

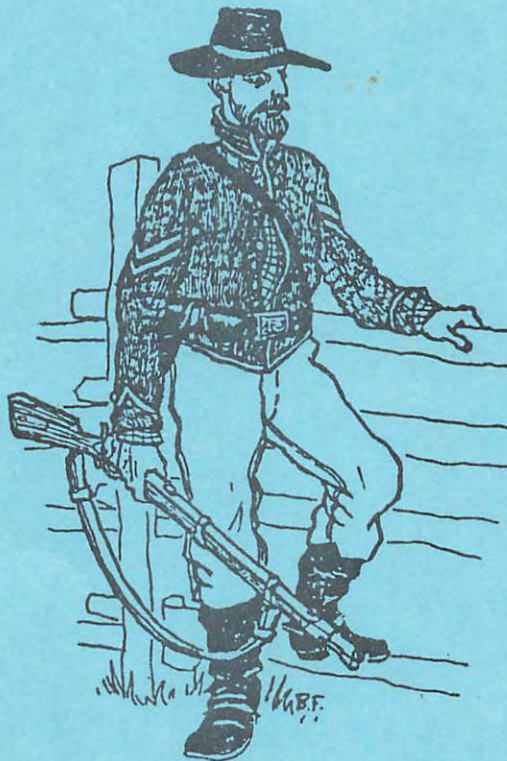
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DEFENDERS OF THE BORDER

MISSOURI'S UNION MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE CIVIL WAR

by

William Fannin



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Joe Swagick

DEFENDERS OF THE BORDER

MISSOURI'S UNION MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CIVIL WAR

by
William Fannin

MUSTER ROLL of Captain *William Hahn* company [*K*], in the
by *the President* at *St. Louis Mo*
unless sooner discharged; from the *seventh* day of *May* 1861, (when
month of May 1861, and marched thence to *where*

No. in Company	NAME FIRST AND LAST (Written in alphabetical order—the first column name to be written full length.)	RANK	AGE	JOINED FOR SERVICE AND ENROLLED AT GENERAL RENDEZVOUS - COMMENCEMENT OF FIRST PAYMENT BY TIME.			
				YEAR.	MONTH.	DAY.	PERIOD.
1	<i>William Hahn</i>	<i>Capt.</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>1861</i> <i>May 7th</i>	<i>St. Louis Mo</i>	<i>Capt W. Hahn</i>	<i>2 months</i>
1	<i>George Hahn</i>	<i>1st Lieut.</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
1	<i>Joseph Hahn</i>	<i>2d "</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>

A "Declaration for Invalid Pension" records for posterity the cold facts of a German emigrant's service to his adopted country: "...he is the identical Christ Maus who was enrolled on the 25 day of June, 1861, in Co. B Cole Co Regiment Home Guards Missouri Volunteers...." Another affirms the service of Cedar County farmer Neal D. Taylor as "a Private & Black Smith Co. E, 8 Regiment of Missouri State Militia...." Yet another preserves the efforts of Bridget Reilly, wife of Irishman Philip Reilly, to obtain a widow's pension after his death at Andersonville Prison while a member of Company B, 29th Missouri Volunteer Infantry.

Home Guard--State Militia--Missouri Volunteers: only three of over a dozen types of military service performed by the 109,000-odd Missourians who served the Union during the Civil War. Today our military establishment consists of only Regulars, Reserves and National Guard, but during the "Great Rebellion" the chaotic situation in Missouri resulted in a proliferation of forces, raised as events required to meet the constant emergencies faced by a border state at war. The effectiveness of our military system under those conditions is a tempting subject, but it must

William Fannin is currently Curator of the Missouri State Museum and Jefferson Landing State Historic Site in Jefferson City. He is an active member of the Missouri Civil War Reenactor's Association. The Muster Roll of CPT William Hahn is reproduced courtesy of John Viessman, Vienna, MO.

Regiment of S. S. Reserve Corps 1st. Volunteers, commanded by
 (the place of general rendezvous) on the *seventh* day of *May* 1861
 mustered) to the *seventh* day of *August* 1861, The
 of *a distance of three* remained on duty

MUSTERED INTO SERVICE		BANK PAID		TRAVELING		SUSPENSE AND FORFEIT		Amount for clothing included		No. of days	
WHERE	BY WHOM	BY PAYMASTER	TO WHAT TIME	To place of rendezvous No. of miles	From place of discharge home, No. of miles	No. of days	No. of days	At home	At camp	At home	At camp
<i>St. Louis Mo.</i>	<i>C. H. Nelson</i>										
	<i>U. S. A.</i>										

MUSTER ROLL of by unless sooner disc month of May

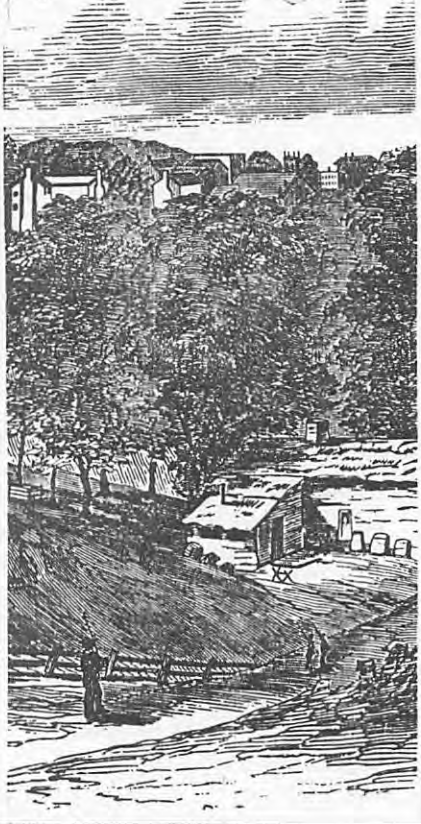
NO. 1. 1861.

NAME

POST OFFICE ADDRESS

(Please enter in alphabetical order)—the full name to be written full length

1 William H. ...
1 ...
1 ...
1 ...
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1 ...



wait until another occasion; this article will be devoted only to sorting out the various classifications of Missouri Union troops recognized by the Adjutant General's Office and noting their contributions to the Federal cause. To this end, military organizations will be divided into four groups:

- State Troops in United States Service
- United States Volunteers
- State Militia
- Troops With No Military Status

BUT first, a few notes on terminology are in order: During the Civil War a company of infantry or cavalry normally consisted of about 100 officers and men at full strength. Ten companies of infantry or twelve companies of cavalry were grouped together to form a regiment. Companies were designated by letters, and regiments by numbers. Two or more regiments (usually four) were organized into a brigade. Brigades were grouped into divisions, divisions into army corps, army corps into armies, etc. Cavalry and infantry organizations of fewer than ten companies were termed battalions. In the artillery the basic unit was the battery, which normally consisted of four or six artillery pieces with their gun crews, teams, limbers, caissons, etc. An administrative grouping of approximately four batteries was called an artillery battalion, while a grouping of a larger number of batteries was often called an artillery regiment.¹

STATE TROOPS IN UNITED STATES SERVICE

Three Months' Militia, 1861

These were the first Union troops officially raised in Missouri during the Civil War. They were organized as a result of President Lincoln's call on April 15, 1861--the day after Fort Sumter surrendered to Confederate forces in South Carolina--for 75,000 militia from the states to suppress the Southern insurrection. They were to serve for only three months.² Missouri's governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson, a proponent of the right of secession, promptly refused Lincoln's request for troops, which he branded as "inhuman and diabolical."³ Instead, Jackson called out the state's militia force, the strongly pro-Confederate Missouri State Guard, to defend Missouri against any Federal at-

tempt to force compliance with Lincoln's order.

Through the efforts of influential St. Louis Unionist Frank P. Blair, Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commander of the U.S. regular troops protecting the Federal Arsenal at St. Louis, was authorized on April 12 to raise Missouri's quota of four infantry regiments as called for by President Lincoln. The ranks were quickly filled from the existing para-military organizations of German loyalists within the city. Within a week Lyon and Blair reported one regiment full, two nearly full, and the fourth half full. Nearly all were armed and had received some training. By mid-May Lyon had raised five infantry regiments as well as a battalion of light artillery and a company of pioneers. These units were formed into the 1st Brigade of Missouri Volunteers with Lyon as their elected brigadier general.⁴

ALTHOUGH its period of service was short, the Three Months' Militia played an important role in the Union war effort. With this force Lyon was able on May 10, 1861, to force the surrender of pro-Southern units of the Missouri State Guard who had gathered at Camp Jackson near St. Louis, preventing them from seizing the Federal Arsenal with its stock of muskets, cannon and ammunition.

By the end of July, 1861, the Three Months' Militia had ceased to exist, its term of enlistment expired and its function taken over by other military organizations.

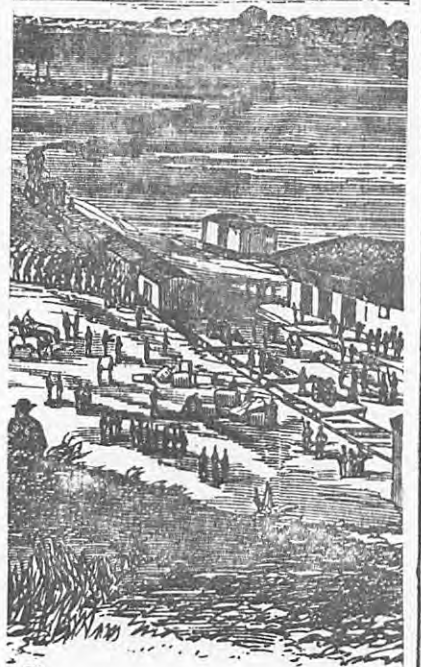
United States Reserve Corps [Three Months' Service]

President Lincoln was evidently well aware of Missouri's importance to the Union cause, for on April 30, 1861, only nine days after Captain Lyon began raising the Three Months' Militia, he authorized Lyon to raise an additional force of St. Louis citizens to maintain U.S. authority in the city and to defend it against the "control of a combination against the Government." This force, with the previously authorized Three Months' Militia, was not to exceed 10,000 men, and was to be discharged at the end of three months or sooner if the immediate danger to the city was past.⁵

Lyon began to raise this force at once. He designated it the United States Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers, and within a few days had mustered five regiments of infantry and a company of cavalry into the U.S. Service. Captain T.W. Sweeny of the 2nd U.S. Infantry was elected to serve as

Captain William S.
the President
charged; from the Nov.
1861, and marched

	RANK.	AGE.	JOINT
			1861
	Capt.	26	May 7
	1st Lieut.	35	"
	2nd "	25	"
	1st Surg.	30	"



brigadier general of volunteers in command of the Corps.⁶

Although this additional force provided Lyon with much-needed manpower, its usefulness was limited for it had been sworn in under the condition that it was not to serve outside of St. Louis County. The men of the Reserve Corps proved to be most difficult to deal with, as they considered themselves privileged and constantly insisted on determining what they would do, or would not do, by vote.⁷ Before their three months enlistment was up an effort was made to reenlist the men as Three Years' Volunteers.⁸

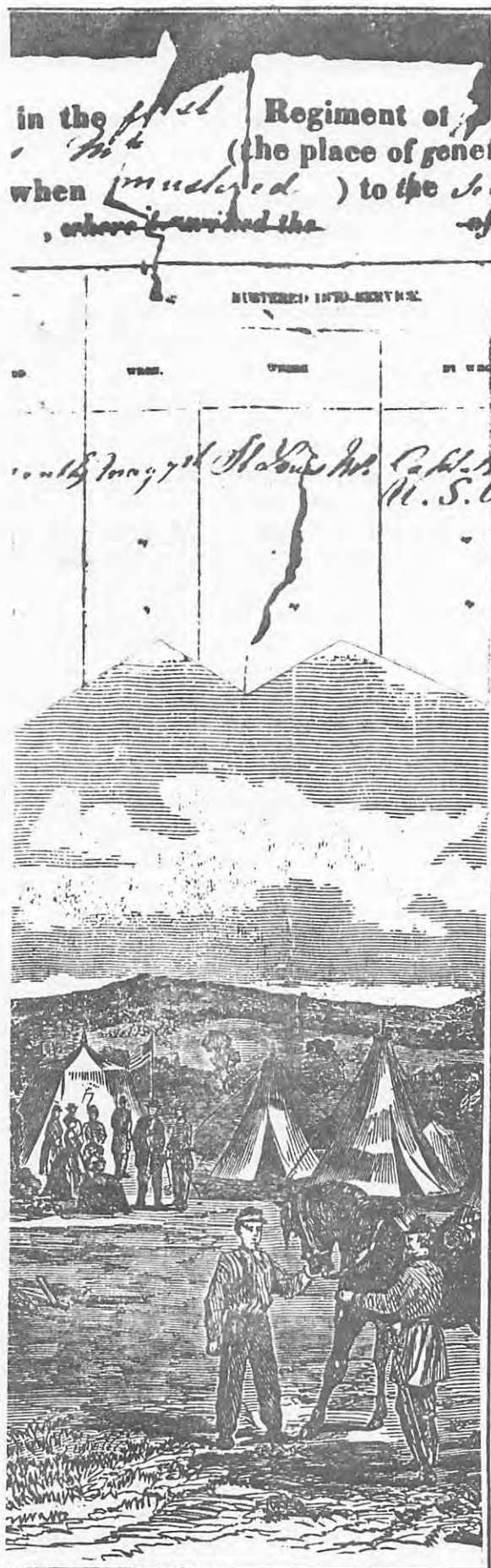
United States Reserve Corps (Three Years' Service)

Major General John Charles Fremont took command of Federal forces in Missouri during the summer of 1861 while General Lyon was pursuing Governor Jackson and the pro-Southern Missouri State Guard into Arkansas. To deal with the unruly three months' volunteers of the U.S. Reserve Corps, Fremont reorganized them into Three Years' Volunteers. The men were allowed to reenlist with the same pay as regular volunteers and were to serve without restriction. Unfortunately, the men who reenlisted did so with the mistaken impression that they were to serve only within Missouri. In this manner a battalion of cavalry, twelve heavy companies and three light batteries of artillery, and five regiments, three battalions, and two independent companies of infantry were enlisted.⁹

ON November 2, 1861, Fremont, who had proven to be less than an ideal commander, was relieved by General Henry Halleck. Questions immediately arose as to the official status of many organizations that had been raised by Fremont in a somewhat unorthodox manner.¹⁰ The paymaster refused to pay the members of the U.S. Reserve Corps until they had been properly reorganized as volunteers without restriction on their service, even though some units, such as Van Horn's Battalion which had fought at the siege of Lexington, had seen active service. Halleck intervened and directed their payment, but ordered that units with an "unauthorized limitation" on their service were to be allowed either to reenlist for three years of unrestricted service or were to disband.¹¹

Dissatisfaction over this policy led to mutiny among the 4th Missouri Volunteers in January of 1862, and resulted in the regiment being disarmed and put to hard labor on the fortifications. Other mutinies occurred in the 1st U.S. Reserve Corps and





in the 4th and 5th Missouri Cavalry regiments.¹² By August of 1862 General John M. Schofield, who then commanded in Missouri, declared the Reserve Corps to be "a positive burthen," and had them mustered out as of September 1. This move created so much dissension among the three years' regiments that had already been converted from Reserve Corps units that they too had to be mustered out as otherwise useless.¹³

Missouri State Militia

As the first summer of war in Missouri drew to a close it was evident that the state's position was far from secure. In Arkansas, Confederate and Missouri State Guard forces stood poised to invade while within the state Rebel guerrilla bands and recruiting parties kept the populace in constant turmoil. Governor Hamilton Gamble, attempting to resurrect the state government in the vacuum left by Claiborne Jackson's defection to the South, had few resources with which to properly protect the loyal population.¹⁴

ON November 5, 1861, he made President Lincoln a novel proposition: Missouri would raise a full-time military force within the state sufficient to defend it from enemies both within and without--the Federal Government would supply and maintain the force which would be led by U.S. officers and commanded by the commanding general of the U.S. Department of the West.¹⁵ Missouri would provide the raw material--manpower--while the Federal Government would provide the means of turning it into a fighting force that could secure the Union's right flank in Missouri while freeing Three Years' Volunteer regiments to fight elsewhere.

Lincoln saw merit in the plan and on November 27, 1861, Brigadier General John M. Schofield took command of the new Missouri State Militia, which was authorized to consist of 10,000 men.¹⁶ By April of 1862 Schofield had recruited 13,000 men, from which he culled the unfit, unhealthy and unruly to bring his force down to authorized strength.¹⁷

The result was an effective fighting force, consisting originally of fourteen regiments, three battalions and one independent company of cavalry, two batteries of light artillery, one regiment of infantry and one company of sappers and miners.¹⁸ As soon as a company was organized it was rushed into service alongside veteran troops, enabling it to share the older unit's experience and become an

U. S. Reserve Corps
ral rendezvous) on the
month day of August
, a distant

PAST PAID.

U. S. BY PAYMASTER. TO WHAT TIME.

Lyon



efficient force in a short time.¹⁹ Due to the nature of the guerrilla war fought in Missouri, the State Militia served most often in company-size units scattered across the state to better oppose the activities of the bushwhackers. Many companies never served together as a complete regiment until the militia was concentrated to oppose Confederate General Sterling Price's great raid into Missouri in 1864.²⁰

General Schofield testified that in drill, discipline and efficiency, the Missouri State Militia was as good as any volunteers that he had seen. They were never hesitant to leave the state when called upon--especially when a fight was imminent.²¹ As a mark of the esteem in which they were held as soldiers, the men of the State Militia were allowed in 1864 to reenlist as Veteran Volunteers in the Veteran Volunteer Regiments then being formed from expired enlistees from the Three Years' Volunteer regiments; they were to receive the same special pay and bounties as the regular U.S. volunteers.²² Their war was no less deadly than that of the regiments that campaigned in the South: six regiments and one battalion of Missouri State Militia Cavalry each lost over fifty men killed and mortally wounded during the war.²³

BY January of 1865 the immediate danger to Missouri had abated and the War Department decided to muster out the State Militia at the end of three years service, rather than at the end of hostilities as they had originally been enlisted. By June 23, 1865, the last of the Missouri State Militia had passed back into civilian life.²⁴

The Three Months' Militia of 1861, the United States Reserve Corps and the Missouri State Militia were all considered by the War Department to have been State Militia in the Federal Service, consequently were entitled to all state and Federal veteran benefits after the war.

UNITED STATES VOLUNTEERS

Home Guards, 1861

When the possibility of open warfare in Missouri became a reality during the summer of 1861, the War Department authorized General Nathaniel Lyon to enlist as many loyal citizens throughout the state as he deemed necessary to protect their home communities from attack by pro-secession

forces. They were to be armed by the Federal Government but were to receive no pay except when called up for active service. This order came on June 11, 1861, the day of the abortive peace conference at the Blanter's House in St. Louis between Lyon and Governor Jackson--the day before actual hostilities commenced in Missouri.²⁵

APPROXIMATELY 15,000 Home Guards were enlisted during 1861. Most served only when needed to protect their immediate homes. Lyon, however, was strictly limited in the number of regular volunteer regiments that he could accept into service, so he enrolled several thousand Home Guards for three months and used them on full active duty to guard his communication lines during his advance on Springfield. Those who served in this manner were considered by the War Department to be U.S. Volunteers, while all other Home Guards were classed as armed citizens with no military status.²⁶

The Home Guard received no uniforms; 10,000 sets of arms and accouterments were provided for them but probably a third used their personal hunting rifles and shotguns. Some camp and garrison equipage was issued to them as well as supplies and subsistence when they served on active duty.²⁷

These units were raised in haste as an emergency measure and in many cases their legitimacy was in question. To clarify this situation General Halleck, who then commanded in Missouri, in December of 1861 ordered all Home Guards raised by General Lyon, and later General Fremont, to be disbanded. Those so willing were to be officially mustered into the U.S. service for three years, but evidently none accepted the offer. On February 21, 1862, the Home Guards were ordered to turn their arms and accouterments over to government authorities.²⁸ Some 19,173 Missourians served in approximately 241 Home Guard companies during the war.²⁹

Three Years' Volunteers

The majority of Union soldiers who fought in the Civil War served in the Three Years' Volunteer regiments raised by the various Northern states and then sworn into Federal service. These men were the backbone of the Union war effort and bore the brunt of the fighting. Although no records exist of the specific authorization for raising Three Years' Volunteers in Missouri, the need for them was evidently realized early; four infantry regiments, enlisted for three years in the Federal

*Three Years' Volunteers, commenced
month day of May
1861,
and of these remained*

TRAVELING		DISSENTIENCE AND POKING	
To place of rendezvous No. of miles	From place of discharge home, No. of miles	No. of days	No. of days

service, were already in existence by the end of May, 1861, before actual fighting had begun in the state.³⁰

In the absence of a loyal state government, General Lyon, and later General Fremont, began accepting Three Years' Volunteers directly into the Federal service. This, however, was not the legally authorized practice, and by November of 1861 after General Halleck had assumed command in Missouri and a pro-Union state government had replaced that of Governor Jackson, the organization of volunteers for U.S. service was placed back under state authority where it belonged.³¹ By December of 1861 Missouri's quota of Federal troops had been filled, and the governor formed the remaining fragmentary commands into the 21st and 26th Regiments, Missouri Volunteer Infantry. All other unregimented troops were either consolidated or mustered out, and in January, 1862, the Adjutant General reported 32,821 Missouri Three Years' Volunteers in Federal service.³²

Six months later, after the bloody battle of Shiloh and the Federal defeat in the Seven Days' Battles before Richmond, it had become clear that the war could not be ended quickly, and Lincoln called for 300,000 additional men from the states. Although Missouri was asked for only four more infantry regiments, seven were raised as well as three regiments of cavalry.³³ By autumn of 1863, the original Three Years' regiments who had fought at Vicksburg, Gettysburg and Chickamauga had been badly depleted by wounds and disease, forcing Lincoln on October 17, 1863, to call on the states for a further 300,000 recruits to fill the ranks.³⁴ More men were needed the following year when the original three year enlistments began to expire, so the War Department authorized formation of special Veteran Volunteer regiments to be filled with reenlisted Three Years' Volunteers and men from the Missouri State Militia; a special cash bounty and a furlough were offered as inducements.³⁵

A final recruiting effort was needed in January of 1865 as the war entered its final season. Six regiments of one, two or three years' volunteers were requested from Missouri but most of these last recruits saw no service before the war ended. On April 13, 1865, four days after Lee's army surrendered at Appomattox, suspension of enlistments was ordered, leaving the 14th Missouri Cavalry and the 51st Missouri Infantry as the last regiments raised by the state for Federal service during the war.³⁶

anded by Colonel *Henry*
1861, to serve for the term
The company was organized
on July *militer*

Amount for clothing in kind, or in money advanced		Value of equipments, arms, etc., received from the Govt and made for his pay for if lost or destroyed		Valuation in dollars		Total	
Dolls	Cts	Dolls	Cts	Dolls	Cts	Dolls	Cts



*Must be called into
of Three Months
by Capt. William H. ...*

MEMO

This is a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the Missouri State Militia, dated August 1, 1861. The letter is in the name of the Secretary of the War Department and is addressed to the Secretary of the Missouri State Militia. It contains information regarding the organization of the Missouri State Militia and the appointment of its officers. The letter is signed by the Secretary of the War Department.



Most of Missouri's Three Years' Volunteers were true volunteers; not until July of 1864 did the state have to resort to a draft to fill its quota. At that time 16,945 names were selected, although only 2,639 of those were accepted for service. Less than half of them served personally, for 1,608 paid substitutes to go in their places. Missouri again failed to meet her quota of volunteers in December of 1864. 4,574 names were selected for conscription at that time but only thirty were held to service; all of them purchased substitutes.³⁷

Missouri's contribution of Three Years' Volunteers was impressive: fifteen regiments, ten battalions and two independent companies of cavalry; one regiment of engineers; two regiments and six batteries of artillery; forty-one regiments and one battalion of infantry; four companies of pioneers, sappers and miners; and a "telegraph corps." Some of these units were disbanded, consolidated, or served for only short periods, leaving the list of units as finally reorganized and held to service as Missouri Volunteers at thirteen regiments of cavalry, two of artillery, one of engineers and twenty-three of infantry.³⁸ One indication of the severity of their service is the casualty figures: of these thirty-nine regiments, twenty-six lost over fifty men killed or mortally wounded in battle, while six regiments lost over a hundred to enemy action.³⁹

Six or Twelve Month Volunteers, 1861

On August 6, 1861, as General Lyon's Union forces triumphantly occupied Springfield, Missouri U.S. Representative John S. Phelps and Frank Blair proposed to the President the raising of additional Missouri regiments for the Federal service to provide a force capable of invading Confederate Arkansas, keeping the Western Indians under subjugation and maintaining the defenses of the state; they were to serve in this capacity for six to twelve months. Lincoln approved and authorized the raising of five regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, to be commanded by Representative Phelps.⁴⁰

ALTHOUGH evidently a successful politician, Phelps did not fare well as a recruiter, and only managed to raise a small regiment of eight companies of infantry. Phelps' Regiment, Missouri Volunteers, was mustered in at Rolla during the fall of 1861 for six months' service and subsequently fought bravely at the Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in early 1862.⁴¹

From any where the date of an officer's commission or being released
all changes of date by personal appointment, reduction, etc.
transferred to that date, the old order and all personal assignments for
that the officer must be a continuing date appropriate to the date of the
commission as shown in the order and so for the next dates
up to the date of the order
The following is the list of officers and the dates of their
commissions:



11

STATE MILITIA

Six Months' Militia

Before war broke out in April of 1861 the Missouri State Guard had been the constitutionally established militia force of the state. Being largely pro-Southern in sentiment, the Guard went south with Governor Jackson to fight eventually for the Confederacy. This left Missouri without the state troops necessary to maintain order within its borders. To remedy this situation newly selected Provisional Governor Hamilton Gamble issued a proclamation on August 24, 1861, calling for the formation of a 42,000 man militia force to protect the lives and property of Missouri citizens.⁴⁷

Each of the seven military districts into which the state was divided was to supply 1,500 cavalry and 4,500 infantry, all to be volunteers unless the district's quota could not be filled. The men were to be allowed to elect their own officers and were to serve when called by the governor. They were to be paid and equipped by the state.⁴⁸

The projected force fell far short of expectations; only 6,185 officers and men volunteered to serve during 1861--mostly men from areas already acutely exposed to the depredations of Southern guerrillas.⁴⁹ By early 1862 a more permanent force, the Missouri State Militia, was being organized with Federal participation, so Governor Gamble, finding the Six Months' Militia expensive to support and of relatively little benefit, ordered it disbanded on January 25, 1862.⁵⁰

AT its height the Six Months' Militia consisted of five regiments, eleven battalions and ten independent companies, including one company of cavalry and one of artillery. Their chief service had been in searching out Rebel camps and acting as scouts and guides for Federal forces.⁵¹

Enrolled Missouri Militia

The Federally supported Missouri State Militia proved to be an efficient and well organized fighting force, but it was seldom numerous enough to protect all of the state from guerrilla raids. During the summer of 1862 the danger from Confederate irregular forces became acute, and on July 22, Governor Gamble authorized General Schofield to organize as large an additional force of militia as necessary to aid the Missouri State Militia in protecting the state.⁵²

the United States
date of enrolment,
... is ... , in the

of, from any command or special duty, the description of
to date of enlistment at, and the date of discharge, and
if he has reported on any roll while in the service, if he has
person name and with everything else necessary, either
...
ing, excepting or leaving of horses after muster into



Schofield acted quickly, issuing on the same day a controversial order that called for every able bodied man in Missouri subject to military duty to report for enrollment in the militia. Each was to supply his own horse, gun and ammunition. Exemptions were allowed for foreign citizens and for those who paid ten dollars and one-tenth of one per cent of the value of all their taxable property to the state in lieu of service.⁵³

As they enrolled the men were organized into companies with neighbors who lived in the same immediate vicinity. Railroad employees were formed into special companies to transport troops and guard supply lines. Commanders of the various military districts into which the state was divided were authorized to call these enrolled companies for service when needed but were to avoid keeping them continuously on active duty for over thirty days.⁵⁴

Initially the Enrolled Militia received no uniforms, but turned out when called in civilian clothing. After June of 1863 surplus uniforms were issued to the men to wear on active duty.⁵⁵ Each company established a place of rendezvous in a building where their arms could be stored under guard and which could be defended in case of attack.⁵⁶ The Enrolled Militia was eventually allowed to draw rations and forage when on duty, but during their first year of organization they were instructed to subsist on the disloyal population. This practice was widely abused and served to increase the animosity between pro-Northern and pro-Southern Missourians.⁵⁷

Enough men were enrolled to provide the state with a force of eighty-five regiments, sixteen battalions and thirty-three independent companies of Enrolled Militia.⁵⁸ By February of 1863 the guerrilla crisis had abated, and Governor Gamble decided to organize a smaller picked force from the different enrolled regiments to serve on a more permanent basis as the Provisional Enrolled Missouri Militia.⁵⁹ The Enrolled Militia; however, continued to exist and served against Sterling Price's army in 1864 when the entire militia force of the state was called to active service. The Enrolled Missouri Militia was not completely disbanded until March 12, 1865.⁶⁰

Due to the manner in which it was organized and managed, the Enrolled Militia was a constant source of military and political controversy. Its units neither won great victories nor suffered crushing defeats; being only part-time soldiers, the militiamen were seldom willing to stand up to



JOINED FOR SERVICE AND EN COMMITMENT OF			
RANK	AGE	WHERE	WHERE
Private	36	May 74	St. Louis Mo
"	44	"	"
"	28	"	"
"	30	"	"
"	26	"	"
"	26	"	"
"	28	"	"
"	34	"	"
"	28	"	"
"	42	"	"
"	27	"	"
"	43	"	"
"	41	"	"



determined enemy attacks and often surrendered if offered quarter. Although not particularly effective as a military force, the mere existence of the Enrolled Militia boosted Union morale in Missouri as a symbol of the loyal population's determination not to surrender the state to the secession.⁶¹

Provisional Enrolled Missouri Militia

By 1863 the immediate need for arming large numbers of militia appeared to be past, and Governor Gamble decided to organize a picked force of men from the existing Enrolled Missouri Militia regiments who could be more easily spared from their civilian employment and be called for military duty more regularly. On February 3, 1863, the Adjutant General directed the commanders of military districts to detail loyal and efficient men from the Enrolled Militia for this purpose. Approximately eleven regiments were thus formed, each consisting of two commands which were further subdivided into three battalions of four companies each; all were mounted. Uniforms were issued and arms were drawn from the existing Enrolled Militia arsenals and consolidated so that each Provisional battalion could carry weapons of the same exact caliber.⁶²

ALTHOUGH the Provisional Missouri Militia was well conceived in theory, it proved to be inadequate in both strength and quality. For these reasons it was never fully able to replace the Enrolled Missouri Militia, and served only to augment it with increased cost and organizational confusion to the state.⁶³ The Provisional regiments did prove effective during Sterling Price's invasion in 1864, and two regiments, the 6th and 7th Provisional Enrolled Missouri Militias, were mustered into Federal service in November of 1863 to serve as the 15th and 16th Regiments, Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. The remaining Provisional companies were disbanded during the war as their services were no longer needed, the last few companies evidently being mustered out with the Enrolled Militia in 1865.⁶⁴

Provisional Enrolled Militia (or Provisional Companies of Enrolled Missouri Militia)

The summer of 1864 witnessed a new surge of lawlessness across Missouri. The danger was especially acute wherever no military forces were stationed. In an attempt to provide a more rapid response to guerrilla attacks than that afforded

[illegible]

by calling out the Enrolled Militia, General Rosecrans issued an order on June 28, 1864, authorizing the formation of special Provisional Companies from the Enrolled Militia regiments. Each threatened township or county was allowed through a committee of public safety to designate one or two companies of picked men from the Enrolled Militia to serve for the protection of the county. Since both loyal and disloyal Missourians were threatened, the selection was to be made regardless of political affiliation. The state was to equip and pay them when on duty.⁶⁵

SIXTY-TWO Provisional Companies were organized under this order, but little is known of their service. From pension records it appears that some of them suffered heavy losses, even seeing action outside of their home counties. Some remained on active service until they were disbanded as part of the Enrolled Militia on March 12, 1865.⁶⁶

Missouri Militia Organized Under Authority of State
General Orders, No. 3, January 30, 1865.

The defeat of Sterling Price's Rebel army at Westport in the fall of 1864 resulted in a slackening of hostile activity throughout the state. By the end of the year state officials had decided to disband the Enrolled Missouri Militia in March of 1865, and the Missouri State Militia during the following spring. In January General Grenville Dodge, then commanding the Department of Missouri, proposed organizing a new militia force to be formed only in certain disloyal counties--especially those bordering the Missouri River. His aim was to have available where necessary a small but effective force that could be maintained economically.⁶⁷

President Lincoln favored the plan, since he believed that the removal of troops from large areas of Missouri would help to ease tensions between loyalists and returning ex-Confederates. Governor Thomas C. Fletcher agreed, and on January 30, 1865, ordered the raising of new militia companies to serve one year for the purpose of enforcing the laws of the state. By agreement with Washington the men were to be armed, equipped and paid by the state, but clothed and subsisted by the Federal Government. U.S. officers were detailed to recruit and organize the companies, which were to be made up of discharged veterans from the U.S. Volunteers and the Missouri State Militia whenever possible.⁶⁸

Some sixty-one companies were raised; all were mounted with the exception of four infantry companies organized especially to guard vital bridges. This militia force saw service guarding posts and communication lines, performing escort duty and hunting guerrillas until June or July of 1865 when they were relieved from duty by the Department Commander.⁶⁹

Missouri Militia, Organized Under an Ordinance of the State Convention, April 8, 1865.

The Missouri Militia Act of February 10, 1865, and an ordinance of the state convention which was adopted in April of that year, called for a new enrollment of militia throughout the state to replace the wartime militia organizations. By the close of 1865 eighty-four regiments and six battalions had been organized or were in the process of organizing. Evidently none of this force was called into service during the Civil War.⁷⁰

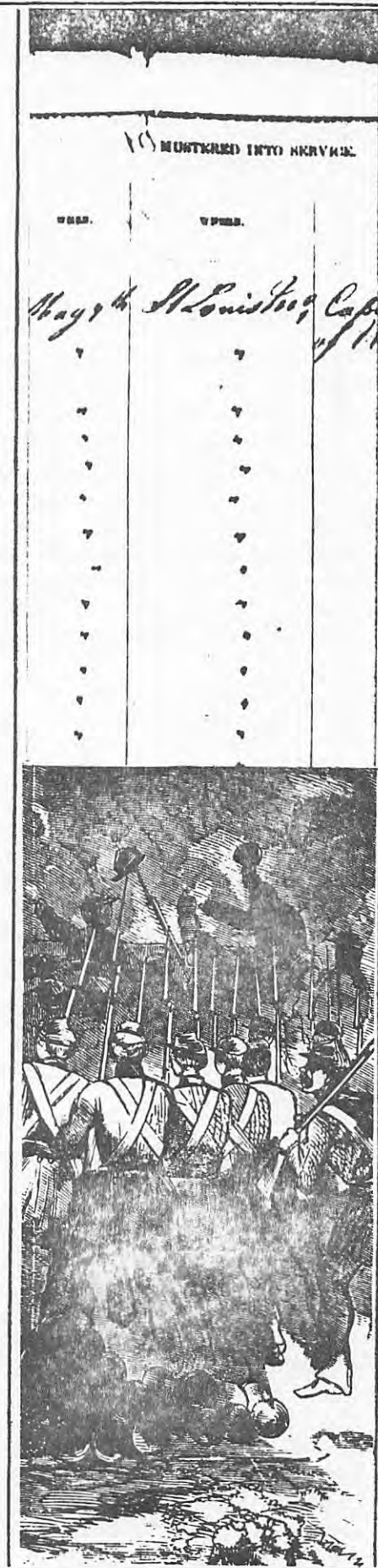
The various militia forces enrolled by the state during the war were not in the Federal service, and were not entitled to Federal veteran benefits after the war.

TROOPS WITH NO MILITARY STATUS

Fremont's "Marine Corps"

While in command in Missouri during the late summer of 1861, General John Charles Fremont raised by his own authority a number of peculiar and illegal organizations. One of the more curious was the "Marine Corps," which eventually consisted of three companies made up of boat pilots, ship's engineers and sailors. Fremont began organizing the unit in August of 1861 to serve as a "river transportation service" operating government steam boats in support of his army.

WHEN General Halleck succeeded Fremont in November he disbanded the "Marine Corps" along with a number of other organizations that had not been legally authorized by the War Department. He ruled that the Corps had never deserved any legal status other than that of civilian employees of the army, and had them paid off accordingly.⁷¹



Citizen Guards

Although the summer of 1863 resulted in important Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, troubles increased in Missouri where large numbers of men who had left the broken Rebel armies in the Mississippi Valley returned to plague the state as bushwhackers. In Kansas, William Clarke Quantrill's guerrilla band, in its boldest action of the war, sacked Lawrence, Kansas, killing every man and boy old enough to carry a gun.

In response to Quantrill's raid and other guerrilla activity, General Thomas Ewing, on August 25, 1863, issued his General Order No. 11, which directed all civilians living in rural areas within certain disloyal counties along the Kansas border to abandon their homes and relocate near military posts. The order was intended to deny the guerrillas aid from an area that had long served as their base of operations and source of supply, but it served mostly to intensify resentment against Federal authority.⁷²

The loyal, as well as the disloyal, were forced to relocate, and as winter approached they petitioned repeatedly to be allowed to return to their homes. Ewing and General Schofield felt that the area might be repopulated if it were made more secure against guerrilla exploitation. On November 20, 1863, General Order No. 20 granted loyal refugees the right to return to their homes on the condition that they organize neighborhood companies of Citizen Guards for their own protection. These companies were to be issued pistols and rifled muskets, and were to receive rations when on duty; they were to be paid for their service to the state. Twenty companies are recorded to have been formed in the District of the Border for this purpose.⁷³

Throughout 1863 and 1864 Citizen Guard companies were authorized in various military districts throughout Missouri. These companies, unlike those along the border, were considered to be nothing more than citizen patrols and were given no pay or military status.⁷⁴

A further body of citizen companies was called to service by General Rosecrans in September of 1864 as a measure to oppose the advance of Sterling Price's Rebels on St. Louis. Over 5,000 men who had previously been exempted from militia service were enrolled in St. Louis and vicinity to form five regiments, two battalions and several companies. At least five other companies were



inued.

TRAVELLING	RECEIVED AND PAID	Amount for clothing in hand.	Value of clothing for the year
From place of discharge to home, the of	Provided by the the master and in consequence	of to master advanced	for 1 year
No. of days	No. of days	Inds	Inds



formed in other parts of Missouri under this order -all served without pay as civilian auxiliaries.⁷⁵

General Fremont's "Marine Corps" was disavowed by the War Department as a military organization and received only pay as civilian employees of the U.S. Army. Missouri's Citizen Guards as well as the previously mentioned Home Guards of 1861 who were not used on Federal service, had no official military status and received no post-war benefits from either the Federal Government or the State of Missouri.

* * *

Thus Missouri and the Union remained free; 109, 111 Missourians took up arms to ensure that the United States would remain truly united. The price was great--nearly one of every seven men from Missouri who served the Union never returned. The grim statistics show that 3,297 were killed or mortally wounded in battle; 9,243 died of disease and 332 died while prisoners of war--in all, 13,885 by the count of the U.S. Adjutant General. Several times that number suffered from wounds or sickness for the rest of their lives. But the Union was preserved.⁷⁶

NOTES

¹Mark Mayo Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York: David McKay Company Inc., 1959) pp. 610 - 612.

²Record and Pension Office, War Department, Organization and Status of Missouri Troops (Union and Confederate) in Service During the Civil War (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902) pp. 11 - 12.

³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴Ibid., pp. 13 - 16.

⁵Ibid., p. 98.

⁶Ibid., p. 99.

⁷Ibid., p. 100.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., pp. 101 - 103.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 103.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 105 - 106.

I certify on oath, That this Muster
company of the 1st Regt. Ill.
that each man answers to his own
each officer and soldier are accurate
since the muster into service, was in

Franklin, Feb. 2, 1862.



¹²Ibid., pp. 107 - 110.

¹³Ibid., pp. 111 - 118.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 21 - 22.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 27 - 28.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 44.

²⁰Ibid., p. 45.

²¹Ibid., pp. 44 - 45.

²²Ibid., p. 46.

²³Frederick H. Dyer, A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Pub., 1959) Vol. I, p. 42.

²⁴War Department, Organization and Status of Missouri Troops, pp. 43 - 44.

²⁵Ibid., p. 146.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 146 - 147.

²⁷Ibid., p. 163.

²⁸Ibid., p. 151.

²⁹Ibid., p. 164.

³⁰Ibid., p. 122.

³¹Ibid., pp. 124 - 125.

³²Ibid., p. 127.

³³Ibid., p. 128.

³⁴Ibid., p. 128.

³⁵Ibid., p. 129.

³⁶Ibid., p. 131.

³⁷Floyd C. Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1943) pp. 873-74.

³⁸War Department, Organization and Status of Missouri Troops, p. 132.

³⁹Dyer, Compendium, Vol. I, p. 42.

⁴⁰War Department, Organization and Status of Missouri Troops, pp. 133 - 134.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 135.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 135 - 137.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 139 - 140.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 141.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 141 - 145.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 145.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 18.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 19.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 19 - 20.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 48 - 49.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 48 - 51.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 49 - 53.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 59.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 52.

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 56 - 59.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 53.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 54.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 55 - 56.

⁶¹James A. Hamilton, "The Enrolled Missouri Militia: Its Creation and Controversial History" Missouri Historical Review LXIX (July 1975) pp. 431 - 432.

⁶²War Department, Organization and Status of Missouri Troops, p. 82.

⁶³Hamilton, p. 422.

⁶⁴War Department, Organization and Status of Missouri Troops, p. 84.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 87 - 88.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 88 - 89.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 90 - 91.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 93 - 95.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 96.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 97.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 195 - 197.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 165 - 167.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 169 - 178.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 178 - 186.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 187 - 192.

⁷⁶Dyer, Compendium, Vol. I, pp. 11 - 15.

Handwritten signature or mark.

Captain William H. Haines
for the period herein mentioned;
he remarks set opposite the name of
of all horses and horse equipments
judges, and at fair and just rates.

William H. Haines
Commanding the Company.

Muster.



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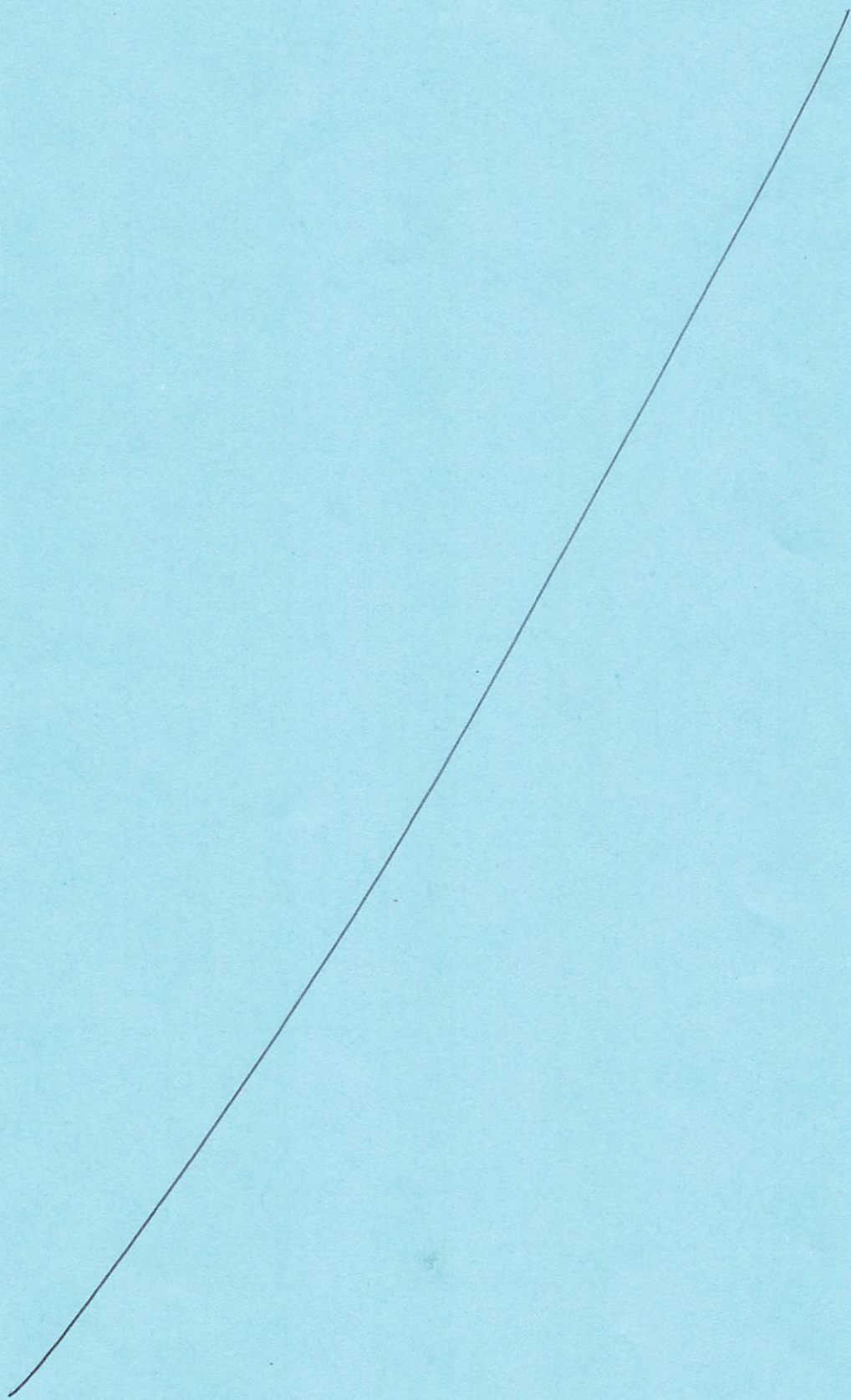
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Muster Roll of Company C, 11th Missouri Militia

Surname	First Name	Rank	Date Enrolled	Remarks	Residence
Hill	John Thomas	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	Discharged	Franklin Ave btw 16th & 17th
Hoehner	Henry	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	exempt	Franklin btw 15th & 16th Streets
Kansteiner	William	Pvt	15 Sep 1862	"	Biddle St btw 16 & 17 St back in yard
Keim	Albert	Pvt	15 May 1863	"	11th Str btw Franklin & Wash
Kipel	Conrad	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	"	
Klopmeier	Henry	Pvt	6 Sep 1862		
Knogge	Fredrick	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	"	16th St btw
Knollmann	John F.	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	exempt	Biddle btw 17th & 18th Streets
Kochbech	Christian	Pvt	6 Sep 1862		
Krampe	Henry	Pvt	6 Sep 1862		
Kruse	Henry	Pvt	15 May 1863	"	Franklin Ave btw 7th & 8th Streets S. side
Lahmann	George	Cpl	12 Sep 1862	return from desertion	
Lindemann	Henry Wm.	Cpl	7 May 1862		
Lindemann	Edward	Cpl	6 Sep 1862	exempt	N.W. corner of 8th & Wash
Ludwig	Charles	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	return from desertion 11-Apr-64	
Meier	John H.	Cpl	6 Sep 1862	"	14th St btw Wash & Carr
Meier	John	Pvt	15 Sep 1862	"	n 13th btw Carr & Biddle Street
Merten	John D.	Capt	31 Aug 1862		
Miller	A. William	Pvt	8 Sep 1862	return from desertion 11-Apr-64	
Mueller	William H.	Pvt	12 Apr 1864		
Nash	Frederick	Pvt	10 Sep 1862		
Poetting	William	Pvt	6 Sep 1862		
Raef	Gottlieb	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	transferred to Reg 6	
Ray	Christian	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	"	Wash St btw 8th & 9th St N. Side
Renning	Herman H.	Pvt	15 Sep 1862	exempt	Biddle btw 16th & 17th St S side
Sauerwein	Reichardt	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	Discharged	n 8th St btw Franklin Ave & Wash
Schinke	Fritz	Cpl	6 Sep 1862	paroled prisoner from Holly Sp	

Continued

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Muster Roll of Company C, 11th Missouri Militia

Surname	First Name	Rank	Date Enrolled	Remarks	Residence
Schneble	Casimeier	Pvt	15 May 1863	"	Franklin btw 13th & 14th streets
Schoen	Otto H.	Pvt	15 May 1863		
Schopmeier	Herman	Pvt	16 Sep 1862	"	13th St btw Franklin
Schwehr	William	Pvt	9 Sep 1862	"	Shop on Franklin btw 7th & 8th St
Sipple	Peter	Pvt	15 May 1863	"	
Sodtmann	August	Cpl	6 Sep 1862		
Steckko	Henry C.	Pvt	6 Sep 1862		
Strickland	Henry	Pvt	6 Sep 1862		
Struebe	Louis H.	2nd Lt	5 Sep 1862		
Tieman	Ernst H.	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	Discharged	
Wishmeyer	Henry	Musician	6 Sep 1862	"	
Wulfsmeier	Gerhardt	Pvt	6 Sep 1862	exempt	n 15th Street btw Franklin and Wash



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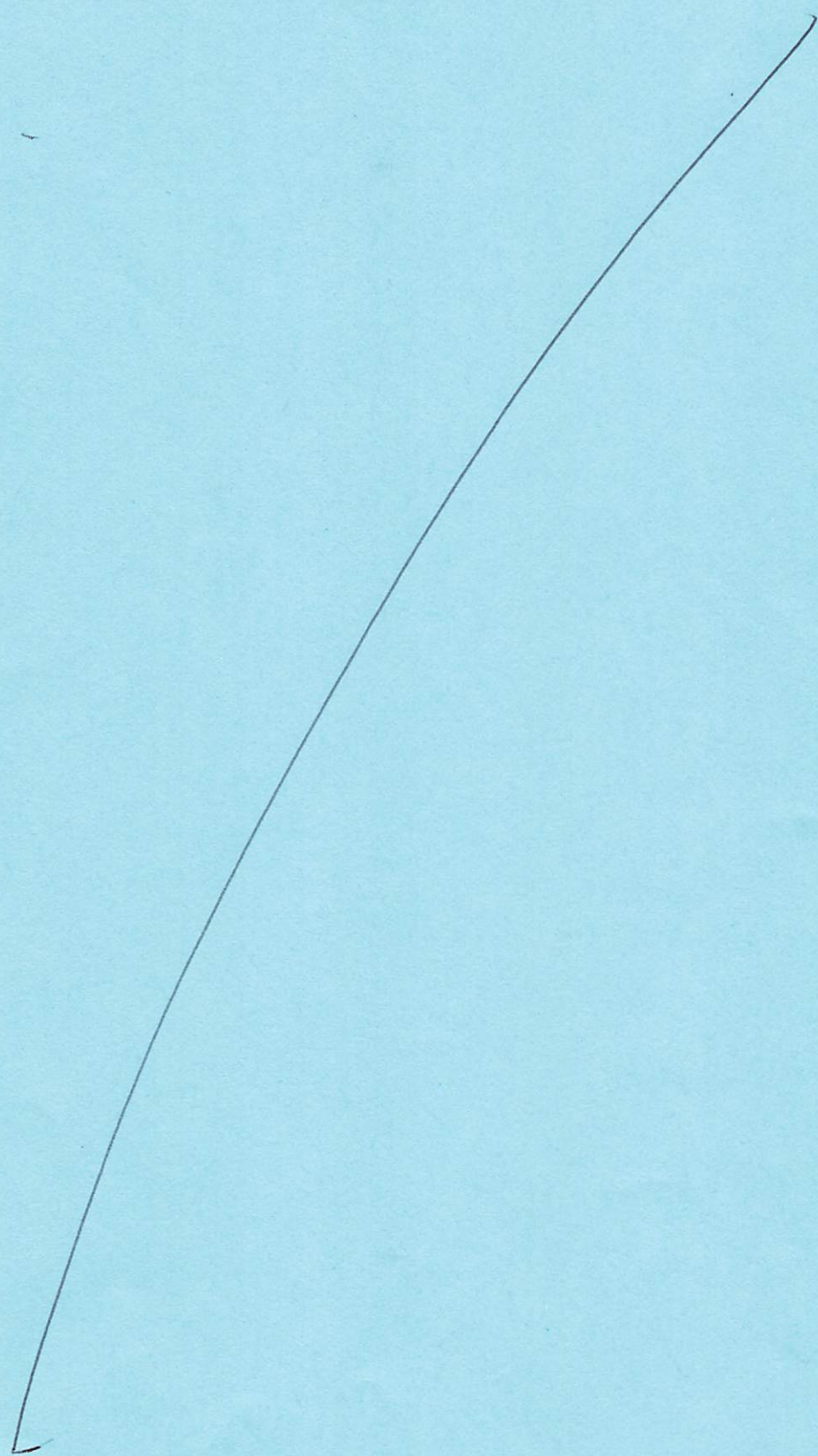
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The Revolution in the Environs of St. Louis

by ROBERT E. PARKIN (President, StLGS)

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The Revolution in the Environs of St. Louis

by ROBERT E. PARKIN (President, StLGS)

The spirit of independence, which manifested itself in 1776 in English colonies on the Atlantic coast, struck a responsive chord in breast of French inhabitants of the Mississippi River valley. Residents of the east bank had been under token British rule little more than a decade; Spain took control of Upper Louisiana only after years of delay created unrest among settlers of young St. Louis.

France abandoned two centuries of discovery and settlement of North America in 1762; when Canada and all territory east of the Mississippi were ceded to England, and, by the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau, the vast province of Louisiana was given to Spain. The woe of French inhabitants of Canada was matched only by the grief of their brothers in the Illinois country and people of lower Louisiana.

Upper Louisiana had only one small village, Ste. Genevieve, and a couple of mining settlements in 1764 when Pierre Laclède Liguist established his trading post near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers in an attempt by his New Orleans employers to divert the fur trade downriver to the Louisiana capital. As soon as the terms of the Treaty of Paris became known and Fort de Chartres was abandoned to the English, the French officers and Superior Council removed to Laclède's town as did most merchants, Indian traders, and many of the people of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Prairie du Rocher. Thus, St. Louis grew rapidly, peopled almost wholly by French settlers.

Spain made no effort to settle Upper Louisiana until 1767, when an expedition was sent to the mouth of the Missouri where a fort, El Principe de Asturias, Don Carlos, was erected. Even then, the Spanish did not supersede Louis St. Ange de Bellerive as commandant. Some St. Louisans, as agents of French merchants in Canada, were engaged in clandestine trade with the English.

Shortly after taking possession of Fort de Chartres, the British appeared at Cahokia. A succession of unsympathetic commandants failed to ease the townspeople's misery, and, for some years, families kept moving across the river. When the American colonies rebelled, the Cahokians were becoming reconciled to British rule, but civil

government, promised by the Quebec Act of 1774, had not become a reality.

France entered the Revolution on the Americans' side in 1778, bringing about events in Europe which subsequently involved Spain in the conflict. From the outset, the Spanish had sympathized with the rebels, except for a haunting fear of American dominance in the future. Nonetheless, they lent material aid to the cause.

During the summer, George Rogers Clark and his Virginia militiamen carried out the brilliant plan he had conceived for taking the back country from the English. He had determined to take Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and smaller settlements. Kaskaskia was seized easily, there being no British military to defend it. On July 6, 1778, Captain Joseph Bowman appeared with thirty Americans and more than one hundred Kaskaskians and demanded Cahokia surrender. Clark described his "conquest:" "I ordered Majr Bowman to mount his company and part of another and a few Inhabitants to inform their Friends what had happened ... and proceed without delay and if possible get possession of Kohos befor the Insuing morning...in the Eavening the Majr set out...the distance 20 leagues...it was late in the Morning of the 6th before they Reach Kohokia...hozaing for the Americans rang thugh the whole Town the Kaskaskias Gentn dispersed among their Friends in a few hours the whole was Imicably arranged and Majr Bowman snugly Quartered in the old British Fort...by the 8th Majr Bowman got every (thing) settled Agrable to our wishes. the whole of the Inhabitants took the oath of allegiance chearfully."

Determined to make the people "feell the blessings Injoyed by an American Citizen," Clark set up a local civil government, first of its kind in the Mississippi Valley. Clark himself came to Cahokia in August and, for five weeks,

stayed there, supervising affairs. The militia was Americanized. Clark received Indian delegations and, aware of the significance of their coming more than five hundred miles to seek peace with the Americans, he conducted negotiations with dignity, solemnity, and notable success.

During Clark's residence, Indians tried to kidnap him. They lodged in Thomas Brady's yard, about a hundred yards from Clark's quarters. They attacked after midnight, failed miserably. Clark put their chiefs in irons and, in order to show his indifference to such dangers, the colonel "assembled a Number of Gentlemen & Ladies, and danced nearly the whole (of the next) night."

Clark quickly established a friendly correspondence with the new Spanish commandant of St. Louis, Don Fernando de Leyba, a native of Barcelona and captain of the Stationary Regiment of Louisiana. Clark visited the lieutenant governor, and arrangements were made for DeLeyba's forwarding of supplies from Oliver Pollock, agent of Virginia in New Orleans. Shipments were consigned to DeLeyba under the Spanish flag, enabling them to be slipped past the British post at Natchez and permitting Clark to hold the country he'd conquered. During the preceding year, arms, ammunition and provisions valued at \$74,000 had been sent from New Orleans to Fort Pitt and other points on the western frontier of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The Governor General of Louisiana, Don Bernardo de Galvez had approved anything short of open warfare. DeLeyba's business associates were two former French army soldiers, Francisco Vigo and Emelian Yosti, both Italian and actually cousins. When the Napoleonic plan to conquer Mexico was abandoned, the two former monastery students obtained their discharges, set out for Upper Louisiana and arrived in 1774 in St. Louis, where they became involved in the fur trade.

FRANCISCO VIGO (1747-3/22/1836)

Vigo "possessed an innate love of liberty, an attachment to republican principles and an ardent sympathy for their rights." As soon as he heard of Clark's victory, he went to Kaskaskia and "tendered his wealth and influence to sustain the cause of liberty." Vigo

played a leading role in the conspiracy between Clark and the Spanish to defend the Illinois country against the British. He supplied Clark's forces with food and clothing valued at \$20,000, taking payment in Virginia Continental currency. He removed to Vincennes and was virtually impoverished when the "Hair Buyer," British Governor Henry Hamilton, retook Vincennes and confiscated Vigo's property. Vigo and a servant were captured at Embarrass River while trying to reconnoitre Fort Sackville. He was taken before the "hair buyer general" as a suspected spy for the Americans, although he was a Spanish subject. He was released upon the entreaty of Vincennes' French inhabitants only after pledging not to do anything for Clark's cause on his way to St. Louis. He stayed home only long enough to change his dress, then went to Kaskaskia where he gave Clark full and explicit information of the condition of British forces, Hamilton's plans, and the sympathetic feeling of Vincennes inhabitants.

Although Clark's position had become precarious, his appeal for help was received enthusiastically by the Kaskaskians and a few American merchants among them; supplies were raised and the military force was increased by enlistments to around 150 men. On February 5, 1779, Clark led his little army out of Kaskaskia on an expedition to Vincennes one of the most dramatic and heroic in Revolutionary annals. The prairies were covered with icy water, sometimes breast high. Journeying on foot, they waded through it. Clark's courage inspired his followers; he portrayed a medieval fervor in his own account. The final assault was made through chest high water, but the fort was surrounded, the garrison taken completely by surprise, and was surrendered February 25th.

JEAN EMELIAN YOSTI (1740-4/15/1818)

The firm of Vigo & Yosti operated out of a large house of posts in Block 27, which the partners had purchased for \$200 from Jean Marie Cardinal. In 1779, they were among the eight leading traders in St. Louis. DeLeyba named Vigo, "merchant residing in this post," as testamentary executor of his estate. Vigo received sole title to goods brought to St. Louis on his last voyage as presents for the

Indians and bills of exchange totaling \$3,872, which "liquidated and settled" all their accounts. Vigo moved his headquarters to Vincennes sometime after the attack and died there many years later, March 22, 1836. Yosti continued in business in St. Louis, where he served in the village militia. Three years after the attack, he was married to Theotiste Durand, St. Louis born daughter of Jean Baptiste Durand and Marie Josepha Marcheteau. Her parents died when she was four years old, and she was brought up by the Marcheteaus and her uncle and guardian, Louis Bissonet. The Yosti's resided in their St. Louis home for thirty-five years, raising five children.

Spain declared war against England on July 8, 1779.

Britain already was planning a two-prong offensive to sweep the Spanish and Americans from the valley. The southern campaign never got started for DeGalvez captured British posts on the lower Mississippi and Gulf coast. The northern offense was designed to rid the Old Northwest of Clark and Upper Louisiana of his Spanish allies. Since regular troops could not be spared, Lieutenant Governor Patrick Sinclair was compelled to rely on Indians and such white traders as he could persuade or force to undertake the assignment. The major objective was St. Louis.

Sinclair thought it would be easy to take St. Louis and utilize both its rich commerce and strategic location because since the landing of Laclede and Chouteau Indians had been admitted freely into the village, and it was said to have only twenty men and twenty brass cannon for its defense. Sinclair gave a captain's commission to Emanuel Hesse, a fur trader from Pennsylvania and former lieutenant in the Royal Americans. He was directed to capture "Pencour" (St. Louis), set up headquarters there and send his Sioux Indians to attack "Misere" (Ste. Genevieve) and Cahokia. Captain Charles Michel de Langlade was dispatched down the Illinois River to make a flank attack, and Captain Henry Bird conducted a raid on Ohio River forts and Kentucky settlements in order to divert American attention from the west. Hesse's Indian detachments rendezvoused at Prairie du Chien, where he had a small fort built

to house traders' effects as they arrived from the surrounding region with furs collected during the winter. Sinclair pledged exclusive trade of the Missouri to those who would capture and hold the posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi. Thus, Joseph Calve and Jean Marie Ducharme each commanded a detachment of Indians in the attack force. Ducharme, especially, had reason to hate the Spanish authorities because they had confiscated his outfit eight years earlier when he tried to conduct an illegal trading expedition up the Missouri.

JOSEPH CALVE (1732-1792)

Calve, too, had clashed with trading authorities as early as 1765 when his employer, Datchurut & Viviat of Ste. Genevieve was accused of trespassing on Maxent, Laclede & Company's claim to exclusive privilege. Calve was at the helm of a boat loaded with merchandise, seized by French soldiers at Laclede's insistence. The Superior Council at New Orleans decided against Laclede's firm and ordered it to pay for the goods. Meantime, Calve was married at Fort de Chartres to Marie Therese Marechal, daughter of Nicholas Marechal and Marie Jeanne Isleret, a half breed Indian. The young couple and, perhaps, Calve's brothers, Antoine and Francois, moved to St. Louis, apparently with the Marechals. On April 30, 1766, Joseph Calve was granted a double lot for a house and farm land in the commonfields as well as Grand Prairie. Calve erected a small log house, sixteen feet square, on Rue d'Eglise. They lived there for more than two years while Calve appears to have become deeper and deeper in debt. He received a reputation for indifference to honesty and even was suspected of outright robbery. Finally, he reportedly absconded in the night, although he actually may have been away on one of the increasing number of trading ventures for which he was known. His house was sold at public sale in September, 1768, and his land reverted to the crown. Although he returned to St. Louis in 1770 and purchased a large house of posts in which his family lived for sixteen years before moving to St. Ferdinand, Calve practically lived among the Indians at Rock River and ranged through the north country, hunting and

trading. As early as 1776, he was enlisted in British service, paid a dollar and a ration per day as an agent among the Saukees and Renards. When first informed of the impending attack on St. Louis, Calve declined, because it would interfere with his "commercial views." One of his men, Pierre Coudorche (dit Provencal), although having been equipped with goods by Calve to trade in the Spanish country, "refused to go to Michilimackinac and was denounced by Sinclair as a "man of infamous character." Calve reconsidered, however, for he was among his Sacs and Foxes in February, 1780, carrying a war belt. The principal chiefs were friendly to the British, but a large element, led by La Main Cassee (Broken Hand), favored the Spanish and their American allies. They had been talking with Clark and, as a result, severely hampered efforts by Calve and Charles Gautier to recruit them. However, a hard winter had left the Indians in great need of ammunition and clothing. A promise to supply these things opened the way through their country to St. Louis. Calve also summoned Matchekewis and his Chippewas from upper Wisconsin.

Meantime, in St. Louis, the secret was out. News of the outbreak of war between England and Spain reached the town on February 9th, followed by rumors of preparations for an attack.

PIERRE COUDORCHE (1722-2/13/1802)

Calve's man, Pierre Coudorche (dit Provencal), was a St. Louisian and probably had returned home with at least knowledge of the British offer to him. He was enlisted in the First Company of militia, giving his age as 44 years but when he died, the age of the French born merchant was put down as seventy. At the end of March, a trader, identified as "John Conn," descended the Mississippi with a stock of goods, including two-hundred weight of gunpowder, some blankets, strouds and silver work, and carrying a warning to DeLeyba of an impending assault. There has been speculation that "Conn" was Calve; it could just as well have been Coudorche.

PIERRE PREVOST

Another St. Louis trader, Pierre Prevost (dit Blondin), wrote Clark from his post on Riviere aux Hahas, or Salt River in St. Charles District, that a band of

Pottawatomi had been sent among the Sacs and Foxes by the British with two "collars," or war belts, and two scalps of "Bastonnaises," or Americans. Admittedly fearing for his own safety, Prevost regarded Calve as "a bird of ill omen" and said he had been berating Clark. Prevost was a backwoods hunter and, like many of his breed, his wife was an "infidel sauvagesse." One or two daughters were born to them in the early 1770s, while they were living in St. Louis, but, upon his return in 1780, they moved to Cahokia.

MADELINE TESSON

In mid-March, a "French woman, wife to a Mons' Honore," came down river with confirmation of rumors of a huge Indian rendezvous. She was the wife of Louis Tesson (dit Honore), who had a trading post on Illinois River and had been operating during the winter with a British passport. In 1778, the renegade Indian slave, Louis Mahas, had been captured near Honore's camp after trying to shoot Francois Viettole St. Cloux, who took him prisoner to St. Louis. Both Honore, born in the 1730s in Canada, and his wife, Madeline Peterson, were of English descent. He had been a trader at Kaskaskia. In the fall of 1764, Honore brought his wife and two young sons to St. Louis, among six families crossing over at the time. He received one of the first lot grants from Pierre Laclède. He and his wife had six other children, besides Louis and Francois, and Madame Honore gave birth to a daughter either before leaving the camp, while coming down river or upon arriving in St. Louis. Victoire Tesson (dit Honore) was baptized on March 19, 1780, by Pere Bernard, the village priest. The three eldest male members of the family served in the militia. Louis Honore Sr., listed as a tailor, was second sergeant of the Second Company in which his son, Francois, also a tailor, was second corporal; Louis Honore Jr. was second sergeant in the First Company.

JEAN BAPTISTE CARDINAL

Jean Baptiste and Jean Marie Cardinal, sons of Gabriel Bertrand Cardinal, who settled at Kaskaskia as early as 1721, both were involved in the "affair of 1780." Both were fur traders. Although Jean Baptiste Cardinal was granted pro-

perty in St. Louis in 1764 by Laclede, there's no proof he ever lived there. He accompanied Clark in the conquest of Vincennes and was captain of the post militia. In March, 1780, he was given command of a large boat belonging to Charles Gratiot. It left Cahokia with supplies and provisions for Prairie du Chien and stopped on the 13th at St. Louis for additional cargo. The voyage, ostensibly for trade, was sanctioned by both American and Spanish authorities, for Cardinal was regarded as a "Spanish subject." At Turkey River, 30 miles below Prairie du Chien, Cardinal's boat was attacked by 36 Menominee, stripped of its cargo, and all hands made prisoners. This supply of food, tobacco, rum and ammunition was used to sustain the invaders and, thus, Gratiot was accused of collusion with the British. Cardinal had seen Calve at Rock River and referred to him as "un des partisans qui levait les nations pour venir frapper a St. Louis (one of the partisans who levied Indian forces for an attack on St. Louis); Gratiot, too, called Calve "un partisan Anglais." Cardinal tried to dissuade his captors but was sent to Michilimackinac in irons and thence to

Montreal for trial. His punishment was severe; "he was treated during his whole captivity with unrelenting vigor." He wasn't released until after the war, and nothing more is known of him, although it may have been his widow who resided at New Madrid in 1791 with settlers from Vincennes.

CHARLES GRATIOT (1752-4/20/1817)

Gratiot, a native of Switzerland, had opened a business in Cahokia in 1777, just a year before Clark invaded the Illinois, and he was one of the general's influential friends and supporters. He indignantly denied the charges of collusion when the case came to trial in St. Louis, and the boatmen, Pierre Lafleur, Jean Marie Durand and Francois Chevalier, withdrew their complaint, saying they could not read and had been duped by the person who drew up their petition; all they wanted was their wages. The case was settled in favor of Gratiot. It was to him the Cahokians turned when they sought aid from Clark in defending them: "We are on the eve of being attacked in our village by considerable parties of savages," they wrote on April

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On December 27, 1780, Cruzat filed with the governor-general the only known early roster of St. Louis's two companies of militia. Most of the members of this force must have been veterans of the defense of St. Louis, seven months earlier, and some of them probably took part in the counterattacks.

Authorization for formation of St. Louis's first militia under Spanish rule was made in February, 1770, by Don Alexandro O'Reilly with Jean Baptiste Martigny as captain, Jean Louis Lambert as lieutenant, and Eugenio Poure as sub-lieutenant. Because "the number of militiamen is too great for a single company," it was divided into two by DeLeyba before the attack. Afterwards, Cartabona designated one company as cavalry, although the men had to rely for mounts on the "horses of the inhabitants.

Benito Vasquez, who was a lieutenant of militia at the time of the attack, was made adjutant in charge of training troops, and Auguste Chouteau was named lieutenant of the First Company.

1780 ROSTER OF THE

SPANISH MILITIA OF ST. LOUIS

Militia Rollo, December 20, 1780

Louis Auvray (dit Bourl) 1734 France ropemaker (2)
 Louis Barada (128) 1756 Illinois shoemaker (2)
 Francois Barraseau (44) 1747 Canada farmer (1)
 Francois Barrere (147) 1737 France baker (2)
 Lorenzo Busadonio 1740 France rower (1)
 Basil Basor 1787 Illinois rower (1)
 Joseph Basor 1784 Illinois rower (1)
 Jean Baudoin (92) 1762 Illinois rower (2)
 Joseph Baudoin (134) 1755 Canada farmer (2)
 Louis Baudoin (133) 1750 Canada farmer (2)
 Joseph Beancur (123) 1737 Canada rower (2)
 Pierre Beaufre (83) second corporal 1745 Canada tailor (2)
 Nicholas Beaugeneau (96) 1742 Illinois farmer (2)
 Andre Becquet (51) 1762 Illinois rower (1)
 Gabriel Becquet 1758 Illinois rower (2)
 Pierre Becquet (131) 1737 Illinois rower (2)
 Pierre Belhumeur 1750 Canada rower (2)
 Louis Boer 1740 Canada hunter (1)
 Francois Bernier 1750 Canada rower (2)
 Pierre Bernier 1750 Canada rower (2)
 Andre Bissonet (52) 1742 Canada rower (1)
 Baptiste Bissonet 1746 Canada rower (1)
 Francois Bissonet (64) 1730 Canada farmer (1)
 Pierre Bissonet (40) 1742 Canada farmer (1)
 Ignace Briggpoe 1738 Canada trader (1)
 Jean Baptiste Brugiers (126) 1745 Canada rower (2)
 Antoine Brunet 1762 Canada hunter (2)
 Louis Brunet (112) 1735 Canada hunter (2)
 Noel Brunet (35) 1746 Canada farmer (1)
 Jean Baptiste Cadien (dit Savoie) 1740 Canada farmer (1)
 Joseph Calais (25) 1744 Canada rower (1)

Antoine Calve (19) 1730 Canada farmer (1)
 Antoine Calve Jr. (220) 1763 Illinois rower (1)
 Jean Baptiste Cambas (66) 1735 France carpenter (1)
 Pierre Campeau (113) 1745 Canada rower (2)
 Baptiste Cantara 1742 Canada hunter (1)
 Jean Casanova 1730 France rower (2)
 Joseph Caze 1760 Illinois rower (1)
 Gabriel Cerre (23) 1735 Canada merchant (1)
 Joseph Chancellier (16) 1730 Illinois farmer (1)
 Louis Chancellier lieutenant (2)
 Joseph Chartrand (103) 1742 Canada farmer (2)
 Louis Chatelleraut (76) 1740 Canada trader (1)
 Louis Chevalier (36) 1748 Canada farmer (1)
 Louis Chil 1755 France rower (1)
 Francois Chole 1752 Canada rower (1)
 Nicholas Choret (38) 1734 Canada rower (1)
 Pierre Choret 1745 Canada carpenter (1)
 Auguste Chouteau (1) lieutenant (1)
 Pierre Chouteau (65) 1758 New Orleans merchant (1)
 Francois Corneau (68) 1737 Canada rower (1)
 Alexis Cote second corporal 1738 Canada farmer (1)
 Joseph Cotte 1763 New Orleans rower (2)
 Pierre Coussot 1758 New Orleans rower (2)
 Simon Coussot (98) 1750 New Orleans (2)
 Louis Crepeau (100) 1753 Canada farmer (2)
 Pierre Coudorche 1736 France merchant (1)
 Nicholas Daniel (86) 1742 Canada hunter (2)
 Esteban Delorme (dit Soumande) (14) 1740 Canada rower (1)
 Joseph Delorme (dit Soumande) (15) 1755 Canada rower (1)
 Amable Demarest (59) 1745 Canada rower (1)
 Etienne Derouin 1760 Canada rower (2)
 Jean Baptist Dercuin 1762 Canada rower (2)
 Jean Louis Derouin 1730 Canada rower (2)
 Francois Desloriers 1740 Canada blacksmith (1)
 Auguste Dodier (130) 1757 Illinois rower (2)
 Gabriel Dodier (129) 1732 Illinois rower (2)
 Pierre Dubois (72) 1752 Canada rower (1)
 Louis Dubreuil (71) 1742 Canada farmer (1)
 Pierre Duchene 1744 Canada trader (2)
 Francois Duchuquette 1763 Illinois farmer (2)
 Henry Duchouquette (90) 1760 Illinois farmer (2)
 Rene Dupre (31) 1746 Canada cooper (1)
 Andre Dupuis second corporal 1754 Canada tailor (2)
 Laurent Durocher (24) 1746 Canada storekeeper (1)
 Jean Paul Dutremble 1737 France merchant (1)
 Bernard Duval (dit DeGroissilliers) (61) 1742 Canada rower (1)
 Pierre Ellis (8) first corporal 1744 France rower (1)
 Joseph Fache 1742 Canada hunter (2)
 Louis Fache 1730 France rower (2)
 Louis Fallardo 1750 Canada rower (1)
 Andre Feneti second corporal 1746 New Orleans rower (1)
 Francois Fleury (dit Grenier) (105) 1730 Canada rower (2)
 Pierre Gagnon (125) 1740 Canada mason (2)
 Pierre Gagnon (7) first corporal 1744 Canada farmer (1)
 Philibert Gagnon (dit Laurent) (21) 1730 France farmer (1)
 Antoine Gautier (17) 1754 Canada rower (1)
 Jean Gibert (dit LaMontagne) (101) 1732 France potter (2)
 Amable Guion 1764 Illinois rower (2)
 Nicholas Guion 1740 Canada blacksmith (1)
 Paul Guitard (dit LaGrandeur) (78) Canada farmer (1)
 Charles Haut (81) first corporal 1745 Canada hunter (2)
 Joseph Hebert (dit Lecompte) (110) 1762 Illinois rower (2)
 Nicholas Hebert (dit Lecompte) (12) 1740 Canada carpenter (1)
 William Hebert (dit Lecompte) (139) 1754 Canada farmer (2)
 William Hebert (dit Lecompte) (13) 1744 Canada rower (1)
 Baptiste Henete 1752 Illinois rower (2)
 Charles Henrion (94) 1737 Illinois rower (2)
 Auguste Herbert (120) 1754 Illinois hunter (2)
 Joseph Alvarez Hertz (122) 1746 Spain merchant (2)
 Antoine Hubert (dit Bellemare) 1746 Canada rower (1)
 Louis Hunaud (137) 1755 Illinois rower (2)
 Pierre Jonka (106) 1744 Canada rower (2)
 Gregoire Kiercereau (108) 1752 Illinois farmer (2)
 Silvestre Labadie (60) 1737 France trader (1)
 Jean Baptiste Lamarche (145) 1746 Canada rower (2)
 Joseph Labrousse (69) 1737 Canada farmer (1)
 Joseph Labusciera (6) first corporal 1736 Illinois farmer (1)
 Nicholas Lacombe (107) 1738 Canada cooper (2)
 Jean Louis Lacroix (28) 1753 New Orleans storekeeper (1)
 Antoine Laderoute 1756 Canada rower (2)
 Jacques Laderoute (111) 1752 Canada rower (2)
 Joseph Laderoute 1747 Canada shoemaker (2)
 Louis Laderoute 1760 Canada rower (2)
 Paul Laderoute (32) 1754 Illinois rower (1)
 Jean Baptiste Laflanbuesa 1757 Canada rower (1)
 Antoine Lahage (26) 1752 Canada rower (1)
 Jean Baptiste Lamarine (41) 1755 Canada rower (1)
 Louis Lambert (30) 1745 Canada mason (1)
 Michael Lamy (89) 1730 Canada farmer (2)
 Jean Lapierre (46) 1730 Canada rower (1)
 Jean Baptiste Lapierre (79) 1744 Canada blacksmith (2)
 Joseph Lapierre 1755 Canada farmer (2)
 Toussaint Laroche (85) 1762 Illinois farmer (2)
 Jacques Lasubloniere (93) 1742 Canada farmer (2)

Pierre Lebeau (39) 1754 Canada rower (1)
 Pierre Leroux (43) 1755 Canada rower (1)
 Antoine Lestieur (99) 1746 Canada carpenter (2)
 Louis Letourneau (dit Lafleur) (30) 1745 Canada mason (1)
 Louis Lirette (47) 1742 Canada rower (1)
 Alexis Loise (91) 1750 Illinois farmer (2)
 Baptiste Lorraine 1744 Canada currier (2)
 Joseph Mainville 1740 Canada farmer (1)
 Joseph Marcheteau (34) 1755 Illinois carpenter (1)
 Louis Kiery Marcheteau (127) 1734 Canada farmer (2)
 Antoine Marechal 1744 Illinois farmer (1)
 Francois Marechal (121) 1746 Illinois farmer (2)
 Jacques Marechal (56) 1740 Illinois farmer (2)
 Joseph Marechal (55) 1754 Illinois rower (1)
 Louis Marechal (113) 1740 Canada rower (2)
 Jean Martigny (131) 1730 Canada trader (2)
 Antoine Martin (dit Ladouceur) 1742 Canada farmer (1)
 Jean Baptiste Martinez captain (1)
 Louis Mercier (75) 1736 Canada rower (1)
 Charles Michel (dit Tayon) sub-lieutenant (2)
 Joseph Michel (dit Tayon) (67) 1752 Illinois farm laborer (1)
 Alexander Michon 1742 Canada hunter (1)
 Laurent Michon (57) 1740 Canada farmer (1)
 Louis Boucher de Monbreun (dit Lasoudray) (33) 1742 Illinois rower (1)
 Pierre Montardy (2) sub-lieutenant (1)
 Baptiste Moreau 1754 Canada rower (2)
 Jacques Noise (dit L'Abbe) (80) 1st corp 1740 Illinois farmer (2)
 Henry O'Hara (54) 1735 American farmer (1)
 Antoine Olivier (dit Bellepeche) 1st corp 1740 Illinois farmer (2)
 Jean Baptiste Ortes (27) 1740 France carpenter (1)
 Louis Ouimet (110) 1750 New Orleans shoemaker (2)
 Joseph Marie Papin (62) 1744 Canada tailor (2)
 Pierre Papin (40) 1751 Canada rower (1)
 Joseph Par 1740 Canada rower (1)
 Toussaint Parent (42) 1750 Canada rower (1)
 Pierre Pelletier (88) 1717 Canada farmer (2)
 Jean Marie Pepin (29) 1740 Canada mason (1)
 Joseph Peron 1750 France rower (2)
 Jean Baptiste Petit (114) 1740 Canada rower (2)
 Salomon Pettit (77) 1734 American hunter (1)
 Pierre Plancha 1737 France caulker (2)
 Jean Porte 1750 Canada rower (1)
 Francois Pothier 1755 Illinois rower (2)
 Louis Pothier (21) 1730 Illinois farmer (1)
 Joseph Pouillette first sergeant (2)
 Jean Pierre Pourcelli (9) 1st corp 1744 France farmer (1)
 Eugenio Pourcee captain (2)
 Jean Prevost (74) Canada hunter (1)
 Jean Baptiste Provencher (53) 1737 Canada farmer (1)
 Baptiste Pujol 1740 Canada farmer (2)
 Pierre Quesnel (4) 2nd sergeant 1760 Canada trader (1)
 Baptiste Quimet (124) 1742 Canada rower (2)
 Joseph Renaud (45) 1740 Canada rower (1)
 Laurent Ride 1756 Illinois rower (2)
 Louis Ride (138) 1730 Canada farmer (2)
 Joseph Rivard (142) 1730 Canada trader (2)
 Joseph Rivet (58) 1744 Canada farmer (1)
 Antoine Riviere (118) 1730 Illinois farmer (2)
 Baptiste Riviere 1754 Illinois rower (2)
 Philippe Riviere 1762 Illinois rower (2)
 Louis Robert 1742 Illinois farmer (1)
 Joseph Robidoux (101) 1744 Canada shoemaker (2)
 Gaspar Roubieu (dit European) (117) 1730 France merchant (2)
 Joseph Rougeau (dit Berger) 1752 Canada hunter (2)
 Antoine Roussell 1740 Canada mason (1)
 Charles Roy first corporal 1754 Illinois farmer (2)
 Joachim Roy 1742 Canada carpenter (2)
 Nicholas Roy (3) first sergeant 1732 France trader (1)
 Pierre Roy 1735 Canada blacksmith (2)
 Antoine Sale (dit Lajoie) (149) 1762 Illinois farmer (2)
 Francois de Salle (dit Cailhol) 1740 France trader (2)
 Antoine San Francisco (135) 1755 Illinois rower (2)
 Charles Sanguinet (146) 1737 Canada merchant (2)
 Charles Simoneau (63) 1740 Canada farmer (1)
 Joseph Teneroso 1745 Canada rower (1)
 Joseph Tessier (144) 1745 Canada rower (2)
 Francois Tesson (dit Honore) (84) 2nd corp 1763 Illinois trader (2)
 Louis Tesson (dit Honore) second corporal 1730 Canada tailor (2)
 Louis Tesson (dit Honore) second corporal 1755 Illinois tailor (1)
 Jacques Thibault (97) 1744 Canada farmer (2)
 Joseph Thibault (dit Girard) (102) 1737 Canada rower (2)
 Joseph Tibeau (87) 1742 Canada rower (2)
 Jean Baptiste Trudeau (136) 1745 Canada rower (2)
 Isaac Trust (148) 1744 American rower (2)
 Thomas Uvalde (11) second corporal 1742 Italy currier (1)
 Alexander Valle (72) 1747 Canada hunter (1)
 Charles Valle (48) 1730 Canada hunter (1)
 Joseph Verdon (70) 1734 Canada carpenter (1)
 Francois Verio 1745 Canada mason (1)
 Andre Videcharme 1735 France rower (2)
 Baptiste Vivvarenne (10) second corporal 1750 Illinois mason (1)
 Francois Vigo (18) 1745 Italy merchant (1)
 Francois Villars 1750 Canada rower (2)
 Antoine Vincent (dit Bouis) (85) 2nd corp 1752 France trader (2)

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11th, "and will not be able to work at cultivation of our fields if we do not have succor." Gratiot was in Cahokia when Indians attacked but moved the following year to St. Louis. On June 26, 1781, he was married to Auguste Chouteau's seventeen year old sister, Victoire; they became parents of thirteen children. In spring of 1783, he rode horseback to Virginia in order to process his land claims, without success, but met in Richmond with Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and other Revolutionary heroes. He spoke both French and English, became a prominent merchant of St. Louis and, after the cession, filled several public offices.

In April, 1780, a Sac chief brought word of the new English fort at Prairie du Chien to Kaskaskia. Clark's officers warned him of threatening danger. Colonel John Montgomery wrote to Clark, who had gone to the mouth of the Ohio River to build Fort Jefferson, that an attack was expected any hour and, "We are prepared to give the Enimey a hot Reception at their arrivel if the(y) com which I

much Expect." Captain Richard McCarty pleaded with Clark to come back: "This country will inavitably be lost if you leave it."

Early in April, DeLeyba began preparing defenses for St. Louis, a village of less than 120 homes and population of about 700. Fort El Principe de Asturias, Senor Don Carlos, near the mouth of the Missouri was in ruins, and the garrison had moved into a nearby cabin. The soldiers were ordered to St. Louis, and the militia captain was sent to retrieve its five cannon for defense of the town and to save them from the enemy. He formulated a plan of fortifications consisting of four stone towers, or redoubts, one on each side of the town, connected by earthen trenches. Upon pointing out the dangers of their situation to the inhabitants, a thousand piastres was raised by public subscription with DeLeyba contributing 400 from his private resources. On April 17th, the first stone of the western tower received the blessing of the Capucian priest, Father Bernard de Limpach. It

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MISSOURI'S REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS

The following is a list of approximately 525 Revolutionary War soldiers who subsequently had some connection with Missouri, essentially those buried in various counties. It is composed basically from a roster of patriots buried in Missouri, pensioners and their widows on the state's Agency Books in National Archives, and general family history and biography in genealogical works.

Many burial places and some identifications have been lost through time. Not all names are available: for instance, 26 unknown soldiers of the Revolution originally were interred at Fort Bellefontaine, an early US Army base, and later moved.

All of those listed are true patriots, including two women, Nancy Hunter, who married Israel Dodge, and Elizabeth Porter, who had been a prisoner of war.

This listing does not include those soldiers employed by Britain who remained in this country. For instance, Martin Rodner (1743 - 1827) was a Hessian, who was captured in North Carolina and paroled to Tennessee. He went to Bledsoe's Lick, where he married Hannah Smith. In 1801, they came to Upper Louisiana with three sons and two daughters and settled near Gordonsville in Cape Girardeau District. The name, Anglicized, became Rodney, and his descendants still live in Missouri and elsewhere.

SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	(BORN-DIED)	STATE FROM	RANK	FILE NUMBER	NAME OF WIFE, WIDOW	YEAR (BORN-DIED)	MISSOURI COUNTY	PRIMARY SOURCES
ADAIR	William	()		LtAj	7628	Catherine	()		1
AIKEN	James	()		Pvt.	6111		()		1
ALEXANDER	William	(-1835)	N.C.	Capt		Elizabeth Fish	()	St. Francois	11-10
ALLEE	David	(1761-1835)	Va.	Pvt.	22338	Charity Bylee	(-1823)	Cooper	11-1
ALLEN	John	(1758-1830)	S.C.	Art.		Sarah Edmons	(1757-1833)	Pike	11-1
AMEND	Mathias	(-1822)	Penn				()	Howard	11
AMES	Ephraim	()		Pvt.	3945	Margaret	()		1
ANDERSON	John	()		Sgt.	6190	Sarah	()		1

SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	(BORN-DIED)	STATE FROM	RANK	FILE NUMBER	NAME OF WIFE, WIDOW	YEAR (BORN-DIED)	MISSOURI COUNTY	PRIMARY SOURCES
ANDREWS	John	()		Pvt.	5421-Nancy	()			1
APPLEGATE	Daniel	(1768-1826)	Va.	Musn	16139	()		St. Clair	11-2-1
ARBUCKLES	Samuel		Mass			()			11
ARCHER	Sampson			Penn Capt		()			2
ARMAN	Thomas	(-1833)	Va.	Pvt.	19214 Charity	()		St. Louis	11-2-1
ARMSTRONG	John	()	Ky.	Pvt.	4575-Jane	()			1
ARMSTRONG	William	(1759-1841)	Penn	Pvt.	13362 Sarah Ann Huston	(1762-1859)		Callaway	11-2-1
ARTHUR	Elijah	()				()		Saline	11
ARTHUR	Levi R.	()				()		Crawford	11
ASHCRAFT	Amos	()	Penn		19737	()		Howard	11-2-1
ATHELL	Benjamin	(-1828)	Va.	Corp	17687 Winifred	()		Boone	11-2-1
ATTERBURY	James	(1758-1843)	S.C.		Dorcas	()		Monroe	11
AUSTIN	Samuel	(-1854)	N.C.			()		Greene	11
AVIS	Robert	()				()			11
AZOR	Robert	(1710-1821)				()		Sta. Genevieve	11-7-2
BABCOCK	Roland	()				()		Lewis	11
BABCOCK	Sherman	()	Ind.	Pvt.	22333	()		Knox	11-1
BAILEY	David	()		Pvt.	29950	()			1
BAILEY	John	(1755-1840)				()		Washington	11
BAIRD	Samuel	(1760-1840)	Va.			()		Pike	11-3
BAKER	Elijah	()	Va.	Pvt.	25793	()		Washington	11-1
BAKER	Robert	(1754-1819)	Va.	Pvt.	19814	()		Montgomery	11-4-1
BAKER	Sylvester	(1754-1840)	N.C.	Pvt.	5340 Experience	()		Callaway	11-2-1
BALLEW	Jesse	()	Mass		15552 Elizabeth	()		Pulaski	11
BANN	William	(1742-1846)	S.C.			()			11
BARHAM	James	(1764-1852)	Va.	Pvt.	19417	()		Greene	11-1
BARHAM	Jarnet	()				()			11
BARTLETT	Edmund	()	Va.	Pvt.	22341	()		Randolph	11-2-1
BASCO	John	(1744-)	N.C.	Pvt.	19199	()		Lincoln	11-2-1
BASS	Philip	()		Pvt.	5740-Patsey	()			1
BATES	James	(1762-1828)	Va.	Corp.	Mehitable Sargent	()			11
BAUGH	Joseph	()	Va.		Nancy Gentry	()		St. Charles	11-4
BAYLES	Richard	(-1843)		Lt.		()		Henry	11
BAYLES	William	(1759-1840)	Ky.	Lt.	3216	()		Henry	11-1
BEARD	Samuel	()	Va.		Sarah Craig	()		Montgomery	11-4
BEATTY	Robert	(1762-1837)	Penn		Sallie (Parrott)	()		Pettis	11
BEAUVAIS	Jean Bapt.	()	Ill.			()		Sta. Genevieve	10-2
BEAZLEY	Cornelius	(1758-1840)	Va.	Pvt.	19316	()		Pike	11-3-1
BEDELL	David	(1761-1840)	N.C.	Dgn.	817 Ruth Fairchild	(1765-1833)		Greene	11-1
BELLISIME	Alexander	(1766-1833)				()		St. Louis	5
BERRY	William	(1754-1839)	S.C.	Sgt.	22305 Margaret Collins	()		St. Louis	11-2-1
BIGELOW	Ephraim	()		Pvt.		()		St. Charles	11
BIGGER	Robert	()	Tenn	Pvt.	450-Catharine	()			1
BISSELL	Daniel	(1768-1833)	Conn	Sgt.	Deborah Seborn	(-1843)		St. Louis	2-1
BISSELL	David	()		Sgt.	1145	()			1
BISSELL	Russell	(1755-1807)	Conn	Pvt.		()		St. Louis	11
BLACKWELL	Robert	(-1837)	Va.	Pvt.	16854	()		St. Louis	11-6-2-1
BOGGS	Joseph	(1749-1843)			Sarah Riddle	(1755-1810)		Jackson	11
BOONE	Daniel	(1734-1820)	Ky.		Rebecca Bryan	()		St. Charles	11
BOREN	William	()	S.C.	Pvt.	19932	()		Madison	11-2-1
BOTTS	Joshua	(1740-1846)	Va.			()			11
BOWEN	Michael	()			3723-Anna	()			1
BOWLES	Samuel	(1750-1841)	S.C.	Pvt.	7224 Nancy	()		Callaway	11-1
BOWMAN	Marshall	()	Va.	Pvt.	23134	()			1
BOYD	James	()	Penn		Elizabeth Prather	()			11
BOYD	John	()	Va.		Elizabeth Davis	()		St. Charles	11-4-2
BOYD	Thomas	(1761-1846)	N.C.	Pvt.	22466 Grezelde Allen	()		Callaway	11-4-2-1
BOYDSTON	William	(1753-1838)	N.C.		Elizabeth Christian	()		Clay	11
BRADLEY	Leonard K.	(1756-1834)	Va.	Lt.	19816 Mary Boone	(1766-1851)		Randolph	11-2-1
BRADLEY	Richard T.	(1766-1838)			Abediah Dickey	()		Johnson	11
BRADY	William	()	Ky.	Pvt.		()		Cass	11-1
BRECKENRIDGE	George	(1768-1813)	Va.		Elizabeth Cowen	()		Washington	11
BREVARD	Robert	(1763-1847)	N.C.	Pvt.	31638 Nancy	()		Cape Girardeau	11-1
BRICKEY	Jared	(1760-1840)				()		Crawford	11
BRISCOE	John	(1755-1830)	Va.		Caville DeLashmutt	(1760-1825)		Marion	11
BROADUS	John	()			Elizabeth	()		Howard	11
BROCK	Uriah	(1759-1845)	Va.	Musn		()		Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
BROOKINGS	Vivian	(1738-1808)	Va.	LtCl	Elizabeth Brodeaux	()		Carroll	11
BROOKS	Henry	(1752-)	Ind.	Pvt.	13596 Rachel Prost	()		Lafayette	11-1
BROOKS	John	()		Pvt.	Orella	()			1
BROTHERTON	A.	()				()		Warren	11
BROWN	Isham	()	Va.		39210	()		Saline	11-2-1
BROWN	Joseph	(1754-1840)	Va.			()		Lincoln	11-2

BROWN	William	(1749-1844)	Va.	Pvt.	31332	— Scott	(	)	Ste. Genevieve	11-10-1
BROWN	William R.	( )					(	)	Perry	11
BRYAN	James	(1723-1807)	Va.			Rebecca Knox	(	-1768)	St. Charles	11-4
BRYAN	Jesse	(-1843)					(	)	Ste. Genevieve	4
BRYANT	Thomas P.	()	Va.				(	)	Grundy	11
BRYANT	William	(1739-1833)	N.C.	Pvt.	22339	Rachel Wilcox	(	)	Boone	11-4-2-1
BULL	Thomas	()	Va.	Pvt.	19815		(	)	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
BURBRIDGE	Roland	(1754-1842)	Va.	Pvt.		Jane Wells	(	)	Pike	11-3
BURCH	William	()		Sgt.	6553	Sarah	(	)		1
BURCH	Zachariah	(1757-1844)	Md.	Pvt.	7778	Mary Mildred Robey	(	)	Pike	11-2-1
BURCHFIELD	Meshack	(1762-)	N.C.	Pvt.	13363		(	)	Marion	11-2-1
BURKES	Samuel	(1764-)	N.C.	Pvt.	19014		(	)	Madison	11-1
BURKS	Isham	(1759-1839)	Va.		9758	Elizabeth Hobbs	(	)	Boone	11-2
BURNETT	Jeremiah	(1749-1848)	Va.				(	)	Jackson	11
BURNHAM	Isaac	()	Ky.				(	)	St. Francois	11
BURNSIDE	Robert	(1759-1850)	N.C.	Pvt.	25392		(	)	Clay	11-1
BURTON	William	(1755-1842)	Va.	Sgt.	25914	Sarah	(	)	Howard	11-2-1
BUTLER	Thomas	()	Ill.	Musn	4799	Mary	(	)		1
BUTLER	William	(1756-)	Va.	Pvt.	25815	Sarah	(	)	Lincoln	11-2-1
BYBEE	Wesley	(1763-)	Va.	Pvt.	1948	Mildred	(	)	Monroe	11-2-1
BYERS	William	(1758-1839)					(	)	Howard	11
CALDWELL	James	(-1836)	Va.	Pvt.	25939	Meeke	(	)	St. Francois	11-2-1
CALLAWAY	James	(1756-1835)	Va.	Pvt.	9480	Susanna White	(	-1844)	Howard	11-1
CAMPBELL	Abner	()	Va.				(	)	Howard	11
CAMPBELL	William	(1753-)	Va.	Pvt.	20080		(	)	Cooper	11-2-1
CAMRON	John	(-1821)					(	)	Clay	11
CANNON	James	(1762-1864)	S.C.	Pvt.	19738	Rachel Stark	(	1770-1831)	Lincoln	11-2-1
CARPENTER	Conrad	( )					(	)	New Madrid	2
CARR	George	(1746-1836)	Va.	Pvt.	22344		(	)	Cooper	11-2-1
CARRICK	William	(-1836)	Va.				(	)	Jackson	11
CARSON	Lindsay	(1748-1819)	Ky.				(	)	Howard	11-4
CASEY	Christopher	(1752-1840)	S.C.	Lt.	29683		(	)	Cole	11-1
CASEY	William	(-1840)					(	)	Moniteau	11
CASTLIO	John	(1764-1830)	N.C.			Eleanor Harrison(Lowe)	(	)	St. Charles	11
CATHEY	George	(1755-1840)	N.C.	Pvt.	26120	Margaret Chamberlain	(	)	Cooper	11-2-1
CEARNAL	William L.	( )					(	)	Cole	11
CHAMBERS	Benjamin	(1764-1850)	Penn	Lt.	410	Sarah Jane Lawson	(	)	Saline	11-2-1
CHAMBERS	John	(1740-1841)	Va.	Pvt.	17459	Mary Thompson	(	-1800)	Lincoln	11-4-2-1
CHAPMAN	Edmund	(1760-)	Va.	Corp	19739		(	)	Randolph	11-2-1
CHAPPEL	Abner	(1764-)	Va.	Pvt.	13104		(	)	Howard	11-2-1
CHASE	Robert	(-1831)	N.Y.	Pvt.	19124	Sarah	(	)	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
CHILCOAT	John	(1758-1851)	Penn	Pvt.	26134		(	)	Morgan	11-2-1
CLARK	William	()		Ensn			(	)		11
CLARKSON	David	()		Pvt.	522	Phebe	(	)		1
CLUTTERBUCK	Reuben	(1756-)	Va.	Pvt.	25794	Martha	(	)	Callaway	4-1
CLIFTON	Nathan	(1759-1864)	N.C.	Pvt.			(	)	Webster	11
COBB	Samuel	(1761-)	Va.	Pvt.	22342		(	)	Monroe	11-2-1
COCHRAN	John	()	N.C.	Pvt.	13248		(	)	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
COCHRAN	William	(1753-1821)	S.C.			Margaret Gamble	(	)	Boone	11
COCKRELL	Peter	(1758-1834)	Va.	Pvt.		Aelae Smithers	(	1761-1840)	Cooper	11
COFER	George	()		Corp	30570		(	)		1
COLEMAN	Leonard	()		Pvt.	9112	Eunice	(	)		1
COLLEY	Charles	()		Pvt.	11745		(	)		1
COLLINS	William	(1755-1835)	S.C.				(	)	Lafayette	11
COLVIN	Benjamin	(1758-1841)	Va.	Pvt.	19950	Nancy P.	(	)	Boone	11-2-1
COLYER	John	()	Ind.	Sgt.	25289		(	)		11-1
CONNELLY	John	(1755-1849)	Md.	Pvt.	7982	Elizabeth Turner	(	)	Boone	11-2-1
CONWAY	John	(1753-18--)				Elizabeth Bridgewater	(	)	Marion	11
CONWAY	Joseph	(1763-1830)	Ky.			Elizabeth Caldwell	(	)	St. Louis	11-2
CONWAY	Samuel	(1756-1830)	S.C.			Elizabeth Clemmons	(	)	Marion	11
COOLEY	Charles	()	Va.				(	)	Callaway	11
COOPER	Benjamin	(1760-1852)	Va.	Pvt.			(	)	Howard	2
COOPER	Benjamin A.	(1753-1841)	N.Y.	Lt.	26825		(	)	Saline	11-2-1
COOPER	George	(-1826)	S.C.				(	)	Cole	11
COOPER	Levin	()	Va.			Mary	(	1776-1873)	Cooper	11
COOPER	Samuel	(-1840)		Lt.	32144		(	)		1
COPHER	Jesse	(1760-1822)	Ky.			Elizabeth Boone	(	)	Boone	11-4
CORDELL	John	(-1842)	Va.	Chap	1987	Judith Blackwell	(	)	St. Louis	11-8-1
CORDER	Benjamin	(1766-)	Va.			Rebecca Runion	(	)	Callaway	11-4
CORLEW	John	(1762-1818)				Nancy	(	)	Boone	11
COTTLE	Warren	(1755-1816)	Vt.	Capt			(	)	St. Charles	11-4
COURTNEY	John	( )					(	)	Clay	11
CRAIG	Robert	(-1830)	Va.			Sarah Eddington	(	)	Montgomery	11-4
CRAIG	William	()	Va.	Pvt.	25125		(	)	Pike	11-2-1
CROMISTER	James	()	N.Y.	Pvt.	18944		(	)	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1

SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	(BORN-DIED)	STATE FROM	RANK	FILE NUMBER	NAME OF WIFE, WIDOW	YEAR (BORN-DIED)	MISSOURI COUNTY	PRIMARY SOURCES
CROSS	Zachariah	(-1838)	N.C.	Pvt.	22766		()	St. Louis	11-2-1
CROWLEY	James	(1764-1840)	Va.	Pvt.	30875		()	Clay	11-1
CULLEY	George	(1755-1840)	Va.				()	Pettis	11
CULTON	Joseph	(1766-)	Va.	Pvt.	26883		()	Jasper	11-1
CUNNINGHAM	Hugh	()		Pvt.	4183-Mary		()		1
CUNNINGHAM	James	(1757-)	Penn	Pvt.	22345		()	St. Francois	11-2-1
CUNNINGHAM	John	()	Penn	Pvt.	22343		()	St. Louis	11-2-1
DALE	William	()		Pvt.	8211-Elizabeth		()		1
DARST	David	(1759-1826)	Va.			Rosetta Holman	(1763-1848)	St. Charles	11-4
DAVIESS	Robert	(1752-1804)					()	Randolph	11
DAVIS	James	()	Va.	Sgt.	19817		()	Randolph	2-1
DAVIS	John	(1746-1844)	Va.				()	Buchanan	11
DEAKINS	James	()		Pvt.	6177-Martha		()		1
DEMASK	James	(1763-1836)	Va.	Pvt.	7981		()	Lafayette	11-2-1
DENNY	Alexander	(1747-1827)					()	Howard	11
DICKSON	Joseph	()	Va.				()	Cooper	2
DICKSON	Josiah	(1752-1834)	Penn	Pvt.	5341	Isabell Reid	(-1834)	Cooper	11-2-1
DIGGS	Dudley	(1760-1842)	Va.		8328	Mary Diggs	(1761-)	Chariton	11
DILDAY	Charles	(1752-)					()	Barry	11
DILDAY	William	(-1841)					()	Lawrence	11
DODD	Abel	()	S.C.	Smn.	30717		()	Callaway	11-2
DODGE	Israel	(-1806)	Va.			Nancy Hunter	()	Ste. Genevieve	10
DODGE	John	()	Va.				()	Ste. Genevieve	10-2
DORMAN	William	()		Pvt.	31702		()		1
DOUGLAS	James	()					()	Howard	11
DRAKE	Isaac	(1764-1837)	Va.			Frances Monroe	()	Jackson	11-8
DRAKINS	James	()		Pvt.	9448-Martha		()	Jefferson	11
DUFOR	—	(-1835)	Va.				()	Ste. Genevieve	2
DUNLAP	James C.	(1740-1844)	Va.			Susan Ann Ferguson	(1828-1856)	DeKalb	11
EDWARDS	Ambrose	(1757-1844)	Va.	Capt		Olive Martin	()	Warren	11-4
EDWARDS	John	(-1833)	Va.				()	Cape Girardeau	11
EDWARDS	William	(1757-1841)	Va.			Elizabeth Edwards	(1760-)	Pettis	11
ELGIN	Samuel	(1758-1842)	Md.	Pvt.	19951	Agnes McClanahan	()	Boone	11-2-1
ELLIS	Isaac	(-1840)	Va.	Pvt.	630	Martha Shipley	()	Cooper	11-1
ELLIS	Samuel	()	Ky.	Pvt.	29740		()		1
ELSTON	Jonathan	()	N.J.	Pvt.	25791		()	Chariton	11-2-1
EPPERSON	John	()	Va.	Pvt.	19983		()	Franklin	11-2-1
EUBANKS	Achilles	(1768-1844)		Pvt.	30903	Mary Bush	(1760-1830)	Cooper	11-1
EVANS	James	(1759-1840)					()	Gasconade	11
EVANS	Jess	()	Ill.				()	Gasconade	11
EVANS	Jesse	(-1843)	Va.	Capt	31610		()	Callaway	11-4-2-1
EVANS	John	()					()	Clay	11
FARMER	Matthew	()	Va.	Sgt.	2841		()	St. Charles	11-2-1
FARMER	Nathan	()		Sgt.			()	St. Charles	11
FARRAR	Leonard	(1861-1836)	Va.	Pvt.	19942	Margaret Hamilton	(1770-1845)	Franklin	11-4-2-1
FERGUSON	Joshua	(1763-)	Va.	Wgmn	26480	Mary Stone	()	Callaway	11-4-2-1
FERGUSON	Moses	(1762-1845)	Va.	Pvt.	25792	Elizabeth Cox	()	Johnson	11-1
FINE	Philip	(1751-1824)	Va.	Pvt.		Celeste Boly	()	St. Louis	11-4
FINNELL	Charles	(1762-1842)	Va.	Pvt.	26203	Lucy	()	Randolph	11-2-1
FLEMING	Reuben	()		Pvt.	2561-Elizabeth		()		1
FLEMING	Mitchell	(-1837)		Pvt.	13158		()	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
FLETCHER	James	(1758-1845)	Va.	Pvt.	22346	Mary Smoot	(1756-1838)	Adair	11-2-1
FLETCHER	Thomas	(1758-1845)					()	Adair	11
FRANKLIN	John	(1763-1845)	Va.			Agnes	()	Jackson	11
FRANKLIN	Thomas	()	S.C.	Mjr.			()		11
FREEMAN	William	(1759-1838)	N.C.	Pvt.	16838	Mary Bryan	(-1850)	Greene	11-1
FRIEND	Charles	(1722-1814)	Va.	Capt		Nancy Gough	()	Scott	11-10-2
FROST	John	(-1848)	N.C.	Capt			()	Jackson	11
FUGATE	James	()		Pvt.	31948		()		1
FUGATE	Townsend	(1750-1843)				Malinda Cooper	()	Clay	11
GALE	Richard	()	Ohio	Pvt.	19845		()		1
GATY	George	()	Penn			Christiana Smith	()	St. Charles	11-4-1
GAY	Thomas	()		Pvt.	686-Polly		()		1
GENTRY	Richard	(-1837)				Ann	()		1
GIBBS	Julius	()		Pvt.	4946-Caty		()		1
GILL	James	(1736-)	Penn				()	Marion	11
GILL	Moses	()	Md.	Pvt.	18952		()	Marion	11-2-1
GLASS	Michael	(1762-)		Pvt.	13170		()	Lincoln	11-1
GOFORTH	Miles	()	N.C.	Va.	4092		()	Washington	11
GOODMAN	Thomas	()	Ind.		755		()		1
GOODSON	William	(1759-1845)	S.C.		30440		()	Carroll	11

GORDON	John	(1761-1837)	Va.	Penelope Pope	()	Cole	11
GOUGH	John B.	()	Md.		()	Perry	2
GOUGH	Robert F.	()	Md. Pvt.	26231	()		1
GRATIOT	Charles	(1753-1817)	Ill.	Victoria Chouteau	()	St. Louis	5
GRAVES	Thomas	(1747-1834)	Va. Qmtr	19818 — (Simms)	()	Warren	11-4-1
GREEN	Robert	(1752-)	Md. Sgt.	13267 Elizabeth	()	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
GREENING	James	()	Pvt.	5653-Sarah	()		1
GREENWELL	Ignatius	(1750-1847)	Md. Pvt.	19752	()	Ralls	11-4-2-1
GRIFFITH	John L.	(1756-1851)	Va. Pvt.	Anne Francis	(1779-1866)	Andrew	11
GUFFY	Isaac	(1762-)			()	Sullivan	11
HAGER	Joseph	()	Penn		()	Howard	2
HALL	William	(1761-1840)	Pvt.	19948	()	Montgomery	11-1
HAMILTON	John	(1753-1840)	Md. Pvt.	882	()	Dayiess	11-1
HAMPTON	Thomas	(-1840)	Md. Pvt.	7781	()	Lincoln	11-2-1
HANCOCK	Stephen	()	N.C.		()	Montgomery	2
HANNIS	John	()	N.C.		()	St. Louis	8
HARBISON	John	()			()	Cape Girardeau	2
HARDING	George	(1756-1840)	Va. Pvt.	16636	()	Callaway	11-1
HARDY	Arnold	(1760-1833)	Lt.	Barbara Devilbiss	(1758-1840)	Ralls	11
HARRIS	Reuben	(1760-1842)	Va. Pvt.		()	Jackson	11
HARRISON	Benjamin	(1745-1808)	Penn Pvt.	Mary Newell	(-1812)	Washington	11-2
HARRISON	Charles	()	Va. Col.		()	Audrain	11
HARRISON	Isham	()	Va. Lt.	7022-Amy	()	Madison	2-1
HARRISON	John	()			()	Callaway	11
HARRISON	John	()	Penn		()	Ste. Genevieve	2
HARRISON	Thomas	()	Va. Col.		()	Callaway	11
HARVEY	William	(1744-)	Va. Pvt.	Polly Jane Robinson	(1739-)	Howard	11
HATTON	Reuben	(1762-1841)	Va.	Joanna Beleau	()	Boone	11-2
HAWKINS	John	(1762-1840)	N.C. Pvt.	22472 Rebecca Custard	(1762-)	Washington	11-7-1
HAYS	Christopher	(1738-1808)	Penn		()	Cape Girardeau	11-2
HAYS	William	()			()	St. Charles	11
HEADLEY	Elisha	(1760-1845)	N.J.	Mary Fairchild	(1770-1833)	Greene	11
HEMPSTEAD	Stephen	(1754-1831)	Conn	Mary Lewis	()	St. Louis	11-9-2
HENDERSON	David	(1754-1835)	Va. Pvt.	19966	()	Callaway	11-2-1
HENDRICK	Elijah	(1758-1830)	S.C. Lt.	Nancy Ann Harrison	()	Pike	11-3-2-1
HENRY	Joseph	()	Pvt.	2374-Mary	()		1
HENRY	Malcomb	(1736-1840)	S.C. Capt	29882 Nettie Gordon	()	Lincoln	11-3-1
HERRINGTON	Joseph B.	()	Penn		()	Jefferson	11-7-2
HICKMAN	Francis	(1753-1834)	Penn Pvt.		()	St. Louis	11-2
HICKMAN	James	()	Ky. Pvt.	605-Elizabeth	()		1
HICKMAN	William	()	Pvt.	28417	()		1
HILDEBRAND	John	()	Va.		()	Ste. Genevieve	2
HILL	Abram	(1759-1840)	N.C. Pvt.	30407	()	Ray	11-1
HILL	Pleasant	()			()	St. Charles	11
HILL	Thomas	(1761-1841)	Pvt.	19944	()	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
HINKLE	Casper	()	N.C. Pvt.	26133	()	Perry	11-2-1
HOLLAND	Thomas	()	Va. Pvt.	19216	()	Chariton	11-2-1
HOPKINS	James	(1764-1849)	N.C. Pvt.	Elizabeth Billingsley	(1777-1848)	Polk	11
HOUKS	Mathias	(1759-1831)	Md. Pvt.	Susanna Morningstar	(1759-1848)	Lafayette	11
HOWE	John D.	()	Penn		()	Callaway	11
HOWELL	James	(1744-1844)	Va.	Martha Denny	()	Macon	11
HUBBARD	Eusebius	(1744-1818)	Va.	Amy	()	St. Louis	11
HUBBELL	Ithamar	()	N.Y. Pvt.	7720	()	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
HUDSON	Isaac	()	N.C.	Polly Shipper	()	Lincoln	11-4
HUGHES	Joseph	(1753-1837)	Md. Corp	Sarah Green Swan	(1753-1838)	Howard	11-1
HUGHES	William	(1760-1828)	Md. Pvt.	Martha Swan	(1767-1841)	Howard	11
HULL	Henry	()		1432-Elizabeth	()	Bates	11
HULL	William	()	N.C.		()	Monroe	11-2
HUNT	Jonathan	()	Ky. Pvt.	26603	()		1
HUNT	Littleberry	()	Va.		()	Franklin	11-2-1
HUNT	Thomas	(1754-1808)	Mass Capt		()	St. Louis	11
HUNTER	Joseph	(1757-1820)	Ill. Pvt.	Catherine Phillips	(1770-1813)	Scott	11-10-9
HUNTER	Nancy	()	Ill.		()		11
HUTCHINSON	James	(1758-1840)			()	Cape Girardeau	11
HUTCHISON	David	()	Tenn Pvt.	25431	()		1
HUTTON	Reuben	()	Sgt.	19953	()		1
ISBELL	Daniel	()	Pvt.	7023-Franka Tilley	(-1847)		1
JACKSON	Christopher	(1768-1831)	Va.	Catherine Rhodes	(1768-1857)	Pike	11
JAMESON	Robert	(1756-1844)	Va. Pvt.	16885 Isabel Mahan	()	Ralls	11-2-1
JAMISON	Joseph	(1763-1810)	Va. Pvt.	Sally Hubbard	(1766-1832)	St. Louis	11
JANIS	Jean Baptis	(1759-1836)	Ill. Ensn	Reine Julia Barbeau	(1759-1814)	Ste. Genevieve	11-2-1
JEFFRIES	William	(1757-1840)			()	Marion	11
JEWELL	James	()	Va.		()	Clay	2
JOB	Enoch	(1755-1843)	Va. Pvt.	20023 Sarah	()	Cole	11-2-1

SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	(BORN-DIED)	STATE FROM	RANK	FILE NUMBER	NAME OF WIFE, WIDOW	YEAR (BORN-DIED)	MISSOURI COUNTY	PRIMARY SOURCES
JOHNSON	Claibourn	(1760-1840)	Va.	Pvt.	26189	Elizabeth Sims	(1765-1850)	Howard	11-2-1
JOHNSON	Horatio	()		Lt.			()		11
JOHNSON	James	()		Mjr.			()	Warren	11
JOHNSON	James	(1759-1834)		Pvt.	19968		()	Washington	11-1
JOHNSON	William	(1762-1838)	Va.		13361	Margaretta	()	Marion	11-1
JONES	David	(1761-1838)	Va.	Sgt.	19985	Jane Ruble	(1763-1838)	Cooper	11-2-1
JONES	Stephen	()		Pvt.	31503		()		1
JONES	William	(-1839)	Va.	Lt.	22306		()	Boone	11-2-1
KELLY	James	(1756-)	Va.	Pvt.	26121		()	Cooper	11-2-1
KELSO	James	(1761-)				Betsy Sittlington	()	Morgan	11
KELSO	John	(1745-1830)					()	Cooper	11
KENNEDY	Thomas	()	S.C.	Pvt.	5929	Sarah	()	Warren	11-3-1
KENNERLY	Samuel	(1755-1840)	Va.			Mary Hancock	()	St. Louis	11
KENNEY	Daniel	()	Penn				()	Scott	11
KEY	George	(1753-1836)	Va.	Pvt.	22342	Susannah Craighead	()	Callaway	11-4-2-1
KIMSEY	Samuel	(-1832)	Va.				()	Jackson	11-2-1
KINCAID	James	(-1833)	Va.	Pvt.	26292		()	Lafayette	11
KING	Aaron	(1745-1840)	Ill.			Hannah Dyer	()	Macon	11
KING	George	()		Col.		Nancy Evans	()	Callaway	11
KING	Jeremiah	()	Md.	Corp	19335		()	Clark	11-1
KINGREY	Joe	(1767-1843)					()	Cole	11
KIPPERS	John	(1762-1844)	Va.	Pvt.	30156	Rebecca Patterson	()	Monroe	11-1
KIRBY	John L.	()		Drmr			()	Howard	11
KIRKPATRICK	Robert	(1763-1841)	S.C.	Pvt.	22348	Martha	()	Cooper	11-2-1
LAPLANT	—	(-1812)					()	Ste. Genevieve	1
LARRIMORE	Hugh	()	Tenn	Pvt.	19174		()	Cooper	11-1
LAY	Thomas	(1755-1845)	N.C.	Pvt.		Polly Lawrence	(1767-1861)	Adair	11
LAYNE	John Thomas	(1760-1826)	Va.			Mary Crafton	(1769-1846)	Cass	11
LEAKE	S.	()	S.C.				()	Ray	11
LEMON	Robert	(1752-1848)	Penn	Sgt.		Mary McCowan	(1771-1837)	Boone	11-2-1
LEONARD	Abiel	()	Vt.	Chap			()	Howard	11
LETCHWORTH	Benjamin	(1752-1834)	Va.		5342	Eleanor Adams	()	Morgan	11-2-1
LEWIS	Nathaniel	(1736-1826)	N.C.	Pvt.			()	Jackson	11
LILES	Hugh	()					()	St. Charles	11-4
LILLY	Bennet	()					()	Macon	11
LITTLE	James	()	Penn	Pvt.			()	St. Louis	11-2
LILLY	Bennet	()					()	Macon	11
LITTLE	James	()	Penn	Pvt.			()	St. Louis	11-2
LONG	Anderson	(1760-1840)	Va.	Pvt.	13360		()	Marion	11-2-1
LONG	John	(1755-1826)	Va.			Elizabeth Bennett	()	St. Louis	11-5
LONG	Lawrence	(1747-1804)					()	St. Louis	11
LONG	William	()	Va.	Pvt.	5253		()	Howard	2-1
LOOMIS	Israel	()	Ohio	Pvt.	5068	Hannah	()		1
LYNCH	David	(1761-1826)				Fannie Maupin	()	Boone	11
LYNCH	Henry	(1763-1849)				Sallie Farris	(1765-1858)	Macon	11-2-1
MACKKEY	James	(1756-1848)	N.C.		19945		()	Pike	11-3-2-1
MADDEN	Thomas	()	Va.			Margaret Brown	()	Washington	11
MAHAN	James	()	Ky.	Pvt.	25059		()		1
MAJOR	William	()		Pvt.	30659		()		1
MAJORS	John	(1759-1844)	N.C.	Pvt.	25391		()	Clay	11-1
MARKLE	Charles	(-1826)	Va.	Capt			()	Ralls	11
MARR	Daniel	(-1827)	Va.			Mary	()	Lafayette	11
MARTIN	Lewis	(1757-1834)	S.C.				()	St. Louis	11
MARTIN	Russell	()	Va.			Peggy Vaughn	()	Callaway	11
MASON	Benjamin	(1761-1859)	Va.				()	Pettis	11
MAUPIN	Cornelius	()	Va.				()	Howard	11
MAUPIN	Mosias	(1756-1816)				Leah	()	Franklin	11
MAYO	Thomas	(1758-1840)					()	Randolph	11
McCARGO	Radford	(1762-1840)	Ky.	Pvt.	26525		()	Boone	11-1
McCLAY	William	()					()	St. Charles	11-1
McCONNELL	Jonathan	()		Pvt.	5428	Nelly	()		1
McELWEE	James	(1756-)	S.C.	Pvt.	13231	Rhoda	()	Pike	11-3-2-1
McGIRK	Andrew	()	Va.				()	Lafayette	2
McGUIRE	William	(1759-1835)	Va.	Pvt.	29014		()	Pike	11-2-1
McHENRY	James	(1762-1840)					()	Van Buren	11
McKINNEY	James	()	Va.	Mjr.			()	Callaway	11
McKINNEY	John	()	Va.				()	Warren	11-4
McLANE	Alexander	()	N.C.	Pvt.	19946		()	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
McLANE	David	(1758-1840)					()	Cape Girardeau	11-1
McLAUGHLIN	John	(-1828)	Va.	Pvt.	15279		()	Lafayette	11-2-1
McMAHAN	Thomas	(1747-1821)					()	Cooper	11
McNAIR	Robert	(-1835)	Penn	Pvt.	25814		()	St. Charles	11-2-1

McPHEETERS	David	(1752-1846)	N.C.	Pvt.	545	Susannah Lloyd	(	)	Jackson	11-1
McSHEELER	Andrew	(	)	Ind.	Pvt.	13785	(	)		11-1
McQUITTY	Andrew	(	)				(	)		11
McWHORTER	John	(	)	Ky.	Pvt.	3389-Elizabeth	(	)		1
MEADE	William	(	)				(	)	Carroll	11
MEANS	Andrew	(	-1826)	N.C.		Nancy Gray	(1745-1827)		Clay	11
MILLER	George	(	-1830)	Penn	Pvt.	18988 Judith	(	)	Franklin	11-2-1
MILLER	James	(	-1804)	Va.			(	)	Franklin	1
MILLER	John A.	(	)	Ky.	Sgt.	5100 Mary	(	)		11-1
MINOR	Threesivelus	(	)	Va.	Pvt.	26393	(	)		1
MITCHELL	George	(	-1830)		Pvt.	7316 Elizabeth	(	)		1
MITCHELL	Morris	(	-1848)	Penn			(	)	Polk	11
MITCHELL	William	(1764-	)	Va.	Pvt.	7783	(	)	Franklin	11-2-1
MONTGOMERY	William	(	)	Va.	Pvt.	7779	(	)	Marion	11-2-1
MOODY	Edmund	(	)			6506-Sarah	(	)		1
MOON	William	(	)				(	)		11
MOORE	David A.	(1764-1835)		Pvt.	7780		(	)	Cole	11-1
MOORE	George	(1761-1833)		Va.	Pvt.	25765	(	)	Boone	11-1
MOORE	James	(	)	Va.			(	)	Cole	2
MOORE	William	(1757-1843)		Va.	Pvt.	22349 Drusilla Weatherford	(	)	Jackson	11-2-1
MOORE	Zachariah	(1765-1837)		Md.	Sgt.	821 Alice Bourne	(	)	St. Charles	11-1
MORGAN	Joseph	(	)				(	)	Platte	11
MORRISON	James	(	-1848)				(	)	St. Charles	11
MOSS	William	(	)	Va.			(	)	Jefferson	7
MOUTRY	Joseph	(	)	Va.	Pvt.	26935	(	)	Washington	11-1
MULKERSON	John	(1755-1840)					(	)	Pike	11
MUNKERS	William	(1752-1860)	N.C.				(	)	Clay	11
MUNRO	Daniel	(1758-	)	Md.		Sarah Frazier	(	)	Howard	11
MURDOCK	J.	(	)				(	)	St. Charles	11
MURPHY	David	(1769-	)	Va.			(	)	St. Francois	11
MURPHY	Hezekiah	(1766-1840)		Md.	Pvt.	13493 Sarey	(	)	Lincoln	11-2-1
MURPHY	Joseph	(1761-	)	Va.	Pvt.	22351 Sarah	(	)	St. Francois	11-2-1
MURPHY	William	(1759-1833)		Va.	Ensn	22350 Rachel	(	)	St. Francois	11-10-2-1
MURRILL	George	(	)		Pvt.	6037-Nancy	(	)		1
MUSICK	Abraham	(1722-1800)	N.C.			Sarah Lewis	(	)	St. Louis	11
MUSICK	Abraham	(1745-1832)	N.C.				(	)	St. Louis	11-2
MUSICK	David	(1763-1837)	N.C.	Pvt.	26190	Prudence Whiteside	(	)	St. Louis	11-2-1
MUSICK	Thomas Roy	(1756-1842)	N.C.	Pvt.	29937	Mary Nevel	(	)	St. Louis	11-2-1
MUTHERIN	John	(1755-1840)	S.C.	Pvt.	19821	Elizabeth	(	)	Pike	11-2-1
NASH	William	(1741-1822)	Va.			Mary Morgan (Bradford)	(1737-1818)		Boone	11
NELSON	Thomas	(	)	Va.			(	)	Crawford	2
NICHOLSON	William	(1754-1833)	Penn	Pvt.	22352		(	)	St. Francois	11-2-1
NIFONG	William	(	)	N.C.			(	)	St. Louis	8
NOBLE	James	(1758-1840)		Va.	Pvt.	25910	(	)	Howard	11-2-1
NOLAND	Ledston	(1750-	)	N.C.	Pvt.	26233	(	)	Jackson	11-2-1
ODOM	Willis	(	-1847)	Ark.	Pvt.	29515	(	)		1
OLDHAM	Jesse D.	(	)				(	)	Callaway	11
OLDHAM	Richard	(	)		Pvt.	5967	(	)		1
OLIVER	John	(	)		Pvt.	969-Elizabeth	(	)		1
OLMSTEAD	Ebenezer	(	)	Penn	Ensn	2879-Esther	(	)		1
O'REAR	William	(1761-1839)		Va.	Pvt.	Ann Calk	(1764-1846)		Boone	11
OSBORN	William	(	)		Pvt.	3024-Elizabeth	(	)		1
OVERALL	William	(	)				(	)	St. Charles	11
OVERLY	Henry	(1764-1840)	S.C.				(	)	Callaway	11
OWENS	Henry	(	)				(	)	Randolph	11
PACE	John	(	-1839)	Ky.	Pvt.	7626 Margaret	(	)		1
PADDOCK	Gaius	(1758-1831)		Vt.	Pvt.	Mary Wood	(	)	St. Louis	11
PALLERS	William	(1760-1847)					(	)	Pike	11
PARKE	Joseph	(	)	N.C.			(	)	Chariton	2
PARKER	John	(1758-1856)		Va.	Pvt.		(	)	Pike	11
PARKS	James	(1753-1835)		Sgt.	26108	Rebecca Jordon (Hays)	(	)	Chariton	1
PARSONS	Justin	(	)		Pvt.	2380-Prudence L.	(	)		1
PATRICK	John	(	)				(	)	Howard	11
PATTERSON	John	(1760-1839)	N.C.			8005 Sally Jamison	(1766-1832)		St. Louis	11
PATTERSON	William	(	-1849)	N.C.			(	)	Pike	11-8-3
PATTON	Jacob	(	)	S.C.			(	)	Montgomery	11-2-1
PAUL	John	(1760-1843)		Va.			(	)	Washington	11
PEERS	Valentine	(1756-1830)	S.C.				(	)	Ralls	11
PENIX	John	(1757-1839)		Va.		8092 Patsy Walker	(1766-1839)		Pike	11-3
PERKINS	Archelaus	(1760-1848)		Va.	Capt	32347 Patsy Ann Mitchell	(	)	Carroll	11-1
PERRY	John	(1747-1826)	Penn	LtCl		Violette Moore	(1755-1813)		Washington	11
PHILIPS	Daniel	(1752-1832)				Cynthia Stevenson	(1797-1850)		Washington	11
PINNELL	Charles	(1763-1840)		Va.			(	)	Chariton	11
PINNELL	Peter	(1755-1845)	S.C.	Pvt.	25795	Nancy Yarber	(	-1843)	Crawford	11-1

SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	(BORN-DIED)	STATE FROM	RANK	FILE NUMBER	NAME OF WIFE, WIDOW	YEAR (BORN-DIED)	MISSOURI COUNTY	PRIMARY SOURCES
PITMAN	John	(1753-1839)	Va.	Mjr.		Dorothy Robinson	()	St. Charles	11-4
POLLARD	Braxton C.	(1760-1840)	Va.			Ann Duffy	()	Monroe	11
POLLARD	Chatten	(-1843)	Va.			Milly Greer	()	Linn	11
POLLARD	William	(1761-1840)	Ky.	Pvt.	22370		()	Marion	11-1
PORTER	Elizabeth	()		POW			()	Jackson	11
POTTER	James	(1759-1841)	Tenn	Pvt.	25280		()	Platte	11-1
POTTS	Thomas	(1767-1861)	Md.		7326	Tilitha	()	Jackson	11
POWELL	Joseph	(1760-1835)	N.C.	Pvt.		Susan Edwards	()	Jackson	11
POWELL	William	()	N.C.	Pvt.	19822		()	Cole	11-2-1
PRICE	William B.	(1763-1847)	Va.			Mary Clarke	()	Lafayette	11
PROCTOR	Benjamin	(1760-1850)	Ky.	Pvt.	19986	Susannah Shirley	()	Cooper	11-1
QUARLES	Robert	(1762-1827)	Va.	Ensn		Patsey	(-1855)	St. Louis	11-1
QUICK	Jacob	(-1822)				Rhoda Moore (Morris)	(-1834)	Montgomery	11-4
RAINEY	Benjamin	()					()	Andrew	11
RAMSEY	Josiah	(1755-1835)		Pvt.	20234	— Patterson	(1760-1840)	Callaway	11-2-1
RAMSEY	William	(1741-1845)	Va.			Sarah	()	St. Charles	11-4
RANKHAM	Joseph	()	Tenn	Pvt.	22087		()		1
RANKIN	James	()	Del.		5891		()	St. Louis	11
READING	George	(1757-1846)	Penn	Pvt.	17036	Nancy McCune	(1771-1842)	Clark	11-3-2-1
RECTOR	Noah	(1747-1849)					()	Lincoln	11
REEVES	John	()	N.C.	Pvt.	19987		()	Callaway	11-2-1
RENO	Thomas	()					()	Callaway	11-4
REVELLE	Etheldred	()	N.C.				()	Madison	10
REYBURN	Joseph	(1758-1838)	Va.	Lt.		Frances Wallace	(1762-1814)	Washington	11
RHODES	Samuel	(-1825)	Va.	Pvt.	12143		()	Callaway	11-2-1
RICE	William B.	()	Va.	Sgt.	16648	Rebecca Arlington	()	Montgomery	11-4-2-1
RICHARDSON	James	()		Mjr.		Liddy	()	St. Louis	11
RIGGS	Zadok	(1754-1846)				Sarah	()	Boone	11-3
ROARK	James	()				Nancy Finney	()	Gasconade	7
ROBBINS	Leroy K.	()					()		11
ROBBINS	Moses	()					()	St. Charles	11
ROBERTS	John	(1759-1835)	Va.	Pvt.	7905		()	Cole	11-2-1
ROBERTS	John	(1765-1840)					()	Saline	11
ROBERTS	Joshua	(1765-1840)	Tenn	Pvt.	13683		()	Saline	11-1
ROBERTS	William	()	Tenn	Pvt.	25130		()		1
ROBERTSON	Andrew	(1763-1837)	Va.				()	Clay	11
ROBERTSON	Edward	1753-1848)	Md.	Pvt.	9507	Catherine Methard	()	Cooper	11-2-1
ROBINSON	Jeremiah	(1757-1836)	Va.	Pvt.	19988	Drucilla Lamb	()	Madison	11-2-1
ROBNETTE	John	(1753-1835)	Penn			Rachel Carr	()	Boone	11
ROCKYFELLER	Peter	(1748-1840)	Ky.	Pvt.	17413	— McGlathan	()	Montgomery	11-4-1
ROGERS	Ezekial	(1760-1838)	Va.			Rebecca Williamson	()	St. Louis	11
ROI	Andre	()					()	St. Charles	11
ROOD	James	(-1800)					()	St. Charles	11
ROSE	George	(1749-1829)					()		11
ROSE	Lewis	()	Ky.			Elizabeth	()	Audrain	11
ROSE	Matthias	(-1854)		Pvt.	22307	Nancy Hickman	()	St. Louis	11
ROSE	Shapleigh	(1763-1822)	N.C.			Mary Prince	(1777-1837)	Lincoln	11
ROSE	Thomas M.	()	Va.				()	St. Louis	2
ROSE	William	()			3949-Mary		()	Clay	11-2-1
ROW	John	()	N.C.	Drmr			()	Madison	10
RUGGLES	Comfort	(1760-1833)	Conn			Chloe Boyce	()	Washington	11
RUSSELL	David	()					()	Boone	11
RUSSELL	Robert S.	(1762-1842)	Va.			Deborah Allen	(1767-1842)	Callaway	11
RYAN	Thomas	()					()		11
SALISBURY	Andrew	(1744-1840)	N.C.	Pvt.	1645		()	Cole	11
SALMON	George	()		Qmtr	6329-Elizabeth		()		1
SAPPINGTON	Hartley	()	Va.	Pvt.	26286		()	Franklin	11-2-1
SAPPINGTON	John	(1750-1815)	Va.	Sgt.		Jemima Fowler	(1758-1814)	St. Louis	11
SAPPINGTON	Richard	()				Nancy Jones	()	Boone	11
SCOTT	Adam C.	(1746-1831)	Penn	Lt.		Elizabeth Thornton	(1761-1852)	Cooper	11
SCOTT	John	()		Pvt.	26982		()	Wayne	2-1
SCOTT	Obadiah	(1764-1840)	Va.	Pvt.		Mary Scott	(-1834)	Ste. Genevieve	11
SCRUGGS	Timothy	(1761-1853)	Va.		20455		()	Greene	11-1
SEARS	John	(1750-1831)	N.C.			Matilda Hobson	(1760-1820)	Randolph	11
SEATON	Perry Ira	()					()		11
SEELY	John	(-1835)		Ensn			()		1
SELLERS	Robert	()					()		11
SETTLE	Nicholas	(-1850)					()	Macon	11
SEVERENCE	Benjamin	()		Pvt.	4642-Rebecca		()		1
SEWELL	James	(1760-1840)	S.C.				()	Clay	11
SHARP	Benjamin	(1762-1843)	Va.			Hannah Fulkerson	()	Montgomery	11-4-2
SHARP	John V.	(-1828)					()	Cooper	11

SHELBY	Moses	()	Penn		()	New Madrid	2
SHEPHERD	James P.	(1763-1853)	Va.		()	Jackson	11
SHERLEY	Thomas	(1755-1840)	N.C.	Sgt. 2364	()	Washington	11-1
SHERWOOD	William	(1760-1840)	N.C.		()	Pike	11-8-3
SIMMS	Richard	(1752-1850)	Va.	Pvt. 7782 Betty Ashby	(1757-1861)	Clay	11-2-1
SIMS	Augustine	(1762-1840)	Ill.	Pvt. 26178	()	Barry	11-1
SIMS	Rhodam	(1756-1853)	Va.	Pvt. 22473 Nancy Stark	(1758-1849)	Ralls	11-2-1
SIMPSON	John	()		Pvt. 4647-Mary	()		1
SIMPSON	Thomas	(1740-1835)			()	Johnson	11
SINCLAIR	Robert	(1755-1840)	Va.	Pvt. 19989	()	Madison	11-2-1
SKINNER	John	(-1849)			()	Warren	11
SLAUGHTER	Ezekial	()			()		11
SLAYTON	James	()		Pvt. 5997-Martha	()		1
SLOAN	Alexander	()			()	Cooper	11
SMITH	Charles	(1760-1850)	Tenn	Trpr 702 Martha W. Smith	(1814-1871)	Miller	11-1
SMITH	John A.	()		Md.	()		11-4
SMITHERS	Reuben	()			()	Pike	11-3
SNELSON	Thomas	(1756-1840)		Pvt. 19823 Mary	(1756-	Crawford	11-1
SNOWDEN	James	(1762-1848)	S.C.		()	Lafayette	11
SOLLERS	Sabert	()	Va.	Pvt. 26352	()	Clay	11-2-1
STEELE	Samuel	(1762-	N.C.	Pvt. 6338	()	Greene	11-1
STEPHENS	Moses	()			()	Daviess	11
STEPHENSON	Marcus	(-1814)			(-1865)	Audrain	11-4
STEPHENSON	Marcus	(1742-1805)	Va.	Ensn Agnes Hinkson	(1748-1842)	St. Louis	11-4
STEVENS	Jacob	(1760-1835)	Va.	Pvt. 19990 Sarah Meek	()	Madison	11-2-1
STEVENS	Thomas	()	Va.		()	Montgomery	11-4
STONEBERGER	Lewis	()		Pvt. 4327-Mary Ann	()		1
STRICKLAND	David	()	Conn	Sgt. 15265	()	Washington	11-2-1
STUART	Jacob	()			()		11
STUFFLEBEAM	John	()	S.C.		()		11
STURGIS	James	()	Va.		()	Jefferson	2
SULLIVAN	James	(1748-1815)	Va.		()	St. Louis	11
SURRELL	James	()		Pvt. 7777	()		1
TALBOT	Haile	(1754-1839)			(1778-	St. Charles	11-4
TALBOT	James	()		Elizabeth Irvine	()	Buchanan	11
TAYLOR	Benjamin	(1761-1840)		Pvt. 30573	()	Stoddard	11-1
TAYLOR	Daniel	(1758-1841)	Va.	13279 Margaret Thatcher	()	Montgomery	11-2-1
TAYLOR	John	()	Ky.	Pvt. 1363	()		1
TAYLOR	William	()		Pvt. 979-Elizabeth	()		1
THOMAS	Anthony	(1759-1825)	Md.	Pvt. Lucy Cecil	()	Lafayette	11
THOMAS	Edward	(1755-1847)	S.C.	Pvt. 29526	()	Iron	11-1
THOMAS	Henry	(1758-1837)	Va.		()	Caldwell	11
THOMAS	James	(1763-1840)	Ky.	Pvt. 26739 Rachel Stillwell	()	Callaway	11-1
THOMPSON	J. R.	(1766-1851)	Va.		()	Clark	11
THOMPSON	Thomas	(1761-1840)			()	Greene	11
THOMPSON	William	(1749-1835)	Va.	Capt 19955	()	Boone	11-2-1
THORNTON	John	(1764-1822)	Va.	Capt Polly	()	Saline	11
THORNTON	William T.	(1765-1843)	Va.	Martha Ann	()	DeKalb	11
TILLEY	Bernard	(1757-	N.C.	Pvt. 26468	()	Macon	11-2-1
TIMMONS	George	(1754-1841)			()	Henry	11
TINDELL	Obediah	(1763-1852)			()	Howard	11
TITUS	Joseph	(-1828)	Va.		()	Howard	11
TOLSON	William	(1760-1844)	Va.		()	Howard	11
TOMB	David	(1762-1839)	S.C.	Sgt. 19826 Sarah Wright	()	Pike	11-2-1
TOMLIN	Samuel	(1756-1835)	Va.	Pvt. 26287	()	Howard	11-1
TONG	William	(1752-1848)	Md.		()		10
TRUESDELL	Nathan	(1762-1846)	S.C.		()	St. Louis	11
TURNER	James	(1755-1834)	N.C.	1881 Jemima Wells	()	Boone	11
TURNER	Samuel	(1754-1847)	Va.	Pvt. 19740 Abigail	(-1855)	Ralls	11-2-1
TURNER	Thomas	()	N.C.		()		11
TURNER	William	()			()		11
TUTTLE	Nicholas	(1758-	Va.	Pvt. 19825 Pleasant	(1758-	Macon	11-2-1
TWITTY	Russell	(1762-1834)	N.C.	Pvt. 19947	()	Franklin	11-2-1
VANCE	Thomas	()		Pvt. 6320-Sarah	()		1
VANCE	William	(1746-1833)	Penn	Barbara Grider	(1748-1839)	Clay	11
VANDEGRIFT	Jacob	()	Tenn	Pvt. 26929	()		1
VAUGHN	Frederick	()	Va.		()	Audrain	11-4
VERDEN	James	()	S.C.	Pvt. 20028	()	Cape Girardeau	11-2-1
VEST	John	(1757-	Va.	Pvt. 19827	()	Pulaski	11-2-1
WADE	Richard	()			()	Henry	11
WALKER	Jesse	(1748-1849)	N.C.	Pvt. 25942 Elizabeth Granderson	(1746-	Howard	11-2-1
WALKER	John	(1750-1829)			()	Cape Girardeau	11
WALKER	John	()			()	Randolph	11
WALKER	Thomas	(1750-1840)			()	Barry	11
WALKUP	John	(1760-1823)	S.C.	Rebecky	()	Boone	11

SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	(BORN-DIED)	STATE	RANK	FILE	NAME OF WIFE, WIDOW	YEAR	MISSOURI	PRIMARY
			FROM		NUMBER		(BORN-DIED)	COUNTY	SOURCES
WALLACE	John	()	S.C.	Pvt.	22716		()	Ray	11-1
WALTON	William	(1742-1826)					()	St. Louis	11
WARD	William	(1756-1837)	Penn	Sgt.	19932	Catherine Frazer	()	Warren	11-2-1
WARNER	Wyncoop	()					()	Callaway	11
WARREN	Martin	(1763-1852)	Va.			Sallie Dunbar	()	Johnson	11
WASH	John	(1751-)	Ga.	Lt.	5895		()	Marion	11-2-1
WATERS	Richard	(1750-1841)				Nancy Thompson	()	Boone	11
WATERS	Thomas W.	()	S.C.				()	Cape Girardeau	11-10-2
WATSON	David	(1764-1822)	S.C.			Mary McCord	()	Pike	11
WATSON	Samuel	(1754-1838)	S.C.				()	Pike	11-2
WATSON	Thomas	(1744-1841)	Va.	Sgt.		Catherine Lock	()	Jackson	11
WATSON	Thomas	(1743-1841)	Va.	Sgt.	29015		()	Linn	11-2-1
WAYLAND	Joshua	(1760-1828)	Va.	Fifr		Rachel Utz	(1765-1841)	St. Francois	11
WEAVER	John	()		Pvt.	6151	Sarah	()		1
WEBB	Moses	()	Ky.	Pvt.	19991		()		1
WEGER	David	()	Va.	Pvt.	30892		()	Washington	11-1
WELCH	John	(1767-1857)					()	Dent	11
WELCH	John	(1754-1840)					()	Crawford	11
WELLS	James	(1763-1855)					()	Ray	11
WELLS	Joseph	(1766-1852)	Penn	Pvt.		Mary Scott	()	St. Louis	11
WELLS	Samuel	(1754-1835)	Ky.	Capt		Rebecca Pope	(1760-1820)	St. Charles	11
WESTBROOK	Richard	(1760-1833)	Penn	Pvt.	19828	Lydia	(1757-1848)	Cooper	11-1
WHEAT	Jacob	(-1843)		Pvt.	234	Adelaide	()		1
WHITE	Randolph	(1755-1831)	Va.	Pvt.	6154	Margaret Kirkland	(1763-1851)	Randolph	11-1
WHITE	Thomas	()		Lt.			()		11
WHITEHEAD	Robert	(1755-1829)	Va.	Pvt.		Nancy McMullin	()	Jefferson	11
WHITTLESEY	Charles H.	()	Conn	Pvt.	26411		()	Franklin	11-2-1
WHITENER	Henry	(1752-1804)				Catherine Shell	(1752-1822)	Madison	11
WHITMORE	Alphonso	()		Ensn			()	St. Louis	11
WILCOX	George	()	Va.				()		11
WILCOXSON	John	(1744-1830)	Ky.			Sarah Notson	()	Howard	11
WILLIAMS	Alambe	(1757-)	N.C.	Pvt.			()	Lincoln	11
WILLIAMS	Alfred	(1749-1834)				Elizabeth Price	(1771-1842)	Howard	11
WILLIAMS	Colden	(1763-1832)	N.C.	Pvt.		Mary Short	(1769-1823)	Howard	11
WILLIAMS	Edward	(1761-1846)	Md.	Sgt.	5252		()	Chariton	11-2-1
WILLIAMS	Joseph	()	Va.	Pvt.		Sarah	()	Clay	2-1
WILLS	James	()		Pvt.	26353		()		1
WINN	John David	(1748-1820)	S.C.	Capt		Eleanor Hicks	(1765-1837)	Howard	11
WITT	Elisha B.	()					()	Howard	11
WITT	William	()					()	Howard	11
WOODS	Adam	(-1849)					()	Howard	11
WOOLERY	Lawrence	(1739-1839)				Margaret Horn	()	Cooper	11
WOOLFOLK	John	(1760-1843)	Va.	Pvt.		Elizabeth Lewis	()	Boone	11
WRIGHT	John A.	()	Ky.	Pvt.	7493		()		1
WRIGHT	Peter	(-1834)	Va.	Pvt.		Sally Persinger	()	Boone	11
WRIGHT	Thomas	(-1841)	Va.	Pvt.			()	Boone	11
WRIGHT	William	(-1843)	Va.	Pvt.		Rachel Sawyer	()	Boone	11
WRIGHT	William	(1758-1834)	Va.	Pvt.	25943		()	Pulaski	11-2-1
WRIGHTINGTON	Thomas	()	Mass	Pvt.			()	Cape Girardeau	11-2
WYATT	John	(1759-1840)	N.C.	Pvt.		Polly Pearle	()	Warren	11-4
WYATT	Thomas	(1754-1834)	Penn	Ensn			()	St. Louis	11-2
WYLIE	William	()					()		11
WYNN	William	()				Phillis Marr	(1763-1855)	Grundy	11
YANCY	Robert	()		Capt			()	Howard	11
YORK	John	()	Va.			Nancy York	()	Clay	11
YOSTI	Emelian	(-1812)				Theotiste Durand	(-1824)	St. Louis	5-4
YOUNG	Reuben	()					()		11
YOUNT	Jacob	(1752-1818)	N.C.				()	Cape Girardeau	11-4
ZUMWALT	Adam	(1755-1846)	Va.	Pvt.	22308	Mary Rodas	(1767-1846)	Lincoln	11-4-2-1
ZUMWALT	Christopher	(1750-1820)	Va.			Elizabeth Shever	()	St. Charles	11-4-2
ZUMWALT	Jacob	(1752-1820)	Va.			Franqui Price	()	Pike	11-4
ZUMWALT	John	(1757-1820)	Va.			Elizabeth Conrad	(-1820)	St. Charles	11-4

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was named Fort San Carlos in honor of King Charles III of Spain but usually was called simply "The Tower." DeLeyba and militia officers Benito Vasquez and Jean Baptiste Martigny were among the witnesses. The tower stood on the highest portion of elevated ground, commanding a view of most of the town. Within the next 29 days, the parapet through the floor was built and the five cannon installed, but it lacked a roof. An excavation was dug for the north tower and the first stone was laid before funds were exhausted. As less costly alternatives, two trenches were dug, one about twelve arpents (2,280 feet) long north of the tower and another twenty arpents (3,800 feet) on the south, both beginning at the river, their flanks resting on the hill. Earth from the entrenchment was piled in front of it, supported by trunks of small trees, forming a sort of wall some five or six feet high. Besides contributing 400 working hours toward construction of the tower, inhabitants dug the trenches and kept guard in them against surprise attack, "night and day without interruption." There were three gates in the improvised stockade, one on each side. Pierre Picote de Belestre traced the entrenchments and supervised construction as DeLeyba even then was suffering a fatal illness.

On May 2nd, the attacking force under command of Captain Emanuel Hesse proceeded down river. It consisted of more than 750 men—exceeding the whole population of St. Louis, mostly Indians in detachments led by traders such as Calve and Ducharme. They were well supplied with food and ammunition, bolstered by the cargo of Gratiot's boat as well as lead ore and provisions taken about the same time when a party of Indians captured seventeen Spanish and American rebels at the productive mines in Sac and Fox country. One week later, a trader named LaFontaine arrived in St. Louis and told DeLeyba the enemy had reached Rock River, eighty leagues upstream.

Realizing a need for reinforcements, DeLeyba sent an order to Ste. Genevieve Commandant Francois Valle for Lieutenant Silvia Francisco de Cartabona to come to St. Louis with his own garrison and a detachment of sixty militia, bringing

every available swivel gun. Riders were dispatched to outlying settlements to bring in people from the back country. Young Pierre Chouteau rode along the Meramec River, south of St. Louis, gathering together his friends, including John Hildebrand, the German known as "Albrane" by the Spanish, who had "come over from the American side in order to fix his residence on this side," only the previous November. Another American brought in by Chouteau was Henry O'Hara, who stayed on through the threat to serve in the village militia. His son, Bryson, was referred to as an Indian, indicating O'Hara's wife might have been a member of one of the eastern tribes. Hunters and traders on Cuivre River and elsewhere were called into the the endangered village. Cartabona's reinforcement—ordered to come up in a bateau and a barge—arrived within five days in one boat, apparently embargoed from Gabriel Cerre's trading fleet at Kaskaskia, for the Spanish had been unable to "purchase one of the Battows" from Montgomery. Thus, St. Louis's own untrained militia was bolstered by about 150 hunters, traders, soldiers and every type of citizen—all reported to be good shots. Altogether, the village was defended by 29 regular soldiers and 281 countrymen. Captain Martigny and forty men in three pirogues were designated to ascend the Mississippi no more than ten or twelve leagues and to stay out for five days in an effort to contact the enemy. A scouting party of twelve hunters in two canoes was sent twenty leagues up river to await the enemy, whose coming was to be reported immediately.

GABRIEL CERRE (8/12/1734-1/4/1804)

Jean Gabriel Cerre, who had used his considerable influence to bind over the discordant elements of the Illinois villages to the American cause, who had provided considerable financial aid to General Clark and who had been a judge of the Kaskaskia court, had moved his family to St. Louis only the previous summer. Born in Montreal, his boyhood was spent in Kaskaskia. By the age of twenty-one, he was firmly established as a merchant there. On January 24, 1764, as many residents were preparing to accompany Laclede to a new post on

the west bank of the Mississippi, Cerre was married to Catherine Giard, fourteen year old daughter of Antoine Giard and Marianne LaFontaine. The couple's son, Pascal Leon, and three daughters were born at Kaskaskia, where the family resided for fifteen years as Cerre became a prominent man and one of the leading merchants in the western country. In late spring of 1779, he transferred a house and land at the foot of Cahokia's bluffs to Stephen Trigg and conveyed all his other lands to Clark. On June 17th, Cerre purchased a lot with its improvements in St. Louis from Louis Perrault. The property included a large stone house, probably built for the original grantee, Joseph Labuscieri; a large stone warehouse, built in 1770 by Perrault, several outbuildings, a garden and a "verger," or orchard, the whole enclosed with a cedar and oak post fence. Cerre served in the First Company of militia, was nominated by the inhabitants in 1782 as a syndic, or judge, and quickly became one of St. Louis's leading men. One of his daughters, Marie Therese, married Auguste Chouteau, and another, Julia, became the wife of Antoine Pierre Soulard, king's surveyor in Upper Louisiana.

On May 11th, Montgomery, whose plan for a counterthrust to scatter and terrorize the Indians had been abandoned ("The parade we was about to make is Fellen threw."), left Kaskaskia for Cahokia. He and Captain John Rogers' company arrived about the same time and quartered themselves in Fort Clark, which they set about trying to repair. Meantime, in response to pleadings of Gratiot, Montgomery, McCarty, and DeLeyba, General Clark interrupted his work on Fort Jefferson and set out with a small body of men to succor the Illinois. On May 15th, before Clark's hoped for but unexpected arrival, the American officers crossed the river to hold a military conference with DeLeyba, Cartabona and St. Louis militia officers. Montgomery's plan was revived, and DeLeyba agreed to furnish a hundred men, together with boats, arms, artillery, ammunition and provisions; the Americans would provide 150 men, including Cahokia volunteers, and Montgomery would command the expedition.

They set about gathering provisions and organizing the force. It was too late!

On May 23rd, Spanish scouts reported the enemy had been seen at a distance of only twenty leagues upstream from St. Louis. Hesse's main force made a portage just fourteen miles upriver, where the canoes were left. One division of Indians, under Ducharme, moved against Cahokia on the east bank; Sacs and Foxes, under Calve's leadership, marched on St. Louis. First contact was made by Ducharme.

PIERRE RAIMOND QUENEL (1713-11/1/1785)

Sixty-seven year old townsman Pierre Raimond Quenel had crossed the river and was fishing at the mouth of Cahokia Creek when he heard a slight noise on the opposite side and, looking up, beheld none other than Jean Marie Ducharme, whom he had known in St. Louis. "Come over," Ducharme called. "I have something in particular to tell you." Ducharme's sudden appearance and Quenel's espying some Indians lurking in the bush, combined with current rumors to make the old Canadian cautious and suspicious; "No, 'though old and bald, yet I value my scalp too highly to trust myself with you," he said. Quenel embarked at once in his canoe, crossed over to St. Louis and informed the commandant of what he had seen. Fearing the people would become alarmed, DeLeyba ordered Quenel to be jailed. Quenel and his son, Pierre, both were natives of Canada, and his wife, Marie Anne Boulay, apparently died prior to the men's coming to St. Louis. In 1772, young Quenel was married at Cahokia to Susanne Poupard (dit Lafleur), daughter of Paul and Francoise Pilet Poupard. Two children were born to them before 1780, when the younger man, listed as a trader, served as second sergeant of St. Louis's First Company of militia. He and his father, perhaps protected in jail, survived the attack. Raimond Quenel died on November 1, 1785, having reached 72 years of age. His son lived until 1798, becoming one of St. Louis's best known traders.

May 25th was the Feast of Corpus Christi and many villagers enjoyed the holiday in the fields, gathering wild strawberries. Indian scouts, sent to reconnoitre the west bank, were concealed in the brush, often so close they could

almost touch the people. However, the Indians dared not attack before arrival of their main force.

General Clark arrived at Cahokia on May 25th and immediately crossed the river to review the troops and inspect the defenses. He declined command of defense forces on both sides of the river, when it was offered by DeLeyba. After about two hours, the general returned to Cahokia.

On the morning of May 26th, DeLeyba presided over a session of court, rendering a final decision in Gratiot's lawsuit against Charles Sanguinet. Gratiot sued to recover goods he had left with Sanguinet while seeking Clark's help for people of Cahokia. The commandant ruled in favor of Gratiot, ordering Sanguinet to restore Gratiot's merchandise and pay all costs, expenses and damages.

Thus, it appears, affairs were being conducted in a normal manner, and all was quiet despite a long series of notable and exciting events.

The blow fell simultaneously on St. Louis and Cahokia about one o'clock in the afternoon of May 26th. The attack began at the north end of town. Indian bands had positioned themselves in the brush and woods. They approached rapidly across La Grande Prairie, catching a number of farmers and their hands in the fields. Some people were shot down by savages who had secreted themselves in bushes alongside of the road into town. Some of the field workers were captured, but others escaped to warn the townspeople of the advancing horde of Indians. The attackers swept over the lands of Gabriel Cerre and Louis Chancellier. Of seven Negroes taken prisoner, five were slaves of Monsieur Cerre. Another of Cerre's Negroes was mortally wounded while trying to flee on a road into St. Louis. He stumbled off and hid in a sinkhole near the path, where he died. A dog belonging to Cerre stayed with the body for three days, returning to town only to eat and howling constantly until someone followed the animal and found the body. Louis, another Negro who became one of Cerre's slaves, was chased by an Indian armed with gun and tomahawk. Looking over his shoulder and seeing the savage very close with tomahawk raised, he threw himself upon the ground, and the Indian stumbled over him and dropped

his gun. Louis seized the gun, shot the Indian and escaped to the town with the weapon as a trophy.

JOSEPH CHANCELLIER (1750-12/70/1784) & LOUIS CHANCELLIER (1742-4/8/1785)

Joseph Chancellier, who had taken his wife, Elizabeth, two daughters and an American named Kennedy to the prairie for strawberries, escaped back to town, but the American and seven members of his party were wounded. One of Louis Chancellier's slaves was killed by Indians. Joseph Chancellier, his older brother, Louis, and their sister, Anne, were children of Louis Chancellier, "chirugien major de Fort de Chartres," and Therese Lorin. Joseph was about Chouteau's age, barely fourteen, when he and his 22 year old brother came to the site of Laclede's post in the boat with the young leader. Their sister, Anne, was married in 1770 to Joseph Mainville (dit Deschenes), who also had been a passenger in Chouteau's boat. Two years later, Joseph Chancellier, was married to Elizabeth Becquet, nineteen year old daughter of the village's leading miller. They had five children. When Indians attacked them, they fled in a cart drawn by two horses. The American, perhaps, Matthew Kennedy, a St. Genevieve merchant, or a relative, was wounded mortally. Shouting "they shan't get the scalp of my American," Chancellier seized Kennedy and threw him into the cart, amidst the women. Two musket balls struck Chancellier, breaking one arm in as many places above the elbow. Madame Chancellier received a bullet through the middle of one hand, the elder daughter was shot through the shoulder, immediately above the breast, and the younger was struck on the forehead, although the ball glanced off, merely stunning her. As Chancellier arrived at the gate, his horses dropped dead, pierced with numerous wounds, but his family was saved. Louis Chancellier's slave, "massacred by the Indians," was buried the same day by Pere Bernard, the village priest. Joseph Chancellier served in the First Company of militia while his 28 year old brother was sub-lieutenant of the Second Company. In 1782, Louis Chancellier was married to Marie Louise Deschamps, seventeen year old native of St. Louis and daughter of Jean Baptiste and Marie Pion Deschamps. They

had one son, born seven months after the death of his father.

As the Indians neared the northern extremity of St. Louis, one man was killed between Big Mound, the largest of three Indian mounds in a group, and the town by savages who had crept close to the entrenchments. A guard fired a prompt warning, an alarm cannon in the tower was fired; soldiers and citizens rushed to their defenses, "not a single man was left in the houses." Not expecting to encounter fortifications, the Indians advanced like "madmen, with an unbelievable boldness and fury, making terrible cries and terrible firing." DeLeyba, 'though ill, was wheeled in a barrow or small cart up the hill to the tower, where he stationed himself, directing the six chasseurs who manned the cannon. Cartabona and twenty men defended the women and children who were barricaded inside of the commandant's house.

MARIE JOSEPHE PINCONNEAU (1728-1823)

Madame Rigauche, fifty two year old wife of Ignace Pinconneau (dit Rigauche) who had moved to St. Louis about five years earlier from New Orleans, performed heroic service. Just as soon as a crier ran along Rue Principale, shouting, "To arms, to arms!", settlers left their dinner tables and hurried into the streets. Rigauche had bought their home less than three years earlier from none other than Joseph Calve. As her husband headed for the trench, Madame Rigauche donned a coat belonging to him, buttoned it to her chin, and—with a pistol in one hand and a knife in the other, she made her way down the street to the upper gate, all the while calling on others to follow her. She took her place among the defenders, encouraging the men, exposing herself to gunfire and taking part in the fight. The enemy finally recoiled at their return fire. After Pinconneau died in 1788, Madame Rigauche added to her fame by becoming the founder of the first school for girls west of the Mississippi and was rewarded with two huge landgrants. After many years in St. Louis, she moved to Florissant, where she lived out her ninety-five years!

Expecting to find easy prey of a defenseless village, the savages, instead, were greeted with the frightening roar of cannon and rattle of mass musketry.

Despite their awe of the cannon fire—a weapon which they feared greatly, they persisted in the attack, and there was heavy firing throughout the afternoon. The Indians generally exposed themselves very little, but the Winnebagoes—more daring than the others—lost a chief and three warriors and had four others wounded, perhaps the only casualties among the attackers. All their attempts to draw the people out of the trenches were frustrated by the wise and strong orders of DeLeyba and Cartabona. Failing in this strategy, the Winnebagoes and Sioux would have stormed the trenches, but the Sacs and Foxes under Calve withdrew, and the remaining attackers feared they'd themselves "between two Fires." Farther south, along the western defenses, the Indians were able to creep to points on the hill from which they could fire down on the trenches and inflict casualties among the militiamen. However, most of the villagers killed or captured were in the fields and slain or taken prisoner either early in the attack or during the aftermath.

JEAN MARIE CARDINAL (d. 5/26/1780)

Jean Marie Cardinal also was a victim of the attack on St. Louis. He and his Pawnee wife apparently lived in the back country since 1765, when fifteen families abandoned the tiny village of St. Philippe, leaving its commandant "alone in his glory," and crossed over to St. Louis. In 1776, they had returned to St. Louis, where Cardinal obtained a farm in White Ox Prairie. Jean Baptiste Riviere was a guest in Cardinal's house on May 26th, 1780, when Indians on their way to attack St. Louis passed by his place. Riviere was asleep. Both men were seized. Cardinal was wounded while trying to escape and died upon reaching Marais Castor, or Beaver Pond, about three miles away. Riviere was taken prisoner. DeLeyba, unaware within two days of Cardinal's death, listed him as missing. Cardinal's widow was married again in 1783 to Urbain Lafranchise of Lapierre, Canada.

JEAN BAPTISTE RIVIERE (1706-8/16/1816)

Jean Baptiste Riviere (dit Baccane) and his elder brother, Antoine Jr., were mere boys in 1764 when they accompanied Auguste Chouteau to the site selected on the west bank of the Mississippi River

for Laclede's post. Their father had carted Madame Chouteau and her other children from Kaskaskia to Cahokia for the crossing. At the time of the Indian attack, twenty-eight year old Baptiste Riviere was sleeping in Jean Marie Cardinal's house at Fontaine a Cardinal. He was captured and tied to a tree near the spring while Cardinal was wounded fatally. According to his own testimony in old age, Riviere was "taken prisoner to Chicago," where, fortunately, he "made his escape and returned to St. Louis." He and his brothers served in the militia. After "l'Annee du Coup," most of the Riviere family moved to St. Ferdinand de Florissant, where, on August 26, 1793, Antoine Riviere Jr.'s second wife, Adelaide Lefebvre, and several of his sons were set upon and slain by Indians while picking wild plums in the woods north of the village. Baptiste Riviere, his wife, Marguerite Diane Vial, and their five children also resided in St. Ferdinand, and Marguerite was provided for in her father in law's will for caring for him in sickness and health until he died on August 16, 1816, at the age of 110 years.

LOUIS RIDE (1738-11/6/1787)

Louis Ride, one of St. Louis's first settlers and foremost farmers, had a new two-story building on Gingras Creek, and this unique structure, constructed of logs laid horizontally, served as a blockhouse or bastion in the village defense. Ride was among the Cahokians who took their families to St. Louis as soon as the trading post was established. In fact, he is said to have been in Chouteau's boat. His wife, Veronique Marcheteau (dit Desnoyers) died on January 2, 1773, giving birth to their sixth child; he was married again the following year at Ste. Genevieve to Charlotte Hy-anthe, widow of Louis Hunaud, who had five children. On May 12, 1779, because he "had no land to cultivate and is reduced with a numerous family to the impossibility of sowing any grain," Ride petitioned for a land grant and was ceded 240 arpents in White Ox Prairie, next to Pierre Picote de Belestre. Here, he built his two-story building, ten feet square, a rarity in this country because the logs were laid horizontally. As one of his farmhands, he hired young Baptiste

Riviere, "the first who ever ploughed the land." During the Indian attack, Ride's eldest son, Laurent, manned the line of entrenchments and mounted guard in them. Ride and the boy both served in the militia, Laurent as a boatman.

MICHAEL LAMI (1730-1/3/1784)

Another fortification situated along the entrenchments was Michael Lami's barn, where a guard was mounted during the attack. Lami was married in 1776 to Therese Celeste Barrois, 39 year old old widow of Indian interpreter Francois Lafleur Duchouquette. In 1780, Lami served in the militia along with two of his stepsons, seventeen year old Francois and twenty year old Henry Duchouquette. Lami and his second wife had only one child, Marie Therese, who subsequently married Gabriel Cerre's only son, Pascal Leon, a seven year old boy at the time of the attack.

WILLIAM BROWN

William Brown was taken prisoner by Winnebagoes "within three hundred yards of the Lines lately thrown 'round a stone House at Pencour." A native of Ireland, Brown had been in America for 24 years, settling among the White Boys, employed as a carpenter in the English King's Works at Pensacola, then a hunter at Natchez and Vincennes, the latter only two days before it was taken by Clark, afterwards volunteering to fight Indians and, finally, deserting and going to Ste. Genevieve and, in March, to St. Louis, where he witnessed fortifying of the place. All this and more about the fortifications he told his British captors. However, he erred in reporting the killing of "Colonel Montgomery, or some Rebel officer, ...with a Private ...who wore a Bayonet marked 42nd Regt. and three Frenchmen whose scalps are all brought in...imagined no others were killed at the Cahokias... Thirty three scalps were taken on the West side and about Twenty four prisoners, blacks, and white people. A great number of Cattle were killed on both sides of the River and the Inhabitants were very much spared by all the Indians excepting the Winipigoes and Scioux. They only scalped five or six who were not armed for the Defence of the Lines," Brown said.

CHARLES BISSETTE (1747-5/26/1780)

Charles Bissette, one of St. Louis's prominent farmers, was "murdered by Indians" on May 26th, according to Father Bernard, who buried four dead that day. Bissette was the younger brother and an heir of Guillaume Bissette, one of the village's foremost merchants, who had died in 1772 while Charles was returning upriver from a trip to New Orleans. He was married on January 29, 1774, to Marie Christine Pepin (dit Lachance), daughter of stone mason Jean Marie Pepin, who had built several of the village's rock houses. Bissette was cultivating a tract of 100 arpents in Grand Prairie, situated between lands of Mesdames Hebert and Dodier, when he was slain by savages. Madame Bissette was pregnant at the time, and, two months later to the day, gave birth to twin boys, who were christened Antoine and Paule Bissette. Fifteen months later, Veuve Bissette was married to Jean Baptiste Provencher, a wheelwright and farmer.

IGNACE LAROCHE (d.5/26/1780)

"Ygnacio Larrosa" was slain in the attack. Although there are no details of Ignace Laroche's death, he is so listed in the lieutenant-governor's declaration of casualties. Laroche was among the first settlers of St. Louis and, in 1765, received a verbal grant from Laclede where he built a house facing Rue de l'Eglise in the northern part of the village. Laroche was a farmer and remained a bachelor until his marriage on April 27, 1779, to Marie Becquet, fifteen year old daughter of blacksmith Jean Baptiste and Marie Francoise Dodier Becquet. She supposedly was a native of St. Louis, therefore one of the first children born there. Laroche and his wife had only one child, a daughter who died on Christmas Eve of 1783; her father already was dead, of course. His widow, herself only sixteen years of age, was married a second time on February 24, 1781, to Louis Barada, 21 year old son of Antoine and Marguerite Desrosier Barada. He was a shoemaker, who had served in the Second Company of militia.

AMABLE GUION (1742-5/26/1780)

Amable Guion, a stone mason like his father who had emigrated from Canada in 1741 and probably helped rebuild Fort

de Chartres during the '50s, came to St. Louis with Laclede and laid the foundation for the village, undoubtedly helping erect Laclede's headquarters. His pregnant wife, Marguerite Blondeau, made the crossing from flooded Cahokia in June, there being a dispute whether their son was born in Cahokia or the first white child born in St. Louis. Guion received several landgrants, built his own house of stone, and, by 1769, was regarded as one of St. Louis's leading merchants. He was working a piece of land in Cul de Sac of Grand Prairie, a mile north of the village, when Indians attacked. Guion was among those slain, his body being the one found nearest the village. Pere Bernard buried him, making an entry, "murdered by Indians," in the church register. His estate was willed in equal halves to his sixteen year old son, Amable Guion Jr., who served as a boatman in the militia, and Widow Guion, who was married five months afterwards to Guillaume Hebert (dit Lecompte).

PIERRE GLADU (d.5/26/1780)

Pierre Gladu was killed by Indians in St. Louis's Little Prairie and was buried there without final rites of his church. Twelve years later, a man named Duquette came from Canada, sought out the grave, caused the remains to be disinterred and buried with all the solemnities of the Catholic Church in the town graveyard. In fact, there was a large procession from the prairie to the cemetery, Duquette walking near the coffin, bareheaded and with a lighted taper in his hand. A large cross bearing the deceased's name was erected, and the priest described Gladu in the certificate of interment as "a Canadian, before then buried in Little Prairie, killed by Indians, 'l'Annee du Coup,' a good man and of known probity, according to public statement and report." The date was March 14, 1792, almost twelve years to the day since he'd been slain.

JULIEN ROY (d.1793)

Julien LeRoy (dit Roy), one of the first and most prominent men to come to Laclede's post in Chouteau's boat, was listed among prisoners by DeLeyba. Yet, legend had it that, while being pursued by an Indian, LeRoy turned suddenly and, taking deliberate aim, fired into the face of the savage, shattering his jaw.

Then, LeRoy went back to the fallen Indian and, tearing his own shirt, bound his injury. "The Indian was grateful," it was said, "and guarded him (LeRoy) through the ranks of his brethern to the town. There is a possibility, of course, that LeRoy was captured by Calve's Sacs and Foxes, who subsequently released their prisoners. It is known, however, that LeRoy's son-in-law, Francois Hebert (dit Belhomme), was killed in the attack. His eldest son, Charles LeRoy, a farmer, was a militiaman in the Second Company.

FRANCOIS HEBERT (1750-5/26/1780)

Francois Hebert, also known as "Belhomme," or good man, was slain on land granted to him only two months and a day earlier. He was the youngest son of Ignace and Helene Danis Hebert, who were among the first families to come to St. Louis from Kaskaskia. They had been at Fort de Chartres the previous year when Laclede came up from New Orleans. In 1765, Laclede made a verbal grant to Hebert Sr., and, although he died in the summer of 1767, his widow and son, Joseph, a builder, completed construction of a stone house. Veuve Hebert had a great many slaves, whom she employed in harvesting wheat. On February 4, 1774, her youngest son, Francois, was married in St. Louis to Madeleine Leroy (dit Roy), fifteen year old daughter of Julien and Marie Barbe Saucier Leroy. They lived in another house built by his brother, Joseph Hebert, on his own lot; they bought the property from him. Then, in 1780, "Belhomme" was granted a piece of land consisting of eighty arpents on Riviere des Peres in Grand Prairie, four miles from the village. By then, he and his wife had a young daughter and a son, and Madame Hebert was expecting another child. When the British led savage horde attacked, Belhomme was in his field, where he had been hunting. In trying to escape from the woods, his thigh was shattered by a musket ball from an enemy gun. He courageously managed to crawl about three miles to a pond, opposite Auguste Chouteau's mill. At dusk, he began calling for help and fired his gun until his ammunition was expended, but those villagers who did hear him feared it was an enemy ruse. He apparently died of loss of blood and hunger. Many years later, Pierre Chouteau testified

that "Francois Hebert was killed by Indians whilst cultivating his land, and his body could never be found." Actually, a few days did pass before Hebert's corpse was found and buried on his own land. A short time later, Belhomme's widow gave birth to their daughter, Felicite, apparently the only one of their children to survive childhood. His 44 year old brother, Auguste Hebert, a hunter, served in the Second Company of militia. Veuve Hebert was married again, almost a year after her husband's tragic death, to Jean Baptiste Truteau, 32 year old village school master. He is credited with penning "Chanson de l'Annee du Coup," or Ballad of the Year of the Surprise, which obviously expressed only the habitants' viewpoint of the success of the defense against the attack.

CHANSON DE L'ANNEE DU COUP

Governor

Courier, say, what is the news?
That seems thy fancies to confuse?
What! Have we lost the Illinois?
The English—do they the land enjoy?
Down-hearted, thus! Speak, courier, say
What great misfortune has happen'd, I pray?

Courier

Oh, General, General, all is lost
If not redeemed with speed and cost;
We've been by savages attacked—
They threaten us, still, by others backed;
Ever so many, alas, were killed—
Unable to aid them—with grief we're filled.
When the enemy first appeared,
To arms we ran, no one afeard;
Townsmen, traders, grave and gay,
Bravely to battle and win the day;
But, by command, we were forbid
To quit the trench where our ranks were hid.

Governor

What did they in that moment—then?
Lacked they, all, the souls of men?
What! Had ye not the great Leyba!
Where was the famous Cartabona;
Your Major! Where was he, as well;
The Garrison, too, your force to swell?
Oh, that moment! What did they then?
Lacked they, all, the souls of men!
Homeward cravens, come ye back;

Long have we feared your course, alack!
Here we've at least within our wall,
To watch our standard—prevent its fall,
An officer prudent, bold and wise,
Who'll valiantly guard you against surprise.

Calve, the petty tinkering knave!
Called he himself a warrior brave!
Yet saw his nephew slain, alas—
Kinsmen and friends on the prairie grass—

Helpless, abandoned, to meet their fate
From the savages' fierce and furious hate!

Heartless Canadians! 'Twas their deed!
Brothers and sisters, you saw them bleed
Cut-throats exult in your acts of night,
and, coward-like, safety seek in flight.

"Chanson's" air and words were handed
down by word of mouth among the French
inhabitants.

Ducharme's force, bearing down on Cahokia, found the village defended by Fort Bowman and the Americans "concealed in a stone house and could not be drawn out. Indeed," the English complained, "few stratagems were used owing to Canadian treachery." General Clark's appearance in person, too, apparently caused the enemy to beat a hasty retreat. Losses among the defenders were slight, four or five killed and five were taken prisoner. Montgomery said afterwards the Americans offered no active aid to St. Louis because of failure to hear Spanish distress signals above the noise of a high wind, raging at the time. Clark, nonetheless, was to boast in later years of having "saved St. Louis and the rest of Louisiana for the Spaniards." As the members of Ducharme's party retreated, they fired over the river with their long and large bored muskets and actually made some of their bullets rattle on the roofs of the houses in St. Louis.

Had the people trapped in the prairies around St. Louis fled to the lower gate, it is surmised, they would have escaped, but, instead, they'd inadvertently tried to run the gauntlet of enemy fire along the road to the north gate, lined with attackers. None of those within the trenches were counted among the casualties. With the day drawing to a close, it became apparent neither St. Louis was to be taken nor were its defenders to

be drawn into the open. The attackers slowly withdrew. DeLeyba felt he didn't have enough men to risk pursuit, leaving the town unguarded, and he wisely restrained the anxious victors from leaving the trenches. Even as the savages retreated northward, they spread over the countryside, seeking out farmers and their slaves, occupied at labor in the fields; all they could find were wantonly slaughtered or carried away as prisoners. "It was," DeLeyba wrote, "an affliction and general consternation to see these poor corpses cut into pieces, their entrails thrown out, their limbs, heads, arms and legs scattered all over the field."

That evening, the Catholic priest buried four victims, entering a notation in the church registre: In the year 1780, the 26th of May, I, Capuchin priest and apostle missionary, have buried in the cemetery of this parish, bodies of Charles Bisette, Amable Guion, the lad Calve, and a Negro of Chancellier, massacred by the Indians. F. Bernard."

Two days later, DeLeyba made out a list of his own of 21 killed, seven wounded and 71 captured, 41 of the prisoners having been taken "On the Mississippi." He lists the casualties all by name. The fourteen white persons killed were "Juan Colman, Thomas, Otro que se haio, Ygnacio Larrosa, Sn Juan, Sn Jorje, Vignere, Calbe hijo, Pedro de Hetre, Daban Caz, Francisco Huber, Gladie, Amable Guion, and Del—." Also among the dead were seven Negroes, including slaves of Gabriel Cerre, Madame Chouteau, Louis Chancellier, and Belestre. Those identified so far were Ignace Laroche, Francois Hebert (dit Belhomme), Pierre Gladie, and Amable Guion.

John Colman probably was a relative, perhaps a brother, of Francis Colman, a German from the Bishopric of Wurtzburg in Bavaria, who moved into the Ste. Genevieve area during the early 1770s. Francis Colman was married in the Catholic church at Ste. Genevieve in 1774 to Therese Robinet, and they had a large family, ten children, in the Spanish Census of 1791.

Daban Caz apparently was a relative of Joseph Caze, twenty year old native of the Illinois country, who served in St. Louis's First Company of militia.

Pierre DesHetres was a member of a

family of Indian interpreters. Louis DesHetres was married at Prairie du Rocher to Louis Joseph d'Amours de Louviere's daughter, Therese, two years before coming to St. Louis in the fall of 1764 from Cahokia. Louis DesHetres, who ran a horse mill, died on August 12, 1770, and his widow was married within a year to 33 year old Joseph Labrosse. Their children sometimes were known as DesHetres, other times as Labrosse. Other DesHetres came to St. Louis from Cahokia between 1776 and 1787. Louis DesHetres' brother, Antoine, a trader and interpreter, was in St. Louis in 1780, when he acquired a riverfront lot.

The "Sn. Juan" in this list must have referred to some member of the family of the old soldier, Jean Joseph Andre (dit St. Jean), who was an early resident of Cahokia. He was married there in 1749 but his name appears in St. Louis records in the 1770s, and he died there in April, 1786, being 73 years of age.

"Otro que se haio" actually was Rene Kiercereau's twelve year old son, Joseph, although there's no confirmation in available records. Rene, a native of France, and his brother, Paul, born in New Orleans, were pioneer settlers of St. Louis. Rene Kiercereau (dit Renaud) was married at age seventeen to Marie Madeleine Robillard, and they had a son and two daughters in February, 1764, when Kiercereau made the crossing in Chouteau's boat; he received a verbal grant from Laclede. He built a house and otherwise improved his riverfront lot with an orchard and vinyard. He not only was one of the village's leading merchants and farmers but was most closely connected with religious affairs, being chantre, or chorister, of the church and sexton for many years, actually officiating at interments and other required religious rites during absences of a priest. Kiercereau completed construction of St. Louis's second church, a palisade log structure. Another son, Joseph, was born in 1767 to the Kiercereaus. There is no account of his death in the attack. His father, who survived a village scandal to become umpire of the commonfields and a syndic, or judge, moved in 1795 to St. Ferdinand de Florissant, where Kiercereau—then in his seventies—and his friend, Antoine Riviere, were among the eldest

surviving founders of St. Louis.

We have not been able to ascertain identities of "Sn. Jorje" or "Thomas" or "Vinere" or "Del—," the latter appearing to be an incomplete name.

Among the dead was the lad Calve, "his skull split open and a tomahawk, on the blade of which was written the word 'Calve,' sticking in his brain." There is no reference to his first name in the records of officials or the church or in the contemporary ballad, "Chanson l'Annee du Coup," which also refutes any inference that the boy was killed by Calve himself; the poem contends that Calve merely "saw" the youngster slain:

"Calve, the petty, tinkering knave,
Called he himself a warrior brave,
Yet saw his nephew slain, alas!"

The imprint of Calve's name on the tomahawk would be nothing unusual in identifying his trade goods, exchanged with numbers of Indians for their furs, and Calve was leading the tribes with which he ordinarily dealt. Identified as a nephew of Calve, the boy must have been a son of Calve's fifty year old brother, Antoine Calve, who lived and farmed in the St. Louis District and served in the village militia, along with his seventeen year old son, Antoine Calve Jr.

As Joseph Calve's force turned north for the retreat, he did another strange thing, allowing his prisoners to fall into the hands of his adversaries. Now, he not only was the target of barbs from his fellow St. Louisans, but the British heaped criticism on his head. "It is very mortifying that the protection Monsieur Calve and others have received should meet so perfidious and so ungrateful a return," Halimand complained. "I would have them (Calve and Ducharme) sent prisoners to Montreal. In all events, they are improper persons to remain amongst the Indians, and...their influence, unless employed for the king's interest, must be dispensed with." Calve, in turn, complained to Halimand on their return "of our campaign," saying he was greatly surprised by his reception at Michilimackinac and he wanted an opportunity to prove his conduct had been "irreproachable." He never was made a prisoner and, as late as 1783, remained in service of the English. However, Calve eventually returned to his family in St. Louis and, in

1786, they moved to St. Ferdinand, where his wife died five years later, and Calve passed away in 1792 after a varied and eventful lifetime.

The English claimed in one report that 68 were killed at "Pencour;" another asserts, "Thirty-three scalps were taken on the west side and about twenty-four prisoners, blacks and white people."

Hastening away to meet Bird's expedition against Kentucky, General Clark ordered pursuit of the fleeing Indians. The counter-attack did not get underway until mid-June.

PIERRE PICOTE DE BELESTRE (d.1792)

St. Louis's militia lieutenant, Pierre Picote de Belestre, who had played a singular role in defense of the village, organized a hundred men and placed them under Montgomery's command, giving him a force of 350 Americans and Frenchmen. They sailed in boats up the Illinois River to Peoria, where they obtained horses and marched on the Sac and Fox village at the mouth of Rock River. The Indians, who had comprised Calve's command, had withdrawn; they offered no resistance as their homes were burned and crops were destroyed. Before retiring, the troops left a note in a bottle, suspended from a pole, threatening greater punishment in the future. A raiding party, dispatched to Prairie du Chien to plunder its stores and furs, arrived just five days after Langlade had been there, taking off three hundred packs of the finer furs and burning the rest. Short of rations and ammunition, Montgomery withdrew, and his men were obliged to eat their horses before reaching Cahokia. Belestre's Spanish contingent was back in St. Louis by July 4th. Before France ceded the Illinois country to the British, Belestre had been a lieutenant in military service, stationed at Fort de Chartres, where he was married to Joachina Neyon de Villiers, a daughter of the commandant. They had nine children, their first born in August, 1768, in St. Louis. As late as 1772, he was a half-pay Marine officer, also farming and engaged in fur trade. Two of his very young children died on August 8, 1780, but there's no indication of the cause of the coincidental deaths or whether current Indian troubles had anything to do with them. Shortly after this, Belestre's name disappeared from 28 Mo. Rev.

regular military and militia rolls; he was referred to, thereafter, as a "dismissed official." However, as commander of Eugenio Poure's barge, he still managed to find adventure in combat, and, in March, 1782, overpowered and killed eight of the English pirates, who had seized their heavily laden boat and disarmed them about four hours earlier at Natchez. In successive years, 1789 to 1791, Belestre was granted trade with the Kansas, Mahas, and Osages, leading the lieutenant-governor to point out he had no right to complain about his situation "in view of past favors."

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (d.6/28/1780)

Soon after repulsing the attack, DeLeyba took to bed, his illness aggravated by the strenuous days of the aftermath. The inhabitants resented their having to work on the tower and entrenchments, neglecting their occupations to the point that they were unable to meet their debts and "sustain their poor, desolate families." Due to a crop failure, the commandant contracted with Gabriel Cerre to furnish provisions for out of town militia, kept on duty after May 30th. Indians continued committing depredations in the surrounding area, especially on the Meramec. Furthermore, DeLeyba refused to give any presents to a friendly element of the Sacs and Foxes, who came to St. Louis early in June, bringing back three habitants and three of Cerre's captured slaves; he also declined the people's offer to contribute a present which, they hoped, would bind the friendship of the Indians. On June 10th, "dangerously ill but sound in mind, in memory and judgment, knowing the certainty of his death," DeLeyba dictated his will to Cartabona. A sum of \$1,000 was to be paid to his mother, Donna Joseph Viscageaux de Leyba, who still was living in Barcelona. The remainder of his estate, valued at \$9,000, he left in care of Governor General Galvez, to be invested with proceeds used to educate his daughters, Pepita and Rita, who also were to receive his silver plate. The girls were in a convent in New Orleans. DeLeyba liquidated his partnership with Francisco Vigo, who was made executor of the will. DeLeyba's weakening condition forced him to place management of daily affairs in Cartabona's hands. The people would not allow

the commandant to die in peace. On June 23rd, they sent a letter—signed with an anonymity to the governor at New Orleans, pleading for a fort and troops and denouncing DeLeyba in terms he hardly deserved, for he had saved their village against almost sure destruction. DeLeyba died on June 28th and, in keeping with his wishes, Father Bernard inhumed his body "by the side of his deceased wife," which was in the church, "in front of the balustrade on the right." DeLeyba had been married to Maria de la Conception Zesar before coming to St. Louis. She died on September 6, 1779. The king of Spain, "greatly pleased at the vigorous defense...deigned to confer the rank of lieutenant colonel upon Captain DeLeyba...as a reward for an action which merits his sovereign gratitude." When the royal commission was received in St. Louis, DeLeyba had been dead for three weeks.

SILVIA FRANCISCO DE CARTABONA

Cartabona, who had returned to Ste. Genevieve, hastened back to St. Louis upon receiving news of DeLeyba's death. He arrived on July 2nd and immediately assumed duties of lieutenant governor ad interim. He, too, had been castigated by the people but was promoted to rank of captain by the king. As Spanish soldiers, Cartabona and DeLeyba both were masters of the art of Indian warfare and, fortunately, their restraint of the defenders prevailed. Probably due in large part to Cartabona's good judgment, the people were saved from death and St. Louis from destruction. Afterwards, there were bitter recriminations from most of the habitants and an undeserved legend of hate preserved in "Chanson de l'Annee du Coup." Cartabona, on the other hand, praised the St. Louisans for their zeal and activity in defending the town, saying he would inform the government of their example, "worthy of emulation in the colony." He cited the militia officers and inhabitants, "in general and particular," for valor and noble intrepidity with which they were "enabled to restrain the pride of the enemy in the midst of greatest want." As a result, Cartabona was cited in official documents for inspiring the people with "extraordinary valor and spirit. He was promoted, and Galvez

sent along special commendations for Belestre, Benito Vasquez and the special lieutenant of Ste. Genevieve, Francois Valle. For three months, Cartabona conducted village affairs. "With foresight, he reformed the militia into two companies, one of cavalry. Throughout the summer, a force of 150 militiamen was kept in the village. He sent patrols upstream to watch for the enemy. He dealt with trade Indians who were coming back to St. Louis in increasing numbers. He dispatched with Auguste Chouteau a people's memorial for means of defense to Galvez at New Orleans. As a result, DeLeyba's predecessor, Don Francisco Cruzat, was ordered to return to Upper Louisiana with much needed supplies. Cruzat assumed command of the province on September 24, 1780, and immediately imposed regulations aimed at organizing defenses and improving morale. Cartabona returned to Ste. Genevieve.

In the fall of 1780, Augustin Mottin de la Balme, inspector-general of cavalry in the American Revolutionary Army for a time in 1777, came to Cahokia, planning an expedition against Detroit. The French found in him a kindred soul, and he quickly raised a group of volunteers from Kaskaskia and Cahokia. They left Cahokia on October 3rd and, nineteen days later, took the Miami town near the Wabash, where they waited in vain for reinforcements. Soon after withdrawing some distance, they were attacked in the night. LaBalme, Joseph Duguay Duplacy, the Kaskaskia merchant and militia captain who had furnished money for the expedition, and a number of others were killed, and many were carried prisoners to Detroit. Duplacy settled at Ste. Genevieve around 1765 and had property as early as 1767 in St. Louis. His wife, Catherine, was a daughter of the former royal notary at Fort de Chartres, Jean Baptiste Bertelot Barrois, and his wife, Marie Madeleine Cardinal. LaBalme had detached another party of sixteen Cahokians, under Thomas Brady and "a half Indian named Jean Baptiste Hamelin" (dit Grondine), against St. Joseph in Michigan, "timed it so to arrive...with pack horses when the Indians were out on their hunt, an old chief and his family excepted. They took the traders prisoner and carried off all the goods, consisting

of at least sixty bales and took the route to Chicagou." On December 5th, a British and Indian force overtook them near Calumet River and attacked. Four Cahokians, including Hamelin, were killed, two wounded, and seven taken prisoner—only three escaping to return home.

Within the month, Cruzat resolved to strike a telling blow at St. Joseph and blunt British plans for another invasion of the Illinois. He selected the captain of St. Louis's Second Company of militia, Eugenio Poure, to lead the venture.

EUGENIO POURE (d.4/30/1783)

Captain Eugenio Poure (dit Beausoliel) set out for St. Joseph on January 2, 1781, with about 65 men, including a company of twenty volunteers raised in Cahokia, and sixty Indians led by Le-Tourneau (Blackbird) and Naquiguen of the Milwaukeees, who had urged Cruzat to undertake the campaign. This soldier, trader, shipmaster and militia leader, was one of St. Louis's most prominent original settlers. He was sergeant "de la compagnie de Varenne" on January 10, 1756, when he was married at Kaskaskia to Marie Josephe Godeau, daughter of Michel Godeau, "chirugien employ par le roi aux Cascaskias," and Marie Therese Hucket. Upon coming to St. Louis, he received a verbal grant of a lot from Laclede. He built a house of posts on a rock wall foundation and a large barn on his property at the rear of the village. Poure soon became one of its principal merchants. He operated salt works on Meramec River, acquired property on the riverfront for his business, operated a plantation and, in 1777, traded merchandise worth some 3,200 libras in deerskins with a tribe of Indians known as the Republica. Of course, he was an officer of St. Louis's first militia and, in 1771, was sub-lieutenant. When the attack of 1780 occurred, Poure was captain of militia and, of course, chosen to command the expedition against St. Joseph. Accompanying Poure was Louis Chevalier, a resident of St. Louis and 26 year old private of the First Company, whose father long had been the principal trader at St. Joseph. Chevalier acted as interpreter. The young man performed such valuable service that an appropriate "gratification" was ordered to be bestowed upon him afterwards. Chev-

alier's wife was Helene Michel (dit Tayon), daughter of Joseph Michel and Marie Louise Bosset. Poure's force went up the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers in pirogues as far as Peoria and was reinforced along the way by details of frontier spies whom Cruzat had put out. On January 20th, the river froze over, and the men were forced to cache their boats and all but necessary equipment. Five horses were used to carry spare ammunition and presents for Indians, but food was limited to what the men could carry on their backs. They set out overland, three hundred miles from their objective, and suffering from cold and hunger was intense. For twenty days, they marched across the frozen and hostile region where the Cahokians had been massacred. A Potawatomi brave, Lajes, went ahead and promised the Indians at St. Joseph half of the prospective booty to stand aside during the attack. Early in the morning of February 12th, Poure and his men marched into the post and captured a trader and seven of his engages who were too surprised to resist. Indians overtook and killed two men who tried to escape. Tallow, corn and food—believed to be intended for supplying another attack on St. Louis—were destroyed. The captured goods were divided among the local and supporting Indians, and the militiamen received nothing. Poure raised the Spanish flag, taking formal possession of St. Joseph, its dependencies and the Illinois River in behalf of the king of Spain. He brought the British flag back to St. Louis, arriving on March 6th with his prisoners, and delivered the banner to Cruzat. Not a single man was lost on the 800 mile venture, and it was considered a brilliant achievement and morale booster. Poure, afterwards, returned to his business, having a boat which plied the Mississippi, between St. Louis and New Orleans. His adventures continued in 1782 when English pirates captured his boat at Natchez. He died less than a year later, but his widow continued his business as a carrier of trade goods for several years.

This and other military operations, planned and carried out by direction of Cruzat, were completely effective in protecting Upper Louisiana from anymore organized enemy attacks.

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Bird Henry Capt.	3	deBellerive Louis	1	Hamelin Jean B.	29,30	Louviere	27
Bissette Charles	24,26	deCartabona Silvia	19,22,25,28,29	Hamilton Henry	2	Lowe Eleanor	9
Bissette Guillaume	24	deGalvez Bernardo	2,29	Hamilton Margaret	10		
Bissette Paul	24	deHetre Pedro	26	Hancock Mary	12	Mahan Isabel	11
Bissonet Louis	3	deHetros Louis	27	Harrison Eleanor	9	Mahas Louis	4
Blackwell Judith	9	Del	26	Harrison Nancy Ann	11	Mainville Joseph	21
Blondeau Marguerite	24	deLanglade Charles	3	Hays Rebecca J.	13	Marcheteau Marie J.	3
Blondin Pierre P.	4	deLashmutt Caville	8	Hebert August	25	Marcheteau Veroniq	23
Boly Celeste	10	deLeyba F.	2,4,7	Hebert Francois	25,26	Marechal Marie T.	3
Boone Elizabeth	9		20,22,26,28	Hebert Guillaume	24	Marechal Nicholas	3
Boone Mary	8	delimpach Father Bern.	7,24,26,28	Hebert Ignace	25	Marr Phillis	16
Bosset Marie Louise	30	delouviere Louis	27	Hebert Joseph	25	Martigny Jean B.	19
Boulware Nancy	15	Denny Martha	11	Henry Patrick	7	Martin Olive	10
Bourne Alice	13	Deschamps Jean M.	21	Hesse Emanuel	3,19,20	Matthews Elizabeth	15
Bowman Joseph Capt.	1	Deschamps Marie	21	Hickman Nancy	14	Maupin Fannie	12
Brad		Deschenes Joseph	21	Hicks Eleanor	16	McAfee Robert B.	7
Boyce Chloe	14	Desnoyers Veronique	23	Hildebrand John	19	McCarty Richard	7
Bradford Mary M.	13	Desrosier Marguerit	24	Hinkson Agnes	15	McClanahan Agnes	10
Brady Thomas	2,29	deVilbiss Barbara	11	Hobbs Elizabeth	9	McCord Mary	16
Breckenridge Wm.C.	18	DeVilliers J.N.	28	Hobson Matilda	14	McCowan Mary	12
Bridgewater Elizab.	9	Dickey Abedian	8	Holman Rosetta	10	McCune Nancy	14
Brodeaux Elizabeth	8	Diggs Mary	10	Honore Francois	4	McDermott John F.	17
Brown Margaret	12	Dodge Israel	7	Honore Louis Tesson	4	McGlathan --	14
Brown William	23	Dodier Marie J.	24	Honore Mons'	4	McMullin Nancy	16
Bryan Mary	10	Don Carlos	7	Horn Margaret	16	Meek Sarah	15
Bryan Rebecca	8	Draper L.C.	17	Houck Louis	16,17	Meese William A.	17
Bryan William S.	16	Drumm Stella	17	Houts Mrs. H.M.	16	Methard Catherine	14
Bush Mary	10	Ducharme	25,26,27	Hubbard Sally	11	Michel Helene	30
Bylee Charity	7	Ducharme Jean M.	3,17	Huber Francisco	26	Missouri Historical	17
		Duchouquette Fran	23	Hunaud Louis	23	Mitchell Patsy A.	13
		Duchouquette Henry	23	Hunter Nancy	7,10	Monroe Frances	10
		Duffy Ann	14	Huston Sarah Ann	8	Montgomery John	7,20
		Dunbar Sallie	16	Hyanthe Charlotte	23	Moore Rhoda	14
		Duplay Joseph	29	Hyde --	16	Moore Violette	13
		Duplay Catherine	29			Morgan Mary	13
		Duquette	25			Morningstar Susanna	11
		Durand Jean Bapt.	3	Irvine Elizabeth	15	Morris Rhoda	14
		Durand Jean Marie	5	Isleret Marie Jean	3	Mottin de la Balme	29
		Durand Theotiste	3,16			Musick James B.	17
		Dyer Hannah	12	James James A.	17	Nasatir Abraham	17
				Jamison Sally	13	Nevel Mary	13
		Eddington Sarah	9	Jefferson Thomas	7	Newell Mary	11
		Edmons Sarah	7	Jones Nancy	14	Neyon de Villiers	28
		Edwards Elizabeth	10	Jordon Rebecca	13	Notson Sarah	16
		Edwards Hopewell	17				
		Edwards Ninian W.	17	Kellogg Louise	17	OHara Bryson	19
		Edwards Richard	17	Kennedy Matthew	21	OHara Henry	19
		Edwards Susan	14	Kiercereau Joseph	27	Otro que se haio	26
		English William H.	17	Kiercereau Paul	27		
		Evans Nancy	12	Kiercereau Rene	27	Parkin Robert E.	18
		Everett Jemima	15	Kinnaird L.	17	Parrott Sallie	8
				Kirkland Margaret	16	Patterson --	14
		Fairchild Mary	11	Knox Rebecca	9	Patterson Rebecca	12
		Fairchild Ruth	8			Pearle Polly	16
		Farris Sallie	12	LaBalme Augustin	29	Pepin Jean Marie	24
		Ferguson Susan Ann	10	Labrosse Joseph	27	Pepin Marie C.	24
				Labusciere Joseph	20	Perkins Agnes	15
				Lachance Marie	24	Persinger Sally	16

Peterson Madeline	4	Riviere Jean B.	22	Sims Elizabeth	12	Utz Rachel	16
Phillips Catherine	11	Robey Mary Mildred	9	Sinclair Patrick	3	Valle Francois	19,29
Piconneau Ignace	22	Robillard Marie	27	Sittlington Betsy	12	Vasquez Benito	19,29
Piconneau Marie J.	22	Robinet Therese	26	Smith Christiana	10	Vaughn Peggy	12
Pollock Oliver	2,17	Robinson Dorothy	14	Smith Hannah	7	Vial Marguerite	2
Pope Rebecca	16	Robinson Polly J.	11	Smith Martha W.	15	Vigo Francisco	2,28
Porter Elizabeth	7	Rodes Mary	16	Smithers Aelae	9	Vinere	26,27
Poupard Francoise	20	Rodner(y) Martin	7	Smoot Mary	10	Walker Patsy	13
Poupard Paul	20	Rogers John, Capt.	20	Soulard Antoine	20	Wallace Frances	14
Poupard Susanne	20	Rose Robert	16	Stark Nancy	15	Weatherford Drusil.	13
Poure Eugenio	28,30	Roy Julien	24	Stark Rachel	9	Wells Jane	9
Prather Elizabeth	8	Ruble Jane	12	Stevens Walter B.	18	Wells Jemima	15
Prevost Pierre	4	Runion Rebecca	9	Stevenson Cynthia	13	White Susanna	9
Price Elizabeth	16	St. Jean, Jean	29	Stillwell Rachel	15	Whiteside Prudence	13
Price Franqui	16	Sn. Jorge	26,27	Stone Mary	10	Wilcox Rachel	9
Primm Wilson	18	Sn. Juan	26,27	Swan Sarah Green	11	Williams Walter	16
Prince Mary	14	Sanguinet Charles	21	Tayon Helene	30	Williamson Rebecca	14
Prost Rachel	8	Saucier, Marie B.	25	Teggart Frederick	18	Wood Mary	13
Provençal Pierre	4	Sargent Mehitable	8	Tesson Louis	4	Wright Sarah	15
Provencher Jean	24	Sawyer Rachel	16	Tesson Madeline	4	Yarber Nancy	13
Quenel Pierre	20	Scharf J. Thomas	16,18	Tesson Victoire H.	4	York Nancy	16
		Scott --	9	Thatcher Margaret	15	Yosti Jean Emelian	2
Reid Isabell	10	Scott Mary	14,16	Thomas	26,27		
Renaud Rene	27	Seborn Deborah	8	Thompson Mary	9		
Rhodes Catherine	11	Shell Catherine	16	Thompson Nancy	16		
Ride Laurent	23	Shever Elizabeth	16	Thornton Elizabeth	14		
Ride Louis	23	Shipley Martha	10	Tilley Franka	11		
Riddle Sarah	8	Shipper Polly	11	Trigg Stephen	20		
Rigauche Ignace	22	Shirley Sussannah	14	Truteau Jean B.	25		
Rigauche Marie J.	22	Short Mary	16	Turner Elizabeth	9		
Riviere Antoine	22,27	Simms --	11				