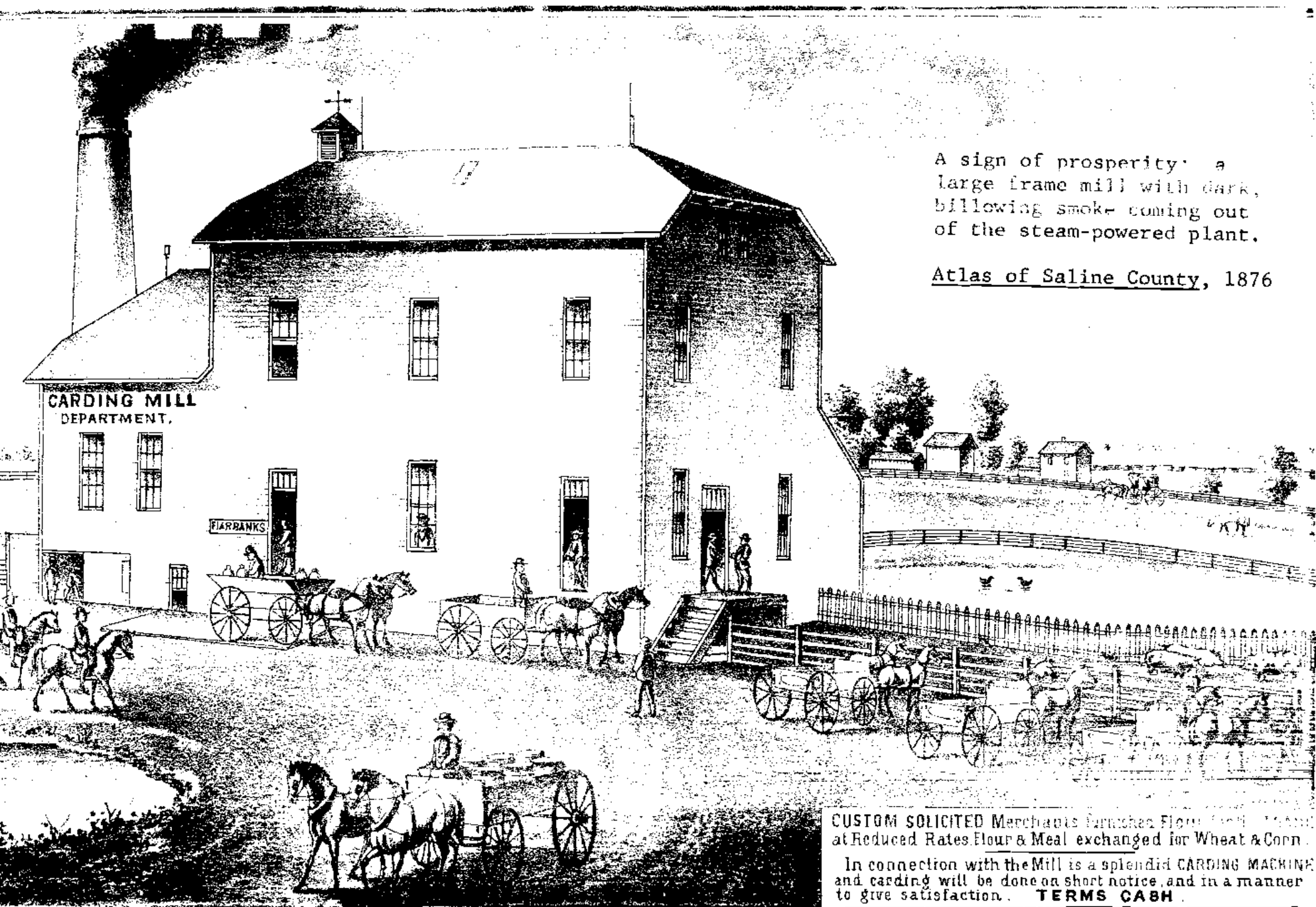
Ohman, MHR 76: 276

CENTRAL MISSOURI RAILROADS 1880



By 1880 the Chicago and Alton railroad had expanded its lines into Saline County,

Voss, MHR 64: 350



A sign of prosperity: a large frame mill with dark, billowing smoke coming out of the steam-powered plant.

Atlas of Saline County, 1876

CUSTOM SOLICITED Merchants Furnishes Flour & Meal at Reduced Rates Flour & Meal exchanged for Wheat & Corn.

In connection with the Mill is a splendid CARDING MACHINE and carding will be done on short notice, and in a manner to give satisfaction. **TERMS CASH.**

View of the MARSHALL Steam FLOURING & CARDING Mills, Messrs. OLDHAM, THOMSON & SANDIDGE, Proprs., MARSHALL, Saline Co. Mo.

1880 reported that "the village has a handsome appearance, contains many fine buildings and is well laid out." The town square had begun to take on a "main street" appearance, much of which may yet be seen today. (8)

New people poured into Missouri from Europe, the East and the South. Missouri politicians, promoters and real estate men had been concerned for some time over the image of the state. Eastern and Western newspapers had for some years debated about lawlessness and banditry in Missouri. Generated in large part by the Jesse James phenomena, James was assassinated in 1882. Actually the "bad press" that Missouri received over James and the state's unruly citizens seemed not to effect the increasing immigration to the state. Saline County promoters proudly claimed,

the dissipation of popular prejudice in Missouri (continues)... North Missouri is no longer a terra incognita to the immigrant... men from Eastern states are delighted to find the people of this country not a race of Yahoos and bushwackers. (9)

Instead of boisterous rowdiness the merchant and professional class in Marshall already had available to them one of the famous resort spas of Missouri. Sweet Springs had been exporting its mineral water for some time, but the resort venture of the Marmaduke brothers had resulted in cottages, a hotel to accommodate 400-500 guests, a restaurant, genteel recreation and most importantly it was all located and connected to railroads in southwest Saline County.

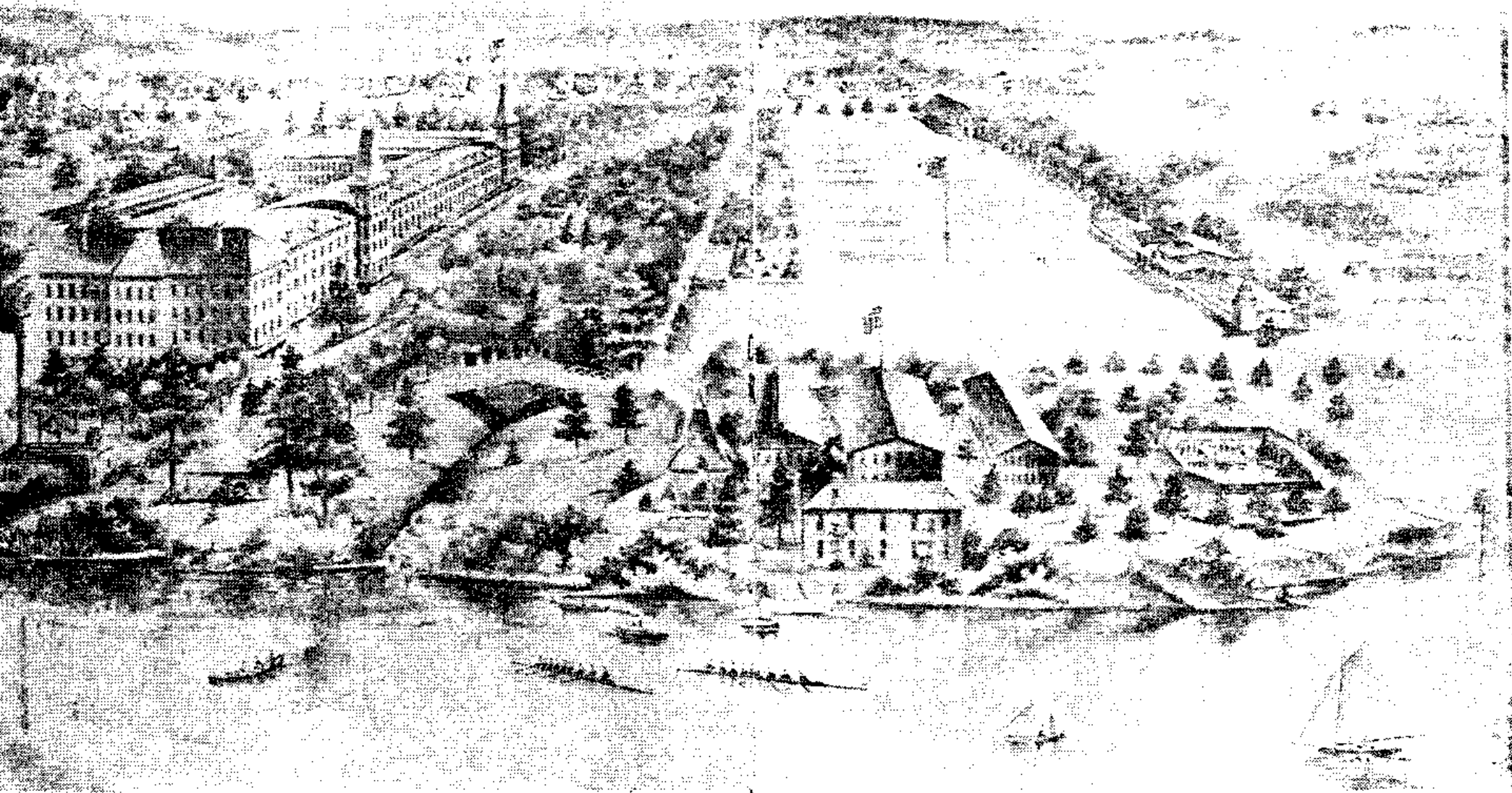
In 1873 D.W., Leslie and Vincent Marmaduke bought the resort acreage from a popular old Presbyterian minister. Modest beginnings of a leisure spot had already begun. But the Marmadukes "bought the land from Dr. John Yantis, and surround themselves by an interesting coterie of distinguished southerners ..."

Families from St. Louis, central Missouri and Kansas City bought

cottages, leased property and patronized the hotel. This "rendevous of the cream of Missouri's society" included several relations of the Marmadukes. Present were Governor Marmaduke, Governor Crittenden and future Governor, Lon Stevens, Senators George Vest and Francis Cockrell, Congressman Ewing from Warrensburg, Dr. Laws, President of Missouri University, the Neidringhaus family of St. Louis, Judge Philips of St. Louis and Judge Henry of Independence, Dr. Brown of St. Louis and Dr. Morrison Munford and Will Tyree of Kansas City, Judge Wood's Lexington family, the Stephens family of Boonville, the Hockadays and Rollins from Columbia, and not unexpectedly, the Kansas City Bar-Association had annual meetings there. These and many more from a constellation of decision-makers vacationed in southwest Saline County.

In terms of a county focus it is difficult not to draw some connection to this post-War network and the pre-War socio-political network in eastern Saline County, which was home for families with interstate political ties. M.M. Marmaduke and C.F. Jackson had become brothers-in-law by virtue of marriages to Dr. John Sappington's daughters. Sappington's wife was sister to Kentucky Governor John Breathitt and his son, W.B. Sappington, married Gov. Breathitt's daughter, and also his cousin, Mary Mildred. George Breathitt, brother to Dr. Sappington's wife, ended his life during service as private secretary to President Andrew Jackson. The Kentucky governor's grandson, John Breathitt, came to Saline County and became a farmer and then a prosecuting attorney. Hamilton Gamble was the county's first district attorney and he was followed by Abiel Leonard. John Locke Hardeman's cousin, Peter Hardeman Burnett, became California's first elected Governor and Kentucky Governor Shelby's son, James Shelby settled near

The Marmaduke Military Academy--1894



Above is a scene from the Marmaduke Military year book published in the year 1894. Many romantic stories are attached to the institution located on the banks of Blackwater river which was used in those days for steamboat travel from **McAllister** Springs to Sweet Springs.

This composite picture shows the cavalry barn, the academy dormitory, drill field and drill hall, heating plant, many other buildings that were part of the academy and the resort homes in the **background**.

"Vignettes of Sweet
Springs, Missouri"
Saline County Historical
Society. Marshall

Orearville. An obvious conclusion of course is that this is one of the many stories that point to the Boone's Lick region as an inheritor of many culture strands, but also as a socio-political hearth. The other point is that the antebellum southern deniocracy who had influential power brokers in east Saline County seem to have created another forum for their own society to meet in post-War Saline County. The bridge, of course, was provided by the Marmadukes. (10)

While Sweet Springs prospered, so did Marshall. The county seat became: without question the leading coninercial center of the county. Shortly after the Chicago and Alton railroad came to town, Marshall was described as a place of "...plain churches and school houses, a single railway, a good showing of plain homes, and a situation chiefly noteworthy for the wealthy of its agricultural surroundings." (11) However, builders and promoters worked hard and before long descriptions of Marshall were clothed with numerous enibellishments.

Edgar R. Pate, took a prominent lead as the most distinguished local builder and contractor. Already by 1882 he employed a dozen men and had constructed "a large share of the best public and private buildtngs in the county!" A recent one had been the T.C. Rainey house on Eastwood. In fact, from 1880-1882 more than 200 new buildings "embracing mercantile houses, shops, factories, school houses and homes" had been constructed.

The business quarter, laid upon the four sides of the public square, is mainly built of brick, stone and iron, after the best types of modern architecture. Scores of handsome homes of chaste design and fine finish, lend grace to this beautiful little city, which from end to end express order, taste and enterprise worthy of the builders and location. (12)

In 1882 the crowning achievement was the construction of the town's anchor point - the classical courthouse, now enrolled on the National Register of Historic Places.

Chapter Six: Notes

1. Wayne Durrill, "A Comparison of Pettis and Saline Counties, Missouri, 1850-1880," 1975.
2. Soil Survey, 1905: 7, and Handbook of Saline County, 1889: 8-9.
3. Rainey, "Old Trails," p. 30-35.
4. R.A. Campbell, Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri, St. Louis: R.A. Campbell, 1874: 583-585.
5. Ibid.
6. "George B. Blanchard," in Portrait and Biographical Record of Lafayette and Saline Counties, Missouri, Chicago: Chapman Bros., 1893: 124-125.
7. "Our Centennial Almanac," Marshall, Saline County, 1876.
8. Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1879-80, Detroit and St. Louis: R.L. Polk and A.C. Danser Companies, 1879: 424-426.
9. "Saline County, Missouri, from the Industrial World," Chicago, c. 1882: 8.
10. "Sweet Springs," vertical file newspaper clippings, Office of Historic Preservation, Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City.
11. handbook of Saline County, Missouri, Chicago: C.S. Burch Publishing Company, 1889: 16.
12. "Saline County, Industrial World," 1882: 10.

MARSHALL: AN ARTICULATE SOCIETY

Our town was in the first place definitely laid out; it did not spread from a creek or a river side; there is no old town nor new town; the original town is still the heart of our community.

Melinda Montague Harvey,
Marshall Centennial Program, 1939

Citizens with tenure in Marshall have always known "where they were." The memory of settlement and new beginnings as a part of the greater Boon's Lick historic experience, a town located along the historic Santa Fe trail and families associated with political, professional, and mercantile entrepreneurs, have remembers their past. The carriers of these memories have set them down in letter, diary, journal and county histories. Stable, middle-class families have proudly promoted the town's society, economic advantages and agricultural accomplishments. This stands in marked contrast to traditional folk societies in Missouri whose traditions have largely been oral and not written. True, the anthropologists, "anonymous society or anonymous histories" can be found in Marshall; however, spokesmen and spokeswomen, through the generations, have extolled the virtues of Marshall's town society.

In 1879 the advent of railroad transportation brought the benefits of the Industrial Revolution in full force to the county seat. By 1883 modernity, and the rush of capitalization, industry, and commerce that came with it, had successfully become rooted in Marshall, never to leave. The small prairie village expanded beyond its "beautiful crown of ground with water receding in all directions," through the nearby broken hollows and into distant prairie. Several town plat additions had been made to Marshall

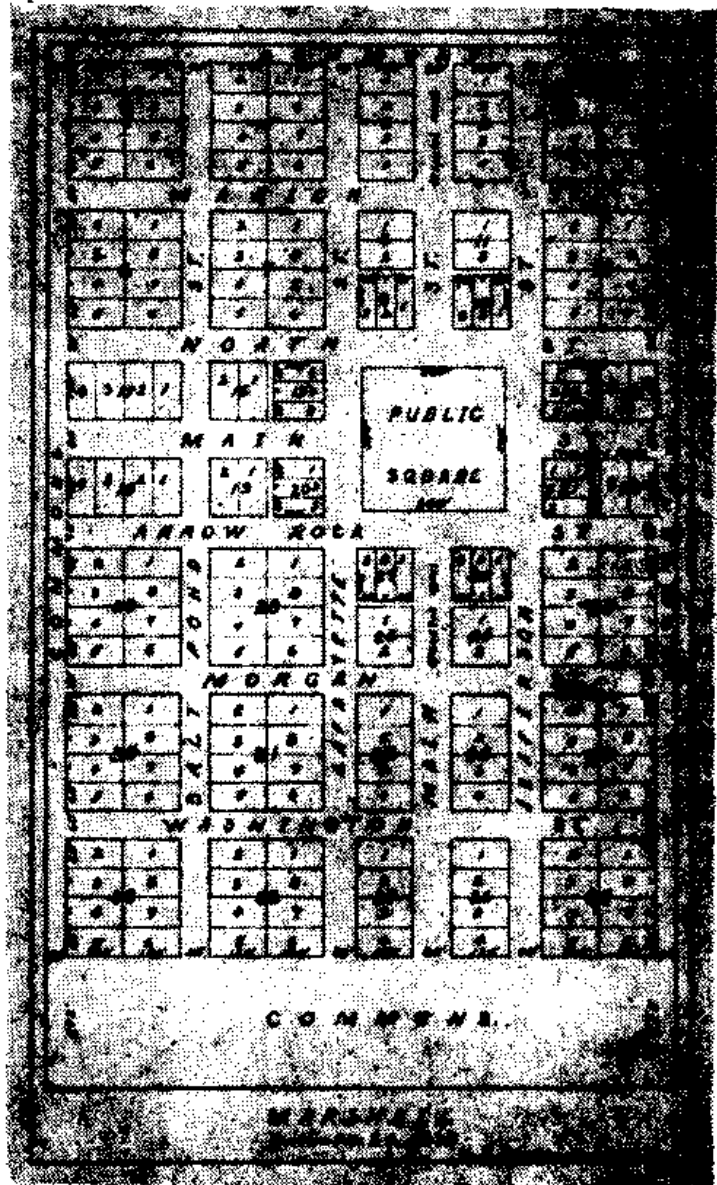
THE ORIGINAL TOWN OF MARSHALL

When and How Located

At the session of the Legislature 1838-39, a law was enacted, approved Feb. 8, 1839, empowering and directing five commissioners, designated in the act by name, to select a site for the permanent county seat in the County of Saline. The commissioners were required to locate it as near the geographical center of the county as practicable, and for this purpose to purchase, or receive donations of not less than fifty or more than one hundred and sixty acres of land, all of their proceedings to be reported to the Judge of the Circuit Court of the county for his approval.

In pursuance of their authority the commissioner, Hugh Barnett of Lafayette County, Amos Horne of Johnson County, Caton Usher of Chariton County, and George McKinney and Zanua Lucas of Carroll County, met at the house of David Batey in Saline County, on the 11th day of April, 1839, and proceeded to discharge their duties. They found, as they stated in their report, which is dated April 13, 1839, the center of the county to be about the center of Section Ten, Township Fifty, Range twenty-one, but not deeming the site a suitable one they fixed upon the east half of the Northeast quarter of Section Fifteen, Township Fifty, Range Twenty-one (where the Old Town of Marshall is now located) as the site.

Saline County History,
1967.



since its founding, but in the 1880s, with rapid population increases and relative security and affluence for the propertied and business class, the town began to articulate neighborhood boundaries in dramatic ways. Of particular significance were the town estate surveys east of the square along "Arrow Rock Road" (modern North street, and Eastwood from Brunswick to Park).

The "East Woods" developments in the city's East Marshall survey and subsequent east of the square surveys became Marshall's "best dress" facing the main highway along the-historic east-west axis from Arrow Rock. The Arrow Rock road followed the high summit of ground west of the Salt Fork creek into the Marshall square. In a corridor along this summit large town estates with relatively narrow frontage and north-south depths of 500 to 1500 feet provided a dramatic setting for the suburban patricians of a cultivated society. The setting was a logical result of geography and history. Many East Woods families had former or contemporary backgrounds east of Marshall in the Arrow Rock vicinity. Travelers coming into Marshall from the east for the past century have viewed and enjoyed a landscape planned and maintained for its aesthetic appeal.

In 1883 the Missouri State Gazeteer and Business Directory published that Marshall "has improved greatly since our last publication and now contains a number of handsome building blocks and residences" (1) By the end of the dramatic decade of the eighties the Missouri Pacific railroad passed through town and Marshall had achieved a notoriety, respectability and society that would have attracted John McKown's mother. Marshall was

Advertisements for
merchants around the
Marshall square, 1883.

Marmaduke papers, Joint Collection, UMC

Copyright applied for July 31, 1883.

Business Houses of Marshall, Missouri.

The Boss Boot and Shoe Store.
PHILPOTT & NOBLE.
Headquarters for
Boots and Shoes.
A Full Line of Ladies', Misses' and Children's Shoes.
East Side Public Square.

H. BOYER.
Headquarters for
Dry Goods, Fancy Goods, Notions, Etc.
Palace Block, West Side Square.

S. G. CALDER,
Watchmaker and Jeweler.
Fine Watch Repairing a Specialty. East Side Square.

CASH, HOUSE OF WILLIS & PITTMAN,
Headquarters for
Staple and Fancy Groceries, Provisions,
Queensware, Glassware, &c. West Side Square.

WE TAKE THE LEAD BUT NEVER FOLLOW.
The Mammoth
Chicago One Price Clothing House,
The Bargain Givers in Clothing, Gent's Furnishing Goods
Trunks, Valises, &c. F. B. Guthman & Co.
East Side Square.

BERNARD & ANCELL,
Hardware, Stoves and Tinware,
Furniture, &c. East Side Square.

MME. D. N. TAFFE, The Cheap Store.
The French Milliner.
Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Straw and Lace, Jewelry, Notions, Fancy
Goods, Hosiery, Blankets, Corsets, Ladies' Underwear, Toys and
Dolls. Mme. Taffe sells Millinery one-third less than other Houses.
Buys at Factories. East Side Public Square. Formerly of Kansas City, Mo.

BLACKBURN & BRO.,
Leaders in
Drugs, Medicines, Toilet Goods & Stationery,
North Side Square.

YOU CAN GET
The Best Photographs in Marshall
At Johns & Sons.

O. K. GRAVES,
Dealer in
Furniture, Hardware, Cutlery, Stoves,
Tinware, Wagon and Carriage Materials.

in full tide of progress and healthful growth ... toward 10,000 population ... five newspapers, two elegant public schools, a model courthouse, three of the prettiest new churches in central Missouri ... a fine academy, building a new college ... has four banks ... a prosperous Fair association ... two flouring mills, an elevator, two wagon and carriage factories, fine water works and gas plants, the largest mule market in Missouri outside Kansas City and St. Louis, brick and tile works, fraternal orders, social clubs, two trunk railway lines, nearly a hundred business concerns, scores of elegant homes and an active working Board of Trade. (2)

Marshall's good times reflected the rapid national growth of modernization. The power of money, of corporate organization, of advanced technology in railroads and mills, the lure of national and international markets for agricultural production, population growth and increment of land values within Saline County all accounted for "railroad town" prosperity in the late Victorian age.

Edgar R. Page and Andrew Olson led the task force of builders in Marshall's new Victorian town. Page, in the middle of a building career that spanned more than a half century, had long been the town's leading contractor. In 1889 Page

"has designed and constructed many of the best houses, business blocks and public buildings of the city, and has now under construction the Missouri Valley College, and employs from twenty to forty hands on the better class of buildings." (3)

At the same time Olson employed

from twenty to forty men in stone cutting and stone masonry and has done the stone work on the principal banks, stores, churches and the finer houses of the city and on the Missouri Pacific and Alton railway depots. (4)

Both Page and Olson bought locally manufactured brick from Rose and Merkins, later the Rose Brothers brick yard on south Brunswick.

Symbolic of railroad imports into Marshall was the establishment south of the square of the Lacrosse Lumber Company, headquartered at Louisiana, Missouri. Marshall's Lacrosse yard was

one of several located along the Chicago and Alton line. The town square's commercial district accomodated approximately one hundred concern, the same number as it has for the past century. Numerous businessmen's names around the square were found then and later at addresses and as developers in the East Woods: Althouse, Armentrout, Buckner, Campbell, Graves, Lowenstein, Naylor, Page, Rea, Rose, Vawter, VanDyke, and many more.

The rail lines through Marshall had made the county seat the unquestioned commercial center of Saline County. Town fathers organized crucial public services during the eighties: the Marshall Gas works in 1883, Marshall Water company in 1885, the town's first fire wagon was purchased in 1885. In 1893 the electric plant was founded, in 1895 telephone service was established between Marshall and Kansas City, and in 1898 macadamizing, curbing and guttering were all features of Marshall street improvements. Of course the heart of the city and east of the square received road improvement first - East Arrow, Odell, Jefferson, and North streets were the first projects. These new streets ran past the neighborhood east of the square, but there too, in the 1890s, vigorous building activity took place. In the year, 1890 alone, fifty new houses were erected in Marshall. (5)

The diversity of retailers around and near the square was similar to today. In 1887 the Board of Trade was founded. There were stores of dry goods, agricultural implements, banks, boot and shoe, coal, ice and city transfer, drug stores, fruits and confectionery, furniture and hardware, furs and pelts, several groceries, harness and saddlery, hotels, jewelry, milling, several real estate concerns, and wagon manufacturers. (6) The downtown area had suffered three disastrous fires during the

eighties, but the old frame buildings were replaced by modern brick structures. Many of these dating from the eighties and nineties remain today.

One of the commercial and cultural attractions for Marshall during this period and beyond was its notoriety as a mule trading center. By 1890 only St. Louis exceeded Marshall in the volume of its business in Missouri. The great Sparks mule barn was a block west of the square and several others were nearby. At the end of the century over 13,000 mules worth two million dollars passed through the sale barns. Sparks Brothers, Merrill and Evans, and Sparks and Conway accounted for over 75% of the trade. (7)

By the nineties Marshall's blend of natural setting, blocks of brick and a "suburbs rich with refined and tasteful homes" had all the appearances of a vital county center. Promoters advertised a

courthouse girdled by the business square which is almost one continuous wall of brick and will soon be completely filled out by business houses of city style and finish, the tall stately opera house and the palatial business corners, and leading the stream of commerce down other streets, the miles of streets bordered by neat, orderly and elegant dwellings all have a look and an individuality of their own and must be seen to be appreciated. (8)

To round out Marshall's romantic landscape, town fathers hired "Ben Grove of Louisville, Kentucky, the famous cemetery engineer." Ridge Park cemetery, in keeping with national trends in landscape design, became "a special kind of park with a peculiar dignity and sacredness." Its geometric design accommodated horse-drawn traffic which viewed the markers of citizens at rest facing the thoroughfare. Ridge Park cemetery, like the East Woods district, is a special cultural landscape in central Missouri. (9)

Marshall had continued to be appreciated by its articulate

citizenry. The downtown still retains about one hundred businesses and the "main street" retailers and professionals can still walk through the East Woods neighborhood to work. Home and business remain geographically close. Expansion for industrial development and residential neighborhoods have been directed north, west and south. East Woods and the square maintain a continuity of space, occupation and appearance with the past. Centennial celebrant and East Woods resident, Melinda Montague Harvey, evaluated this symbiotic relationship.

There has been generous planning. Our square is larger than that of many of the other central Missouri villages. Ours measures 1,700 feet around, approximately one-third mile. Our streets are wider and our yards are larger than those in many towns. The large trees have taken almost one hundred years to grow. (10)

Climax trees, large town lots and a walking neighborhood are still qualities of the East Woods that add to Marshall's quality of life.

After the turn of the 20th century James Rollins Bingham, reminisced about his bourgeois background in 19th century Saline County. His emotions spoke for many who had claimed the pioneer's reward in Marshall and Saline County.

The Binghams of this race possessed marked characteristics. From the number of letters I have looked over, dating back nearly a century, it is plain they were the reverse of illiterate. They seem always to have possessed an education higher than common though none of them, I know, could have had much advantage of school. As an example, my grandfather, though commonly supposed to have been a college bred man, never attended school six months altogether. His education was the result of constant reading, study, and observation, a life of acquirement. All the Binghams seem to have the literary gift, well constructed and easily understood expression.

There is no probability that they spring from any aristocracy of birth or wealth. They have almost without exception preferred the country to the town, and while not prone to acquire wealth, have always lived comfortably and been good providers. They were all honest, whole-

souled, good men and women, kind-hearted and, while reserved, really affectionate and deeply loving their kindred and fellow men. Never a Bingham was there who was not absolutely fearless and outspoken in action and words in upholding what he thought was right. There has never been a "trimmer" nor a "straddler" among them. In fact, this tenacity of opinion and firmness in standing by the (word) of the Bingham is proverbial in Missouri and the truth is many speak of *it* as the "Bingham stubbornness". Speaking for myself, I am proud of my homely lineage and were I given the choice, would prefer *it* to any other. In that feeling we Bingham all share equally. (11)

East Woods and Marshall town society continues to share in the fruits of the 19th century pioneers' vision for the future. Town and neighborhood are inextricably woven into a community that respects its past and plans for the future.

Chapter Seven: Notes

1. Missouri State Gazeteer and Business Directory, 1883-84, Detroit and St. Louis: R.L. Polk and A.C. Danser Companies, 1883: 632.
2. Handbook, Saline County, 1889: 16.
3. Ibid., p. 20.
4. Ibid., p. 20.
5. Handbook of Saline County, 1889: 19, and Napton, Saline County, 1910: 251-256.
6. Handbook, 1889: 21ff.
7. Ibid., p. 21.
8. Historical and Descriptive Review of Missouri, Volume I, Kansas City: Jno. Lethem, 1891: 164.
9. Ibid., p. 164 and Peter J. Schmitt, Back to Nature, The Arcadian Myth in Urban America, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969: 67.
10. "History of Marshall, Missouri," ms. compiled by J. Leo Hayob, 1967.
11. Bingham Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Mrs. J.B. Finley agrees to sell Frances Spears plot of land, located at Pennytown, for \$100.00 ... In case this deal falls through Frances promises to pay rent of \$10.00 per yr. from date.

Pennytown land contract, April, 1938.

The history of American blacks is one of a people enslaved and then relegated to third-class citizenship. Like all histories, black history is diverse and complex. Within states black experiences have varied among towns, cities and counties. Black social history has not been "articulate" in Saline County, but neither has it been silent nor is it silent.

The following comments will be spare for such a portentous subject. A few sources and documents are offered to demonstrate the richness of cultural inquiry for the black experience in Saline County. In Marshall the black neighborhood south of Arrow street and either side of Brunswick constitutes one of Marshall's three significant historic neighborhoods.

Much of Saline's great antebellum agricultural prosperity was produced by black sweat and black labor. The Missouri and Mississippi River border counties, for obvious reasons, held the largest black populations. The labor intensive hemp culture in Saline County, 1840-1860, attracted an ever increasing number of slaves to the prairie plantations. As shown by Robert Duffner's, Slavery in Missouri River Counties, 1820-1865, Saline was one of the major slave-holding counties in central Missouri. (1)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>WHITES</u>	<u>SLAVES</u>
1830	2141	706
1840	4016	1242
1850	6105	2719
1860	9800	4876

During the 1820s, 1830s and early 1840s blacks accounted for 25% of the population. But the boom in the 1840s hemp culture more than doubled the black population by 1850. By 1860 blacks accounted for one-third of the county population. Saline's dramatic increase in the black populace changed her statewide ranking from twelfth in 1850 to fourth in 1860. Remarkably, in 1850, 51% of Saline's white households owned slaves, but the great general population increase of the 1850s caused that figure to drop to 40% by 1860 while the number of slaves per slaveholder increased from 5.4 to 6.9. These figures indicate the pervasiveness of black culture throughout rural Saline County. (2)

Whether slavery proved to be really profitable or not continues to be a subject of debate. Certainly there were many exceptions to whichever general conclusion one prefers. On the eve of the Civil War no one disclaimed the highly expensive enterprise of purchasing or managing a substantial slave plantation. In 1859 in Saline County the following list of slaves commanded respectable prices.

Henry,	age 17,	value	\$1300	
Daniel	age 36,	value	1200	
George	age 13,	value	950	
Stephen,	age 8,	value	650	
Addison,	age 8,	value	550	
Thomas,	age 5,	value	440	(3)

Other than census data, information about blacks is scattered in wills and probate records, abstracts, white observations and in black folklore. What has been written was often prejudicial, reflecting the prevailing white attitudes. For example, the Napton will, accompanying the old Napton property on Arrow street, included a statement that "the land is to never be sold to any person of color." The will of slaveholder, Asa Finley,

who lived near Nelson, provided arrangements for his slave property. His children were to receive slaves valued at \$400 each. His wife was to inherit, Emily, apparently a skilled domestic lady and perhaps devoted to the Finley family. Other slaves were to be hired out for regular income or sold and the money invested for interest dividends for the minor children. (4)

Mob law and lynchings remain as some of the ugliest events of the American past. In Saline County a dramatic example has been preserved. The author of the account engendered great presence in his written version and the reading of it should cause the most hardened of hearts to release some sympathy for injustices perpetrated upon humanity.

John was about 23 years of age, a valuable slave, worth probably \$1,500; had an intelligent and open countenance, and conversed very freely with all those who indicated a willingness to hear him while he was chained to the stake. He had confessed his guilt shortly after his first examination, stating that he had gone to Hinton's cabin on the night of the 13th of May, having provided himself with a bludgeon, and called him up saying he had a note for him from Mr. Kiser. As soon as Hinton opened the door he struck him the fatal blow. On Tuesday when chained to the stake he said he had an accomplice. We have no means of knowing whether it was the fear of death or the hope of punishing an enemy that brought this last confession. A white man, John averred, was his accomplice and shared the gains. He was heard through, and then the match was applied to the combustibles piled round him. When the flames began to hiss about him, and the fire penetrate his flesh, he first seemed to realize that he was to expiate his crime in that dreadful manner, for all along he had fed upon the fond belief that an honest confession would mitigate his punishment. We did not hear of his having made his peace with any judge more terrible than "Judge Lynch." In his agony he prayed more to those around him, than to the One above him. He screamed and groaned and implored those about him for mercy, calling on those he knew by name. He lived from six to eight minutes from the time the flames wrung the first cry of agony from his lips, the inhalation of the blazing fire suffocating him in a short time. His lips and arms were burnt, a portion of his head and face, and a part of his chest. His body remained, a charred and shapeless mass.

Holman was about thirty years of age, we believe, and had the reputation of being a vicious negro; certainly he had

much the worst countenance of the three. He belonged to a widow lady of some property, and was worth probably \$1,000. His offense was not so great as John's solely, *it* is thought, because he lacked opportunity. As *it* was, he came very near taking the life of an esteemed and valued citizen, who we understand, was only saved from a brutal murder by the heroism of his wife. Holman had not yet had his trial, but was taken out with John. He struggled but little and seemed resigned to his fate. On arriving at the place of execution, a rope was speedily adjusted about his neck, and he was swung up to the limb of a walnut tree close to the one where John was chained. He did not struggle, but died apparently easy.

Jim was from 32 to 35 years of age, worth probably \$1,000. He struggled hard to free himself of those who had him in charge, but was secured and taken to the place of execution without material injury to any one. To our eye his offense was the blackest of the three, but the law does not recognize *it* as equal to either of the others; at least the punishment provided is not so great. *It* was the intention of the mob at first to burn Jim along with John, but he was finally swung up on the same limb with Holman where he struggled for some time, dying hard. The bodies all hung until Wednesday morning, when they were buried near the place of execution. (5)

The mob hailed from Waverly, Arrow Rock and near Marshall. The executioners' leader, J.M. Shackleford, defended the mobs action in a local newspaper.

I know of no reason why we should not have a little mob law in the state of Missouri; and the county of Saline when the occasion imperiously and of necessity demands *it* ... Abolitionists and negro sympathizers have had a great deal to do in creating a spirit of insubordination amongst our negro population. Every abolitionist ought to be driven out of the county; every free negro should be sold into slavery or go out of the state; no more emancipation without sending negroes out of state. (6)

News of the infamous event spread throughout central Missouri. During the Civil War federal troops reminded the Marshall populace of the grisly incident.

Attached is a compilation from Duffner, Table 12, that provides a statistical look at large and small slaveholders, hemp productions and farm values. Notice the great boom decade of the 1850s indicated by the "cash value of farm." During the

TABLE 12

CHANGE IN CASH VALUE OF FARMS, HEMP PRODUCTION, AND FARM ACREAGE IN SALINE COUNTY

Slaveholder	Number of Slaves		Cash Value of Farm		Hemp (tons)		Farm Acreage Improved/Unimproved	
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860
M. M. Marmaduke	27	77	\$7,500	37,800	20	14	400/1100	1000/1100
Reuben E. McDaniel	27	48	12,000	24,000	20	56	280/920	1000/250
John DeMoss	26	42	9,400	27,000	6	10	120/820	450/910
William B. Sappington	23	38	14,000	41,000	4	17	350/250	1300/1000
James Brown	22	28	7,000	20,000	14½	17	300/1100	350/188
Isaac Neff	22	26	4,500	16,000	4	17	160/724	380/425
James N. Smith	89	106	39,000	40,000	21	43	1000/6800	1850/600
Richard Marshall	11	17	5,000	16,400	2	3	300/1000	200/620
John Jones, Sr.	12	5	5,000	7,000	3	none	100/450	130/230
John M. Lewis	11	28	10,000	25,000	20	40		500/500
Clairborne Hill	3	7	650	8,000	1	3	~~245/495~~	70/330
Harrison Harris	2	4	1,000	8,000	none	5	15/485	120/400
William Wheeler	3	8	1,400	5,350	none	3	60/154	100/114
Tillman Cameron	5	14	2,000	13,000	none	11	70/530	300/797
T. M. Minor	2	5	1,500	4,000	6	14	~~205/855~~	160/60
William T. Harrison	19	20	4,500	20,000	12	43		600/600
Bemis Brown	16	16	10,000	22,000	9	10	250/1050	800/700

Source: Manuscript Census Returns for Saline County, Missouri, Agriculture Schedules and Slave Schedules, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, and Eighth Census of the United States, 1860.

An 1850s economic boom is partially indicated by a comparison of figures in the Cash Value of Farm column.

Duffner, Slavery in Missouri River Counties, 1820-1865, PhD, 1974: 35

Civil War and immediately following, slaveholders lost much of their dollar valuation in slave property. The severity of the loss is again indicated by Duffner. (8)

AUDITOR'S REPORT OF VALUATION OF SLAVES IN THE
SIX RIVER COUNTIES FOR 1860 and 1863

County	1860	1863
Boone	\$1,697,610	\$744,125
Cooper	\$1,579,565	\$344,600
Howard	\$2,246,240	\$628,696
Saline	\$1,895,850	\$749,300
Chariton	\$1,315,340	\$280,165
Lafayette	\$2,252,570	\$883,175

A local publication in Saline County, Penelope's Freedom, provided a document that, in part, demonstrates on a small scale the economic loss to one slaveholder. More importantly it recorded the official rite of passage from slavery to freedom for one of Saline's black citizens.

CERTIFICATE OF CIVIL WAR RARELY SEEN NOW

This is the wording of the Certificate of Freedom owned by Rev. Richard A. Lewis, 473 West Marion, Marshall, that was issued September 26, 1863, to his mother, Penelope, then a 5-month-old baby. These certificates are quite rare now.

OFFICE OF PROVOST MARSHAL
4th Sub Dist. of West, District of Missouri.
BY AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED STATES

THIS CERTIFICATE OF FREEDOM is given to
a negro girl

Name, Penelope
Aged, Five Months
Color, Yellow
Size, Small

It having been officially ascertained and decided by me, that Dr. Crawford E. Smith of Saline County, Mo., owner of said girl Penelope has been guilty of treason against the United States and thereby has worked the freedom of said girl Penelope from her servitude, under the provisions of the act of Congress, to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, and to seize and confiscate the property of Rebels, commonly called the Confiscation and Emancipation Bill and approved

July 1862, by the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
Delivered and Sealed the 26th day of Sept., 1863
Frank Swap, 1st Lieut.
Asst. PROVOST MARSHAL
For Saline County, Mo.

Dr. Crawford Smith, who had to yield freedom to the young Penelope, was the son of General T.A. Smith, founder of the plantation, Experiment. Penelope later married William Edward Lewis and the couple lived and reared their children at Pennytown in Saline County. Penelope, or Aunt Penny Lewis, died in 1958 at age 95 in the home of her son, Ed Lewis, Sedalia, Missouri. (9)

Following the Civil War blacks maintained a presence, livelihood and culture in Saline County. Prior to the war some had been skilled in trades such as construction and stock care. After the war and into the 20th century, several black men continued to be professional stock trainers, "folk veterinarians," and construction laborers. Black men made bricks at Rose Brothers for commercial and residential Marshall buildings.

Food and music are both great pleasures from which blacks have bequeathed a great deal to American culture. For example, the origin of chess pie (corrupted from Jeff's pie?) apparently came from nearby Waverly where a black lady prepared hundreds of Jefferson Davis pies for the throngs attending August camp meetings. Northerners called it chess pie. In music the Jubilee Singers from Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, provided national tours which featured "plantation melodies of the colored people" and in so doing raised money for the famous black university. (10) One such tour appearance was held near Saline County, with Saline Countians in attendance.

THE TENNESSEE JUBILEE NIGGERS

...But to us old Missouri folks "raised with the niggers" in the hemp belt along the river, a nigger show is a nigger show, and this was a blessed good one.

That soprano darky sang like a bird, and as only a negro can sing. In these simple melodies the negro cannot be beat. Their voices are as soft as the summer zephyrs of their ancestral home in darkest Africa. They keep good time, and they sing, *con amore*, with spirit. In their comic camp meeting roles they were simply immense. No white man can act those roles like the Ethiopian. By the way the negro is quick, mercurial, dramatic by nature, and has many of the surface qualities that make the good mimic. For instance we heard a stiff starched, dog collared, quartette of college dudes sing "Who built de Ark." Poor fellows, they never brought out a dramatic point or a single comic feature. They had no more fascial expression than a cigar store Indian. Their motions had all the grace and agility of clothing store dummies being wheeled in out of the rain. But the negro catches on easily and quickly, and from his southern blood arises the instinct to tell the story of the song with his hands, his eyes, his face, and his whole body. The mulatto woman who sang "I am Hoo-dooed!" Tuesday night could not have been surpassed. It was a thoroughly "nigger" too, that's what made everybody call every performer back again and again. To the thoughtful this echo of the old slave time and the old slave songs was suggestive and the interest was reminiscent. "Way Down on the Suwanee River" "Massa's in the Cold Cold Ground" will not always echo on stage, the story of the fading past. Already the traditions are being lost, the interest is dying out. Such concerts as those of last Tuesday night are among the last of their kind. In a few years they will have vanished from the entertainment stage. Still in the performance Tuesday night we had the negro in all his glory and in his characteristic roles. It was good. It was life like.

Some say the negro who sang Old Black Joe, couldn't sing. But he could act, and he could sing like old black Joe must have sung, for the original Joe is not supposed to have been the feted basso of a famous troupe.

Any one who remembers, hearing an old cotton-headed, darky talk and sing will know that Old Black Joe Tuesday night was a perfect picture. The make up was perfect, that look mournful and plaintive as the voice, was the melancholy rheumatic old negro pouring forth his lament with childish self-pity so characteristic of the race, and the whole picture was startlingly true to the type represented. Showing as we said before that to a certain limit the negro is a born actor. The great Dumas must have drawn much of his dramatic quality from the negro blood in his veins.

To sum up: we believe the diversity of opinion about the performance Tuesday night is best stated in this way: those

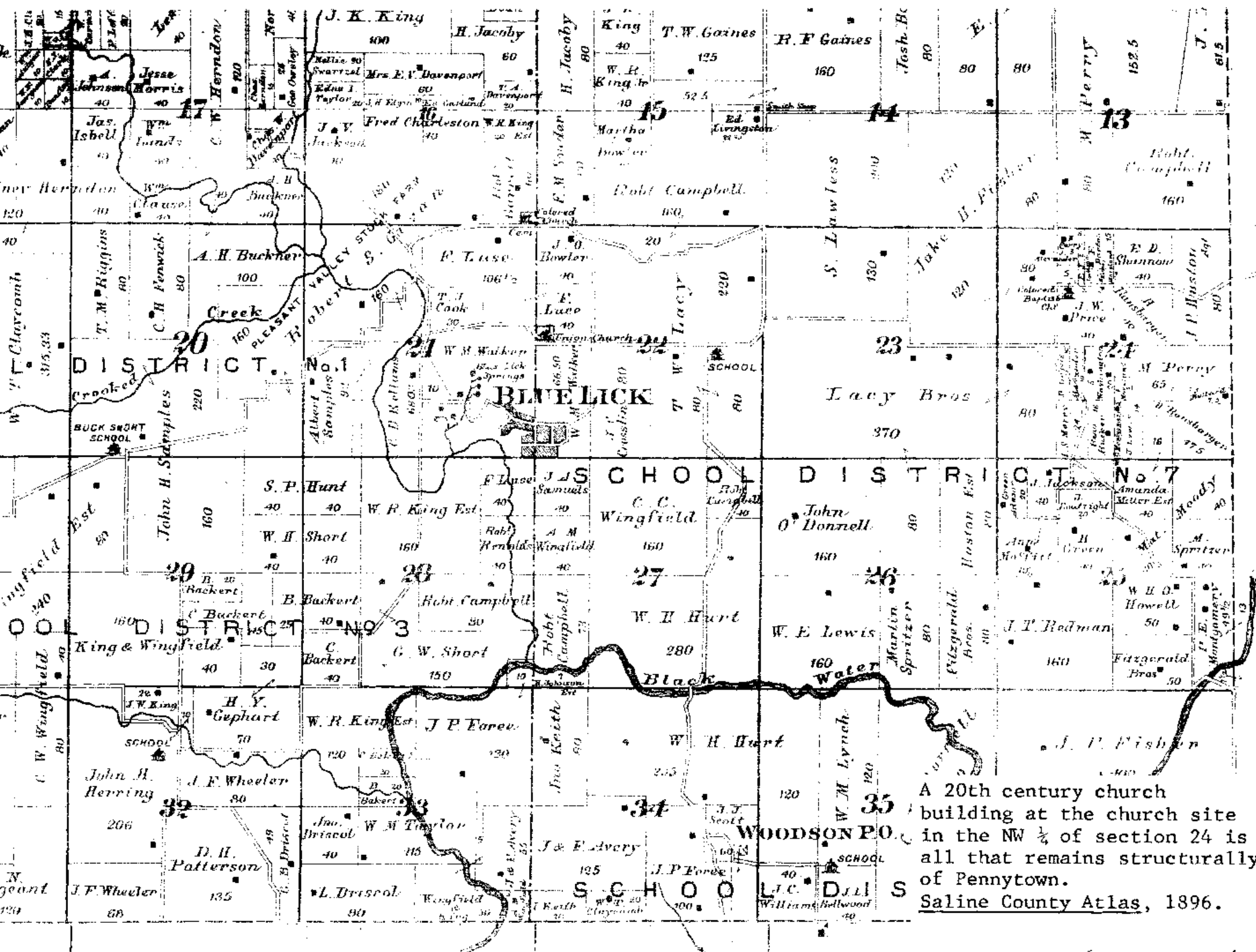
who went there knowing "niggers" and expecting to hear them sing in nigger style were delighted. Those who looked upon it as simply a concert and expected them to sing like white people, were disappointed. Some say Hagerman was greatest in "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep." But who wants to hear a darky sing that? We never saw a show that represented real niggers at their brightest and their best more truly than that of Tuesday night. (11)

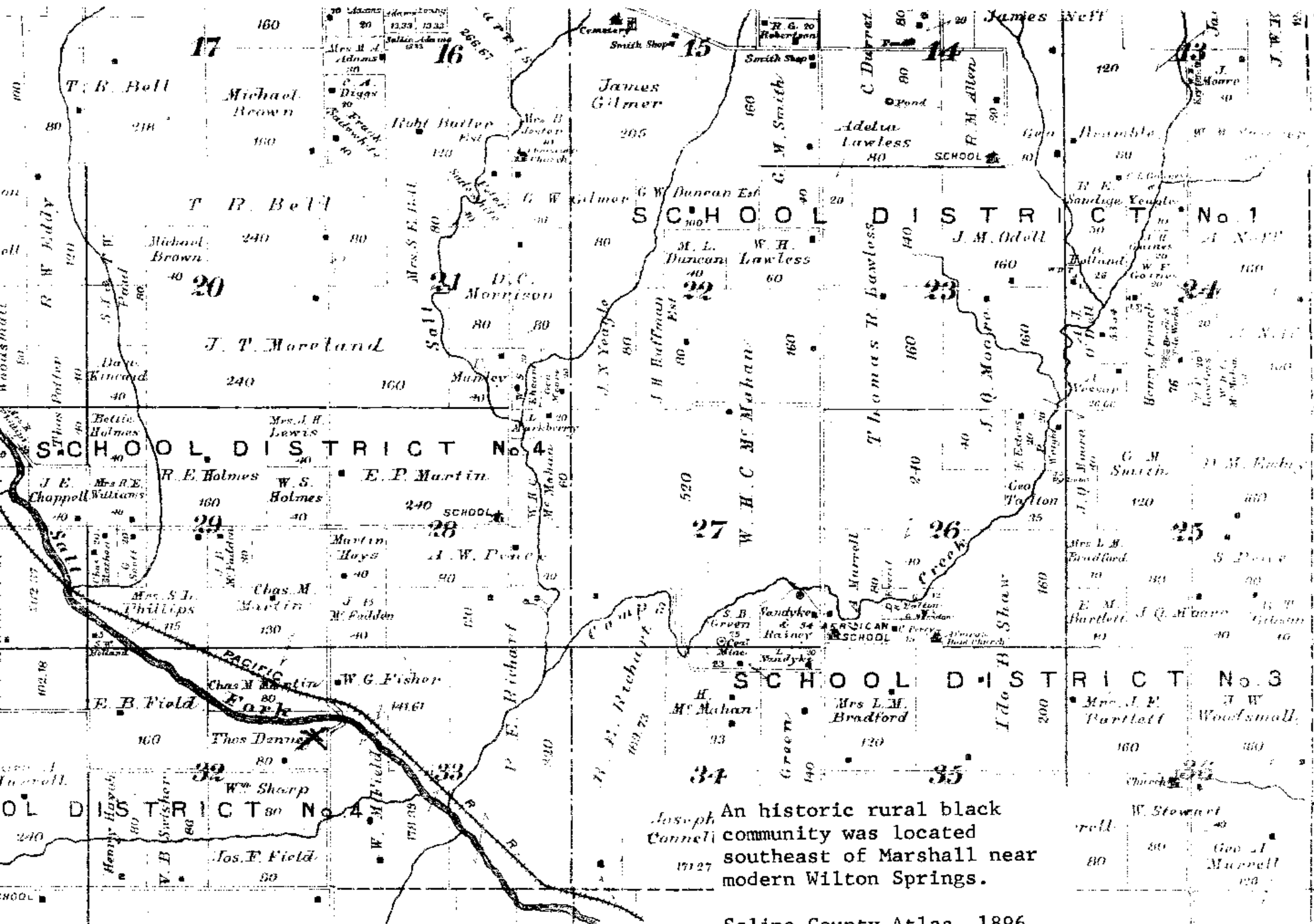
While the white community denied civil rights to blacks, they certainly were willing to be entertained by blacks. But in Saline County, as elsewhere, a few notable achievements began to be accomplished by enterprising blacks building a better society. One such milestone in rural Saline County was the founding of Pennytown.

In 1871 Joe Penny, a freedman from Kentucky, came to Saline County. For \$160.00 he purchased eight acres about nine miles south and east of Marshall. Located near the edge of the scarp between Blackwater river valley and the prairie, the Pennytown settlement developed.

In 1877 following the election of Rutherford Hayes and the end of Reconstruction, southern blacks began an exodus north and west. It seems that during the 1880s several families immigrated to Pennytown, joining old Saline County families. Penny sold small lots to the newcomers from Kentucky and Virginia as well as to Saline Countians. The rural hamlet expanded to some forty acres.

Houses were normally single and double pen, log and frame, with shed rooms in the rear. A few were painted, most were not. Some single pen log houses had a smaller board and batten frame pen as an addition. The smaller frame addition for the second pen followed a common pattern of size used by folk builders throughout the state. Shake roofs were later covered with tin sheet metal. The houses did not have fireplaces, but were built for stove flues, had no loft above the primary pen, often had no facade windows





(they were in gable ends), they utilized square notching, and the houses were built of round and square hewn logs. Rain barrels provided reservoirs for water although a couple of dug wells were designated for community use. (12)

Jim Jackson, a man of varied talents, was a folk veterinarian. His remedies included,

A mixture of salt, wood ashes and powdered tobacco eradicated internal parasites in sheep; pulverized glass placed in the ears of mules or horses that suffered with poll evil and fistula cured them. His homemade syringes of elder wood, with pith removed, and a plunger of a switch cut to fit, were used to "shoot" bluestone into tissues, with coal oil for a drench for bloat. (13)

Besides work done for themselves, most blacks "worked out" for white farmers. They trained stock, especially horses, built fence, trimmed and cleaned out the famed Saline County hedge fences, shocked and stacked wheat and hay, cut corn, butchered hogs, and supplied household domestic work. Will Brown "manufactured charcoal from green hickory logs which he threw into trenches, fired and smothered. This was sold widely to persons who used charcoal heat in their business." Brown, a sawmiller, cut trees and planted trees in Marshall. Many of the mature Eastwood trees were planted by him. Brown, a skilled entrepreneur among the Pennytown residents, also manufactured fertilizer and hog medicine which he peddled to white families. Pennytown gardeners sold truck patch products to black and white Marshall residents. In fact, Pennytown traffic to Marshall was so common that the corner of Salt Pond and North streets became known as "Pennytown corner" for those who congregated there awaiting rides back home. (14)

But still far into the 20th century, Saline County blacks had to lobby for just treatment by the most common of institutions - education. The state department of Education allocated funds to

the local districts to pay teachers. When Saline County district #93 refused payment of \$200.00 to the Pennytown school, Nelly Jackson, "Patron of the Community Association," petitioned the Missouri Attorney General's office for redress of the injustice. Jackson, also a school teacher, lost her job for the effort of her inquiry. (15)

Pennytown had its own local landmarks and institutions. Dr. Tom Hall bought and donated a small acreage to the community where a pavilion was built in the center of a park-recreation area. A school and two churches served the citizens. But by the Depression most of the population had left and few structures remained. Now only one church building, constructed in the mid-1920s of manufactured tile blocks, stands as a visible reminder of the county's most well-known black community. An annual reunion at the church revives memories and fellowship. Because of land ownership arrangements, a regular meeting must take place at the church to keep the current landowner, MFA, from demolishing the historic landmark.

Pennytown is unique in Saline County. The history of land privately owned by black residents is a memory and an accomplishment not achieved elsewhere in the county until the 1950s in the old black tenet neighborhood south of Arrow street. Some former Pennytown residents moved to Marshall, and from there, primarily through the efforts of civic-minded, Josephine Lawrence, the reunion and history of Pennytown has been kept alive. The presence of black population throughout Marshall and Saline County's history is a major historical theme denied by authors of the 1881 and 1910 county histories. Perhaps contemporary historians will promote a more wholistic view of the county's past.

C O N T R A C T

THIS CONTRACT made and entered into this 15 day of April, 1933, by and between Mrs. Ada H. Wheeler of Marshall, Missouri, party of the first part, and Nellie Jackson, party of the second part, witnesseth:

The party of the first part has this day sold, and by these presents does sell and agree to convey to party of the second part the following described real estate situate in Saline County, Missouri, to-wit:

Two acres in the Southwest Corner of the East Half of the Northeast Quarter of the Northwest Quarter of Section Twenty-four, in Township Forty-nine (49) of Range Twenty-one (21).

Party of the second part is to pay for said real estate the sum of \$50.00 in monthly payments of \$3.00 each, beginning on April 15th, 1933, and continues to pay said monthly payments until said sum of Fifty Dollars shall have been paid in full. When said sum of Fifty Dollars shall have been fully paid, the party of the first part is to execute and deliver to the party of the second part her quitclaim deed to said real estate.

In Witness Whereof, the parties have hereunto set their hands the day and year first above written.

A 1933 contract for real estate in Pennytown.
Josephine Lawrence Papers
Marshall

Ada H. Wheeler
Nellie Jackson

Agreement between Mrs. ^{Truly}
and
Frances Spears,

Mrs. J. B. Truly agrees to sell Frances Spears
plot of land, located at Pennington for \$100⁰⁰
Frances promises to pay in payments.

When land is paid for in full,
Mrs. Truly to turn over deed and abstract
to Frances Spears. We each agree to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ expense of
abstract and deed.

In case this deal falls through, Frances
promises to pay rent of \$10⁰⁰ per year,
from date, ~~March~~ - 1938. And if payments
have been made to take front out,
for settlement of same,

A 1938 contract for real
estate in Pennington.
Josephine Lawrence Papers

Oct, 12, 1938

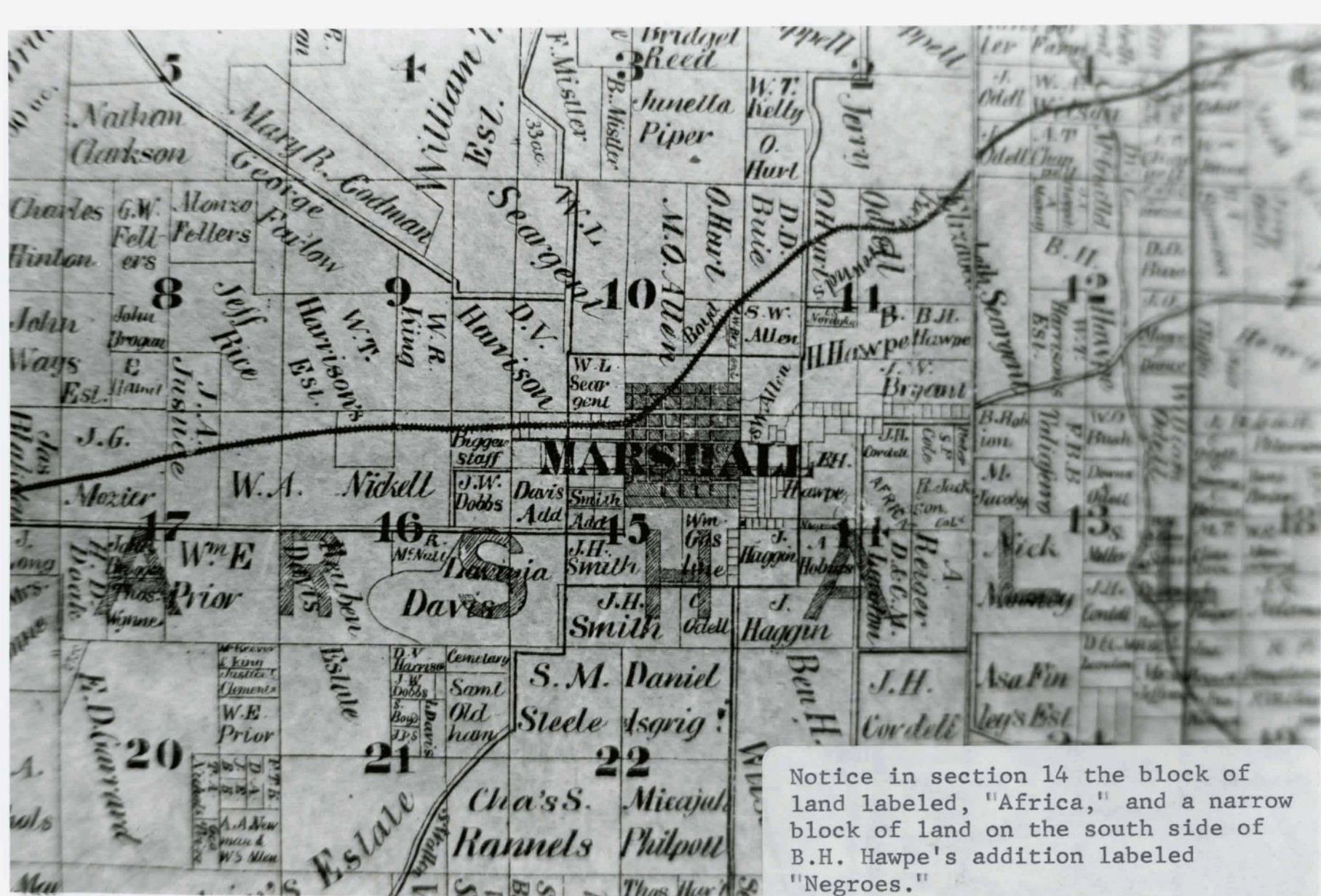
Mrs. J. B. Truly,
Marshall

Frances Spears

Oct, 12, 1938 - Received payment	\$10 ⁰⁰
Dec, 5, 1938 - Received payment	10 ⁰⁰
May, 1, 1939 - Received payment	5 ⁰⁰
Nov, 3, 1939 - Received payment	10 ⁰⁰
Nov, 17, 1939 - Received payment	10 ⁰⁰
Jan, 3, 1940 - Received payment	10 ⁰⁰
Feb, 20, 1940 - Received payment	10 ⁰⁰
May 3 - 1940 - Received payment	10 ⁰⁰
(over)	\$75 ⁰⁰

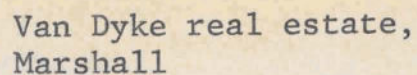
Since the Marshall black community is one of the three "historic districts" determined by this preliminary overview of town history, the following set of historic photographs are included. They were taken from 1961-1966 in the general area east of Brunswick, west of Park, south of Arrow street lots and north of Yerby street lots. The photos represent a vivid characterization of a small town black ghetto which had been a tenet neighborhood for a century. Residents worked for white families in the East Woods and elsewhere, worked at Rose Brothers brick yard, or for other white-owned businesses. They subsisted by cultivating gardens, growing fruit and tending a few animals.

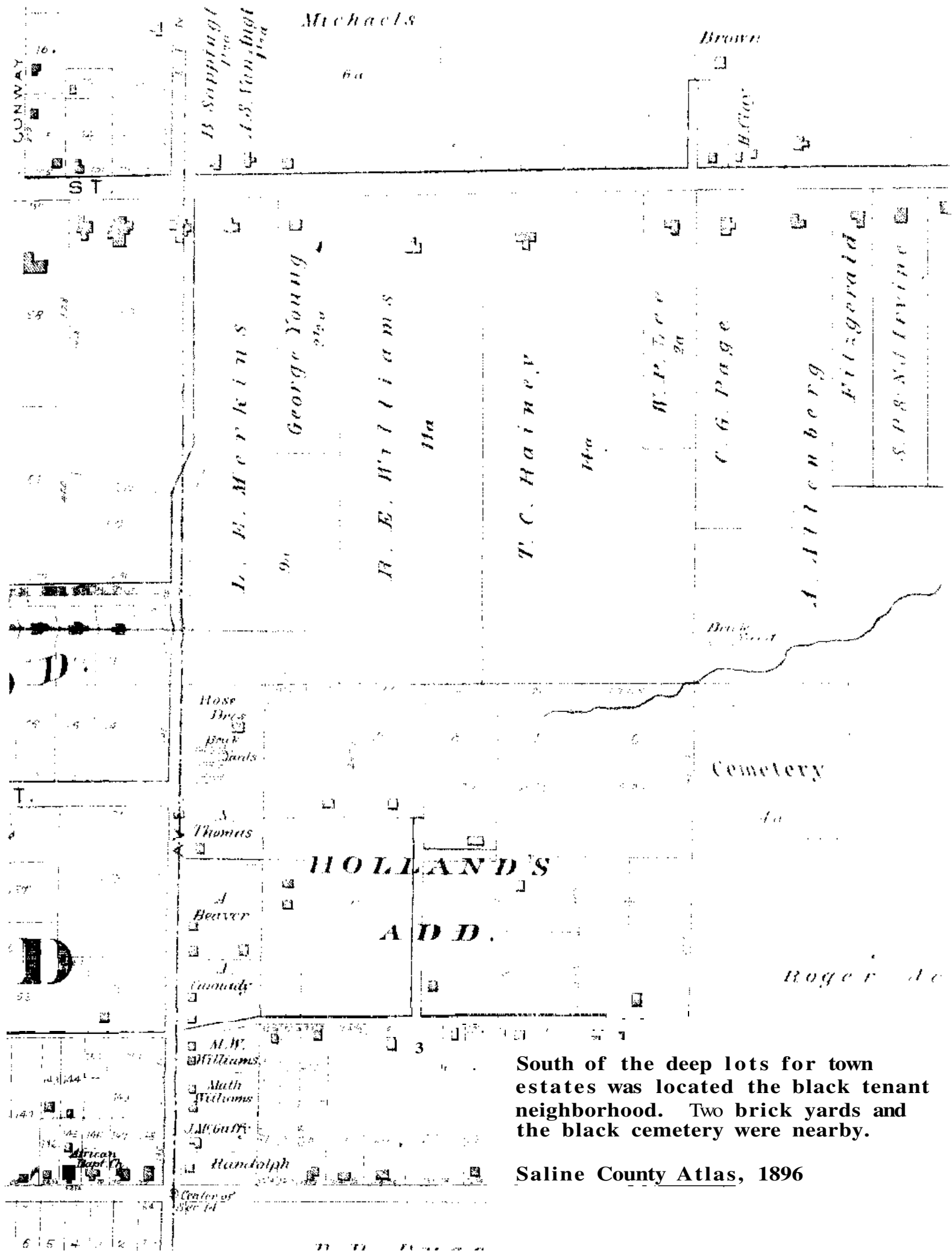
The double pen, single pen and shotgun traditional housing will be recognized by observers of folk architecture. Buildings of inventive, non-traditional forms also appear. The built environment pictured has been replaced by federal housing projects.



Notice in section 14 the block of land labeled, "Africa," and a narrow block of land on the south side of B.H. Hawpe's addition labeled "Negroes."

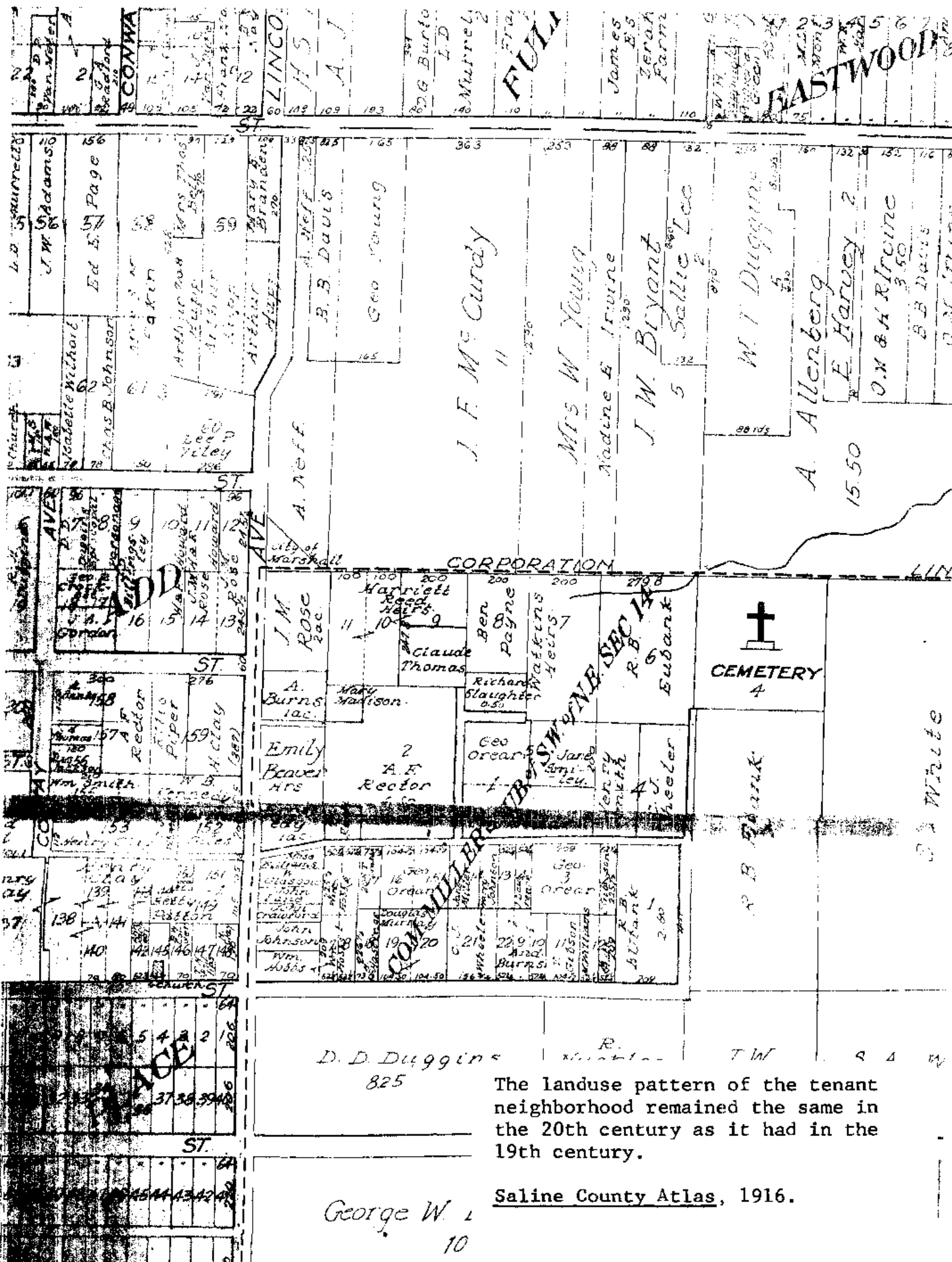
Saline County plat, 1871
Van Dyke real estate, Marshall





South of the deep lots for town estates was located the black tenant neighborhood. Two brick yards and the black cemetery were nearby.

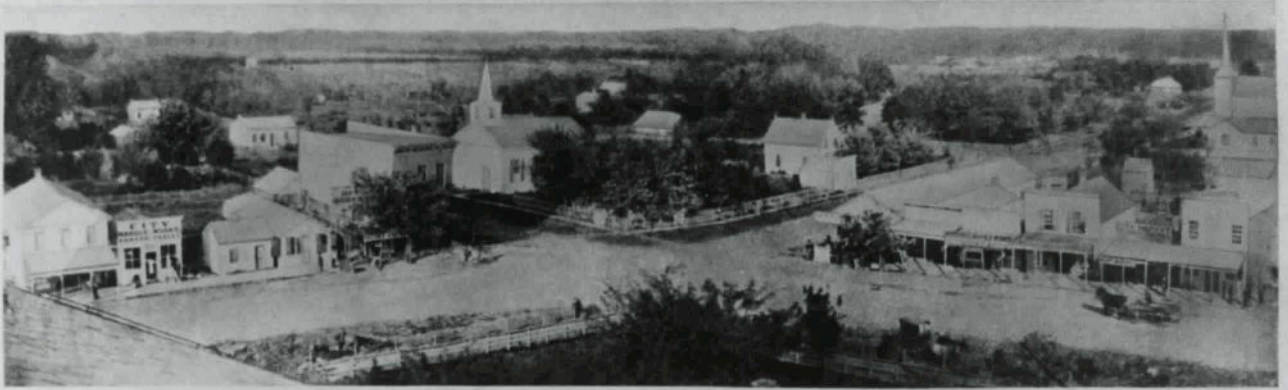
Saline County Atlas, 1896



The land use pattern of the tenant neighborhood remained the same in the 20th century as it had in the 19th century.

Saline County Atlas, 1916.

CITY OF MARSHALL, MISSOURI 1871



North-east corner of square



South-east corner of square



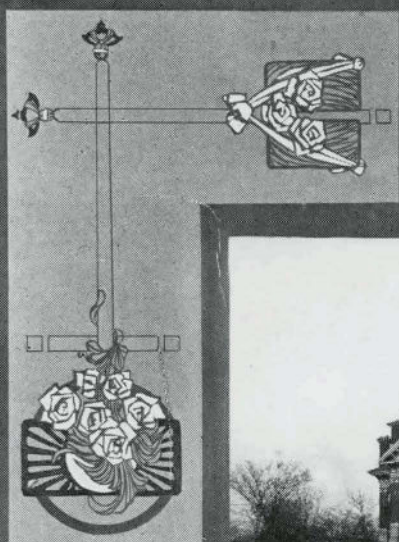
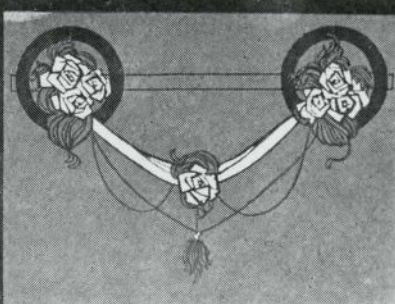
North-west corner of square



South-west corner of square



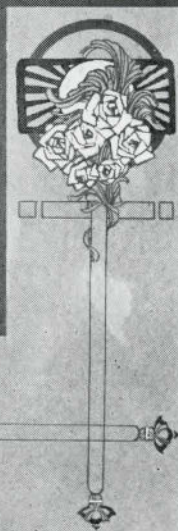
NORTH SIDE



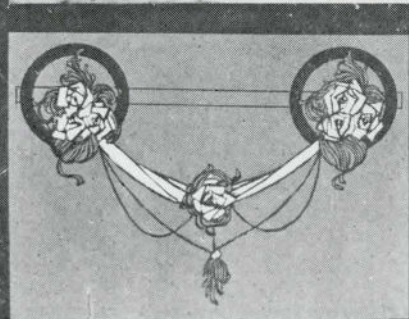
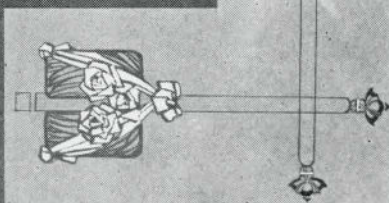
EAST SIDE



SALINE CO COURT HOUSE



WEST SIDE



SOUTH SIDE

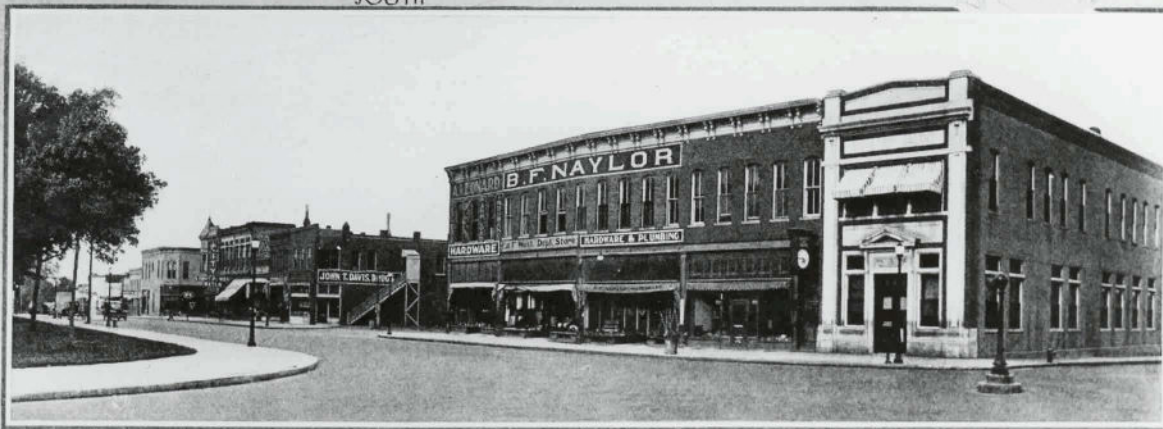
PUBLIC



EAST



SOUTH

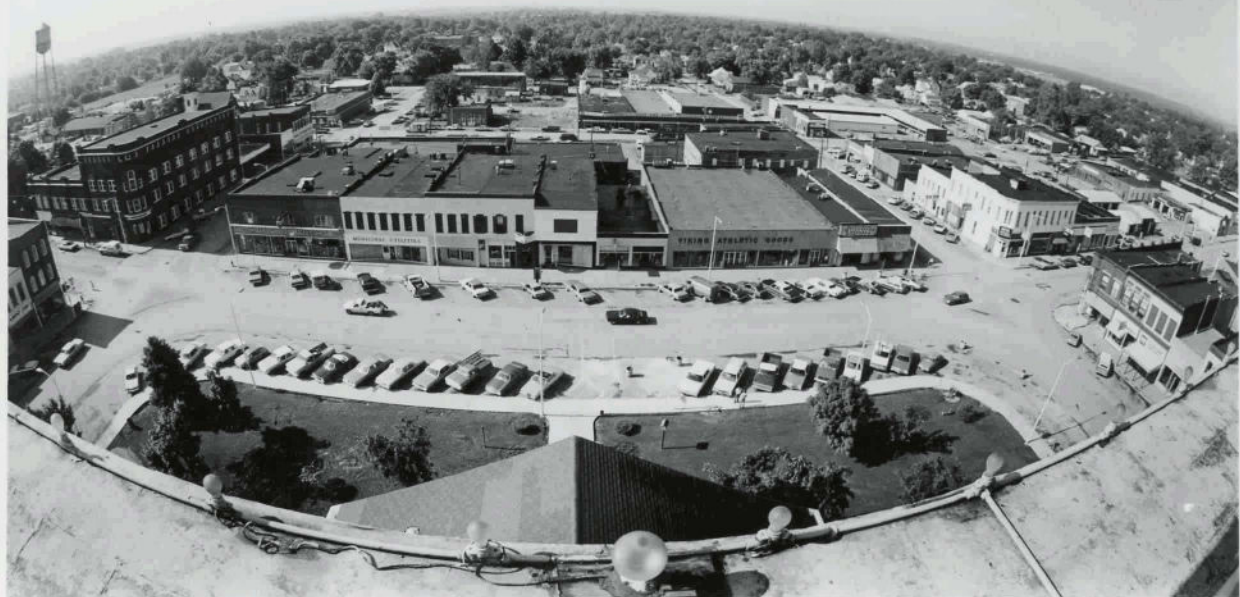


WEST



NORTH

SQUARE



SOUTH



EAST

Photos by Casey, 1982
Lee's Studio, Marshall



WEST



NORTH

Photos by Casey, 1982
Lee's Studio, Marshall



Courthouse square, 1976,
looking southeast.
State Historical Society
of Missouri.



Deep lots and mature trees emphasize the park-like quality of some blocks in the East Woods.

Chamber of Commerce,
Marshall, Missouri

East North Street

Chapter Eight: Notes

1. Robert W. Duffner, "Slavery in Missouri River Counties, 1820-1865," PhD, University of Missouri, 1974.
2. Ibid., p. 13, 16, and 21.
3. Meyer, Heritage of Missouri, p. 320.
4. Napton abstract, and newsclipping, "Excerpt from Will of Asa Finley in 1847, Who Lived in East Saline," newsclipping in Josephine Lawrence Papers.
5. History of Saline County, 1881: 261.
6. Ibid., p. 262.
7. Duffner, "Slavery... ", p. 35.
8. Ibid., p. 199.
9. "Penelope's Freedom," n.p., n.d.
10. Kelly Miller and Joseph Gay, Progress and Achievements of the Colored People, Washington D.C.: Austin Jenkins Co.: 254.
11. Anna M. Davis Scrapbook, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
12. "Penelope's Freedom," and interview by authors with Josephine Lawrence and inspection of her historic photographs.
13. "Penelope's Freedom," n.p., n.d.
14. Ibid. and Josephine Lawrence interview.
15. Letters in Josephine Lawrence Papers.

BUILDERS AND BUILDINGS

Missourians live under an assortment of roofs. Their architecture is as diverse as will be seen almost anywhere.

Irving Pollard, Missouri is All America

A serious study of Saline County traditional and stylistic architecture is yet to be accomplished. The comprehension of Missouri's built environment on the whole has yet to be accomplished. In diverse locales throughout the state, however, important beginnings have begun which will provide county and regional understandings of why structures on the land look the way they do. This survey, in its pictorial record, is one more window which will aid in an understanding of Missouri's traditional and design landscape.

In all communities there have been builders, contractors and architects who have been the arbiters of tradition and style for their communities landscapes. The record of their work is in primary sources, especially local newspapers, which often chronicled the progress of towns. New buildings were always newsworthy to the civic-minded editors, hence builders' careers lie hidden in fine newsprint. The reconstruction of these careers demands months of careful reading and indexing of newspapers. But even in a survey, prominent builders and networks of construction tradesmen often emerge. Such is the case in Marshall.

Dr. John Sappington's influences have already been mentioned. An additional one, however, revolves around the master craftsman, hired by Sappington in Tennessee, and brought to Saline County.

Jesse Lankford, a Virginian, who grew up near Nashville, was obviously a skilled mechanic prior to his immigration with the Sappingtons to Missouri. He built the landmark two-story dog-trot

house for the Doctor, c. 1819, the locally famous Galbraith mill in 1821 at the county seat town of Jonesboro, manufactured salt throughout the 1820s, built a second mill at Jonesboro, and the school at Arrow Rock. Apparently he was a major, if not the most prominent builder for the east Saline County gentry. The 1840s brick Greek-Revival country seats of William B. Sappington's Prairie Park and E.D. Sappington's brick house may have been his work. Whoever did build Prairie Park produced one of the most crucial artifacts for the interpretation of style and tradition in Missouri.

W.B. Sappington's house, as an architectural landmark, is important in at least three ways. First, it is the clearest statement of high style Greek Revival at the beginning of the style's introduction into the state (as opposed to being in the middle or at the end); two, the interior is literally a visual trip from high style in the formal side of the house, and crossing the hall one observed vernacular Greek-Revival that is commonly found throughout the rest of Missouri; and three, the level of elegance is comparable only to St. Louis houses of the period, none of which are extant. Its obvious cosmopolitan character reflects the widely traveled and urbane, merchant-career of its financier, W.B. Sappington. (1)

Jesse Lankford lived nearly a half century beyond the completion of Prairie Park. While approaching his 90th birthday a local author wrote, "Mr. Lankford was the most enterprising man in Saline County, in those days, and through his long life has proved himself one of the most valuable citizens the county has ever had." (2) Thus, this maybe a tribute to the first generally significant Saline County builder.

Another very early craftsman, who built for Saline County gentry, was Virginian, Thomas Shackelford. While in Kentucky Shackelford was a partner with ex-Governor Metcalfe in the stone mason business. Shackelford, one of the first three county judges, continued his brick-laying in Saline County, constructing his 1820 brick Georgian cottage in northeast Saline County. The house, with walnut mantles and oak floors, stood as a landmark until 1930. The mason was proud of his craftsman's skills and Shackelford's son often quoted his father saying, "I am proud of my ancestors' calling and that they realized the fact that all honest men must labor. I sometimes tell my children that I belong to the mudsill aristocracy." (3)

In Arrow Rock there were also craftsmen who worked in wood. Through the 1840s and 1850s the Bingham and McGilton shop provided custom work, and expanded their business into a millworks. McGilton, a carpenter from Maryland, married Joseph Huston's daughter and engaged the milling business with Samuel Huston prior to his partnership with Bingham. By 1830 George Caleb Bingham was apprenticed to a cabinet maker in Boonville. He returned to Arrow Rock, built his house and perhaps others, and became known as an artist than a carpenter. His brother, Henry V. Bingham, Jr., was an "architect and builder." How much of Henry's activity was in central Missouri, presumably a substantial portion, was not determined by this survey. (4)

During the 1850s and 1860s Benjamin Buckner, a Virginia carpenter, worked in Saline and Lafayette Counties. He reputedly built nearly all the houses in rural Mt. Leonard and Shackelford. His reputation gained him the construction contract on the post-War courthouse. Unfortunately Buckner failed to adequately pro-

tect the courthouse construction from inclement weather, consequently, he suffered criticism and rebuke for his negligence from the building commissioner, John McKown. Thereafter he returned to Virginia. During the same period, two other builders, C.F. Odell and Henry Swisher began contracting in Marshall and the surrounding townships. Odell, son of Marshall's patron, Jeremiah Odell, built houses and engaged the undertaking and cabinetmaking business in Marshall. In 1857, Swisher, a Virginia carpenter and contractor, arrived. "He erected his own buildings," worked at his trade and built a prosperous prairie farm. (5)

The destruction of the Civil War demanded rebuilding on a massive scale throughout central and southern Missouri. In Marshall the rebuilding and construction of the progressive railroad town was a community effort, but the conspicuous roles of Chastain Garland Page and his brother, Edgar Rives Page cannot be overlooked.

Sons of an old Virginia family, the Page brothers' father was a millwright. During the mid-1850s C.G. and Edgar immigrated to Saline County. Ironically enough, John B. Jones' literary western adventures, written from Arrow Rock, inspired C.G. to move West. Beginning in the middle fifties the Page brothers were prominent in building and commercial activities in Marshall and they continued their influence throughout the 19th century and into the 20th.

Edgar R. Page learned carpentry in Virginia. In Marshall his skill earned him county-wide contracts. He spent the War years in the state of Nevada contracting and mining, but in 1866 he resumed a building career in Marshall that approached monumental proportions for a town the size of Marshall. By the 1890s

he (had) erected more buildings than any other contractor, and to him as much as to any one man is due the material advancement of the city from that time to the present.

It is a fact beyond dispute that he practically built the thriving county seat, the majority of the business blocks, public edifices and finer class of residences being the result of his mechanical skill, in addition to which he also erected many dwellings throughout the rural districts and in other towns. (6)

C.G. Page also plied his trade of carpentry upon his arrival in Saline County. His work and civic-mindedness led him to be in charge of laying the cornerstone for the 1882 courthouse, now on the NRHP. (Two years prior, Edgar Page built the country home of Henry Blosser, now on the NRHP.) He established a partnership with P.H. Rea and in 1879 upon arrival of the Chicago and Alton railroad the Rea and Page milling company did a prosperous business. Ed Mitchell and C.G. managed a lumber yard at the corner of Odell and North streets for fifteen years, while Edgar Page was the proprietor of the Marshall Planing Mill on North Lafayette. By 1882, C.G. Page had become one of the original incorporators of the Wood and Huston Bank. (7)

Flouring Mills.....	\$80,000,000	Furniture	\$5,000,000
Carpentering.....	30,000,000	Paints and painting.....	4,500,000
Meat Packing.....	20,000,000	Carriages and Wagons.....	4,500,000
Iron and Castings.....	15,000,000	Bricks.....	4,500,000
Tobacco.....	14,000,000	Marble, Stonework and Masonry.....	4,000,000
Clothing.....	11,000,000	Bakery Products.....	4,000,000
Liquors.....	10,000,000	Tin, Copper and Sheet Iron.....	4,000,000
Lumber.....	10,000,000	Sash, Doors and Blinds.....	3,250,000
Bags and Bagging.....	7,000,000	Cooperage.....	3,000,000
Saddlery.....	7,000,000	Blacksmithing	3,000,000
Oil.....	6,000,000	Bridge Building.....	2,500,000
Machinery.....	6,000,000	Patent Medicines	2,500,000
Printing and Publishing.....	5,500,000	Soap and Candles.....	2,500,000
Molasses	5,000,000	Agricultural Implements.....	2,000,000
Boots and Shoes	5,000,000	Plumbing and Gas-fitting.....	2,000,000

Missouri manufacturing interests.

Notice that at the height of railroad town foundings in Missouri, carpentering ranked second only to flouring mills in the value of the trade.



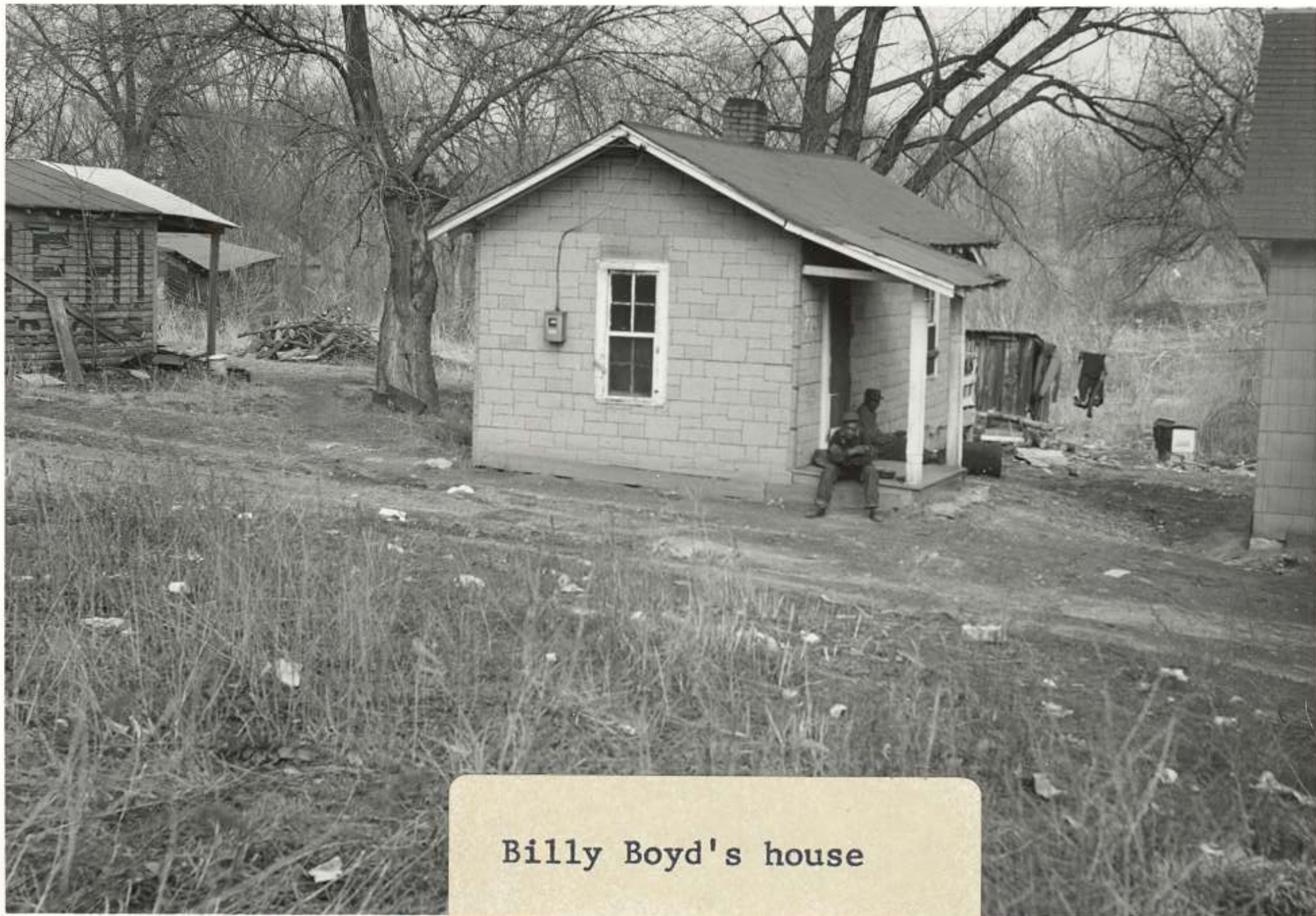
Left to right: Walker's house, Free Will Baptist Church, James Napier and Elwood Parker houses.



Left to right: Lizzie Daniels and Bertha Jackson house, "Blue Moon" tavern, and Aunt Nettie Jackson's place.



Left to right: Mrs. Smiley's
Billy Boyd's, Sam Taylor's,
Sam Moten's, Lizzie Daniel
and Bertha Jackson's, and
the "Blue Moon" tavern.



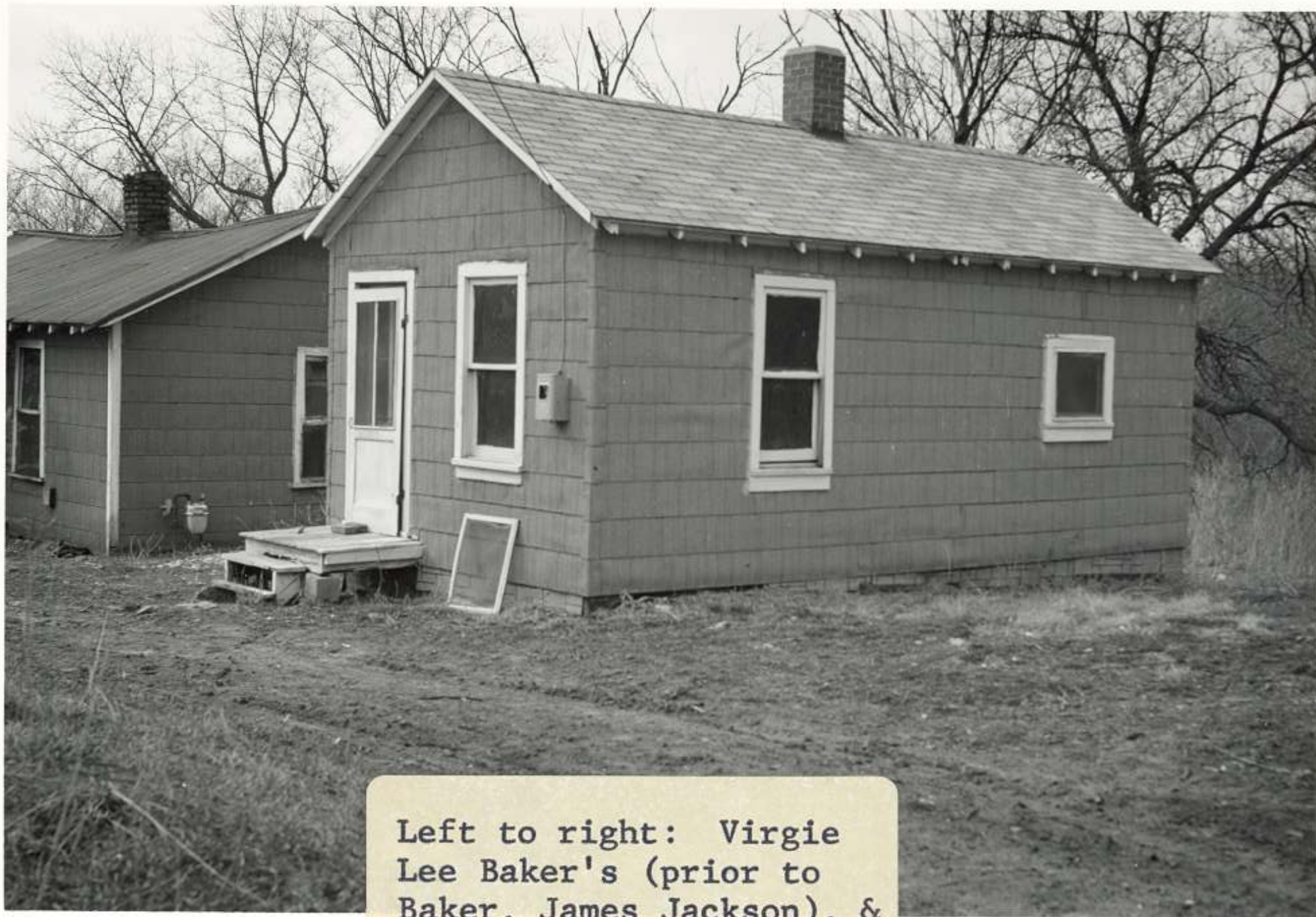
Billy Boyd's house



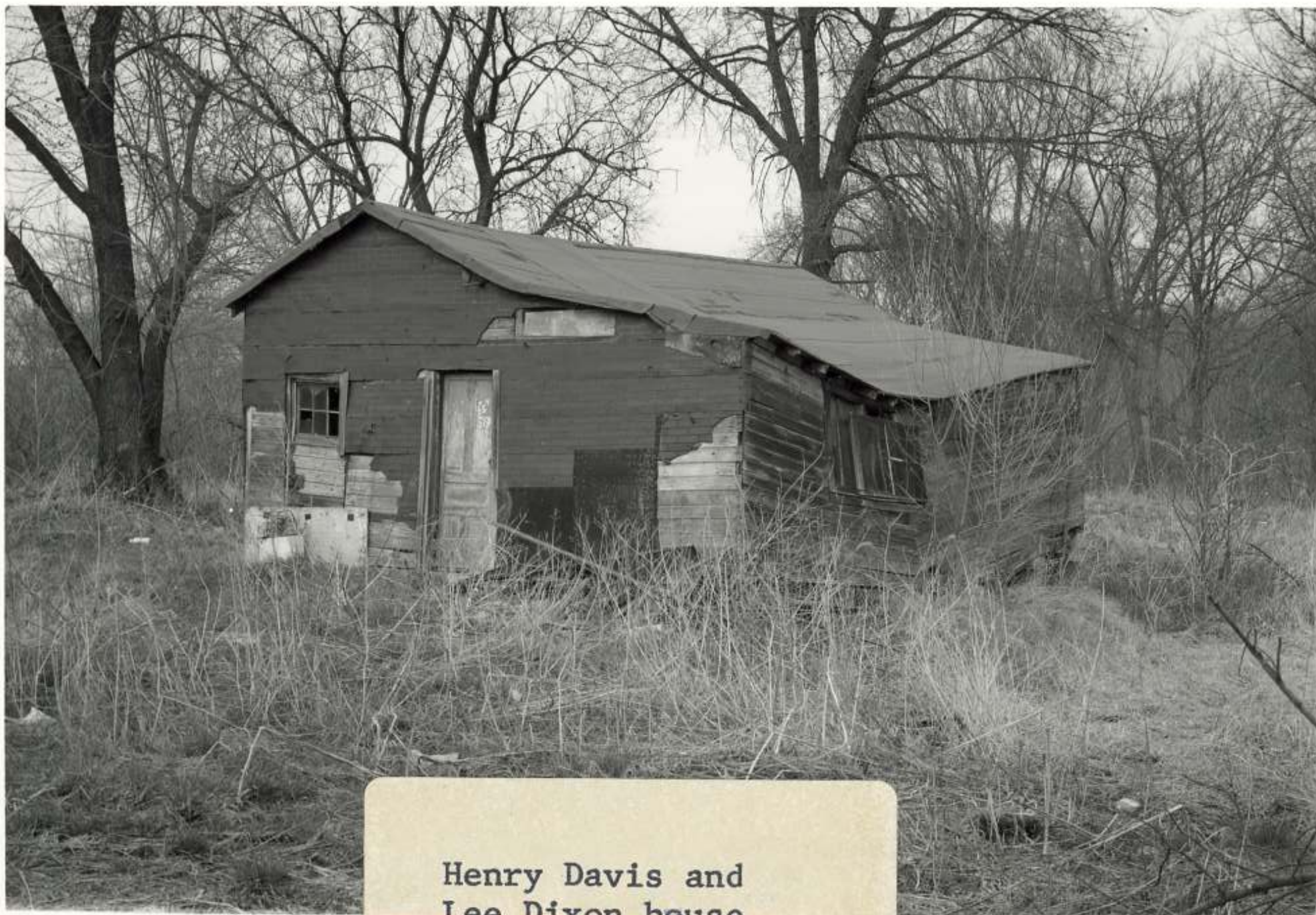
Clara Wood's house;
"Nehi" building in rear
was a "gambling house."



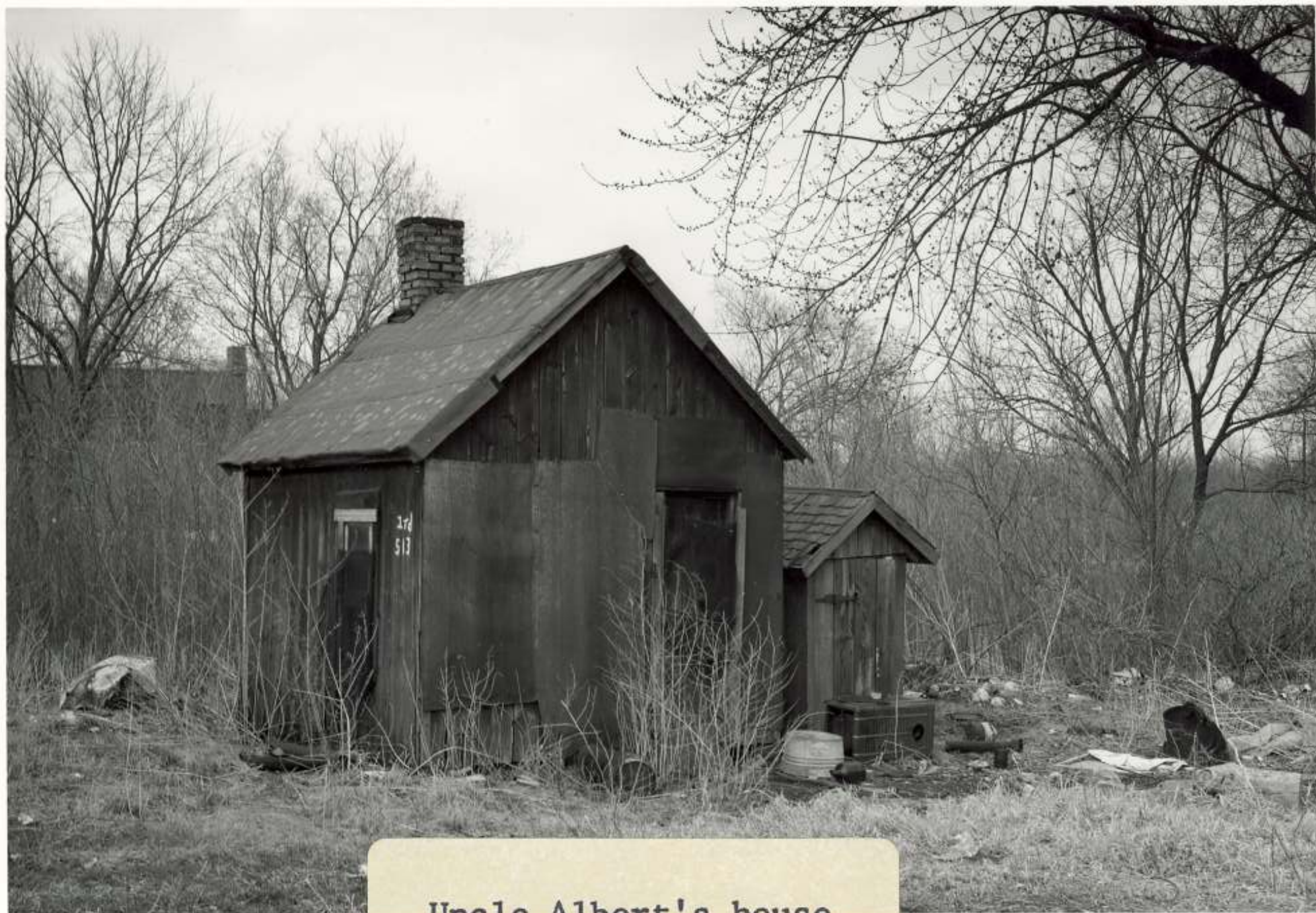
Bob Tindall's
"gambling dive"



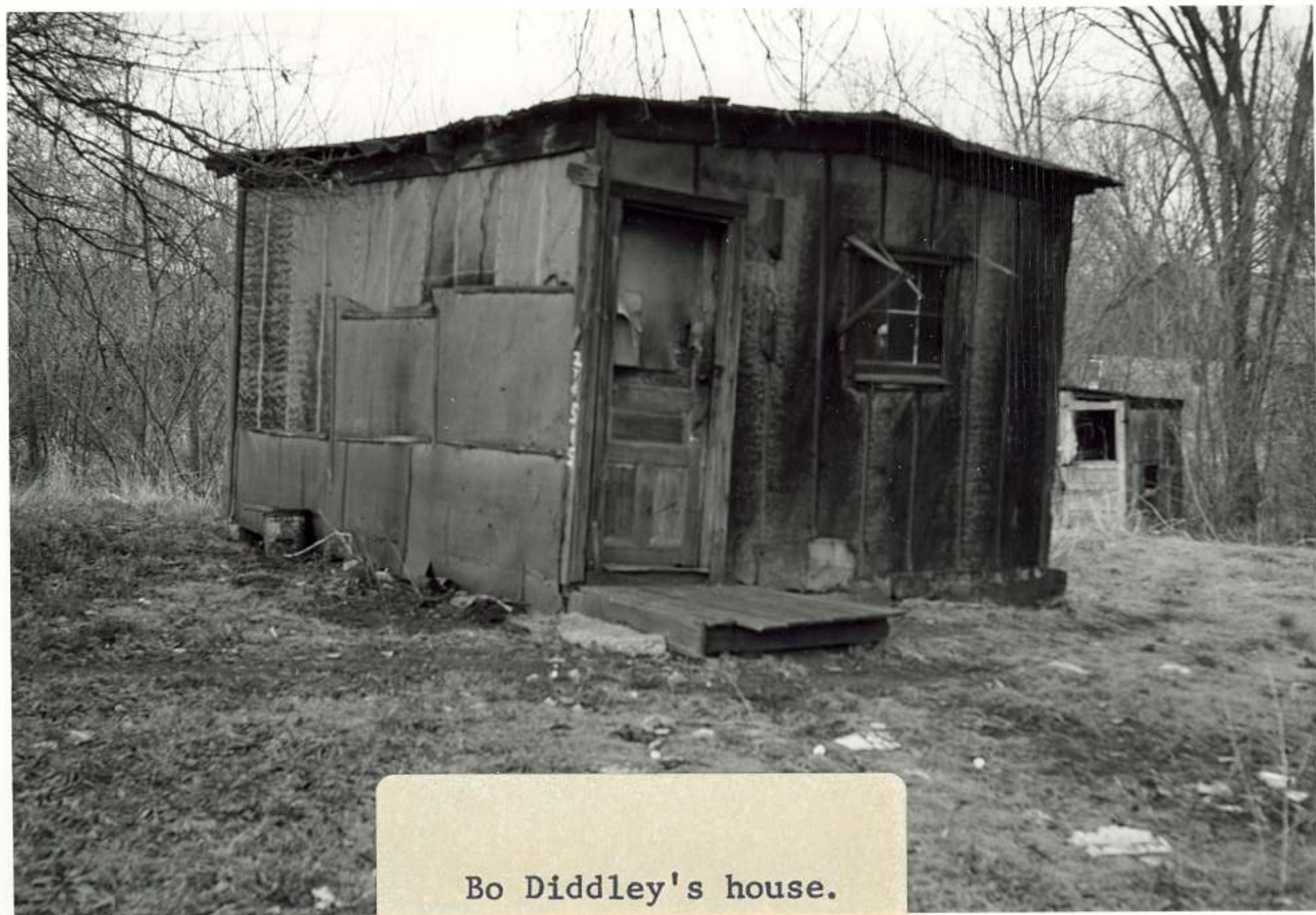
Left to right: Virgie
Lee Baker's (prior to
Baker, James Jackson), &
Odessa Stubbs house.



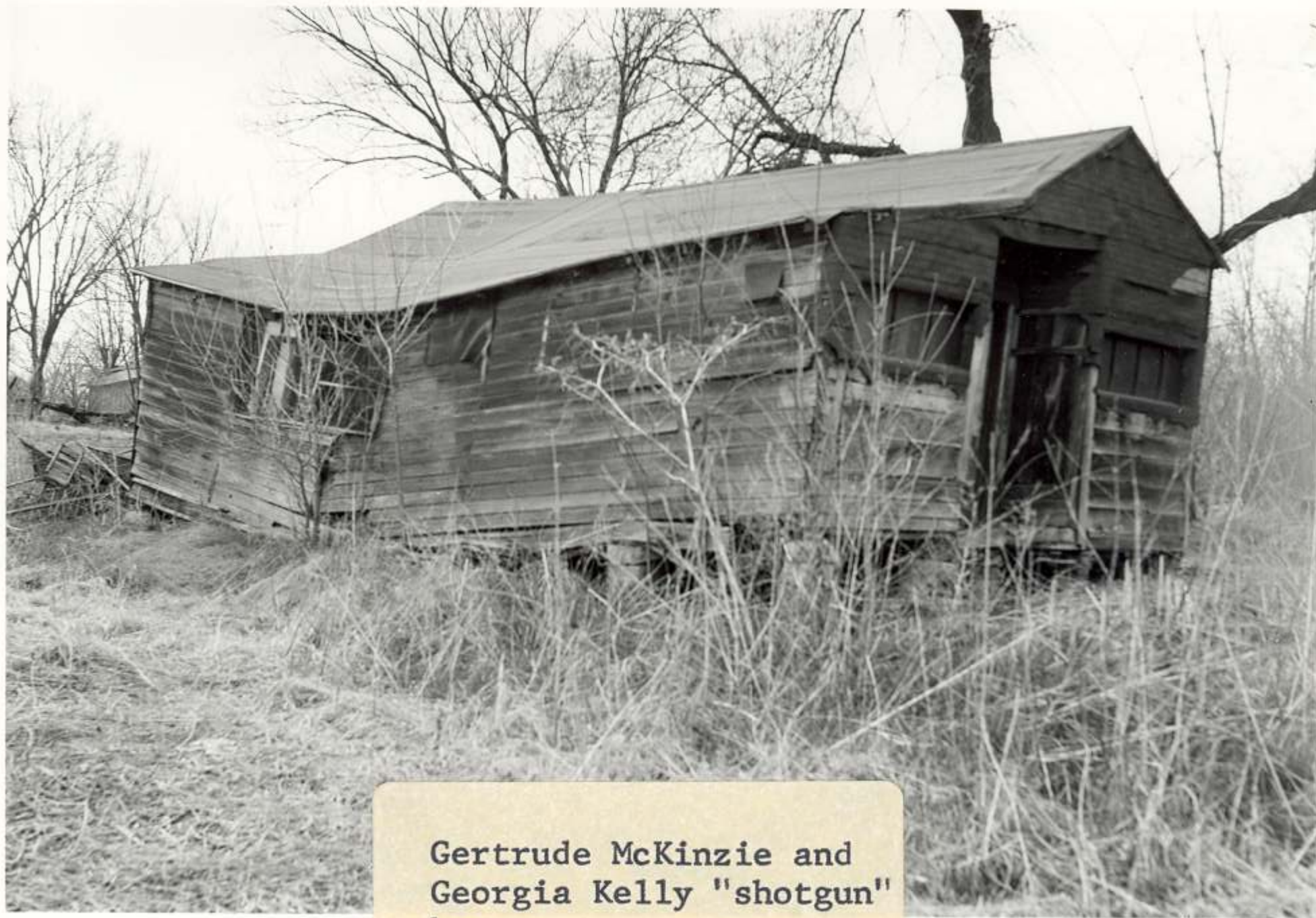
Henry Davis and
Lee Dixon house.



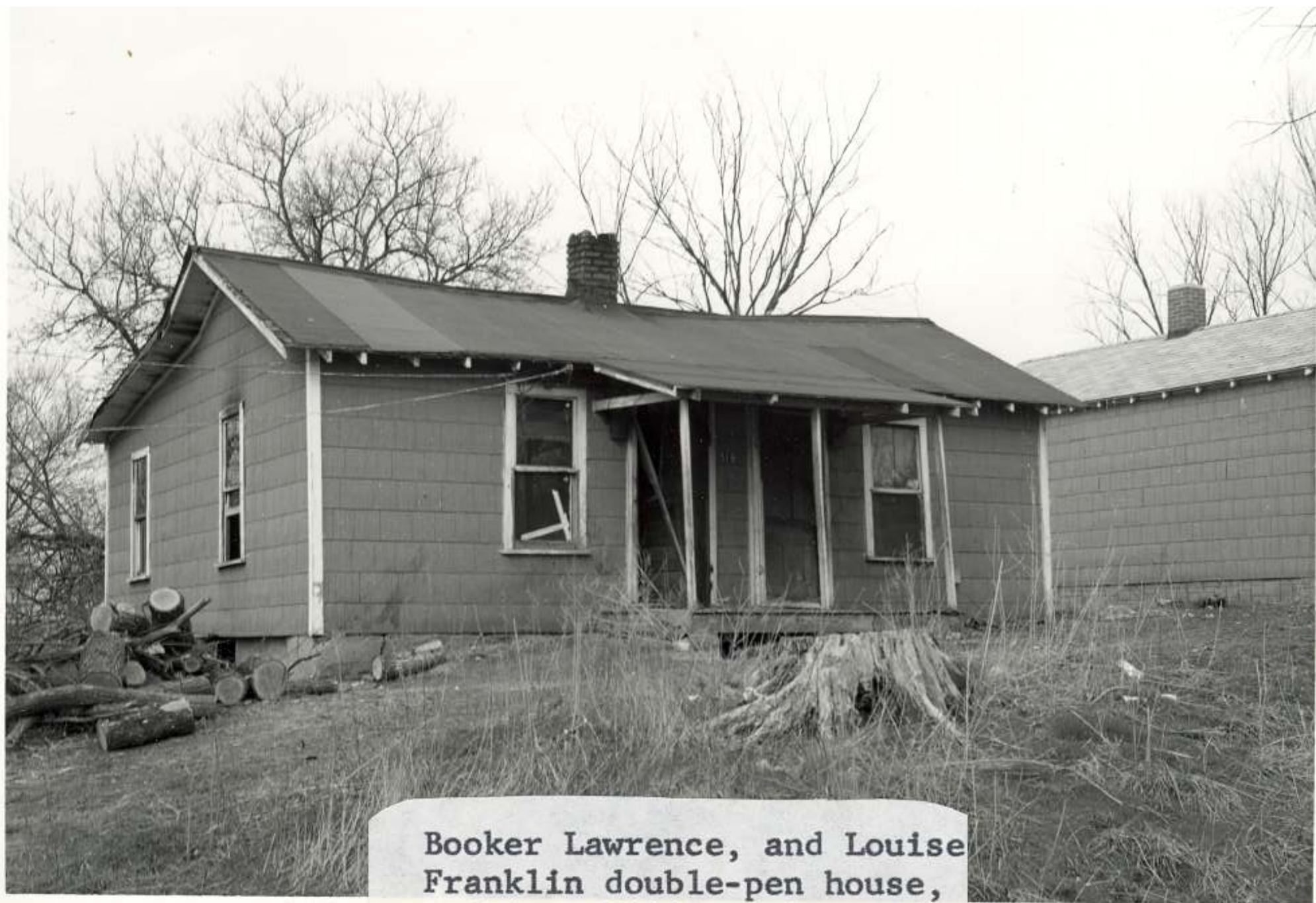
Uncle Albert's house.
Note school in rear
background.



Bo Diddley's house.



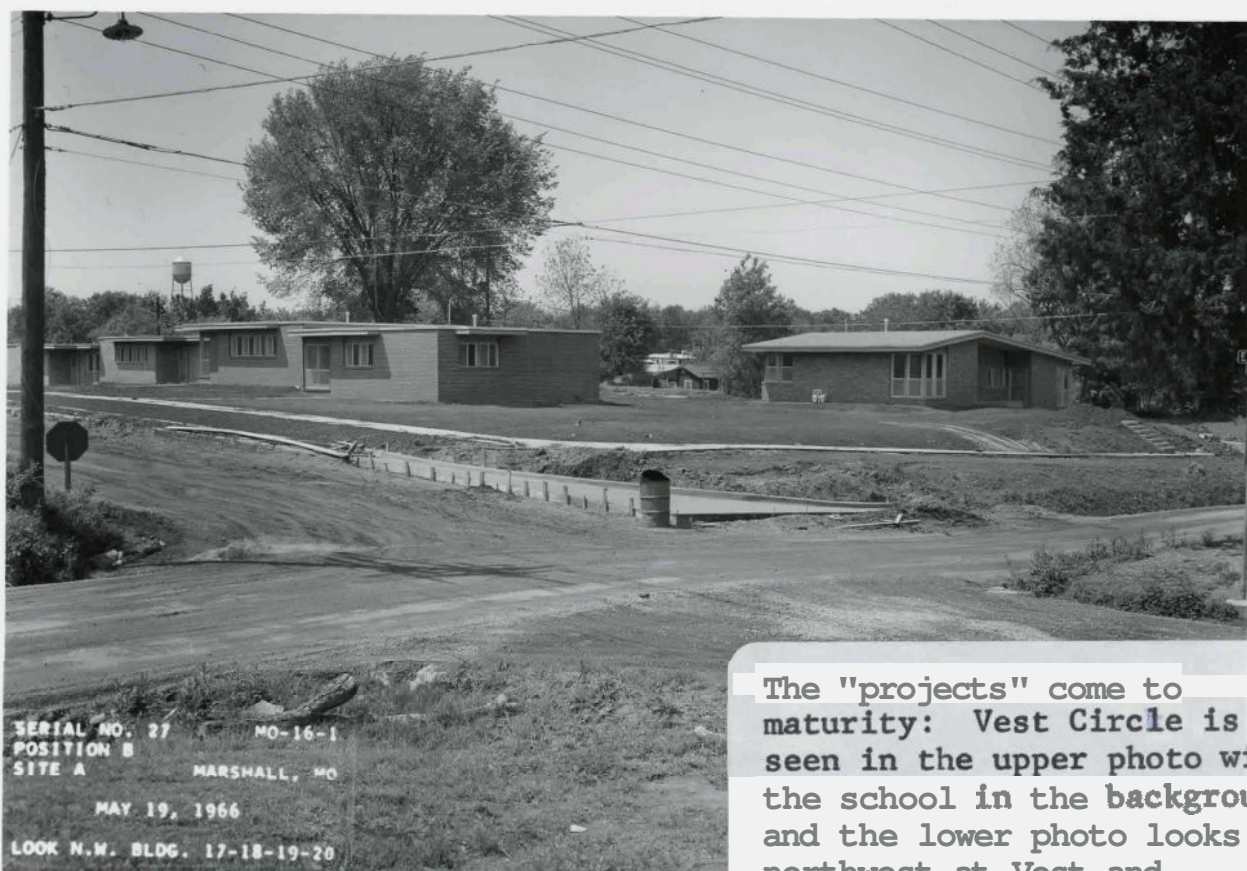
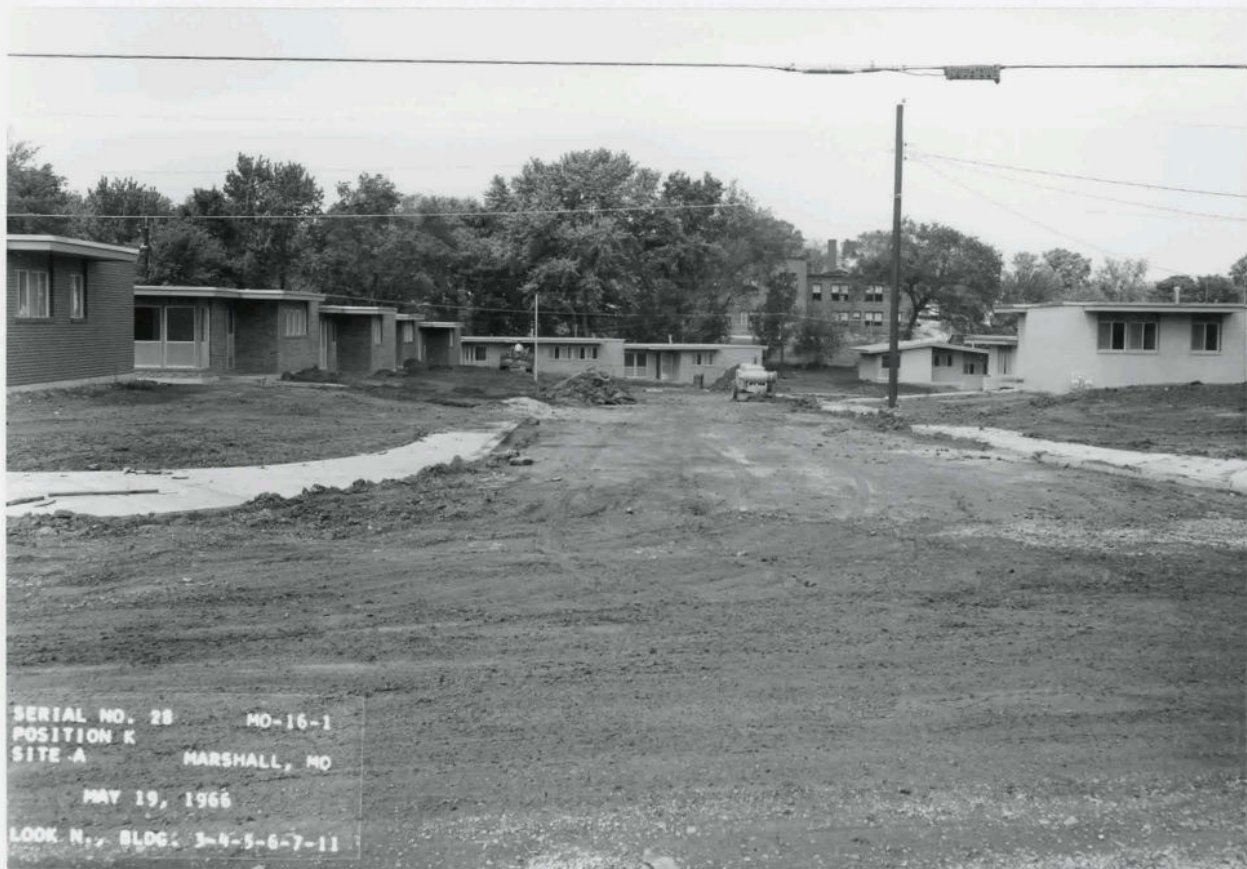
Gertrude McKinzie and
Georgia Kelly "shotgun"
house.



Booker Lawrence, and Louise
Franklin double-pen house,
and Anna Williams house to
the right.



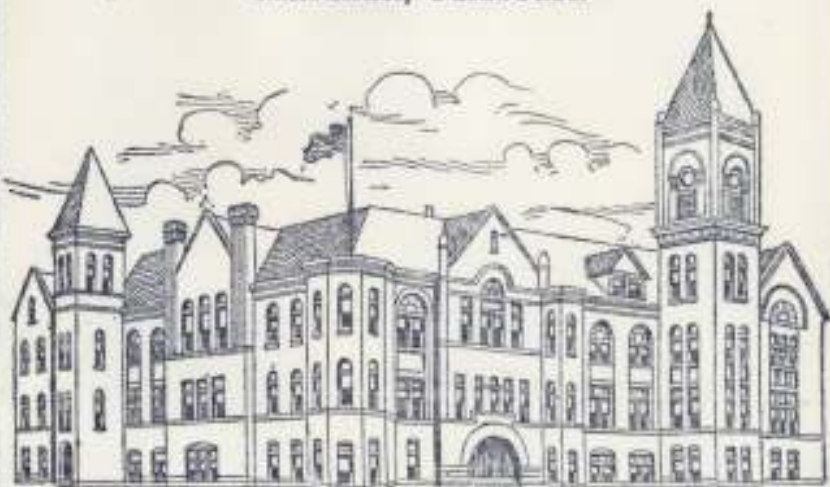
An ubiquitous artifact found on "non-modern" American landscapes. By the late 1950s only one refrigerator per block could be found on some nearby streets.



The "projects" come to maturity: Vest Circle is seen in the upper photo with the school in the background and the lower photo looks northwest at Vest and Lincoln.

Missouri Valley College

Marshall, Missouri.



Course of Study as High as Any Eastern College.

Two New Buildings Including Stewart Chapel.

Classical Course, Philosophical Course, Scientific Course, Mathematical Course, Linguistic Course, Conservatory of Music in new building, Academic Course, Magnificent New Building, 40 acres of College Campus, Beautiful Situation, Specialists in Each Department, Practical Laboratory Work, Fine New Library, Excellent Literary Societies, Athletic Grounds. Fall Terms begins in September of each year. Boarding, \$2.75 to \$3.75 per week.

MARSHALL is a beautiful city of 6,000 population, in Saline county, the richest county in Missouri. It is located at the crossing of the Chicago & Alton and the Missouri Pacific Railroads. For further information, address the president

W. H. BLACK, D. D.,

405 College St., Marshall, Mo.

Contractor, Edgar R. Page, and mason, Andrew Olson, combined efforts and constructed one of Missouri's most well-known private schools.

Photo courtesy of State Historical Society of Missouri.



The Page brothers hailed from a family of social and financial position in Virginia. Supported by resources brought from Virginia, they also brought a community vision and skills to a frontier environment. These two commodities were required in all upwardly mobile towns. Skills and trades associated with building brought high wages on a frontier when there were few of either. The Pages had the requisite training and arrived at an opportune time to become city fathers of Marshall.

In 1867 an arrival from New York, John R. Sparks, began the carpentry trade in Marshall. Again, in 1879 the Chicago and Alton railroad arrived and that event meant a boom in building. Edgar Page expanded his construction crews to two including three dozen men, and hired Sparks as foreman. In 1869 shortly after Sparks' arrival in Marshall, Swedish born Andrew Olson came to Missouri. He utilized his stone-mason skills while following bridge building along railroad corridors. In 1871 he located in Marshall and for many years performed much of the mason work for Edgar Page's construction jobs. (8)

At the turn of the century several carpenters worked in Marshall. Little is known about them by the author, but two deserve special mention. W.P. Gollong lived in and constructed several buildings in the East Woods district as well as throughout Marshall. He built commercial, institutional and residential structures. Several of the finely executed bungalows in Marshall are to his credit. Likewise, another generation of the Page family, Edgar E. Page, built superb bungalows and several of the East Woods district houses.

In an appendix to this chapter, are several dozen interior photographs and selected drawings of spaces photographed in

W. P. Gollong, Contractor

PHONE 941

MARSHALL

In the Kansas City Journal-Post for Sunday, October 7, of this year, appeared a photograph of the new Auditorium for the Methodist Church, South, which will be erected this fall. Accompanying that photograph was an article to the effect that the contract for the work had been awarded and that the old building was being torn down without delay. The article further related that the educational section of the new church was completed about two years ago, space having been left for connecting the new auditorium. The cost of the entire structure was estimated at \$100,000.

It is the purpose of the present article to tell something of the working life and achievements of the man who has done the work on the above mentioned church.

W. P. Gollong is the man's name. He is a native of Marshall and for the past eighteen years has done general contracting on a large scale in this community. Among the edifices he has erected and which stand today as testimonials to his ability are the Benson school in the west part of town, the suburban home of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Duggins, the Robt. Bagnell residence on Highway No. 40 and the Telephone Exchange at Plater.

Mr. Gollong has just completed work on the fine new residence of M. J. Alderman on Eastwood. The home of Mrs. Minnie Barnett on East North Street and the Groeschel Apartments were also constructed under his direction, as was the athletic field of Missouri Valley College. A stadium is to be added in the near future.

When the Nicholas-Beazley aircraft buildings were to be erected, Mr. Gollong received the contract and in addition

to this he constructed the hangars at the airport. His average yearly payroll is in excess of \$50,000, and this figure represents half of Mr. Gollong's total income annually. This money paid in salaries returns indirectly

to the community—\$50,000 each year, \$1,000 each week.

Two motor trucks are required constantly by Mr. Gollong in the conduct of his extensive general contracting business. Mr. Gollong makes his offices at his home, corner of Eastwood and Odell streets. The telephone number is 941.

At the present time Mr. Gollong's organization is engaged not only in the erection of the church already mentioned, but in remodeling a garage at Plater. Thirty men are employed on these two jobs.

Mr. Gollong is a self-made man in the best sense of the term. He has demonstrated his abilities not only as a contractor, but as a carpenter at one time and then as an architectural draftsman. In fact, for a number of years he made all his own drawings and blue prints, but recently he has not been able to spare the time for these special aspects of his general work.

Although not a graduate of any higher institution of learning, Mr. Gollong has a thorough and complete knowledge of the business in which he is engaged. Like many others, he has gained this in the school of experience, his theory of life being that no lessons are so deeply impressed upon young minds as those learned in the school of hard knocks.

In talking to this kindly good natured man, a person instinctively knows that he is always willing to tackle any job and make good at it. No construction project can be big enough or complicated enough to "stump" him. He will sit down and figure out every problem in full detail, slighting nothing, and then with carefully laid plans he

will begin the task, certain that the outcome will be such a piece of work as any craftsman might well be proud of.

For these reasons W. P. Gollong enjoys the respect and Confidence of the entire community.



W. P. GOLLONG

Book of Commerce in Marshall
Saline County, 1929.

NO JOB TOO BIG—NONE TOO SMALL

Saline County Historical
Society.

commercial and residential buildings. They range widely in style and chronology. They do, however, exhibit craftsmanship, tasteful design and careful maintenance by their proprietors which are the marks of a distinctive and articulate commercial and residential landscape.



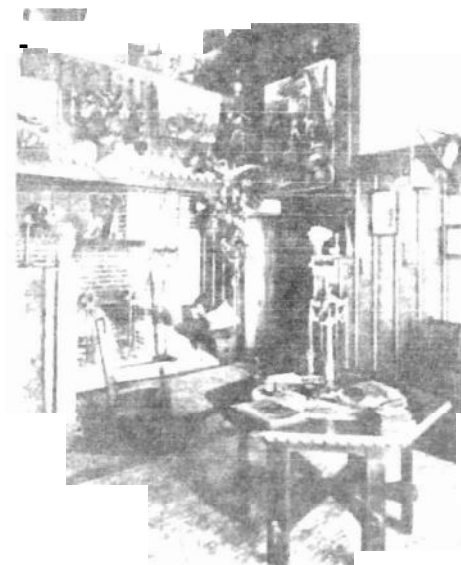
View from Lake Oconomowoc. The House Faces South, Overlooking the Water



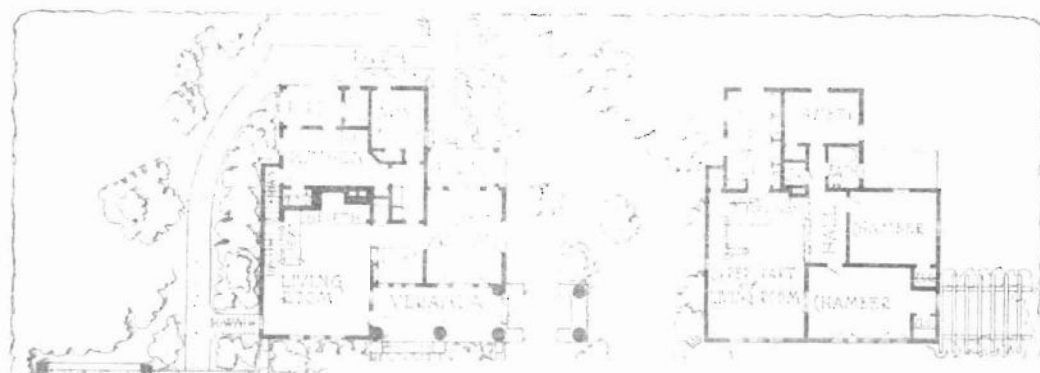
An Architect's Home

*Alfred C. Clas, Architect
Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

THIS is a fine example of the possibilities of simple country house architecture, and shows excellent handling of a plaster house. The value of garden features to the design has been recognized by the owner and developed. The varied window treatment gives a picturesque quality to the house. This charming home, which is located on the north shore of Oconomowoc Lake, Wisconsin, about 35 feet above the level of the water, was built in 1907. The cost, including the terrace, electric lighting plant, lighting fixtures, and complete system of plumbing and heating, was \$8,000.

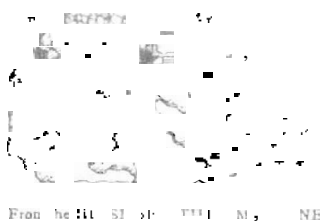


The View of the Two-Story Living Room Shows the Attractive Fireplace and Balcony Above



Marshall's proximity to Kansas City and a consciousness of **style** by the middle-class often produced very up-to-date pattern **book** houses.

The Bellamy house on North Street was adapted from plans similar to this one.



From the Hill Street View, N. E.

von Holst, Country and Suburban Homes of the Prairie School Period, 1982

Chapter Nine: Notes

1. The interpretation was provided by James Denny. For what Prairie Park represents in brick, John Hardeman's house, though later, may represent in frame.
2. History of Saline County, 1881: 647-648.
3. History of Saline County, 1967: 369. There are few published accounts dealing with the pattern of buildings in Missouri. One, an ephemeral pamphlet by Milton Rafferty, "Ozark House Types," Springfield: Aux-Arc Book Company, n.d., is an unfortunate experiment by a veteran cultural geographer. Rafferty's knowledge of Fred Kniffen's work in the field of folk architecture and Don Glendenon's writing about buildings in his dissertation on the Courtois hills seems not to have had any effect on "Ozark House Types." Likewise Rafferty's chapter about "Cultural Landscape" in Ozarks, Land and Life, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980, excluded a scholarly understanding of the folk architectural environment. Russell Gerlach's, "The Germans: Settlement Patterns," in Immigrants in the Ozarks, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976, attempted a classification system which is unknown to standard folk architectural descriptions. Unfortunate categories of "linear houses, small, low-quality houses, Ozark house type, one-room shack, Corn-Belt house" and others have little to do with any form, style, tradition or building patterns discussed in scholarly landscape studies. Howard Marshall's Folk Architecture in Little Dixie, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981, is a folklorist's view of Missouri's Little Dixie region. It is a serious attempt to describe some of Missouri's cultural landscape, and as such, it is an important beginning. While many of Marshall's generalizations are appropriate and apply to his study area, the lack of regional contrast anywhere in the state leaves many questions. The folk architectural field itself needs a revision of its vocabulary of house types to better articulate relationships between house plan and house type. Marshall's study would be improved if it included more of an historical dimension, a chronological perspective of structures, and attention to stylistic influences in traditional architecture. But in fairness to Marshall, no one has as yet in any publication articulated Missouri's built environment. The interpretations of Missouri's various landscapes has yet to be fully described, understood, comprehended, or interpreted. The historic preservation survey of the state is now reaching a point whereby advances towards these goals of interpretation may be reasonably approached.
4. "Bingham" by James Rollins Bingham, 1905: 5 and 7, Bingham Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.
5. History of Saline County, 1881: 656 and 762, and History of Saline County, 1910: 443.
6. History of Saline County, 1910: 634.

7. Ibid., p. 644-645, Thomas Spencer, "Chastain G. Page, An Appreciation," n.p., n.d., and Atlas of Saline County, 1896: 62.
8. History of Saline County, 1881: 751-752.

SELECTED COMMERCIAL, "OLD TOWN" AND
AND
RESIDENTIAL, "EAST WOODS,"
DRAWINGS AND INTERIOR PHOTOGRAPHS
OF
THE MARSHALL SURVEY

Photography: James Denny

Drawings: Kristen Kalen Morrow



Van Dyke's Real Estate







vault



Reid
Jewelery

shelves

54'

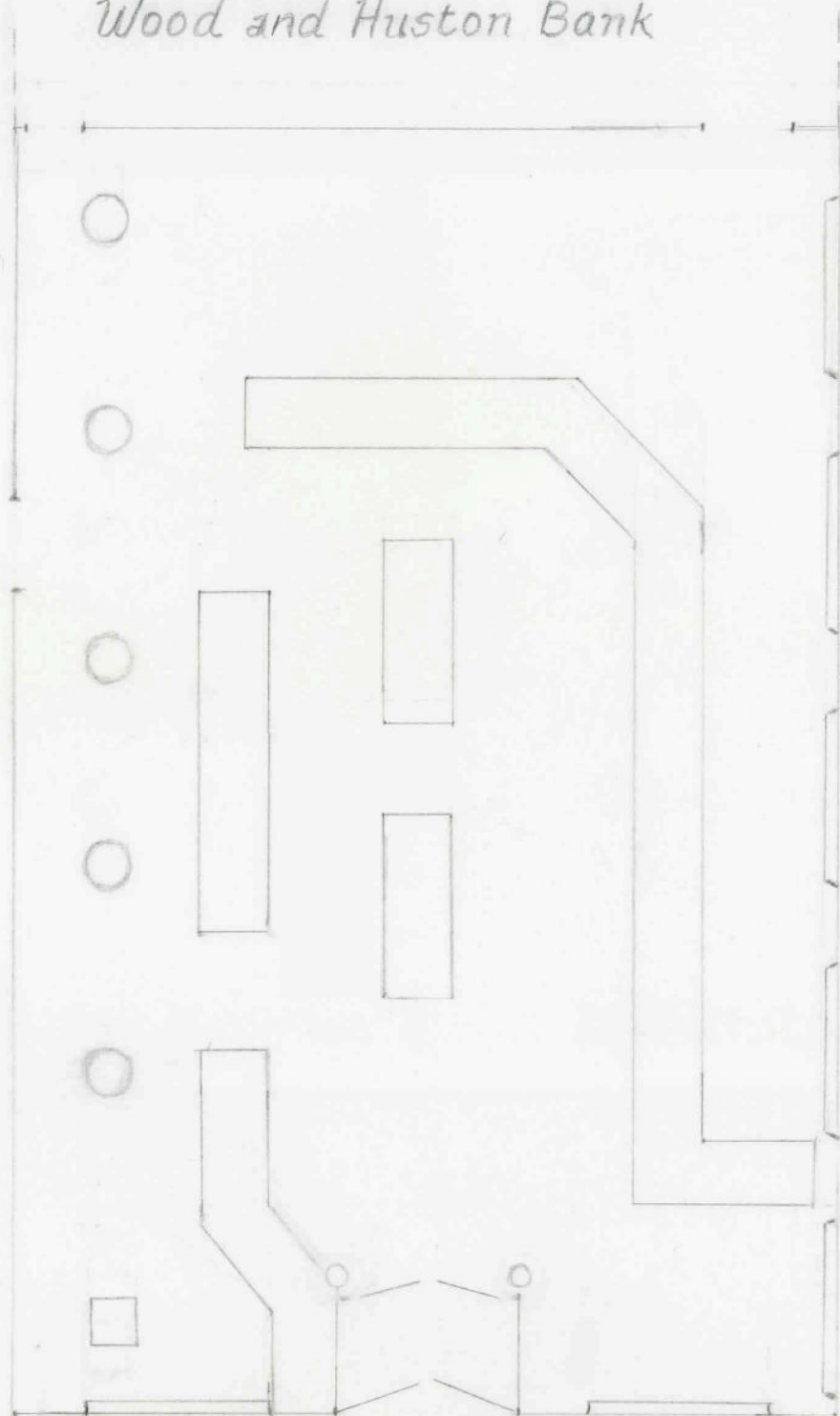
shelves

17'6"





Wood and Huston Bank



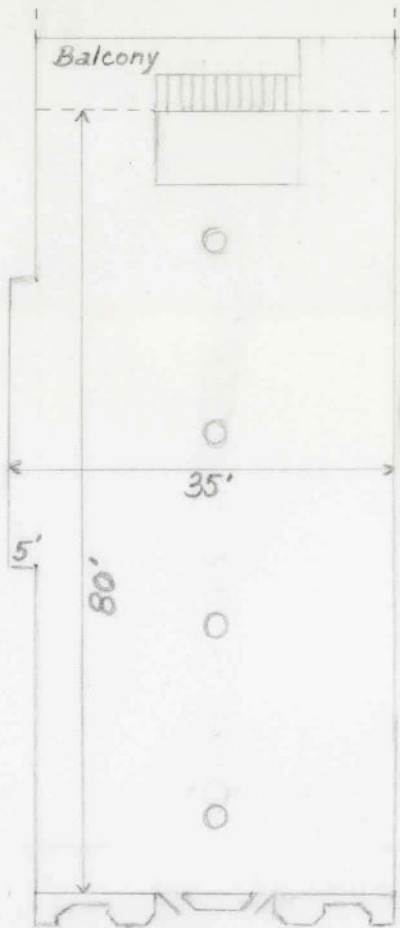








Rose and Buckner









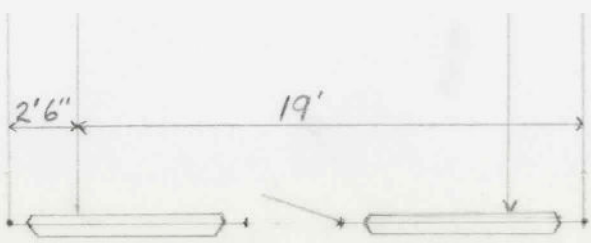


2'6"

N ←

Cut Price Clothing Store

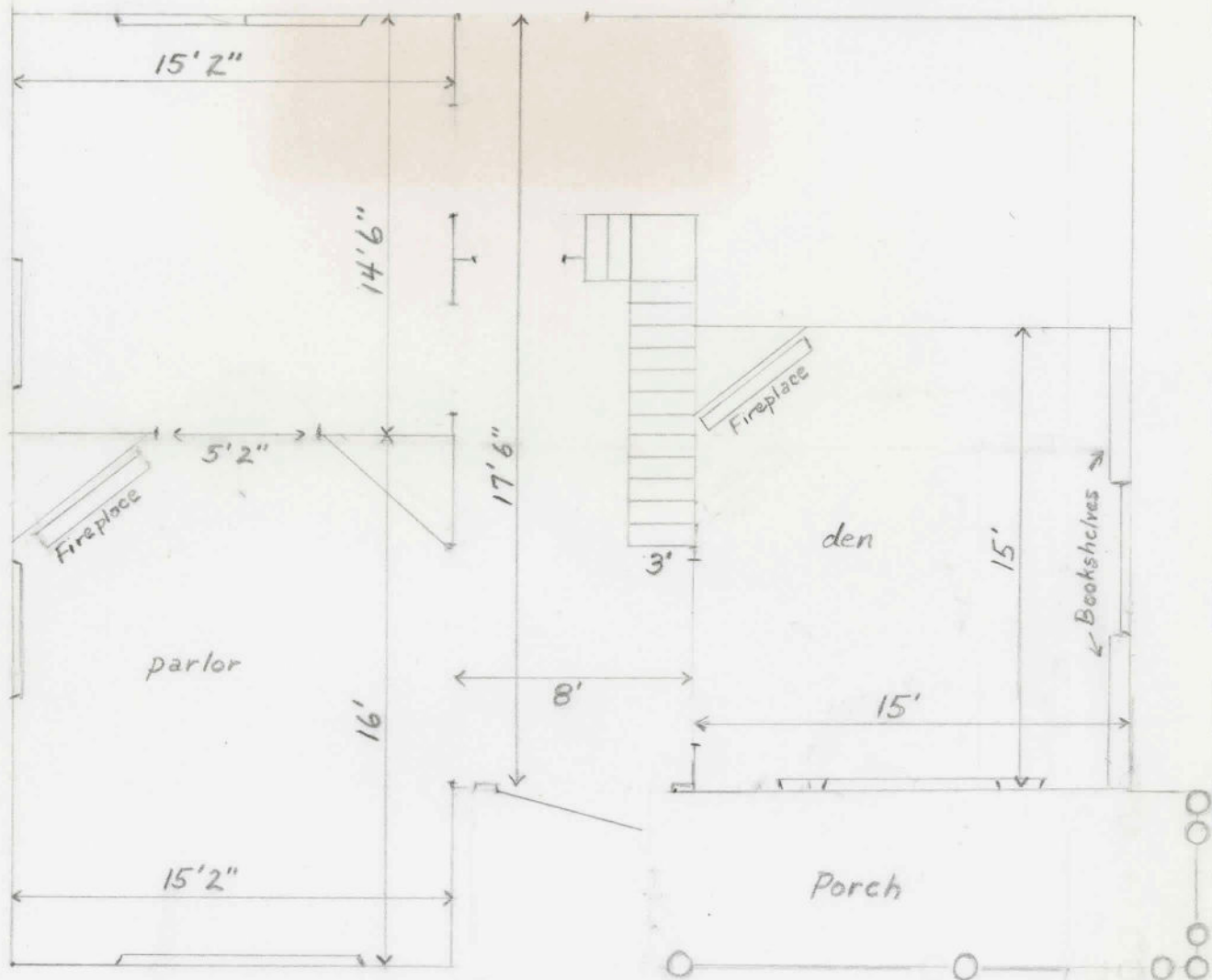
63'6"





The East Woods

Huff residence
331 E. North



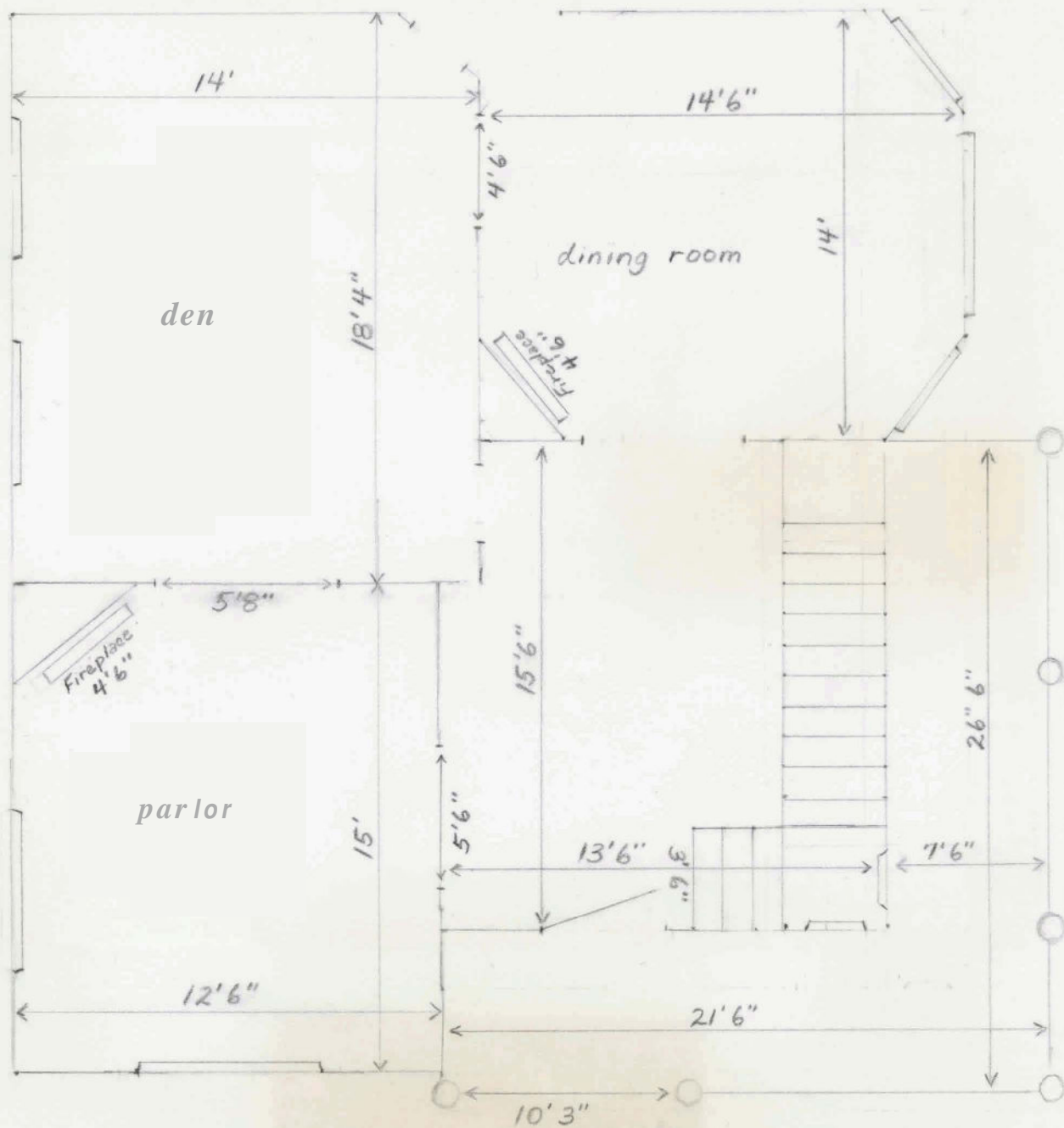








Fahnestock residence
308 E. Arrow





View from parlor into den,
looking south



dining room,
looking east





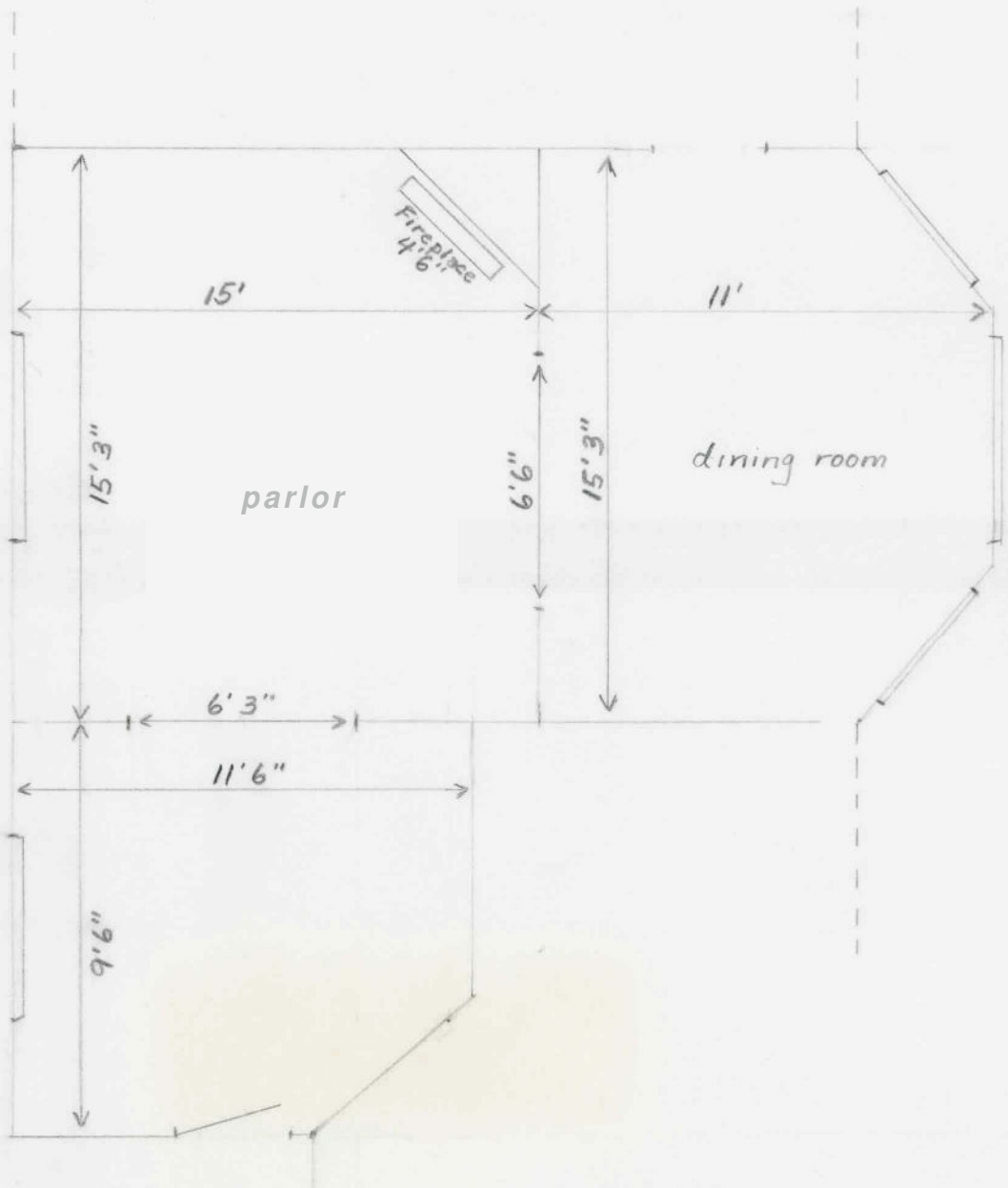
dining room



parlor

Ratcliffe residence
516 E. Arrow

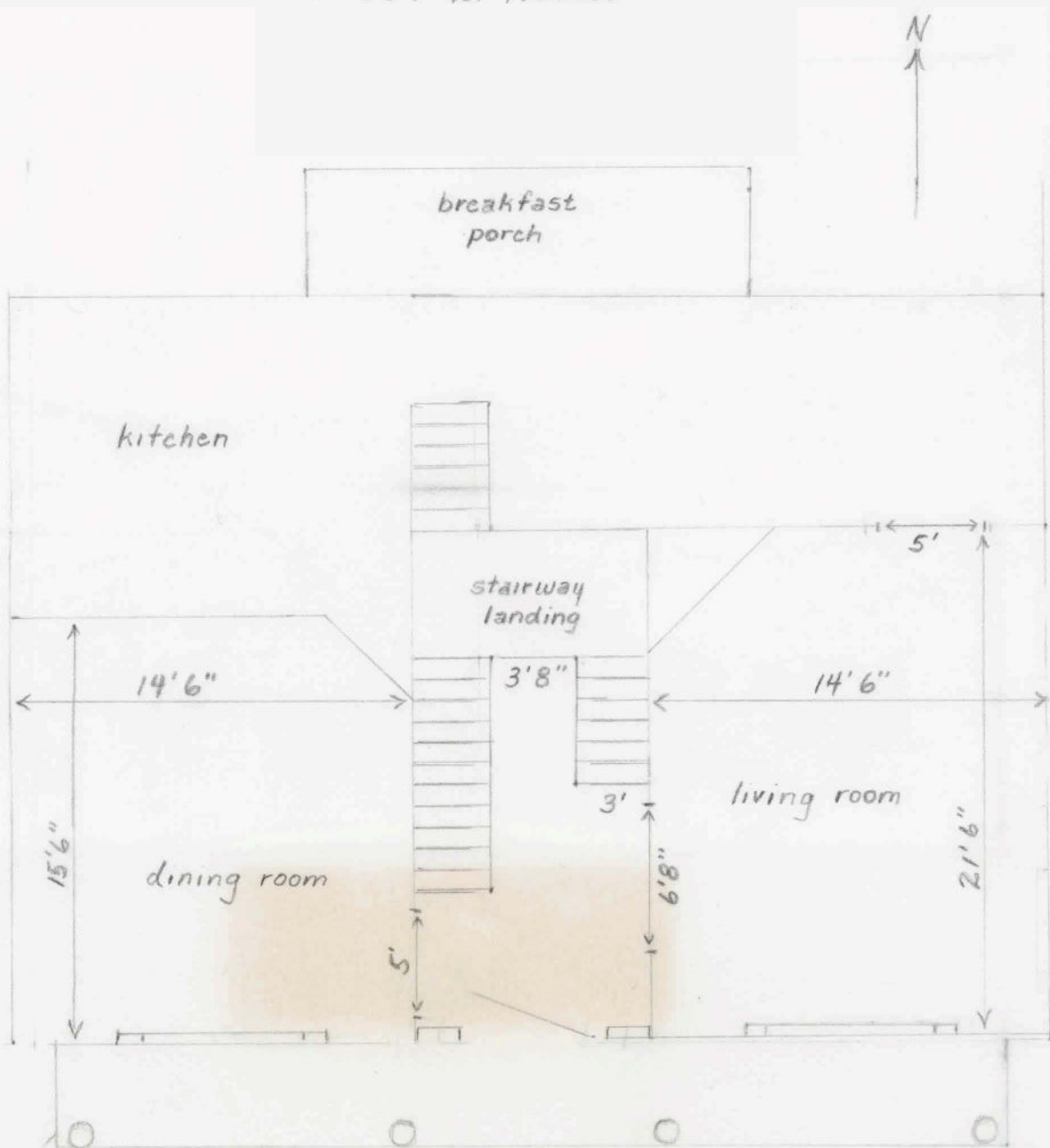
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View from parlor
into dining room,
looking southwest

Warner residence
309 E. North







Views in dining room

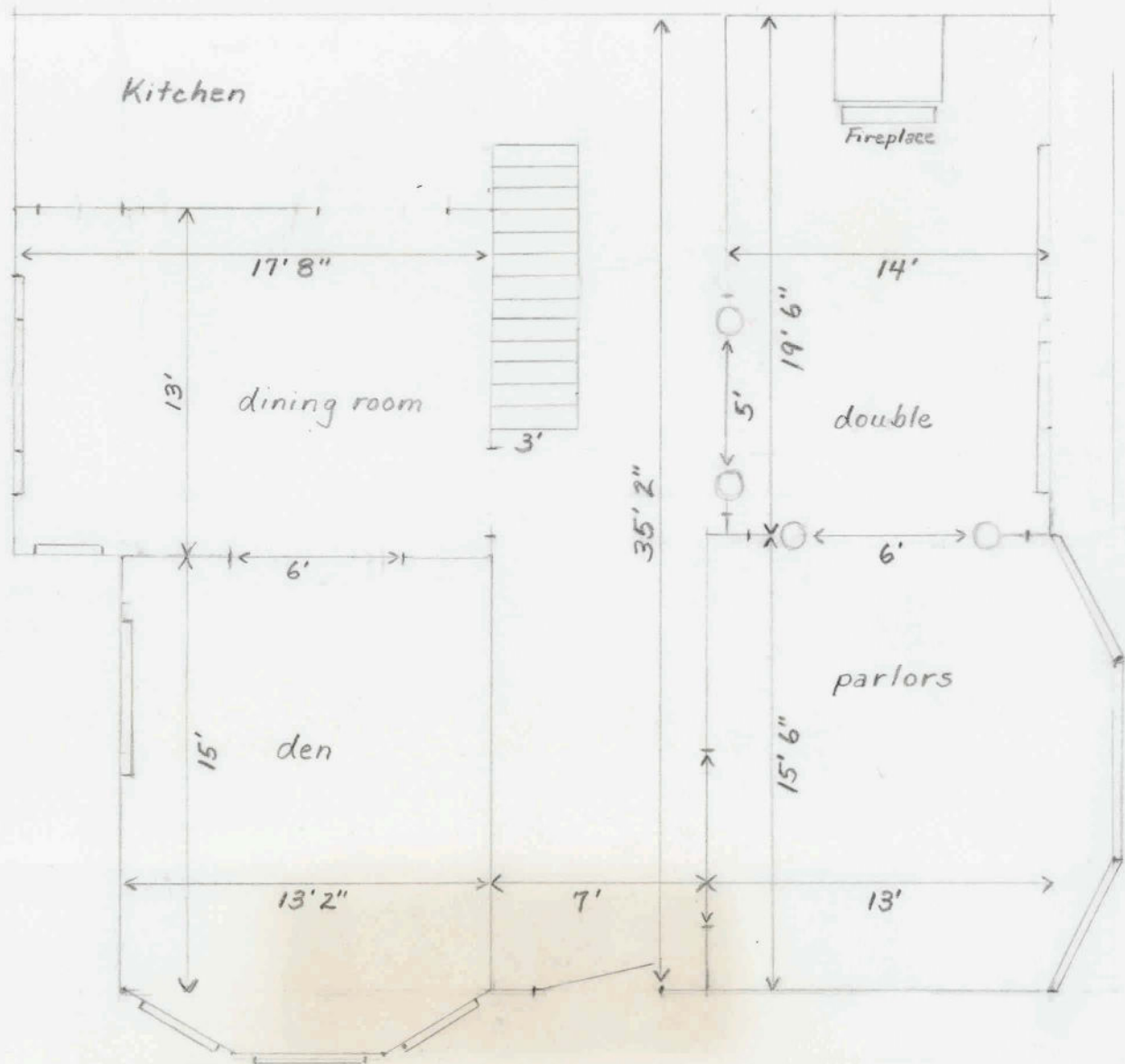


View into dining room
from hallway,
looking west



View from 2nd floor
hallway,
looking north

Stapleton residence
124 N. Brunswick



N ←





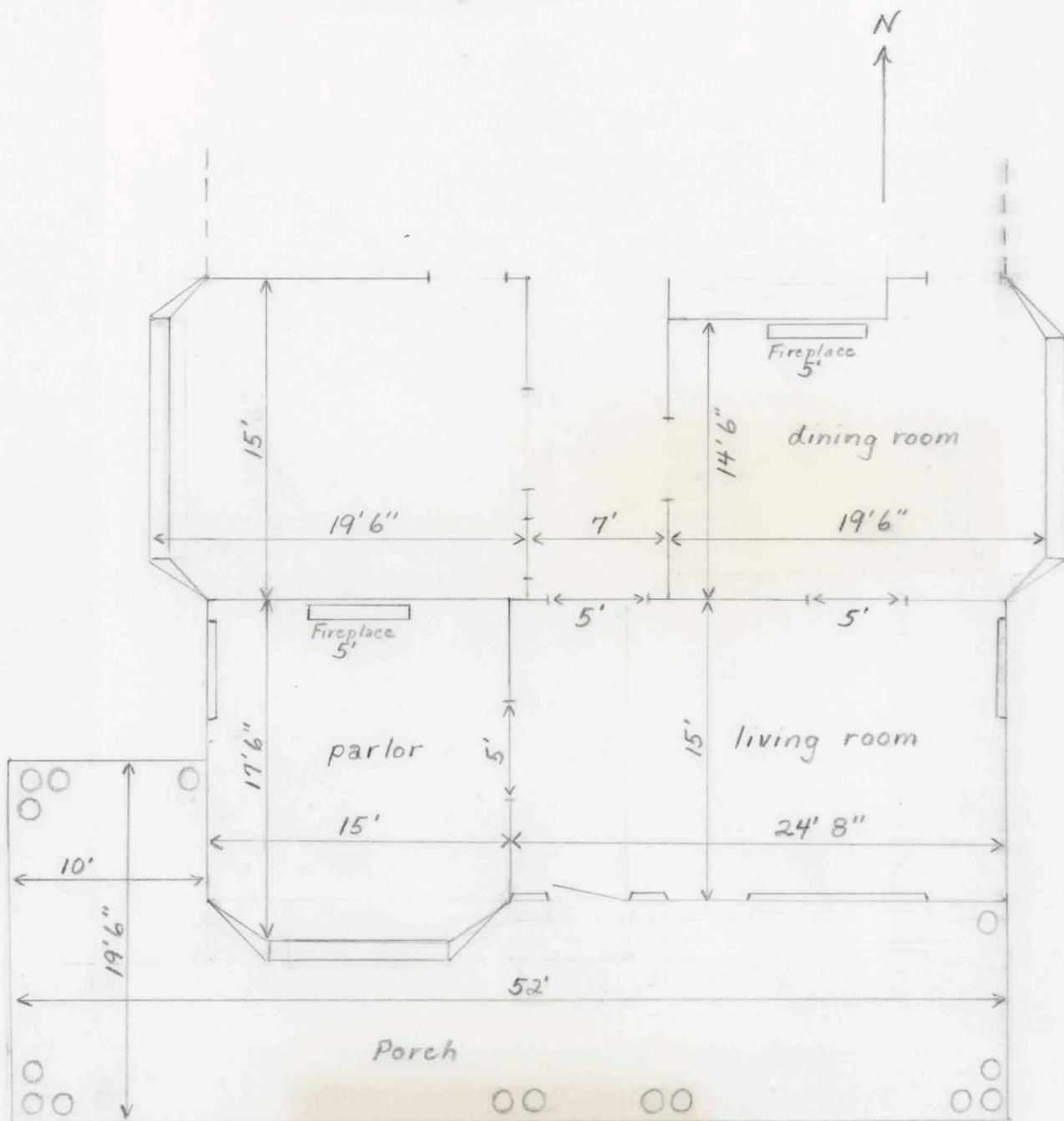


View from stairway
into east parlor,
looking south



View from dining room
into den,
looking west

Hamilton residence
537 E. Eastwood





living room,
looking east



dining room,
looking north

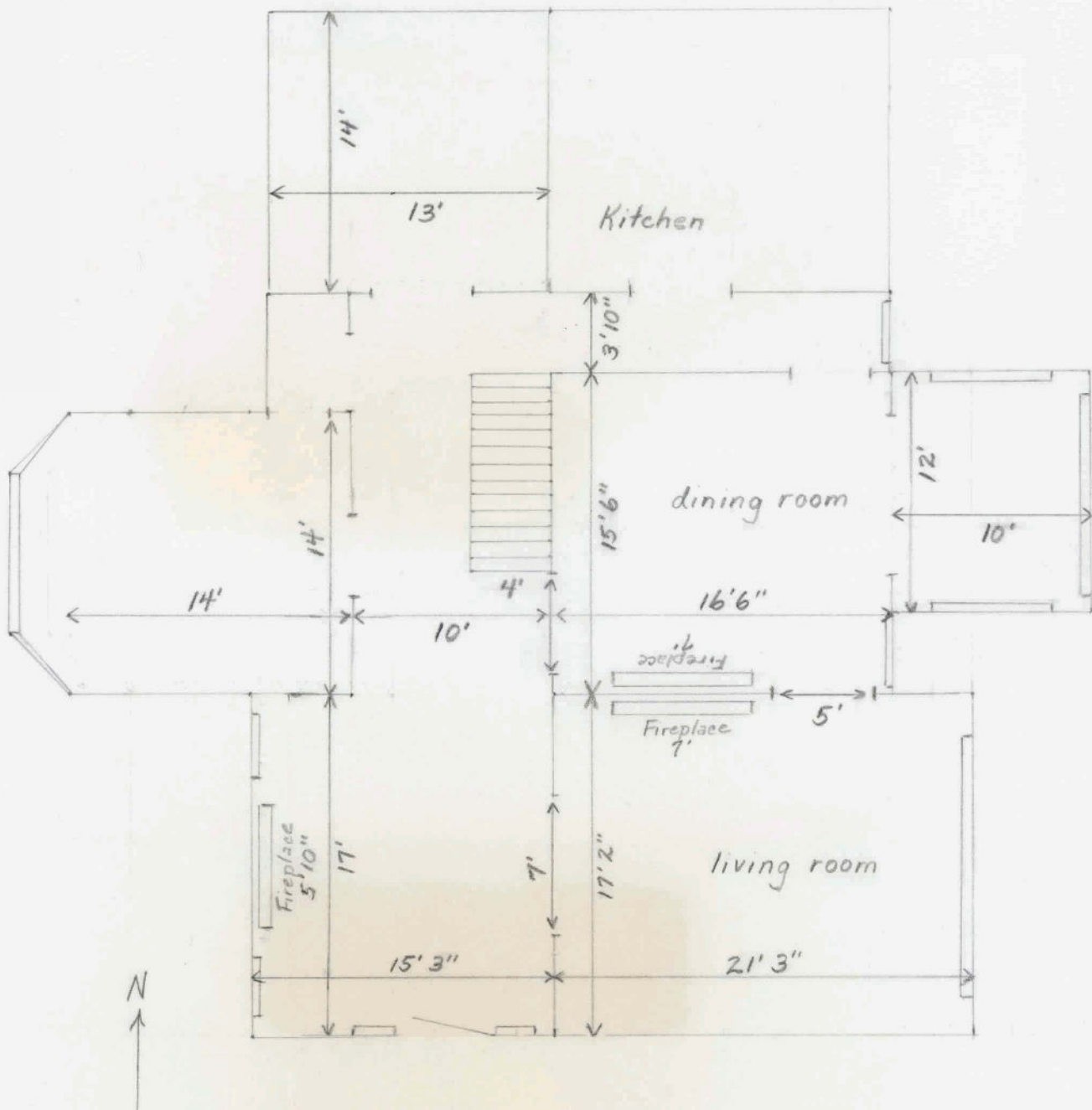


parlor,
looking west



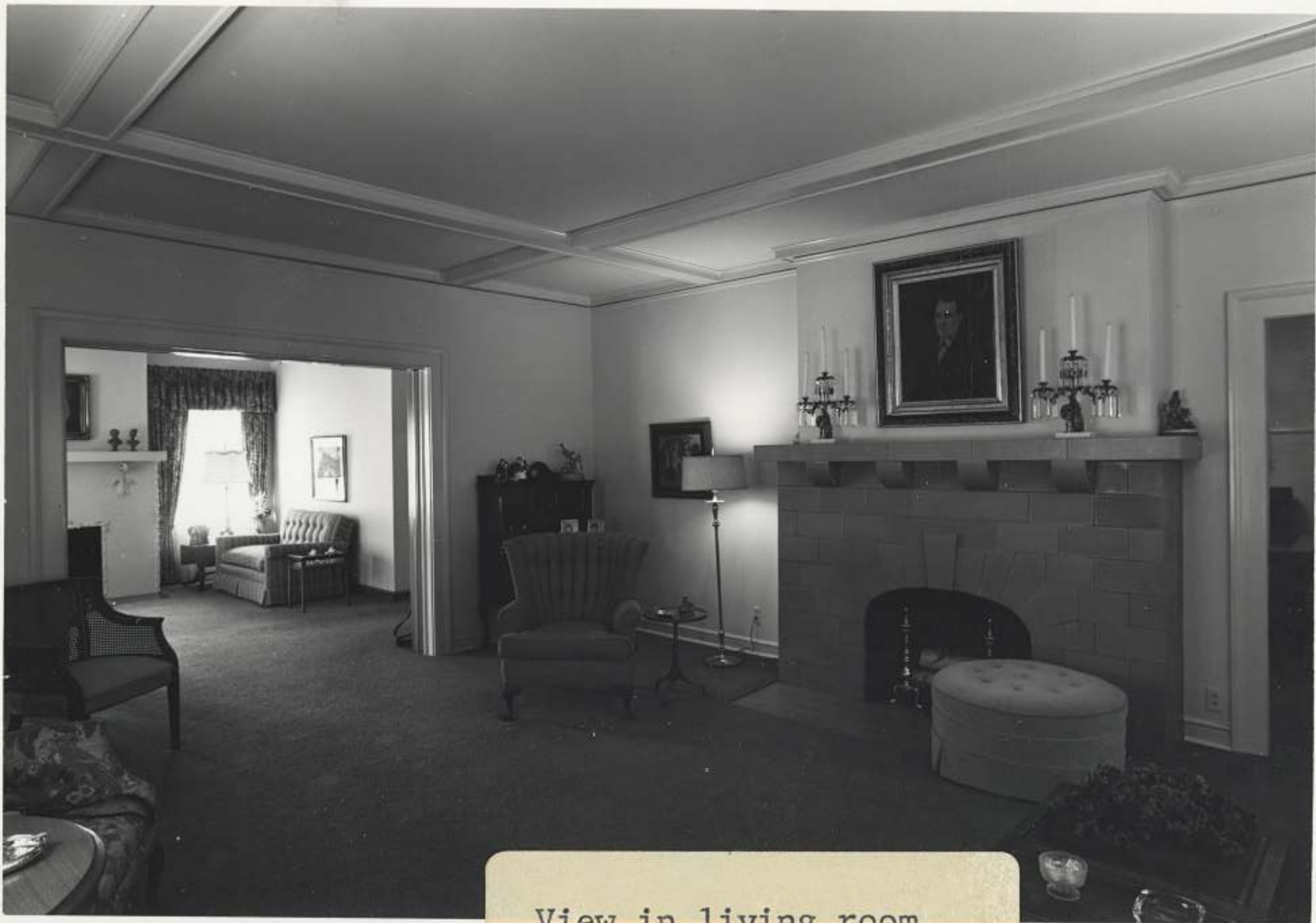
front porch,
looking east

Waldorf residence
511 E. Eastwood





front door and entry hall
looking southwest



View in living room,
looking northwest

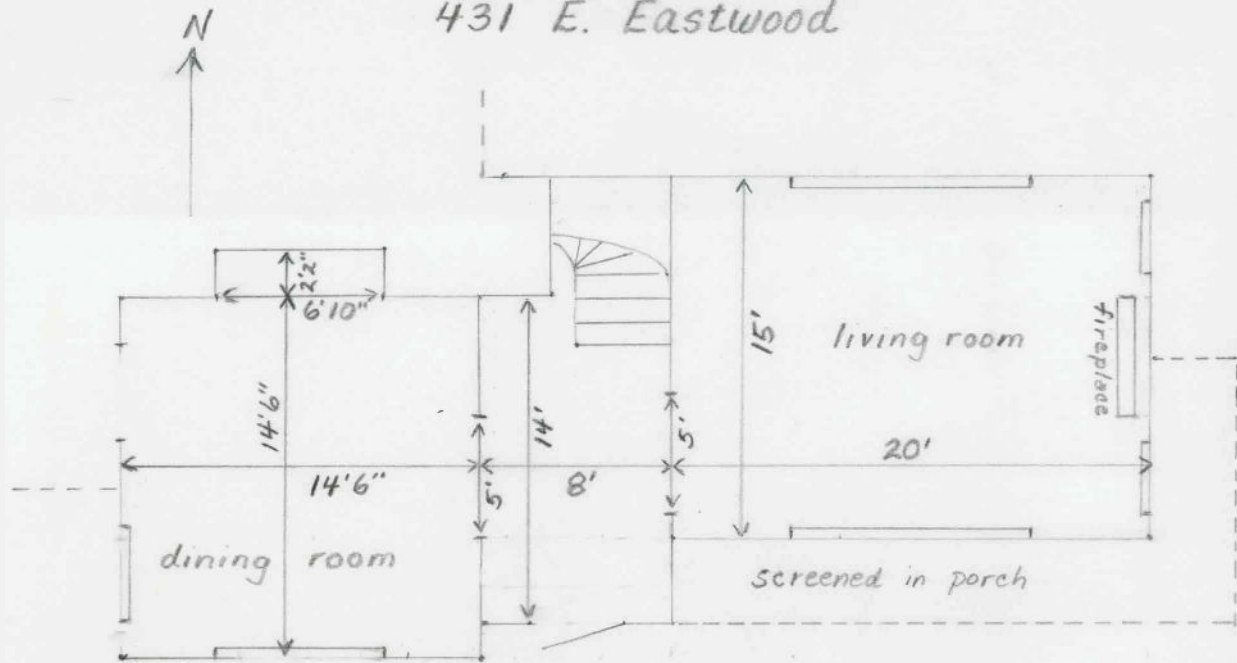


View from hall
into dining room,
looking northeast



2nd floor hallway,
looking north

Nicholas residence
431 E. Eastwood

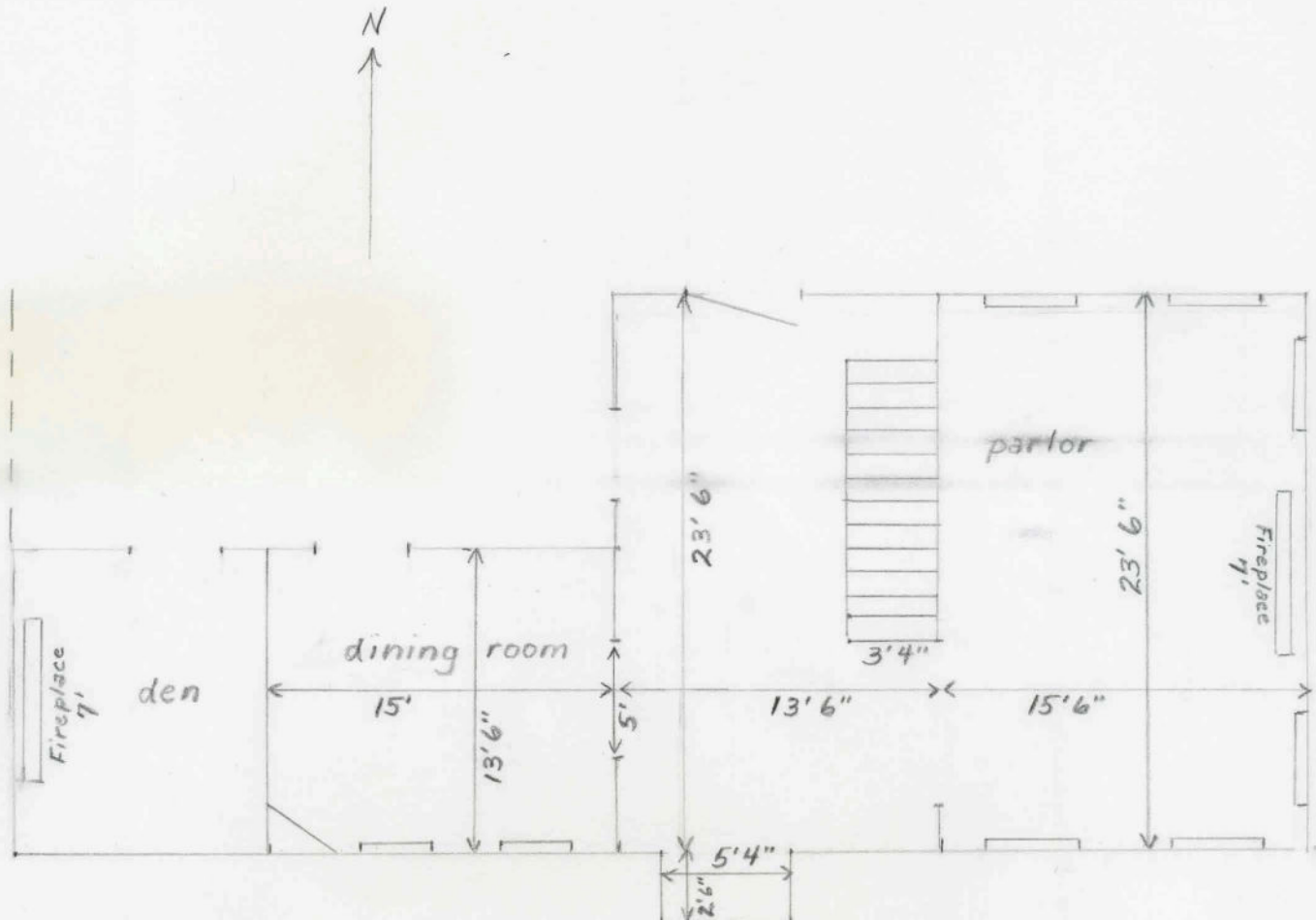




View from hall
into living room,
looking east



Van Dyke residence
531 E. Eastwood





front entry,
looking south



View from hall
into parlor,
looking northeast



parlor,
looking northeast



dining room,
looking west



den,
looking southwest

OLD TOWN AND EAST WOODS: DISTRICTS FOR PRESERVATION

Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings.

Jane Jacobs,
"The Need for Aged Buildings," 1961

The socio-economic relationships of Old Town and East Woods have been constant for over a century. In the mid-19th century developers platted narrow and deep lots near the town's square for sale to and occupancy by Marshall's professional-merchant class. Odell Street was a part of this town planning, but 20th century commercial expansion has destroyed all but minimal vestiges of the historic suburban neighborhood. East Woods, however, retains numerous town lots 500' to 1500' deep and picturesque settings among tree-lined streets.

The ambience of the East Woods district has statewide significance in that few comparable districts in size and age exist. One comparison may be useful. Springfield's mid-19th century town planning and land use paralleled Marshall's in many ways. The town square was the vocational area of dozens of professional-merchant families who developed and built town estates eastward. Along St. Louis Street (comparable to Arrow Rock Road, now North and Eastwood) Springfield's middle class built a pretentious town landscape. Later arrivals to town and somewhat less affluent families created a middle class streetscape along Walnut Street (comparable to the black neighborhood off South Brunswick) lived many black families who worked as domestics and laborers for nearby professional-merchant families and in small town industries. But like Marshall's Odell Street, the St. Louis Street neighborhood and charming landscape was devoured by 20th century

commercial development. Much of Walnut Street's historic environment has also disappeared, and Springfield's square has been turned into a vacuous mall and business has left the town center. Not so in Marshall. Eastwood, North and Arrow Street axes and the north-south streets among them have retained their essential character. Marshall's square is still a place to shop for quality goods and services. Suburban homes, the apotheosis of late-Victorian culture, contributed to the very definition of middle class. (1) Springfield has lost its historic "suburban beauty," Marshall has not.

Although Old Town and East Woods has undergone visual changes, they still represent "cultural memories and imaginations." The passage of time has also eroded some of that memory. New ventures in town history must be encouraged. The reconstitution of town history may be accomplished by the collection of the usual historic data, but it must be described, understood and interpreted in writing if it is to have lasting cultural value.

One way to promote town history and preservation is to plan for an historic district. In the case of Marshall, an application for a certified historic district should be completed and submitted to the state office of historic preservation. The tangible value in certification is significant tax incentives and depreciation allowances for commercial property owners who wish to make investments according to preservation guidelines. Others in the districts may want to pursue National Register of Historic Place nomination for the status that enrollment on the Register brings to their property. Small towns, like large ones, have very complex histories. Additional surveys should proceed in Marshall and in the county. The photographic record, which is produced by

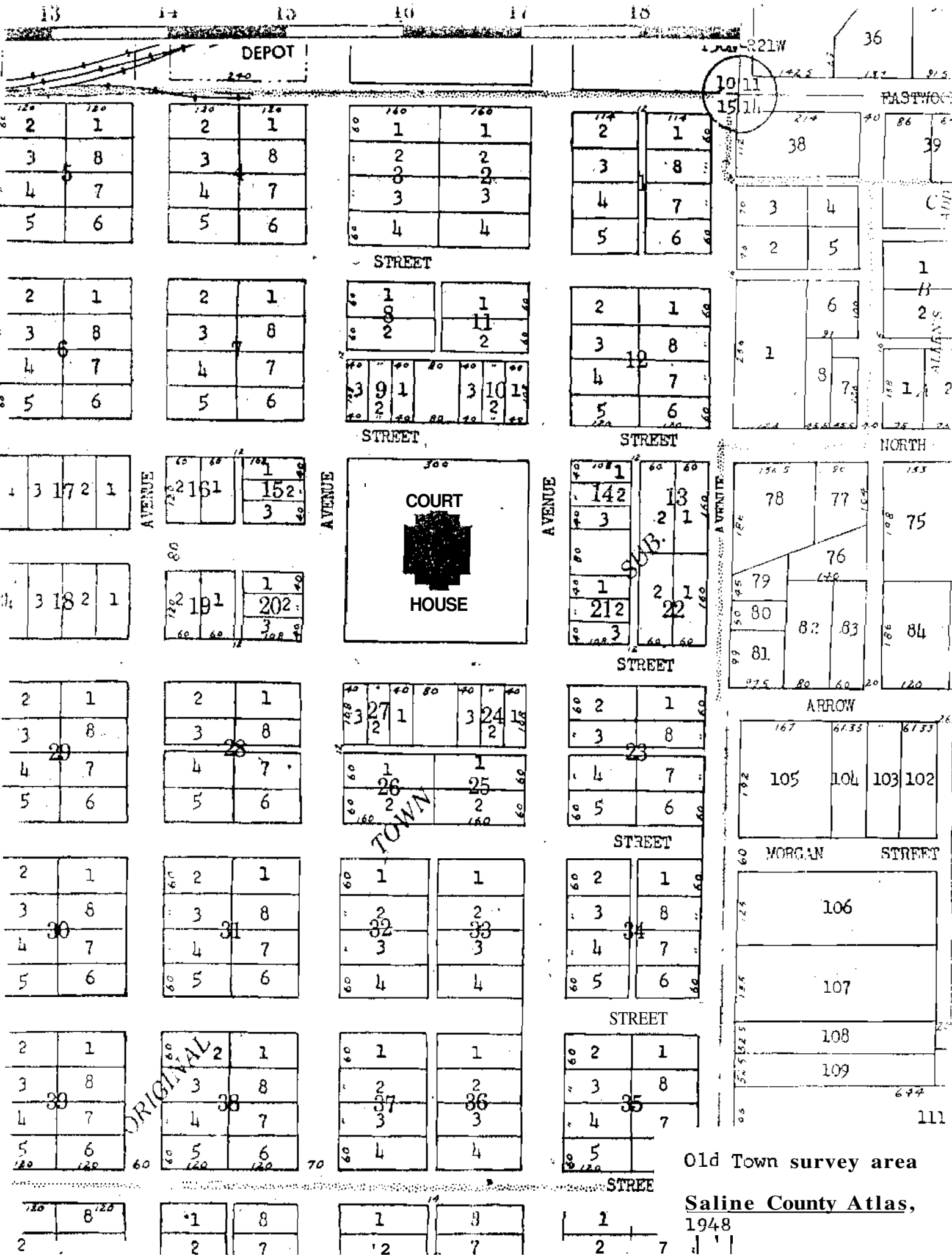
such surveys, rapidly becomes a major cultural resource for local people interested in their own past.

Saline County, as the first of the Boonslick counties to have a survey, should take the lead and continue preservation planning. The county can be a model of Boonslick history, Missouri history and preservation planning history.

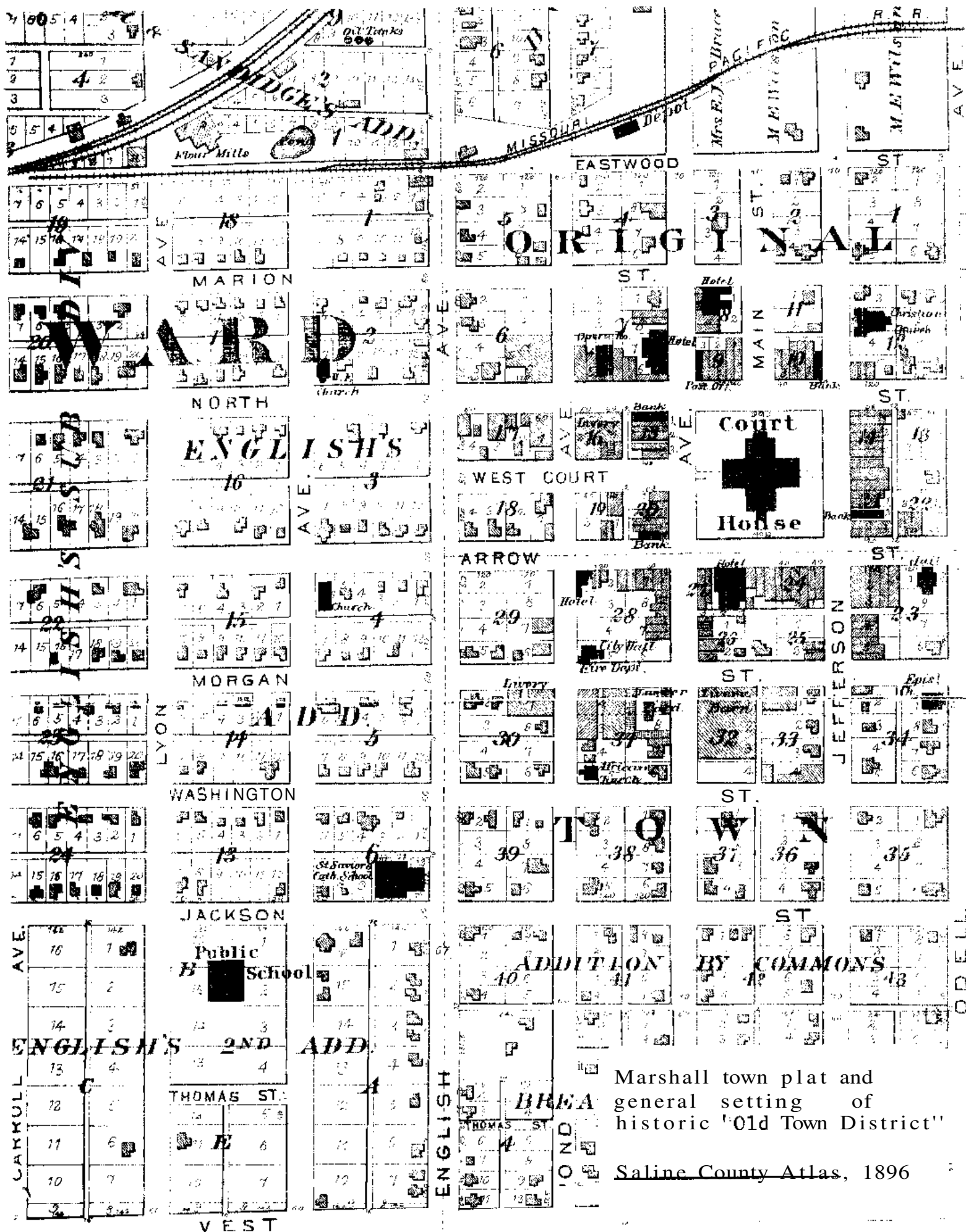
The rest of this chapter provides graphic demonstrations of some generalizations made in this report as well as maps of the survey areas and boundary justifications.

Chapter Eleven: Notes

1. Gwendolyn Wright, Building the Dream, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1983: 95 and 99.

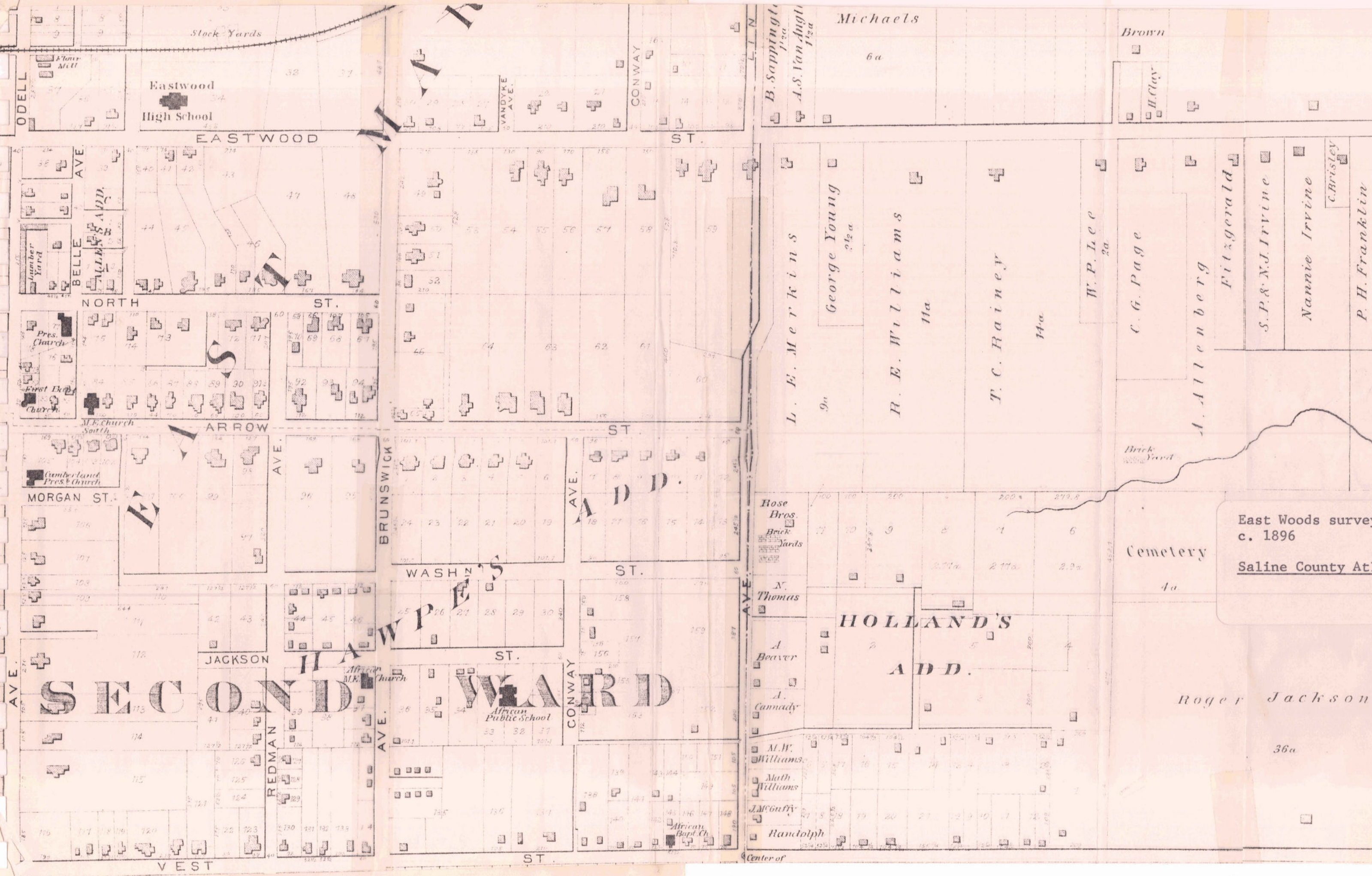






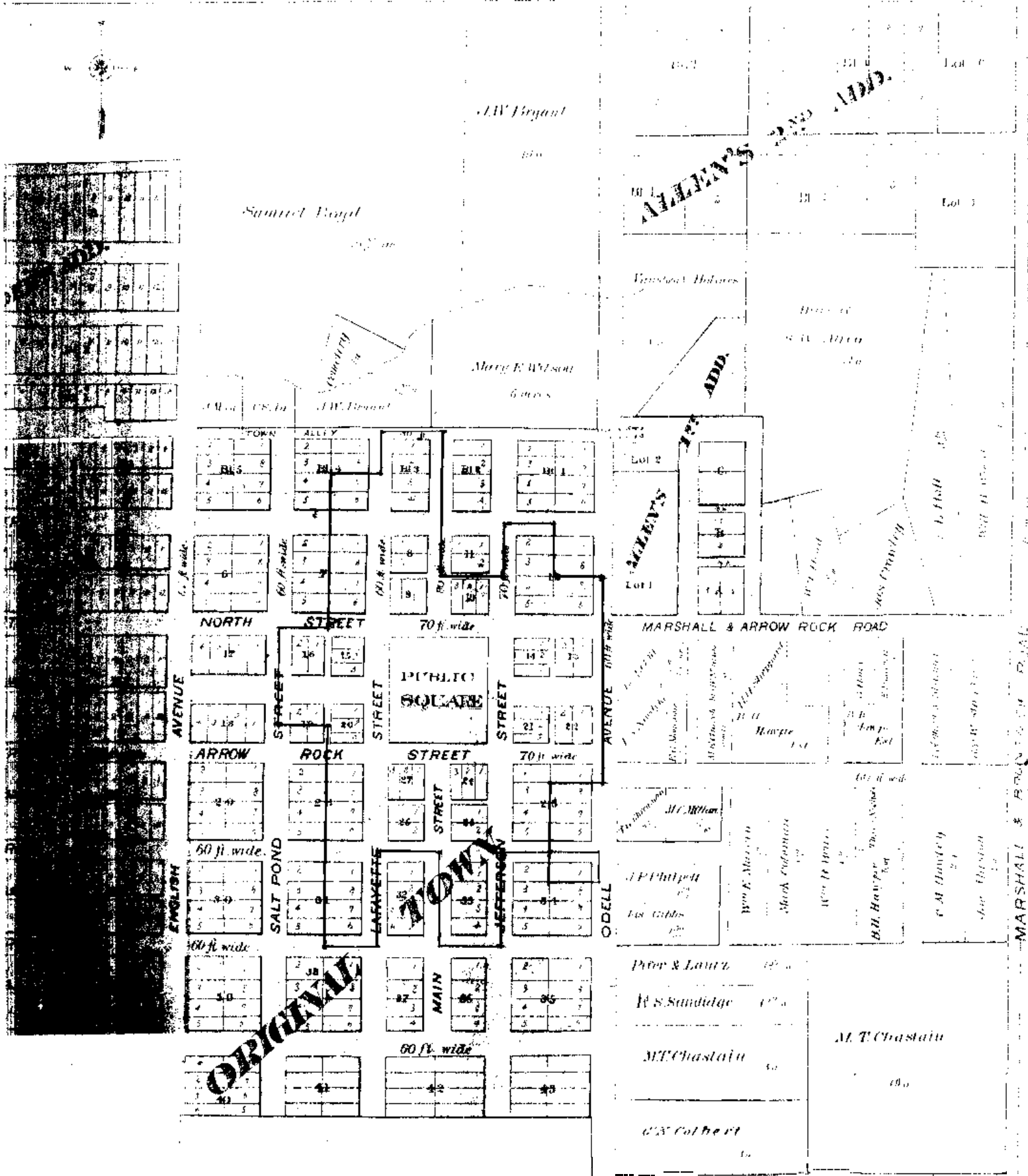
Marshall town plat and
general setting of
historic "Old Town District"

Saline County Atlas, 1896



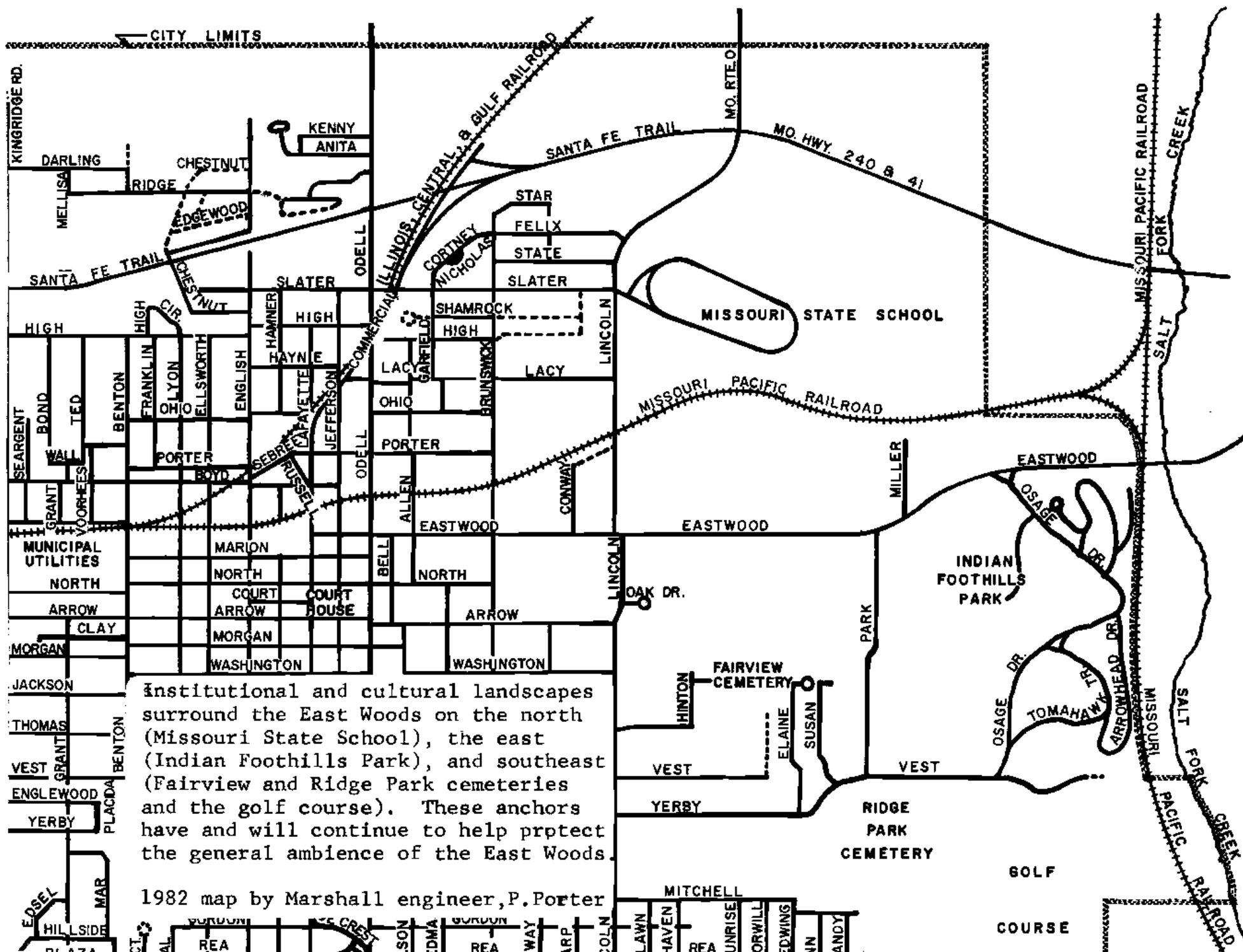
East Woods survey
c. 1896
Saline County Atlas

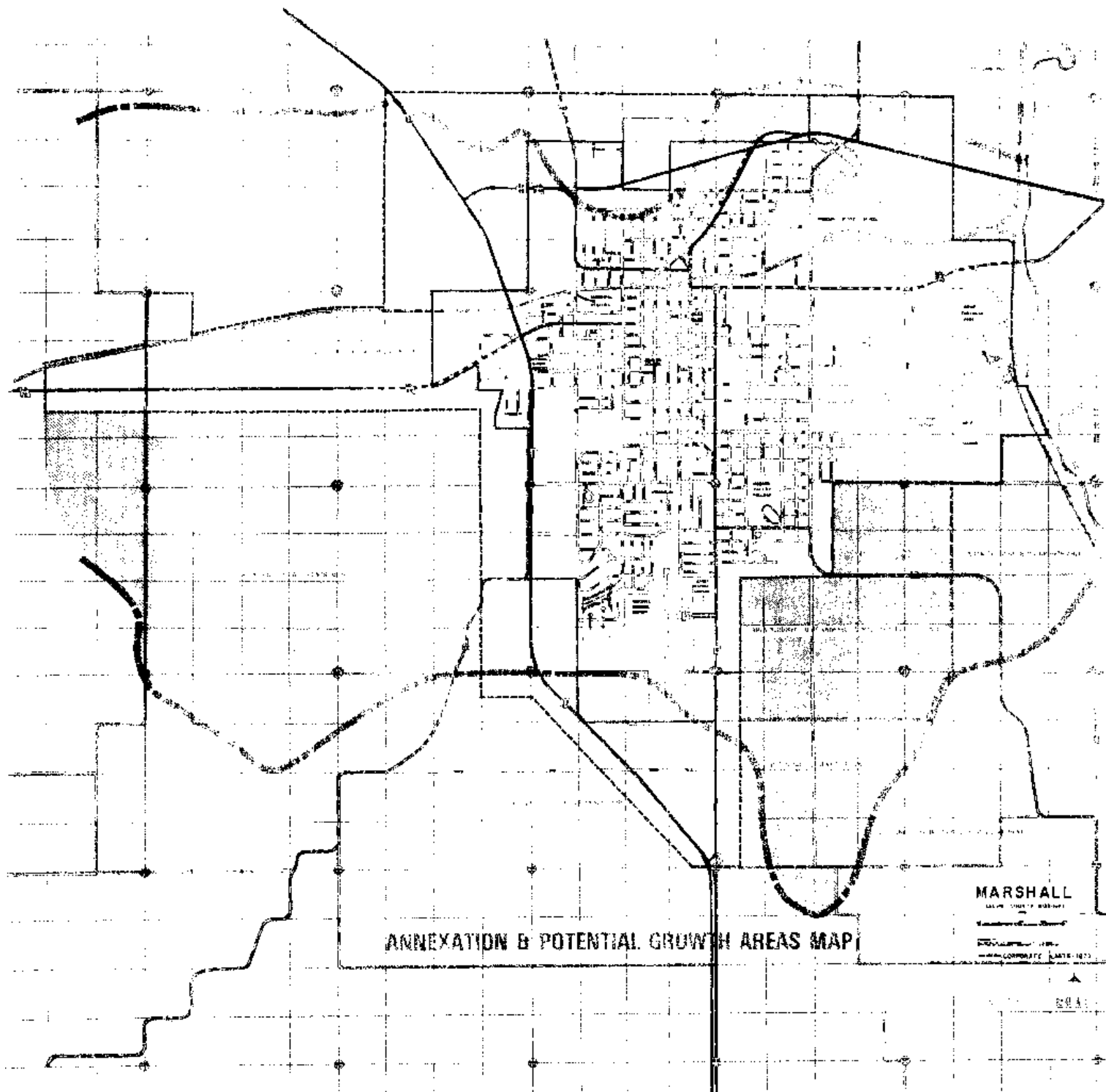
Roger Jackson
36a



An original town plat and
proposed boundaries of
historic "Old Town District"

Saline County Atlas, 1876





Marshall's development has been and continues to be directed toward the south and west.

Marshall Comprehensive Plan, 1973

BOUNDARY JUSTIFICATIONS

The proposed Old Town boundary drawn on the Saline County Atlas plat, 1876 and the East Woods boundary drawn on the Saline County Atlas plat, 1916 have within them a continuity and integrity of structure and streetscape. Outside those boundaries, the landscape is dramatically different.

Following are a few comments about the landscapes outside those boundaries. These areas when compared to the photographic record of 324 sites in Volumes Two and Three are incongruous to the proposed districts in historic land use and in existing structures. The landscape outside the East Woods district is without any question incompatible with the proposed boundary. The landscape outside the Old Town boundary may be questionable to a reviewer not familiar with Marshall. Therefore a number of photographs have been provided that demonstrate its lack of continuity with the Old Town district.

South of Arrow Street - the historic black community borders the Arrow Street lots. Federal housing units have been built throughout the area.

East of Arrow Street - in recent years a modest housing tract has been constructed on the "broken land," which was formerly the back end of Eastwood Street lots.

Arrow to Eastwood along Lincoln - to the east is the recent housing tract. On the west side apparently no buildings have ever been built. The "exposed long lot" is a dramatic boundary.

Eastwood to Park - notice on any map how straight the Eastwood Street axis is, which runs along a high summit and begins to curve and descend into Salt Fork valley east of the Park Street intersection.

East of Park Street - is a semi-commercial landscape, including an antique store, used cars, two mobile home parks, an auto body shop, a vacant fast food restaurant and various 20th century domiciles.

North of Eastwood - the Missouri Pacific railroad line follows the low ground north and northeast of the lots.

Eastwood and north along Lincoln - Lincoln descends into broken land, across railroad tracks, and to the Missouri State school. Lincoln is interspersed with modest tract housing and along the west side is a long open stretch of an East Woods lot.

Eastwood and North Brunswick - only two houses are located in the proposed district before Brunswick crosses the railroad track. Here the boundary ends. However, the suburban and historic middle class area north of the railroad track deserves attention in an additional survey.

Allen, Bell and Odell on the north side of Eastwood - this small area is occupied by the agribusiness of Cargill Industries. It is the former site of Rea-Page milling.

Odell and Eastwood west to Lafayette - is a zone of modern commercial sites, e.g. a gas station, restaurant, auto parts, laundry, Butterfield Youth Services and a lawn and garden center. City-owned open spaces, parking lots and modest town housing occupy part of the Old Town plat.

Eastwood and Lafayette intersection - west of Lafayette, Banquet Foods agribusiness occupies the former site of E.R. Page milling property and Banquet surrounds the post office corner property.

Salt Pond and Marion - a cafe and taxi cab company.

Salt Pond and North Street - a liquor store and the remains of a former gas station.

Salt Pond and Arrow Street - Marshall Luniber Company, a car wash, Fingland Glass Company, a car lot and an ambulance service.

Salt Pond and Morgan - vacant lots, auto repair shop, Goodyear and a welding shop.

Salt Pond, Washington and Jackson - a modest residential neighborhood.

English and Jackson - a parochial school and a mixed commercial and residential neighborhood.

Lafayette and Washington - Missouri Division of Employment Security and residential neighborhood southward.

Jefferson and Washington - residential neighborhood southward.

Odell - the historic east border of the Old Town plat. It is a mixed commercial-residential landscape including an automobile agency, gas stations, funeral home, auto parts business, furniture gallery and CPA office.



Looking northwest at
South Odell and
Morgan



Looking north at
Odell at Jackson



Looking northeast at
Salt Pond and Morgan



Looking northeast at
Salt Pond and Washington



Looking southeast at
South Lafayette and
Washington



Looking north at
South Lafayette and
Jackson



Looking west at
Salt Pond and North St.



Looking southwest at
Salt Pond and West Court
Street



Looking east on
Morgan and English



Looking Southwest at
Eastwood and Odell



Looking southeast at
Eastwood and Odell



Looking northwest at
North Jefferson and
Marion



Looking west on
Marion at Lafayette

HEIGHT REGULATIONS.

a

- 1 Height Regulations for the existing zoning district: shall
a y to the designated "HP" District.

YARD REGULATIONS.

- 1 The minimum Yard Regulations for the existing zoning district shall apply to the designated "HP" District.
2. To the extent that existing patterns of lotting contribute to the character of HP Districts, it is the intent of these regulations to encourage continuation of such patterns. It is further intended to prevent future fragmentation of land ownership likely to have adverse effects on such character. Lots or portions of lots existing in HP districts may be combined, but no existing lot, or combination of lots, parcels, or portions thereof, in single ownership at the time of zoning to HP status shall be reduced in width, depth, or area without the approval of the planning Commission. The Commission may grant individual applications for such approval upon finding that such reduction would not adversely affect the character of the district in general or of surrounding property, or may establish general rules regarding approval to apply within the district or any sub-area established.

H. PARKING AND LOADING OR UNLOADING REGULATIONS.

1. The parking and loading or unloading regulations for the existing zoning district shall apply to the designated "HP" District.
2. No required off-street parking or loading space shall be located in any required front yard.

Sec. 31-84. District AH - Airport Hazard District

A. INTENT.

It is hereby found that an airport hazard endangers the lives and property users of Airports within the City of Marshall, and property or occupants of land in its vicinity, and in effect reduces the size of the area available for the landing, takeoff, and maneuvering of aircraft, thus tending to destroy or impair the utility of said Airports and the public investment therein. Accordingly, it is declared:

1. that the creation or establishment of an airport hazard is a public nuisance.
2. that it is necessary in the interest of the public health, public safety, and general welfare that the creation or establishment of airport hazards be prevented; and
3. that the prevention of these hazards should be accomplished, to the extent legally possible, by the exercise of the police power without compensation.

Districts now existing or hereafter created shall be known and may be cited as "Airport Hazard Zoning District" - "AH".

CITY OF MARSHALL ZONING ORDINANCES

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Marshall zoning ordinances
include provisions for the
creation of an historic
district.

Article IV. Establishment of Districts

Sec. 31-58. Districts established.

For the purpose of promoting the health, safety, morals, or the general welfare of the community by regulating and restricting the height, number of stories and size of buildings and other structures, the size of yards, courts, and other open spaces, the density of population and the location and use of buildings, structures, and land for trade, industry, residence, or other purposes the city is hereby divided into nine (9) districts, as follows:

District A-1:	Agricultural District.
District R-1:	Single Family Residential District.
District R-2:	Residential District.
District MH-P:	Mobile Home Park District.
District MH-S:	Mobile Home Subdivision District.
District C-1:	Central Business District.
District C-2:	Highway Business District.
District I-L:	Light Industrial District.
District I-H:	Heavy Industrial District.

In addition, three (3) overlay districts are hereby created, as follows:

District FP:	Flood Plain District.
District HP:	Historic Preservation District.
District AH:	Airport Hazard District.

Sec. 31-59. Zoning district map as adopted.

Boundaries of districts as designated and set out in section 31-58 of this chapter are hereby established, adopted, and declared to be such boundaries as are shown on that map of the city, which is identified by the attestation of the city clerk and the seal of the city with the written descriptions of the boundaries attached thereto as follows:

Zoning District Map Adopted

Attest: Dorothy Hughes

City Clerk

November 16, 1981

The map and all notations, references, and information shown thereon are hereby made a part of this chapter as fully as if the same were set forth in full therein. It shall be the duty of the city clerk-comptroller immediately upon the passage of any ordinance changing the boundaries of any districts as shown on said map, to post on the map the number of the ordinance and a brief summary of the substance of such change and the area affected thereby.

3. District HP - Historic Preservation District

A. INT.

Within districts now existing or hereafter created, it is intended to permit creation of District HP Historic Preservation District in general areas or for individual structures and premises officially designated as having historic or cultural significance. Regulation within such districts are intended to protect against destruction of or encroachment upon such areas, structures, and premises, to encourage uses which will lead to their continuance, conservation, and improvement in a manner appropriate to the preservation of the cultural and historic heritage of the city, to prevent creation of environmental influences adverse to such purposes, and to assure that new structures and uses within such districts will be in keeping with the character to be preserved and enhanced.

It is further the intent of these regulations that the Planning Commission shall seek the advice and assistance of groups or individuals qualified by interest, training, and experience in achieving the objectives set forth.

B. APPLICATION FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION DISTRICT DESIGNATION.

1. Applications for HP zoning shall be prepared by the property owners in the area concerned, and shall include signatures in support of the application from each of the property owners in the proposed district. Single lot districts are permitted. Each application shall contain information and recommendations as indicated below concerning the areas, buildings, and premises proposed for such zoning.
2. Proposed district boundaries shall in general be drawn to include all appropriate properties reasonably near to each other within the area.
3. A report shall be submitted with the application, establishing and defining the historic and cultural features of the district and describing the structures and features of substantial public significance, present trends and conditions, and desirable public objectives for conservation, development, or redevelopment. Such report shall include, among other pertinent matters:
 - (a) An analysis of existing structures by period of construction (if known), architectural style (if significant), condition, present use, assessed valuation, and other matters relating to planning or regulating future development, such as location on lots, location of yards and other open spaces, access to interior of the block, and off-street parking provided. In addition to general analysis, two specific and detailed classifications shall be established:
 - (b) A classification of individual structures and premises of substantial public interest, with maps, photographs, and other data indicating the public importance of preservation and particular features it is desired to preserve

A classification of existing structures, premises, and uses likely to have an adverse effect on the desired character of the district, including those near and visually related to the district, with maps, photographs and other data indicating the reasons for such classification.

DISTRICT REGULATIONS.

1. In order to promote general welfare through the preservation and protection of features of historical significance, no person shall be permitted to build, erect, construct, alter, destroy, or remove buildings or structures, or in any way change the outward appearance of any building or structure without having obtained approval for so doing by the Planning Commission as herein created. Evidence of such required approval shall be a letter of approval issued by such Commission
2. By general rule or by specific request in a particular case, the Planning Commission may require submission of any or all of the following in connection with the application: architectural plans, site plans, landscaping plans, proposed signs with appropriate detail as to character, proposed exterior lighting arrangements, elevations of all portions of structures with important relationships to public view (with indications as to construction materials, design of doors and windows, colors, and the like), photographs or perspective drawings indicating visual relationships to adjoining structures and spaces, and such other exhibits and reports as are necessary for its determinations after examination of the material submitted and field examination if necessary in the case, the Commission shall issue a letter of approval only if it finds that the proposal is in fact appropriate to the character, appearance, and efficient functioning of the district and meets requirements established by City Council.

D. USE REGULATIONS.

The "HP" Historic Preservation District shall function as an overlay to the Zoning District Map of Marshall. Those uses permitted by the Zoning Ordinance of Marshall, within the several zoning districts, shall be subject to the additional requirements of the "HP" District regulations if they fall within the "HP" District boundaries.

- (a) Residential structures shall be limited to the use for which they were originally intended and shall be used for occupancy in the manner for which they were originally designed.
- (b) Commercial, industrial, or public buildings shall be used according to the Use Regulations of their respective existing district.

E. INTENSITY OF USE REGULATIONS.

The Intensity of Use Regulations for the existing zoning district shall apply to the designated "HP" District.

A J. VANMETER, one of the wealthiest and most popular farmers of Saline County, is the subject of this sketch. He was born in Virginia in 1834, and was the son of Abraham and Elizabeth (Parsecs) Vanmeter. The mother was born in Hampshire County, Va., and died at her home in the year 1863. The

father of our subject was born in Hardy County, Va., in 1785. Grandfather Joseph Van Meter was a soldier under Washington, and with his son, the father of our subject, served through the War of 1812. The name of the grandmother was Hannah Busby.

The father of our subject came to Saline County in 1857, and located in the southern part, where he bought a small tract of land. He remained on this land a short time, and then removed to Miami Township, where he remained up to the time of his death. After coming to this State, he was obliged to make a home in a dugout until he could build one of his own. He was a successful farmer and accumulated a large amount of property. In religious faith he was a devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, which he joined in Virginia. In his political faith, he was a strong supporter of Democracy. His death occurred in 1866.

Our subject is one of a family of five children, of which he is the youngest. David P. Vanmeter, the eldest, is now living. David P. Vanmeter, now in Hardy County, Va., married Miss M. F. Nye, and resided in Saline County until the time of his death, which occurred in 1884; he had been a successful farmer. Mary C., who was born in Hampshire County, Va., married J. P. Hemming, and resided in Missouri until 1859, when she and her husband removed to California, where he engaged in the fruit business. Rebecca A., a native of the Old Dominion, married Joseph D. Propper, and they resided in Saline County until the time of his death in 1865.

At Lexington University, our subject carried on his literary studies for a time, and since leaving school has by close observation and reading attained an extended knowledge and broad culture. At the end of sixteen years, he commenced farming, his first efforts being upon eighty acres of land obtained from the Government. This was located in Miami Township, which was at that time in a wild condition. In 1874, Mr. Vanmeter married Miss Christina A. Nye, a native of Ohio and a daughter of George Nye. She died in 1883, and in 1886 our subject married Miss Anna M., daughter of Charles Pittman.

Working hard, our subject soon saw the results on his cultivated land, forest and planted with

trees, and in the neat buildings which soon arose on the prairie. Before long he was able to add to his farm one hundred and sixty acres on section 33, for which he paid \$18 per acre, and he has continued to add to this until he has now a fine farm of twenty-six hundred acres, which is valued at about \$20 per acre. The home of Mr. Vanmeter is a modern two-story house of eleven rooms, which cost him \$1,600, and his fine outbuildings, almost all built by himself, cost \$5,000. The gross receipts from his farm amount to \$6,000 per year. The crops which he finds most profitable are wheat and corn.

Mr. Vanmeter has made a success of breeding fine cattle, particularly Durhams. He also has some fine horses, among them an "Albion" stallion worth \$500, and also a sorrel five-year-old, which he values at \$500. Politically, Mr. Vanmeter is a Democrat and has always been very actively interested in the affairs of his party, although he has never aspired to any official position. He is one of the wealthiest men in Saline County, has hosts of friends and is universally esteemed.

MILES H. VANMETER, builder and contractor, P. O., Malta Bend. The subject of this sketch was born October 4, 1842, in Kentucky; thence he was moved to Illinois, in 1855, and in 1868 he came to Saline county, Missouri, and settled in Malta Bend, he being the first carpenter that settled in the place. On the 2d of June, 1870, he was married to Miss Clara B. Reeves, of Malta Bend. Mrs. Vanmeter died on the 4th of August, 1879. He has two children: Harry L. and Jodie C., both living. Mr. Vanmeter erected the first house and the first church built in Malta Bend, and also most of the first houses built in the town. He is at present agent for Halladay's Standard Wind-mills, with which he is doing an extensive business. He is a most energetic business man, and deserves success.

DAVID P. VANMETER.

Prominently identified with farming and stock raising, two of the leading industries of Saline county, is David P. Vanmeter, who was born in Miami township, this county, March 25, 1879, and while yet young in years he has been very successful. He was reared on a farm and educated in the common schools of Miami township. He later attended Colonel Fleet's Military School and while he was a student there the building was destroyed by fire, and he then took a course in Musselman's Business College, at Quincy, Illinois, from which he was graduated; thus he was well equipped for the struggle of material existence. He is the son of David P. and Margaret (Nye) Vanmeter, the former a native of Virginia and the latter of Ohio and the daughter of George Nye, of Germany, later a prominent farmer of Saline county, Missouri, where he owned and resided on his father's old farm, near Laynesville. His father, Andrew Nye, emigrated from Germany in 1829 and settled in Ross county, Ohio, whither he brought his family of four daughters and two sons, and his death occurred in that county in 1840, his widow surviving him until 1854, dying in Missouri. George Nye remained under his parental roof until 1838, when he married Lucinda Warren, whose people were natives of North Carolina, prominent and highly respected. He then went to farming in Ross county, Ohio, which he continued very successfully until 1853 when he sold out and emigrated to Saline county, Missouri, coming on a steamboat, which landed at Miami. Here he rented a farm until 1858, when he purchased land near Laynesville, which he managed very successfully until 1888 when he was ushered into the silent land, owning at the time of his death over eight hundred acres, and he had given each of his sons one hundred and sixty acres. He was a very prosperous farmer and cattle man. The following children were born to Mr. and Mrs. George Nye: Andrew; William; Rhoda married William Mullen; Christena married A. J. Vanmeter; Margaret was three times married, first to David P. Vanmeter, father of David P. Vanmeter, Jr., of this review; then she married William Bates, and her third husband was J. Allen; Felix Nye is deceased; George, and Louisa, now Mrs. L. Blackburn. The mother of these children passed to her rest on May 11, 1889. George Nye, the father, was a Republican, but not an office aspirant. His two oldest sons, William and Andrew, served through the Civil war in the Federal army.

David P. Vanmeter, Sr., was born in Hardy county, Virginia, and he was the son of Abraham and Elizabeth (Parsons) Vanmeter. The latter, born in Hampshire county, Virginia, died in Saline county, Missouri, in 1863. Abraham Vanmeter was born in Hardy county, Virginia, in 1785, his father, Joseph Vanmeter, was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, with Washington, and Abraham Vanmeter served through the war of 1812. The older Vanmeters were all very patriotic citizens. Abraham came with his family to Saline county, Missouri, in 1835, first located in the southern part of the county and rented a farm; he then brought slaves here from Virginia. Soon afterwards he entered land in Miami township, where he moved, and on which he built a log cabin, later bringing his family and making permanent settlement, placing his farm under cultivation, which was soon self supporting. He also soon became interested in dealing in cattle and other live stock; later he added more land to his original purchase until he owned a large and valuable tract.

He fed rattle for the market, which he found by driving his cattle to St. Louis, for there were no railroads at that time. He also drove them to other places, at one time driving sixteen hundred head of cattle and a large number of sheep to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a remarkable feat. In those days it was not possible to get hogs that would follow cattle in the feed lot and he used sheep instead for this purpose and marketed them with the cattle. The trip to Philadelphia required four months, one month of which was spent in Ohio, waiting for the grass to grow so that the rattle could be properly fed along the road. He became the most extensive cattle dealer in northwestern Missouri, continuing until old age prevented him from looking after the business properly, then his son David did the necessary work. The elder Vanmeter was very successful and created a large estate. Religiously he was devoted to the Methodist Episcopal church South, which he joined in Virginia. Politically he was a Democrat. His death occurred at the old homestead in 1866. His family consisted of four children, David P. Sr., father of the subject; Mary C. married P. Henning; Rebecca A. married Joseph D. Prosser; A. J. became an extensive farmer and stock raiser and dealer and he still resides on the old home farm.

When Abraham Vanmeter located in Miami township it was sparsely settled, game was plentiful and wild beasts roamed at will through the great woods, and he and his family made the early history and started the development in this part of the county, undergoing the usual hardships and privations incident to a life in a new country. The family became widely known and highly respected.

During his father's life David was "put in the saddle" and carried forward the work inaugurated by his sire, and after the father's death the property was divided and he continued farming and stock raising successfully until his death in 1884. He was a Democrat, but never an office seeker. He was a man of strict integrity and honor; his family consisted of three children, namely: George, who died when two years old; David P., Jr., of this review; Lucinda M., wife of George P. Haynie, of Miami. After the death of the father, the mother of these children married W. Eates, by whom two children were born, one dying in infancy; the second child, Martin Bates, is still a student at school. After Mr. Bates' death, his widow married J. Allen, who now resides at Miami, having retired from active business. Mrs. Allen is a member of the Christian church.

David P. Vanmeter, Jr. was born and reared on the old Vanmeter homestead, in sight of his present home and farm, and he was reared to farming and

stock raising. He received a good elementary education and remained under the parental roof with his mother until he married, on October 4, 1890, settling soon afterward on a farm which had been provided for him by inheritance, consisting of six hundred and nineteen acres, and, being a judicious manager and having applied himself very carefully to his business affairs, he has prospered and added over six hundred acres to his original tract, making one of the largest, best located and most desirable farms in Saline county. It is well improved and in a high state of cultivation. It is very fertile and never fails to attract admiration of the stranger, for it is well kept and everything about the place shows that a gentleman of good taste, good management and thrift is its owner. After everything had been well started along systematic lines, when he first began farming here, Mr. Vannmeter began remodeling the dwelling, and he erected a practically new three-story frame house, commodious, attractive and modern in architectural design. He also erected a large red barn and other substantial outbuildings, set out a splendid orchard and in various ways beautified the surroundings of the home. He has also three well arranged and remodeled houses for tenants. His farm is all under "hog-tight" fence. He is faithfully carrying on general farming and stock raising, following up the work so successfully begun by his worthy father. He is also the owner of three hundred acres in the bottoms, with forty acres in timber for the support of the home farm, the balance being under cultivation and on it stands good tenant buildings. Mr. Vannmeter is regarded as one of the leading farmers and stock men of the county, always abreast of the times, always honorable in his dealings with his fellow men so that he has both the confidence and esteem of his neighbors and acquaintances, and he takes considerable interest in whatever tends to promote the general good of his community. Although a strong Democrat, he has not aspired to public office, preferring to devote his time exclusively to his business affairs. He is a member of the Baptist church and a liberal supporter of the same. Mrs. Vannmeter belongs to the Christian church.

David C. Vannmeter, Jr., married Florence Hisle, a lady of refinement and the representative of an excellent old family. She was born in Miami township, Saline county, Missouri, and she is the daughter of Samuel J. and Mollie (Dobbins) Hisle, both natives of Virginia, in which state they grew to maturity; however, they came to Saline county, Missouri, when young and were married here. Mr. Hisle always followed farming. He is a Democrat but never a public man. Both he and his wife are members of the Christian church and they are highly respected in their community. They are the parents of six children, namely: Florence, wife of Mr. Vannmeter of this review; James lives in Kansas City, Mo. married Guy Webster, a popular grocer of Miami;

Adridge is farming; Boyd is attending school and living at home; Lewis is also living with his parents and attending school.

One daughter, Virginia A., has added sunshine to the Vannmeter home; she was born April 17, 1908.

Marshall and the East Woods:
A Main Street Town and an Articulate Suburban Neighborhood

Our town was in the first place definitely laid out; it did not spread from a creek or a river side; there is no old town nor new town; the original town is still the heart of our community.

Melinda Montague Harvey
Marshall Centennial Program, 1939

by
Lynn Morrow
Fall, 1984

Foreward

For three decades prior to the Civil War the state of Missouri established itself as the leading state of the new West. On the eve of Missouri statehood in 1820 and at the center of Boonslick activity, Saline County had become one of ten counties created by the legislature. Already one-third of Missouri's fast-increasing¹ population had located in the Boonslick region. Missouri lands and trade attracted money and speculation from capitalists in eastern cities; Missouri continued to develop an old tradition of upland south border-state trade with the deep South and eastern markets; Boonslick entrepreneurs had become heavy investors and beneficiaries of the Sante Fe trade; and during the 1840s and 1850s Missourians participated in the Mexican War, and in a vast service trade that supplied westward-moving immigrants. The population of Missouri counties that had been formed along the Missouri River figured most prominently in the mainstream of national marketing, politics and immigration.

Saline County immigrants poured in from the southern upland states, however, the pioneer foundations of stable, permanent society were largely framed and improved upon by families from the Tidewater and Piedmont of Virginia, the Bluegrass and Pennyroyal of Kentucky, and Middle Tennessee. Those regions, strong political, cultural and socio-economic centers, served as culture hearths from which Boonslick society emerged. A significant number of these immigrants, who had wealth, political and economic connections, knowledge and skills

expected to establish as rapidly as possible a genteel society integrated into state and national trends.

The town of Franklin in Howard County became the common port of entry for immigrants entering the Boonslick region. They entered land at the government land office, obtained intelligence about the hinterlands and equipped themselves with provisions before opening a new farm or business. Immigrants claimed land in timbered Howard and Cooper Counties before taking up residence and improvements in the rolling prairies and timbered breaks of Saline County. In the 1820s entrepreneurs set out from Franklin, opened the Santa Fe trade, and the Boonslick region became the immediate hinterland of that historic trade.

In 1826 a catastrophic flood crippled Franklin and led to the gradual dismantling of the town. By 1829 a few old Franklin residents and area newcomers established Arrow Rock on higher ground across the Missouri River at the edge of a Saline County prairie. The new river port provided a trade depot for extensive, diversified plantations of progressive, capitalist farmers in eastern and southern Saline County. Proceeding westward, across Saline's great prairies and into the timber, pioneers built Lexington, the next westward settlement of any consequence. The wagon road connecting Arrow Rock and Lexington served as a postal road and as the primary route for regional Santa Fe trade. Geographically, the road split Saline County in half, although it had numerous tributary paths that led into it from the north and the south.

The site of local government in Saline County had a mobile history prior to its final location in Marshall. Settlers located the first county seat, Jefferson, near the Missouri River and north of Arrow

Rock. During the 1830s, Jonesboro, situated on the Salt Fork river in southeastern Saline, was the local capitol. Briefly, in 1839 local government convened at Arrow Rock, but within a few months the permanent seat moved to a central location on the Santa Fe trail axis, (see map #1). Apparently a clear land title, held and donated to the county by Jeremiah Odell and the fact that Odell's donation included a high prairie flat, decided once and for all the issue of permanent location for Saline's government.² In 1839 Miles Marmaduke, who had surveyed the plat for New Philadelphia (Arrow Rock), laid out the new county seat, Marshall. The county's central village remained a social and economic subsidiary of Arrow Rock until the post-Civil War generation. Most large social and political gatherings continued to be held in the countryside among the estates of the large agriculturalists. The meager amenities available in antebellum Marshall perceived in substance and in humor, appeared in a letter written by a family friend to a Marshall resident, John McKown. Although McKown, a carpenter and machinist, promoted the upbuilding of Marshall, his friend cautioned McKown to not bring his mother there.

Your mother cannot live in Marshall. It's not suited to her taste, age or raising - one who has always been accustomed to good and genteel society (not meaning that there's no such thing in Marshall) where [are found] the abundance of good things, social, intellectual, society and comforts, pastimes and pleasures, the country cannot afford to one of her age, Would kill her outright to wear linsey woolsey, coarse cow hide shoes, go out into the barn yard and pail the cows, clean the fat off the bullock hog and try it out, make candles, soap and play "Rub a Dub" in the wash tub - eat corn bread and hog meat and put up with "common doings" after so long "wheat bread and chicken fixings." I say she cannot do it - sleep in a log cabin with the chink all out where the wind, snow, hail and rain come rattling in, shivering cold to sleep on

the floor and care with the door while the pigs,
hens and chickens and geese all kept up their psalm
tunes the live-long night under those puncheons -
the howling wolf in the night, he is mournfully
calling in piteous notes the hours of the place.³

Mrs. McKown stayed in St. Louis while antebellum Marshall never exceeded a population of 250. But during the 1860s and by the 1870 census, the town almost quadrupled to 924. This count, comparable to the zenith of Arrow Rock's historic population, indicated how quickly Marshall was becoming a key town in the county. In 1876 Marshall had doubled in residents to 1800 souls and by the 1880 census, growth had increased the total to 2,701. The surge continued unabated, though slowed, until the turn of the century. During the 1880s, 1500 new citizens arrived in town and by the end of the century another 800⁴ brought Marshall to 5,086 people.

During the 1840s and 1850s the "Sappington Neighborhood" in southeast Saline County had acquired such economic and political reputation that "good society" or genteel, cultivated culture practiced by elite and bourgeois commercial farmers and merchants, flourished in and around the diversified plantations. Though this reputation of the Sappington neighborhood has continued, a considerable number of similar families prospered throughout the rolling prairie county. The traditional, and Greek Revival houses at the center of numerous farm dependencies, housing family retainers, tenants, laborers and slaves were, in fact, hamlets in themselves. A number of the gentry and their descendants, who patronized the import-export depot towns of Arrow Rock and Miami and who stayed and survived the Civil War, comprised a significant demographic factor which migrated to Marshall following the War. In Marshall the old families joined the new professional classes who moved to a railroad boom-town

to take advantage of expanding markets, convenient services and changing lifestyles in an emerging, industrial New South town.

Foreward

¹ William Foley, A History of Missouri, Volume One, 1673-1820, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971: 167.

² Another attempt had been made to locate the county seat northeast of its present site. See county seat petition, c.1838-39, Marmaduke Papers, Western Historical and State Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, hereinafter cited as Joint Manuscripts.

³ Joshua Bradley to John McKown, March 14, 1857, McKown Papers, Joint Manuscripts, UMC.

⁴ Demographic compilations by author during research for an Historic Preservation Survey Report in the town of Marshall, Missouri, sponsored by the Missouri Valley Regional Planning Commission, Marshall, Missouri January, 1984. Presented to the Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Program, Jefferson City, MO.

Marshall: the ~~New~~ County Center

The transition of political and economic influence from southeast Saline County to the **county's** geographic center, Marshall, paralleled eventful changes throughout the post-War American South. The plantation hamlets and river depot towns faded into memory in the face of sweeping socio-economic transitions brought about by Yankee victory and modernization. Geographically, Saline County was on the northern and western fringe of southern society, an important **factor** of Missouri's curious historical blend of southern, western, and northern society. Central to post-War change was the evolving **maturity** of a county seat town where county decision-makers lived and worked, and where railroads sought allies in their expansion of **national** markets. In these towns, commercial districts, new neighborhoods and new suburbs were platted for a quickly developing, prosperou;; middle-class. Additionally, European ethnic and blue **collar** neighborhoods greatly expanded, and for the first time, thousands of southern blacks congregated in freedmen's ghettos. The **built environment** that housed the new order in the Midwest and Marshall extended across grid surveys.

The Marshall plat featured a public square slightly north and east of the center. The location took advantage of the highest and most **level** ground in the Jeremiah Odell donation. Three **streets** entered the square from each side of the four surrounding blocks--twelve streets in all. This maximum access to the public square was reduced during subsequent decades by closing the center block streets on the north, east and south. The west center block access, Main street (now Court street) remains open. Odell Avenue, a north-south street, laid

out on a section line, bordered the original town plat on the east, and came to serve as a cultural fault line that separated Marshall's downtown commercial and industrial district from the East Woods' suburbs. The four corners of sections 10, 11, 14 and 15 in T50N, R21W all met at the intersection of Odell and a town alley; that alley became a later extension of Eastwood street (see map 810).

The town plan did not expand into a routine geometric grid. Instead, town fathers tried to "free themselves from the tyranny of the grid."² Spacious lots designed for Marshall's most prestigious suburban homes became common east of the Odell north-south axis. Regular town lots crossed the prairies south, west, and eventually over Samuel Boyd's and J.W. Bryant's holding in the north. The northeast exit from the square became the Arrow Rock road; a half-dozen blocks south of the square, the Jonesboro road intersected Odell; and the Brunswick road ran north-south where Brunswick street remains today. Thus, it would seem that the surveyors of large, rectangular town lots worked principally near this convergence of primary county roads east of the original town plat (see map #8). Sizable town estates along modern North Brunswick and South Odell (modern business highway 65) persisted well into the twentieth century, but modern developments have intruded upon their cohesive appearance. Conversely, the large town lots in east-west axes along Arrow Rock road (North street and Eastwood streets) and Arrow street have survived in considerable degree (see maps 17, 18 and 19). The rough topography in the East Woods helped to deny the implementation of a regular grid lot pattern. The "breaks" offered a climax woods, refuge for small game and an atmosphere of privacy that residents

still prize today, and the lot frontages faced a primary east-west thoroughfare, the Arrow Rock road. Naturally, the East Woods' suburbs has changed over the past century, but it remains as a highly visible and remarkable witness to the vision of middle-class prosperity, and an ideal living environment of the mid-nineteenth century that has endured into the late twentieth century.

Crucial to the distinction of Marshall's neighborhoods, built upon a residual southern society, were the contemporary settlement patterns of blacks, contiguous to the south side, along the eastern edge, and interspersed among small side streets in the East Woods.³ The oldest Marshall black neighborhood, labeled Africa by local surveyors, included an adjacent street designated for "negroes." Africa functioned as a separate freedman's community, but it relied a great deal upon employment by East Woods' property owners. The tenant community attracted the migration of rural Saline County blacks and immigrating newcomers.⁴ From this ghetto the Rose Brothers' brickyards hired black labor to produce bricks for nearby construction of late-nineteenth century commercial buildings and town houses. Many blacks, of course, hired out to East Woods' whites as domestics, landscape gardeners, drivers and teamsters, and laborers in town and on nearby farms owned and managed by Marshall residents.⁵

Agriculturalists and town professionals alike extended a southern, bourgeoisie East Woods. They worked as real estate brokers, attorneys, physicians, merchants, bankers and stockmen--the same as many do today. In a town and county proud of its continuing historic relationship with commercial agriculture, the East Woods prospered upon the success of a capitalist, progressive agriculture. East Woods is still maintained in large part by the prosperity of local agricultural

investments.

A brief mention of a few men who eventually located in the East Woods provides a glimpse into the upward-mobile background of these and others who 'worked to effect Marshall's articulate neighborhood.

In 1838 Thomas **Duggins**, a native of Louisa County, Virginia, educated, a surveyor and a school teacher, migrated to Boone County, Missouri. He secured an interest in a government contract for surveying the Platte purchase. Moving to Saline County in 1840, he entered lands, taught school for three years, and voters elected him to county office as surveyor, an office he held for sixteen consecutive years. He built a 1200 acre stock farm becoming a-- principal stockman among Saline's farmers. One son, Dean D. **Duggins**, became a much beloved attorney in Marshall. The **Duggins** family owned and developed Marshall lots on Arrow street, including the distinctive California keyhole bungalow (see Appendix #1). Descendants still
6
reside in a late-Victorian house on Arrow street.

Reuben Eubank, descendant of Virginians and hailing from Barren County, Kentucky, trained as a merchant and a farmer in his youth. He sold his tobacco farm in the Pennyroyal, and migrated to-Saline County in the 1850s where he prospered in the hemp trade. Fortunately he survived difficult Civil War events about his farm. Following the War, Eubank ~~recapitalized~~^{utilized} into a larger grain and livestock business, eventually owning 4,500 acres in Saline and surrounding counties. His Greek: Revival house and its distinctive Italianate interior lingers as a significant rural landmark. Eubank achieved notoriety for his liberal patronage of land and money to the Bible School in Columbia and Christian churches at Canton and Marshall. He lived his senior

years on Arrow street in the Queen Anne house now proudly maintained
by Dr. and Mrs. Fahnestock.⁷

In 1835 Major Thomas Harvey, a native of Northumberland County, Virginia, made a "prospecting tour" of Ohio,, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. He invested in 400 timber-covered acres of Saline County land, later known as "Harvey's Grove." In 1836 he returned with his family and entered an additional 2,800 acres of prairie land. Harvey had been a representative in the Virginia legislature and in 1838 as a Missourian Saline Countians sent him to the Missouri legislature. In 1840 he held the seat of state senator from Saline, Pettis and Benton counties and in 1843 President Tyler appointed him superintendent of Indian affairs for the western Indians and later, President Polk reappointed him. His sons continued in prominent Saline County roles and his descendants resided in a late-Victorian house on North street.⁸

George Murrell, whose father hailed from Albemarle County, Virginia, was like Duggins a native of Barren County, Kentucky. The elder Murrell successfully exported tobacco from the Pennyroyal to New Orleans' markets. George Murrell inherited a good estate, traded in mules to Mississippi and Alabama, and came to Lexington, Missouri on a prospecting tour. He temporarily ran a store in Carrollton, but soon bought 300 acres in Saline County to which he added an additional 2,000 acres. He built eight farms and later invested in the State Bank of Missouri at St. Louis, the Bank of Missouri at Arrow Rock, and the Saline County Bank in Marshall. Like many propertied Missourians of southern background, Murrell took a Unionist stand during the Civil War. Following the War, Murrell's widespread banking interests eventually led him to the third presidency of the Wood and Huston Bank

in Marshall. **Murrell's** late Greek Revival country house in the Salt Fork valley, perhaps Missouri's finest **outstate** frame Greek Revival house, and his son's Neo-Classic house on **Eastwood** street are dramatic symbols of the entrepreneurial agriculturalists who thrived in the mid-nineteenth century and helped to establish town institutions. Their families often continued as local leaders in the twentieth century.

T.C. Rainey, merchant, banker, real estate broker and author, represents another man who moved from regional centers of brisk capitalist activity and finally located in Marshall. **Rainey's** family came from Virginia to Middle Tennessee where he grew up and subsequently managed a Whig newspaper in Columbia, **Maury** County, Tennessee. In 1852 he rode horseback to Springfield, **Missouri** seeking Maury County friends, and he settled four miles south of town. Civil War hostilities forced him and his family to flee to **Rolla** for safety. While there Rainey managed a hotel and speculated in the historic stock trade that moved from southwest Missouri towards **St.** Louis markets. His wholesale merchandising prompted him to move to the city of St. Louis and eventually to ~~New~~ York. But in 1865 at War's end, he returned to ~~Missouri and arrived at an old trading~~ **entrepot**, Arrow Rock. After fourteen years he again saw fresh **opportunity** in a railroad boom-town and in **1879** he located in Marshall. Rainey concluded a real estate partnership with Jacob Van Dyke, another **successful** rural Saline Countian, who had begun business in town. Their association continued for three decades. Rainey built a **handsome** suburban Italianate-Victorian house on Arrow Rock road (Eastwood Street) and his partner Van Dyke, owned a house and property

at the junction of the Arrow Rock road and Brunswick road.

The Marshall migrations of **Duggins**, Eubank, Harvey, **Murrell** and Rainey paralleled an increasing general population growth. During the post-War years the old immigration pattern from upland south states was bolstered by emigrants from northern states, which included important additions of German-Americans. The 1860 county census recorded over 14,000 people and by 1870, the county had grown to over 21,000. A gradual migration of professional people from Arrow Rock and Miami continued to move to Marshall. Perhaps one of the most important moves included Arrow Rock merchants, Will H. Wood and Joseph Huston. In 1873 the pair organized the Wood and Huston Bank on the Marshall square. One year later **Marshall's** forty-five ~'coresnad doubled in number its antebellum commercial houses. They included three banks. two hotels and a monthly stock exchange sales.¹¹

Arrow Rock never attracted a railroad; Marshall did. And in 1879 when the railroad did come, Marshall did not have to move nor was another competing town established. During the 1870s, railroad construction developed a regional network of lines in counties surrounding Saline. The new opportunities in marketing attracted a host of local exports that had been unsalable in antebellum years. Saline Countians exported goods at neighboring railhead connections-- Boonville, Saline's resort spa, Sweet Springs, and across the Missouri River in Glasgow. The arrival of the Chicago and Alton railroad permanently founded Marshall as the economic center-place of Saline County (see nap #9).

A national boom era of 1879-1882 was a time of important transition for Marshall. From 1876-1883 **Marshall's** population jumped from 1800 to 3500. The Chicago and Alton railroad immediately

attracted new investors in the future of Marshall. The example of T.C. Rainey arriving in the same year has already been cited.

Another, George Blanchard, a large commercial farmer and regionally famous horse breeder¹², moved to Marshall the same year and began a lumber business near the Chicago and Alton depot. Blanchard invested in county land, town houses and lots. A few years later, another important man in local construction located his lumber yard and planing mill contiguous to the Missouri Pacific depot. At the modern intersection of Lafayette and **Eastwood** streets Edgar R. Page continued a family tradition in building. Page would become **Marshall's** most celebrated builder.¹³

In 1879 **Marshall** still did not evoke cultivated sensibilities that would have satisfied John McKown's mother. Instead, only timid descriptions of the locale could be found. It was a place of "...plain churches and school houses, a single railway, a good showing of plain homes, and a situation chiefly noteworthy for the wealth of its agricultural surroundings."¹⁴

In three years, however, Marshall assumed a dramatic new landscape. From 1880-82 more than 200 new buildings "**embracing** mercantile houses, shops, factories, school houses and **homes**" had been constructed. A **Chicago** promotional pamphlet claimed that

The business quarter, laid upon the four sides of the public square, is mainly built of brick, **stone** and iron, after the best types of modern architecture. Scores of handsome homes of **chaste** design and fine finish, lend grace to this beautiful little city, which from end to end express order, taste and enterprise worthy of the builders and location.¹⁵

Included among the many new additions was the property of real estate

promoter, T.C. Rainey, on Arrow Rock road (Eastwood street). Edgar R. Page, builder of the Rainey house, took a prominent lead as Marshall's most distinguished local builder and contractor. Already by 1882 Page employed a dozen men and had constructed "a large share of the best public and private buildings in the country!" That same year the county financed a new Classic-Revival courthouse, greatly adding to the reputation of Page, its builder, and standing as the crowing achievement that climaxed this boom era.

At the end of 1882 Marshall claimed a state class public building in its courthouse¹⁶, the town's brick commercial buildings gave evidence that another legitimate Main Street landscape had been added to the national geography, and the large town lots east of the square were ready for occupancy by bourgeois townfolk.

During the 1880s Marshall's good times reflected the rapid national growth of modernization. The power of money, of corporate organization, of advanced technology in railroads and mills, the lure of national and international markets for agricultural production, population growth and increment of land values within Saline County all accounted for railroad town prosperity in the late Victorian age. The prairie village expanded beyond its crown of ground, with water receding in all directions, and into nearby broken hollows and distant prairie. Marshall continued

in full tide of progress and healthful growth.. toward 10,000 population.. five newspapers, two elegant public schools, a model courthouse, three of the prettiest new churches in central Missouri.. a fine academy, building a new college.. has four banks.. a prosperous Fair association.. two flouring mills, an elevator, two wagon and carriage factories, fine water works and gas plants, the largest mule market in Missouri, outside Kansas City and St. Louis, brick and tile works, fraternal orders, social clubs, two truck

railway lines, **nearly** a hundred business concerns, scores of elegant homes and an active working Board of Trade.¹⁷

Names around the square were often the same as residents in the East Woods: **Althouse**, Armentrout, Buckner, Campbell, Graves, Lowenstein, **Naylor**, Page, Rea, Rose, Vawter, Van Dyke and many more. The commercial and residential heart of Marshall became the first area that received modern road improvements. Macadamizing, curbing and guttering, implemented during the **1890s**, became added features on North street (old Arrow Rock road), Arrow street, **Odell** and Jefferson streets.¹⁸

Marshall's blend of natural setting, blocks of brick and a "suburbs rich with refined and tasteful homes" had all the appearances of a vital county center. Promoters advertised a

courthouse girdled by the business square which is almost one continuous wall of brick and will soon be completely filled out by business houses of city style and finish, the tall stately opera house and the palatial business corners, and leading the stream of commerce down other streets, the miles of streets bordered by neat, orderly and elegant dwellings all have a look and an individuality of their own and must be seen to be appreciated.¹⁹

Furthermore, residents in the East Woods enjoyed a walking neighborhood; they could walk to work, walk to the courthouse and public recreation around the square, walk to do business as consumers, and their children walked to the high school located on **Eastwood** street.

Residents in the town's leading neighborhood also advanced a move to develop a regionally distinct, if not unique, middle-class cemetery. **Town** fathers hired "Benjamin Grove of Louisville, Kentucky, the famous cemetery engineer." Ridge Park cemetery, like the East Woods district, is a special cultural landscape in central Missouri.²⁰ Finally, it would seem that by the **1890s** Marshall had achieved a

respectability that would have accomodated John McKown's mother.

Marshall: the New County Center

¹ Although there are academic arguments over the definition of suburb, the term is used herein as it reflects common usage of the late nineteenth century, and the term, suburban, "esp. in the U.S. [represents] a blending or is characterized by the blending of the urban and rural," Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, Springfield, Massachusetts: G.C. Merriam Co., 1959, suburban, p. 2516.

² J. B. Jackson, American Space The Centennial Years 1865-1876, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1972: 76.

³ See an 1871 plat map in Van Dyke Abstract Office, Marshall, and Directory of Marshall, Mo., Slater, Mo., and Saline County, Mo., Marshall: Democrat-News Printing Co., 1909 and Chas. C. Drake, comp., 1913 Directory of Saline County, Marshall: Democrat-News Printing Co., 1913.

⁴ Another black neighborhood developed northwest of the square along the railroad lines and near the town's industrial quarter.

⁵ In 1870 the Saline County census recorded 21,672 including 3754 blacks, and by 1900 the black population stood at 4764, HPP Report...Marshall by MVRPC, January, 1984.

⁶ William Barclay Napton, Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri, Indianapolis and Chicago: B.F. Bowen and Company, 1910: 340-41.

⁷ History of Saline County, Missouri, St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company: 1881: 682-83, and Napton, Saline County, 1910: 856-60.

⁸ Napton, Saline County, 1910: 126-28.

⁹ History of Saline County, 1881: 573-74.

¹⁰ T.C. Rainey, "Along the Old Trail," Marshall: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1914: 5-8.

¹¹ R.A. Campbell, Campbell's Gazeteer of Missouri, St. Louis: R.A. Campbell, 1874: 583-85.

¹² See James Cox, ed., Missouri at the World's Fair An Official Catalogue, Woodward and Tiernan Printing Co., 1893: 56 for state recognition of his stallion, Dm Pedro.

13

Apparently the Page family lumber yard was first integrated with the Rea and Page Milling Company just one block north of Eastwood and Odell and beside the Missouri Pacific railway. It was later moved behind the M^o Pac depot. See Sanborn and Pettis Insurance Maps, 1883-1889, 1894, and 1900, Ellis Library, UMC. The Pages, as well as other builders in Marshall during the late 19th and early 20th century, undoubtedly resorted to some use of private builders' pattern-book plans. In the absence of the builders' private papers, it is not possible to ascertain where the East Woods' plans came from. For explanations of the general phenomenon, see James Garvin, "Mail-Order House Plans and American Victorian Architecture," Winterthur Portfolio, Winter, 1981: 309-334, and Michael Tomlan, "Popular and Professional American Architectural Literature in the Late Nineteenth Century," PhD, Cornell, 1982.

14

Handbook of Saline County, Missouri, Chicago: C.S. Burch Publishing Company, 1889: 16.

15

Saline County, Missouri. From the Industrial World, Chicago. The Western Empire, n.p. :1882: 10.

16

The courthouse is now enrolled on the National Register of Historic Places.

17

Handbook of Saline County, Missouri, 1889:16.

18

Napton, Saline County, 1910:251-56.

19

Historical and Descriptive Review of Missouri, Volume One, Kansas City: Jon. Lethem, 1891:164.

20

Ibid:164; Peter Schmitt, Back to Nature The Arcadian Myth in Urban America, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969:67; Charter, By-Laws, Rules and Regulations of the Ridge Park Cemetery Association, Marshall: Democrat-News, 1885.

Planning for East Woods' Continuity

If one accepts D.W. Meinig's idealizations of American communities,¹ then Marshall must surely represent an ideal Main Street town. The central business district around the square is comprised of red brick business blocks constructed during the nineteenth century. A north-south axis of churches that helped to define a cultural fault line between downtown and the East Woods lies along Odell street (see map #10). Not too far away is the academy--Missouri Valley College. The old residential neighborhood includes numerous Victorian houses sited upon spacious tree-shaded lots, and on the other side of town, near the railroad depots are warehouses and factories. All total we have "Main Street of Middle America, in a seat of a business culture of property-minded, law-abiding citizens devoted to free enterprise and social mobility supported by the Chamber of Commerce and largely composed of middle-class white Anglo-Saxon Protestants."² Perhaps the only qualification is the Meinig suggested that this idealization may be passing away as the highway has become the "fundamental structural element" and that the Sun Belt or the California Bay Area may be establishing new models for Americans. In Marshall, as in many Midwestern towns, the "staying power" of the Main Street image may outlast the newer models that Meinig sees on the horizon.

Town planners and developers in Marshall have for over a century been planning for the preservation of its Main Street image and the survival of its desirable East Woods neighborhood. Foremost in the continuity of the large suburban lots and properties has been the continued ownership in families related by blood, marriage, and

business. The axis of an inner landscape corridor that represents the most affluent of East Woods' occupants, historically and today, remains along East North street, a block of North Brunswick and East Eastwood streets. This corridor is the heart of first generation town estates on the old Arrow Rock road.

South of the East Woods' district the historic freedman's ghetto was kept in white ownership by Marshall residents until World War II. The black community gradually purchased their former tenant dwellings. They, however, still needed to live close to local industries, and near commercial houses that offered them services, and while adjacent to the East Woods district they continued to provide domestic labor for many white families. The largest of the black cemeteries in Saline County became Fairview cemetery, located on the east edge of black settlement (see map 1\13).

Yerby street, a high ridge road, parallels Arrow street to the south. Prosperous Marshall citizens and working class residents built white neighborhoods along Yerby and southward toward Missouri Valley College (see map #14a). At the east end of Yerby street the Ridge Park cemetery opened in the mid-1880s (see map #15).

North and ⁴parallel~~e~~ling Eastwood street runs the Missouri Pacific railroad in the bottom of a long prairie drainage into Salt Fork creek. The railway made a convenient rear boundary for Eastwood lots, some of which reached 1500' depths. Just north of the Mo Pac lines, Marshall town fathers secured a political plum--the Missouri Colony for the Feeble-Minded and Epileptic. In 1901 the institution opened on Marshall's donation of 280 acres. In addition to providing jobs and a stable cash flow for town merchants, the institution is an anchor point for locking in the northeast East Woods' district (see

map #15).

From the 1880s to the 1920s Marshall depended on **railroads** as a **foundation** of her economy. During the 1920s automobiles, trucking, aviation and new manufacturing ushered in a dramatic decade of population growth for Marshall. The town census increased from 5200 in 1920 to 8103 in 1930. Jobs, recreation and new housing were required for employees of Marshall industry. Included among employers were the Saline County Milk Producers Association, the mill and elevators of Rea and Page, expansions of International Shoe Company, F.M. Stamper (Banquet Foods), Horman Meat, Nicholas-Beazley Airplane factory, grocer and automobile dealers and more.³ These new and expanding businesses, except for an auto dealership on South Odell, all located at a comfortable distance from the East Woods. New and expanding working class suburbs grew north, west and south of the square. East of the black community, bordered on the west by Park street and stretching from **Eastwood** street on the north to Ridge Park cemetery on the south, Marshall developed the **sprawling** Indian Foothills park. The Missouri Pacific railway, located in the Salk Fork creek valley, became the **park's** east border (see map #15).

Odell street, separating the East Woods from the commercial district, has functioned as a significant cultural **fault** line. Along this axis, congregations built several mainline Protestant churches. They included **Marshall's** two American Gothic churches--Trinity Episcopal at Odell and Morgan, and First Presbyterian near Odell and North street. At Odell and Arrow is the First Baptist and within one block east stands the United Methodist (M.E. South). At Odell and North streets the Cumberland Presbyterians built a Neo-Classic house

of worship. The next block northwest and one block west of Odell stands the First Christian church (see map #10).

In summary, these several anchors in the built environment have locked in the East **Woods'** residential area, protecting it from sudden, extensive, modern intrusions. The **Mb Pac** railway and **the** Missouri Colony on the north, the Indian Foothills park on the **east**, the Ridge Park and **Fairview** cemeteries, and historic black **community** on the south, and the ecclesiastical fault line marks the western boundary separating East Woods from the downtown commercial **square**. To further reject potential neighborhood disruption, town planners have not significantly increased utility service capacities, **especially** water, toward the East Woods. **Marshall's** twentieth century industrial expansions, particularly the ever important agribusiness, have to⁴ locate north, west or south of downtown (see map #16).

Planning for East Woods Continuity

¹ D.W. Meinig, ed., The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979:164-192. The three ideals are the New England village, Main Street and California Suburbia.

² Ibid: 167, 178.

³ History of Marshall, Missouri a reprint from Saline County History, 1967 mimeographed for the Chamber of Commerce, Marshall.

⁴ Interview with Russ Nicholas, Director, Missouri Valley Regional Planning Commission, May 25, 1983, and see Marshall Comprehensive Plan, Missouri Valley Regional Planning Commission, 1973.

The Contemporary East Woods

Despite the East Woods' longevity of more than a century, the historic suburbs has changed noticeably. The core of well-maintained middle to upper-middle class houses along East North, North Brunswick, East Eastwood, and on East Arrow attest to a remarkable small town environment. The East Woods District ¹ has had a number of small, separate developments on short north-south streets and alleyways as well as the subdivision of large town lots. In fact, the east-west axes remain discreet cultural corridors from the much shorter, more recent and less affluent north-south axes (see map #19). Bell street (two blocks with one block having houses built on lots formerly facing North and Arrow streets) and Allen street (one block) appear to have always been more of a working class neighborhood contained on small side street lots. Redman street (one block), with its three mid-twentieth century houses, were constructed in the former back lots of estates that faced North and Arrow streets. The very east end of Arrow street, past Conway street, is essentially a c.1925 bungalowoid addition built upon ground that slopes eastward into the breaks. The one block of South Brunswick was apparently first broken up by the Wells-Odum apartment building, constructed at the back of the Orear town lot, and later, a couple of houses completed the subdivision of the deep lots parallel to South Brunswick.

On the north side of Eastwood, between Allen and Brunswick streets, an historic seasonal lake and succeeding town dump in the deep relief prohibited Eastwood street from becoming a through street. About 1920, however, developers filled the depression and the Steele

apartments and three bungalows built by Steele occupied the rear of lots that faced North street. On North street itself, the easternmost part of the street remains as one of the most prominent and desirable landscapes of the East Woods, while the west end of East North street has been somewhat dismantled for church parking lots, and late Victorian houses have succumbed to multiple family apartments. North Brunswick (one block) and from Brunswick to Lincoln on Eastwood street is filled with superb early twentieth century houses (there are other periods of construction too, c.1875-1960). From Lincoln to Park on Eastwood street is a variegated landscape, but it possesses numerous well 'built bungalows, Revival styles and period houses.

Perhaps one of the most significant historic forces and influences on Eastwood street has been the early twentieth century building activities of Georgia Brown Blosser. The daughter of a St. Louis broker, Miss Brown married Saline countian, Louis Blosser.² Possessing considerable wealth, Georgia Blosser financed at least two early twentieth century houses on Eastwood, the Keller-Peterson house at 503 Eastwood in 1907 and the Unruh-Hamilton house at 537 in 1910. Edgar R. Page served as contractor for the splendid Hamilton bungalow. She continued to build during the 1920s building residences for herself at the Radford-Early Italian villa (549 Eastwood) and finally the large vernacular villa at 834 Eastwood where she lived out her life. Mrs. Blosser became an historic patron of Marshall when she bequeathed several hundred thousand dollars for the construction of Depression era Revival buildings that flanked her own town estate. One, the Blosser Home for Crippled Children (Mrs. Blosser herself was a handicapped lady), and the other, the Blosser Home for Women.

Saylor and Owens, Kansas City architects, and the distinguished construction firm of John Epple in Columbia, implemented the work.³ The Blosser building activities on Eastwood street have given a particular dramatic image to the street, especially in the easternmost blocks where the three two story, brick and stone structures reside on contiguous lots.

The East Woods suburbs is certainly not one of un-ending rows of ranch style houses or a suburbs that has outlived its original intention. It remains a complement to an historic American walking city anchored to a downtown commercial center. Its diversity of landscape provides a pleasant contrast to the singular Main Street brick that envelopes the downtown square. The East Woods ambience imparts a distinctive, positive personality, one that is alive, well, and stable--all this a reflection of the historic strength of the county's economic center place.

The East Woods landscape does not exhibit a flowering of mid-nineteenth Victorian fashion in Gothic, Italianate or French Second Empire modes (although two of the churches are 1870s American Gothic, they are on the west edge of East Woods and are not deeply integrated into the expanse of residences).⁴ The construction of large, locally pretentious, middle-class housing did not begin in Marshall until the national boom era of 1880-1882. The first generation of a substantial number of prominent East Woods housing exemplified a traditional taste for single and double-pile I houses adorned with modest machine-manufactured Victorian detail. Among these are the Rainey-McClure, Huff, Guthrey, Langford and Napton houses (see Appendix #4). How many of these were built we do not know. Closely following those buildings the fashion for national eclecticism in mixing revival styles into

original designs of Neo-Jacobean or Queen Anne designs has bequeathed⁵ to the present generation of good number of examples. The more exhuberant East Woods¹ examples are the Gordon, Huston-Hart, **Eubank-Fahnestock**, Rea-Searfoss, Downing-Emmerson and others (see Appendix #5). More affordable, of course, were much less articulated exhuberance in more modest-priced housing. A range of examples appear in some twenty seven photographs in Appendix #6 and #7, Queen Anne common roof patterns and Victorian cross-gable houses. Smaller versions of these houses are the twenty two Victorian cottages in Appendix #8 and #9. All of the above have nineteenth century origins, although they continued to be popular through the first decade of the twentieth century.

The American Basic gable-entry houses (Appendix #10) vary considerably in size, expense and exterior texture. In general, they are a part of the turn-of-the-century conservative effort in house building. They fit well onto narrow town lots and helped emphasize the quality of a larger yard space. The irregular planned Victorians continued to be built by those who could afford them, but the designers of the more rectangular houses and the Four Square-Cubic houses eliminated interior walls, increasing square footage, while reducing the actual size and cost of the building. The box-like versions, including Prairie School houses, appear less refined, with **greatly** reduced ornamentation, and obvious geometric planning. They did, however, prove very popular as their ubiquitous appearance on the American landscape attests. In fact, their very numbers and associated simple forms in contrast to asymmetrical Victorian houses⁶ created a completely new visual experience in the **suburbs**. In the

East Woods two excellent pattern-book examples of the Cubic-Prairie School house are the Parks and Bellamy houses (see Appendix #13). A Cubic mode that utilized especially flattering Classical detail is the Irvine-Stapleton house and Barnett-Dautenhahn houses (see Appendix #12). The Irvine-Stapleton Classical porch is one of the most spectacular in outstate Missouri.

The wealthier capitalists in Marshall could afford to build ostentatious versions of Americans' love for Classicism. In the East Woods both the Buckner and Murrell-Fletcher Neo-Classic houses (see Appendix #11) are significant cultural anchor points in the heart of the East Woods.⁷ The Buckner in frame and Murrell-Fletcher in brick and stone epitomize the zenith in small town estate building. Symbolically they may also stand for patron families of local society. The Murrell family donated funds for the Murrell Library at Missouri Valley College, and Buckners donated their historic house to the Saline County Historical Society. Both are state class houses in the cultural landscape of outstate Missouri.

The Classic-inspired Georgian-Colonial houses also vary considerably in expense and design. An excellent example of quality design for smaller versions of what was often a much larger pretentious urban building is the Barnett-Laurie house. This smaller, side passage version, with its Roman porch, Renaissance dormers, east-facing sun porch and magnificent yard landscape define it as a major artifact in the East Woods' district. It is one of at least three extant houses in the East Woods financed by the late Mrs. Minnie Barnett (see Appendix #15).

The East Woods' residents continued to follow national fashion throughout the twentieth century. Four Tudor and English cottage

houses add graceful complements to the general suburban ambience. Good examples of pattern-book craftsman bungalows abound, especially on **Eastwood** street (Appendix #17). The **McChesney-McCorkle** bungalow, said to be the first in Marshall, still survives. In terms of local patterns of historic craftsman bungalows, however, the East Woods can not claim near all of the better designed bungalows. Marshall as a whole exhibits one of the better bungalow landscapes in small town Missouri.

The bungalows, pattern-book cottages, tract and ranch style houses, and apartment houses all generally represent buildings in East Woods¹ blocks that were opened for construction after 1915. A great many of these are now found on lots that were formerly a part of a much larger town lot, or some are modern houses built on the site of a demolished house. Examples include the **Eastwood** street cottages west of the **Buckner** house and east of the historic Jacob Fink house, the fine Sweeney cottage on **Redman** street, the Huston brick ranch style house on **South Brunswick** and two ranch houses on the former **Sappington-Hupp** lot on **Eastwood** street.

It is difficult to select particular houses for any exceptional treatment as in the East Woods so very many contribute greatly to the quality of the environment. This characteristic is precisely what makes the East Woods¹ district so unusual in the late twentieth century suburban Main Street landscape. After any casual introduction to the subject, however, it seems that a few should attract some subjective attention. The importance of propertied women who have built groups of elegant buildings in the East Woods comes to mind. Mrs. Minnie **Barnett's** three brick Georgian-Cubic houses will

remain a long time. Mrs. Georgia Brown Blosser built at least seven East Woods' houses. These buildings on Eastwood street may be the most significant one group of East Woods' structures associated with any one person. The Duggins-Wayman California keyhole bungalow on Arrow street, named for its window design, holds a particular historic significance in the memory of local residents. The Hamilton bungalow on Eastwood street is a deceptively large, spacious, classically detailed house. Its large interior, flanking a central hall, has made it a very convenient, livable house. Mrs. Waldorf's Prairie style bungalow, financed by Mrs. Blosser, is a state class house. Its integrity of original design and immaculate maintenance should preserve the house for years to come. The Buckner modern ranch style house, built to the side of the historic Buckner, Neo-Classic house on North Brunswick, reflects a mode of expensive suburban houses built throughout southwestern Kansas City. It is the latest house built in a current national fashion that represents the best of mainstream, middle-class housing constructed in the East Woods for over a century.

The last house that I will mention is the Van Dyke, Williamsburg replica on Eastwood street. The house is modeled after the St. George Tucker house and Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg, designed by George Murphy of Kansas City, built in 1958. Besides being a classic example of the realization of an American dream to build and own a house that makes such an obvious cultural and historic statement, the house symbolizes the socio-economic and cultural history of influential, capitalist Saline Countians for the past 160 years. The full story of that symbolism has yet to be thoroughly researched and comprehended, and only a suggestion of it is made here.

Saline County social, economic and political leaders immigrated

from centers of similar influence in the southern highlands. Especially significant demographically has been a core of families who have had historic connections within the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont regions. These include many who settled in the famous Sappington neighborhood of southeast Saline County as well as later migrants to Marshall. The families of General Thomas A. Smith and Dr. John Sappington had by marriage and kin relations a number of influential political connections throughout border state southern Democracy. These webs of associations led into communications with ~~political-gentry~~ families of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and the Missouri Boonslick. With reference to the Van Dyke house, the local kin relationship between the Smiths, **Naptons** and famous Virginia political rhetorician, Beverly Tucker is crucial. The Tucker **family's** involvement at William and Mary College is legendary, but his ties to Saline County and his probable influence upon **Napton's** authorship of the famous Jackson Resolutions of **1849** is a likely circumstance. **N.B** Tucker had two sons who immigrated to the county of their maternal grandparents after the Civil War. One worked as a physician in Marshall, the other as a farmer east of Marshall. During the 1870s the wife of **Dr. St. George Tucker** helped found the Gothic-styled Trinity Episcopal church.

In Marshall the Page family also had roots in historic Williamsburg. The Virginia Pages owned one of the premier seatings in a Williamsburg church. Over time, and especially in the twentieth century, kith and kin of Virginia families in Marshall made pilgrimages to Virginia homelands, including Williamsburg. The trips East helped to reinforce the trans-generational consciousness of their

historic roots. Memories and reflections upon a southern gentry **heritage perhaps** gave the necessary impetus for a desire to build a local, physical reminder of that past. One speculates that the superb **Williamsburg** replica on **Eastwood street--**a major mid-twentieth century cultural mainstay in the heart of historic East Woods--is not an anomaly or a choice of caprice discovered in a Main Street town. Rather, **it belongs there--**a symbol of cultural cohesion and diffusion over a thousand miles and of generations of Virginians who once went **West**. The associated and ascribed historic continuities are a substance of interpretation that brings significance to a genteel, middle-class suburb linked to the national symbol of Main Street communities. These deep cultural memories known and discussed over time within the oral traditions of families, become eroded by the passage of time. Their preservation, indeed, their very existence, **must** be considered by the overall inquiry into any landscape study. What is vernacular in artififact has linkages that are profoundly enmeshed in widespread national movements. Some of these, like the Van Dyke house, can only be understood in the **accumulation** of generations of cultural experience within the East Woods society.

Thus, the modern cultural fault lines, that comprise the **boundaries** of the contemporary East Woods' suburbs, **reflect** an articulated built environment that owes its origins to **hegemonic social** and economic forces of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Yes, an erosion of original planning has taken place; but the segregated land use, almost as obvious today as a century ago, **represents** in large part a neighborhood that has not tolerated large-scale intrusions into its original landscape designs. Furthermore, extant East Woods' housing, though located among modest vernacular houses, **still** represents

the highest qualities in building design available to Marshall's propertied, affluent class. For the result in the built environment to have been qualitatively superior, the East Woods' society and space would have to have been located in another region. As it is, the East Woods remains a premier neighborhood in Missouri's historic Boonslick region.

The Contemporary East Woods

1

An historic preservation survey in Marshall during 1983 resulted in the use of this term by the author. See An Historic Preservation Survey Report for Marshall, Missouri, Volumes 1, 2, and 3, Marshall: Missouri Valley Regional Planning Commission, January, 1984.

2

Louis Blosser's father, Henry, a prominent Saline County agriculturalist, hired Edgar R. Page to build a French Second Empire house north of Marshall. It is now enrolled on the National Register of Historic Places. Prior to her marriage to Blosser, Georgia Brown had been widowed from Mr. James Unruh.

3

A.H. Orr, et al eds., Saline County History, n.p., 1967: 396-97. Mrs. Blosser, a Methodist, may have directed the future trustees of her estate to hire the well known Methodist builder, John Epple, and the Blosser Home for Women has been occupied primarily by Methodist women.

4

Midwestern towns that still have significant examples of Gothic, Italianate and Second Empire designs have a much larger population and economic base than Marshall ever had, or they are located in the Old Northwest region. See for example, Robert Bastian, "Architecture and Class Segregation in Late Nineteenth Century Terre Haute, Indiana," Geographical Review, April, 1975: 166-179.

5

See Mary Mix Foley, The American House, New York: Harper and Row, 1980: 175-195 for her discussion of "Surface Styles."

6

See discussion by Gwendolyn Wright, Moralism and the Modern Home, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980: 248-253.

7

The Buckner house is on the National Register of Historic Places.

8

The three are located at 215 East Arrow, 345 East North, and 408 East North, all constructed by Marshall contractor, W.P. Gollong.