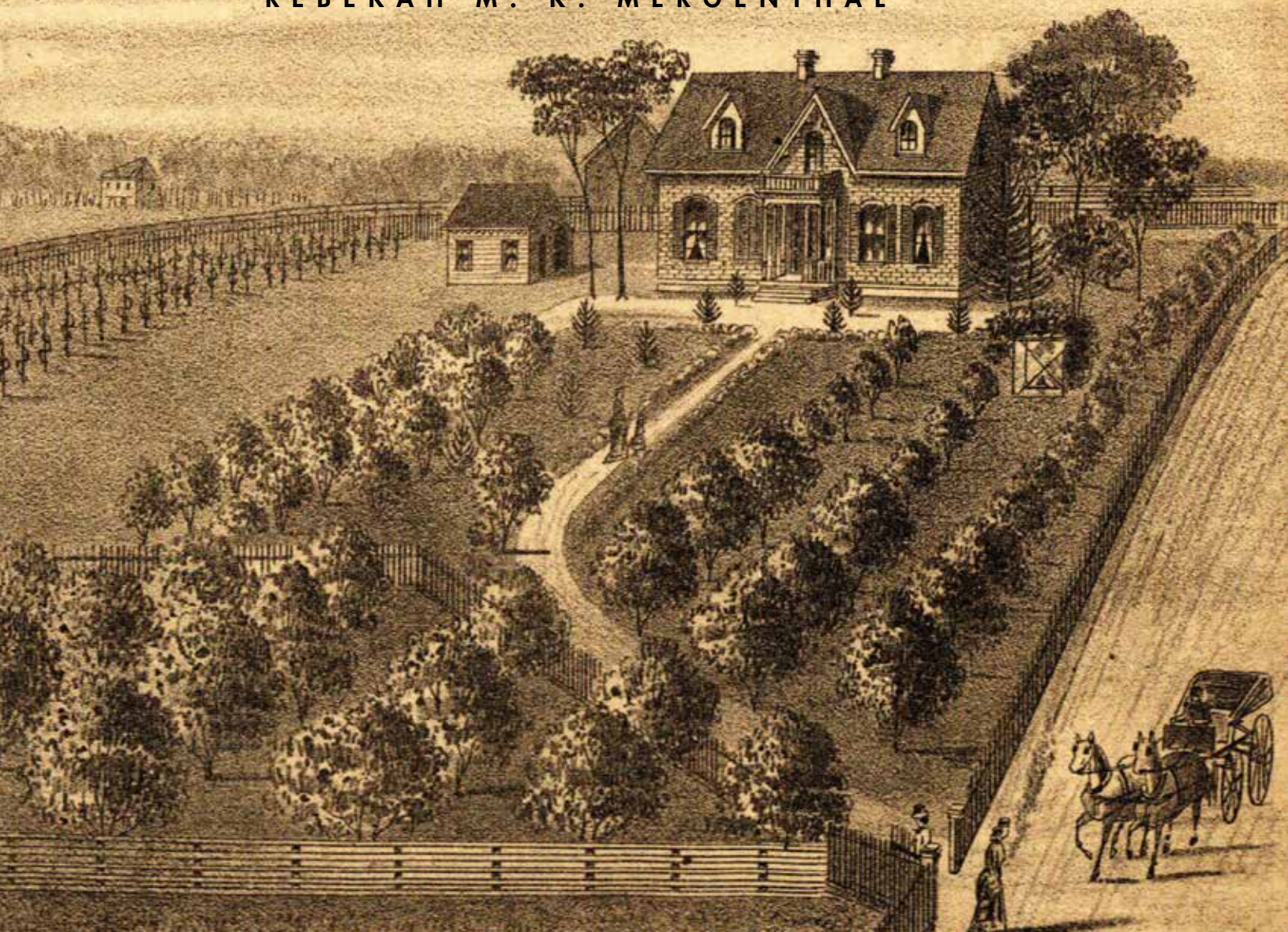


Greedy Merchants and Idle Women

Economic Crisis and Community
in the Lower Missouri Valley,
1819-1825

REBEKAH M. K. MERGENTHAL



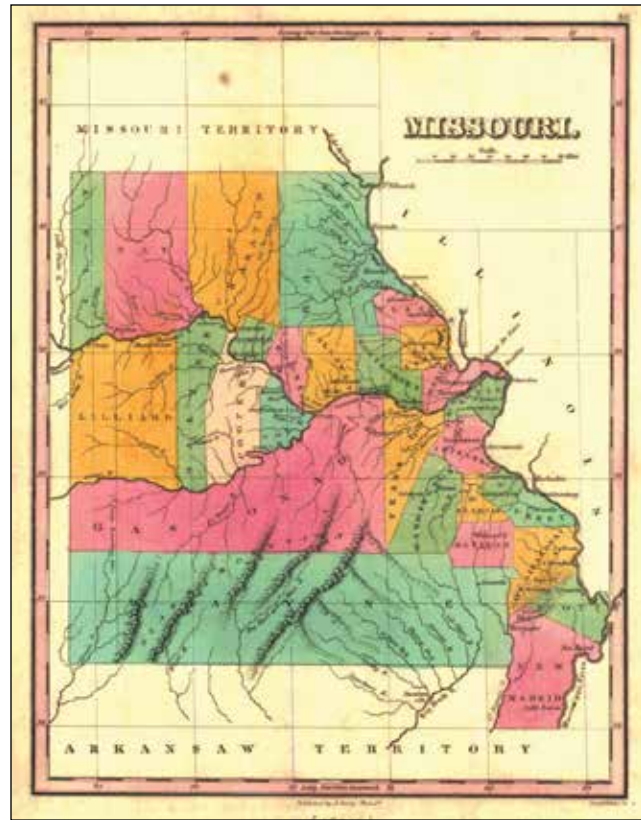
Robert M'Cloud had high hopes for the newspaper he started in St. Charles during June of 1820. He wanted his newspaper, named the *Missourian*, "to harmonize and conciliate local animosities into a bond of fraternal concord, and to melt down all distinctions into the enviable one of a 'Missourian.'" M'Cloud knew that the territory contained a wide variety of people, but he believed that their different opinions could be smoothed over for the good of the whole. Statehood was, in M'Cloud's view, a key component in the unification process.¹

When M'Cloud wrote, it began to seem to the territory's residents that they would finally be accorded equal status in the union. The contentious battle over Missouri's statehood had culminated three months previous in the Missouri Compromise and, even as M'Cloud issued his newspaper in St. Charles, members of Missouri's constitutional convention had gathered in nearby St. Louis to draw up the state's constitution. Although many Missourians still smarted from what they saw as Congress' unwarranted delay in allowing them to achieve statehood, they now looked forward to more harmonious national interactions.² As M'Cloud expressed it, Missouri would be able to move from "territorial imbecility, to the light and life of a free and independent state." With Missouri's new sense of belonging in the national community, M'Cloud and others hoped that sectional and ideological divisiveness would be a thing of the past.³

As Missouri approached political inclusion in the United States, its residents addressed another kind of community interaction, this time economic. They considered how to define the responsibility of individuals and groups to the wider economic community. They debated the kinds of exchange relations most beneficial for the community, and they discovered that Missourians had important differences over the best combination of the interests of the individual and the interests of the whole.

In order to explore these differences and their meanings, this article focuses on public discussions about the roles of members of Missouri's economic community that took place in newspapers like M'Cloud's *Missourian* during the early 1820s. In editorials and letters to the editor, Missourians negotiated the meaning of economic interactions and voiced their disapproval of others' choices. Merchants were declared to be greedy and women were called lazy as Missourians explored the problem of community in the Missouri River valley. Political integration was not as harmonious as M'Cloud had hoped, and economic exchanges also proved to be fraught. Yet, Missourians had to attempt to resolve the tensions as they tried to make a whole out of diverse parts.

Of course there had always been some variety of economic interests within the white settler community in the Missouri valley, but the conflict between its members had been somewhat muted or ignored during the fight for



As this map from 1824 indicates, most of the settlement—and business activity—surrounded the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The combination of increased steamboat commerce and the opening of the Santa Fe Trail made the Missouri River even more of an economic thoroughfare. (Image: Missouri Valley Special Collections, Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, Missouri)

statehood. As the effects of the Panic of 1819 began to reach Missouri in late 1820, however, the settlers' debates about the moral implications of economic exchange began to take on heightened meaning as the economic progress of their community was threatened.⁴ One of the biggest problems on the frontier was lack of specie, and in 1821 Missouri's General Assembly tried to address this by having the state's Loan Office issue certificates, popularly called Loan Office money, which could be used as a temporary replacement.⁵ Yet political remedies were not sufficient. As hard times began to spread throughout the region, its residents wrote numerous letters to the newspapers complaining about their difficulties and identifying the causes.

When looking for a culprit, most complaints focused on local merchants. Three of the merchants' economic activities were deemed particularly egregious. Merchants

Thanks to new and expanded commerce in towns like Franklin on the Missouri River (Franklin moved from its Missouri River location in the 1820s to higher ground, present-day New Franklin, after a flood), merchants could offer a wide range of goods. Steamboats reduced shipping costs, so "cheap goods" were available. (Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)

were said to have “drained” specie from the local community when they took it to the East to pay for merchandise.⁶ Second, many merchants refused to accept the Loan Office money as viable currency, making other community members furious. Moreover, many of those same merchants were also unwilling to accept an exchange of local produce for merchandise, thus compounding the effects of the cash shortage for the farmers. Letters and editorials complaining about these issues carefully detailed how the merchants’ choices harmed the progress of the wider community.

In 1822, “A Farmer” from St. Charles County expressed his dismay that Missouri, which had just weathered the “thundering confusion” of its political admission to the Union, had a new, economic challenge to face. While the farmer believed the statehood crisis had been brought

about by “the repeated assaults of external enemies,” this economic crisis clearly had internal agents to blame. He saw merchants as a fundamental cause of the lack of money in Missouri: “Our specie funds have been transported by our worst enemies, the merchants, and consigned to the God of Mammon, in the eastern cities.”⁷ Even though Missouri had achieved parity as a state, residents, like this farmer, decried its continued economic dependence, as well as their own, and the local merchants’ role in perpetuating it.

The editor of the *Missouri Intelligencer*, in Franklin, Missouri, also worried that his region was importing everything and exporting only cash. He was shocked that five or six stores in Franklin sent “12 or \$15,000 in cash” to the eastern cities each year, with perhaps \$80,000 to \$100,000 taken from the region as whole. Particularly



This 1817 bank note from the Bank of St. Louis includes the earliest known view of St. Louis, including flatboats—unmotored predecessors to the steamboats. (Image: Eric P. Newman Numismatic Education Society/ Newman Money Museum, Washington University)



Bank notes like this one from the Bank of Missouri from 1819 were among the many kinds of paper currencies that circulated in places like St. Louis and the Missouri River valley. Since it was a bank of deposit for federal money, the Bank of Missouri survived the Panic of 1819 (unlike many banks). The image with a bust and sailing ships didn’t suggest a St. Louis-specific economy, but did reflect the relationship between mercantile and banking interests and the progress of the republic. (Image: Eric P. Newman Numismatic Education Society/ Newman Money Museum, Washington University)



This \$2 note from the Missouri Exchange Bank harkened to the agricultural foundations of the Missouri River valley as well, although it featured wheat instead of the more profitable tobacco in the region. (Image: Eric P. Newman Numismatic Education Society/ Newman Money Museum, Washington University)



Despite the letters in this article, some farms prospered along the Missouri River, especially those that grew into plantations during the 1820s. Often founded by Virginians who were younger sons of planters in the 1810s, they came to the counties along the Missouri River to raise tobacco with slave labor and ship it back east on steamboats. (Image: Old Sturbridge Village)

New Establishment.
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.
Paul, Ingram & Reilly
 BEG leave to inform the citizens of Franklin, and the public generally, that they have just received and are now opening, in the building immediately back of the store occupied by Hickman & Lamm, a **LARGE AND COMPLETE ASSORTMENT OF**
Dry Goods,
Groceries,
Hard Ware,
Tin & Queens Ware;
 Together with
Saddlers' Hatters' & Shoemakers' Trimmings.
 All of which have been purchased for cash at the New-York & Philadelphia auctions, and which they are determined to sell lower than any heretofore offered in this place. Persons wishing to purchase will please to call and judge for themselves.
 67-Flax and Tow Linn and Beeswax received in payment.
 Honest Cash Money received by bank.
 Loan Office Collections, Auditor's Warrants, and all other papers fords whatsoever, received at their sales.
 Franklin, May 6, 1825. 40-41

The region offered more than agricultural commodities to consumers, as this advertisement suggests. A thriving class of “greedy merchants” grew, buying goods from an array of places and selling local goods. (Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)

galling was the fact that this money was spent on “articles of European growth and manufacture.” The editor was certain that if even one half of this amount were used in promoting domestic manufactures, then both “the pecuniary and moral condition of the people” would be much improved. The *Intelligencer* editor not only decried the merchants’ economic choices but also denied that they could simply be dismissed given the broader moral implications. He did not ignore the role of the consumer, though, pleading with his readers to decrease their interest in “imported finery and foreign gewgaws.” Yet, he depicted the merchants as having a crucial role in shoring up the moral fiber of the community and showed how they were shirking their duty to lead.⁸

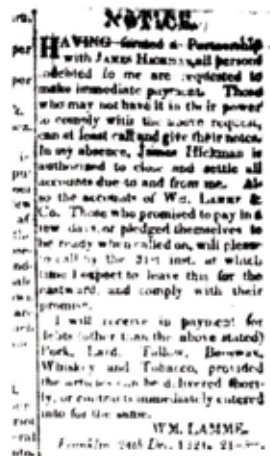
Several months later, “A Farmer of Howard [County]” wrote a letter to the *Intelligencer* that was even less circumspect about blaming the merchants for the region’s lack of cash. He warned the “agricultural part of the community” that because the merchants did not want to take the risk of exchanging their goods for produce, they would continue to force customers to pay in cash even if it meant great sacrifice for the customer. The difficulty, according to this farmer, was that the sacrifice was all by the customer and none by the merchants. In order to combat this selfishness, farmers, in his view, needed to

join together in order to induce the merchants to look to the greater good of the community and engage in barter for the farmers' produce.⁹

A carpenter joined in the discussion with a letter to the newspaper that expressed his agreement that the merchants needed to be disciplined. He saw great benefit for both farmers and common laborers if merchants could be convinced to accept Loan Office money, not just produce. This letter writer was certain that farmers and laborers together could "put down the merchants" by making their individual interests mesh. He proposed a network of local exchange to replace some of the need for the merchants' imports. He also suggested that farmers

and laborers should provide a good example for the merchants by accepting the Loan Office money as part of that exchange. Merchants, this author implied, were too focused on their own particular interests to see how they were hurting other members of the community.¹⁰ Despite these pleas, many merchants were particularly opposed to Loan Office certificates, believing that they were inadequately backed by specie to function as money.¹¹ A dinner, attended by many of the local merchants, was held at Franklin in mid-July 1821 to honor those representatives who voted against the Loan Office bill. After the dinner, an ironic toast was raised to the Loan Office, with those assembled proclaiming that it was "established by the desertion of every principle of moral and political honesty."¹² Opinions such as this seemed to many observers to illustrate the merchants' overriding self interest and their corresponding disinterest in the good of the whole community.

Others, however, came to the merchants' defense, or at least made distinctions among them. The editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer* differentiated between "merchants," who he said cared about their society, and mere "retailers," who had no real stake in the community. The former were deemed "liberal and patriotic" because "their interests are identified with those of their fellow citizens in general," and thus they could understand the importance of Loan Office money. In contrast, "retailers" were more concerned with their own profit than the good of the whole and thus refused to accept the new notes. He linked their lack of commitment to or interest in the progress of the whole community to their transient status; they came to the Missouri valley "to sell their goods for silver, and then to go home."¹³ Given that most of the white inhabitants of the



Notices like this one by William Lamme in the *Missouri Intelligencer* were not particularly uncommon. In an expanding economy in which credit was extended, notices like this were used as a precursor to suing debtors. (Image: Mary Ambler Archives, Lindenwood University)

area had only recently settled there, it is interesting that the editor drew an equation between stability (or lack of mobility) and true belonging in the community. Such criticisms also indicate the tensions between individuals and community in a market economy. If any one group pursued its own interest too single-mindedly, according to the editor of the *Enquirer* and others like him, the whole society would suffer.

Other than an occasional toast, Missouri merchants never really offered a direct answer to their critics. For example, they did not send letters to the editor in response to any of the numerous anti-merchant tirades in the Missouri newspapers during this time. There is a sense,

however, that they were not swayed by the arguments, as evidenced by the repetitious clamor against them. At the same time, a few merchants used their advertising space in the newspapers to offer a kind of public response to the complaints against them. Most often, merchants' ads were straightforward and simply noted the firm's name, location, and some particular goods that were for sale. Some merchants, however, elaborated on this basic form and indicated the terms on which they would sell their goods. William Lamme, one of the most prominent merchants in the town of Franklin, consistently indicated that he would sell his merchandise "alone for Cash in hand."¹⁴ Despite this resolve, he was not able avoid credit entirely.¹⁵ In his eagerness to close his past due accounts, Lamme was occasionally willing to take beef, pork, and other specified produce as payment. However, he insisted that new purchases needed to be made in cash.¹⁶

In 1823, William Lamme also offered an unusually lengthy advertisement that attempted to explain his position in more detail. "Having determined to sell alone for cash in hand," Lamme and his partner assured "their friends that their goods will be found at very reduced prices." While they found it painful to refuse credit even to those who had been punctual, they hoped their customers would see that this policy was an "absolute necessity." They were forced to use this policy, they said, because they had extended credit before and it had not been repaid. They also cited the difficulty of the times and the very small advance at which merchandise was then "vended in Missouri."¹⁷

Lamme's apologia in a sense pleaded with the people who had criticized him and the other merchants to see his side of the story. In order to provide the goods Missourians

the ages of ten and 45 years in the county, he decided that their contribution to domestic manufacturing under his proposal would save the county the “enormous sum of \$17,650” per year. This former farmer had no doubt that women would happily follow his suggestion to better utilize their idle time because of their natural inclination to patriotism. The ex-farmer did not go on to clarify how the males of the county should fill their idle time. By focusing so much of his letter on women, he at least implied that they were particularly prone to spending too many hours in unproductive employment.²³

In the weeks that followed, these suggestions prompted a lively debate on the role and contributions of women to society. In response to the former farmer’s letter, “Lucretia” took it upon herself to defend her virtue and that of other women. She declared the former farmer’s argument “unreasonable” because men’s work, such as planting and plowing, necessarily had to be completed before women could spin and weave. Women were eager to do their duty, Lucretia said, but men first had to do theirs. In Lucretia’s observation, men were not contributing as they should, which in turn meant that there was no hope the women could do so. She laid the blame on “the infatuation and delusion of our village young men,” who were prone to wander purposelessly throughout the town, “thus rendering themselves as useless to community as sign posts themselves.”²⁴ Lucretia directly contrasted the dedication of the women in the community to the selfish unproductiveness of the young men. Idle and lazy, she suggested, were charges that should be laid at other community members’ feet.

Lucretia’s criticism caught the attention of one of those she disparaged, and he answered in the newspaper’s next issue with his own critique of her. Self-described “Idle Tom” accused Lucretia of forgetting her domestic duties in pursuit of “the scribbling mania.” The former made “the female character so endearing,” while the latter, he implied, had the opposite effect. Thus, in Idle Tom’s view, Lucretia sullied her character when she wrote letters to the newspaper, so he suggested she no longer “intrude” in public discussion. Clearly, he felt no compunction about reprimanding Lucretia by suggesting she return to her private activities. Idle Tom also wondered if she could offer some specific suggestions for profitable employment for young men because he had no doubt that they wanted to be “respectable, by becoming useful.” He did not clarify, however, the means through which she should inform him if she was not to continue to use the public press.²⁵

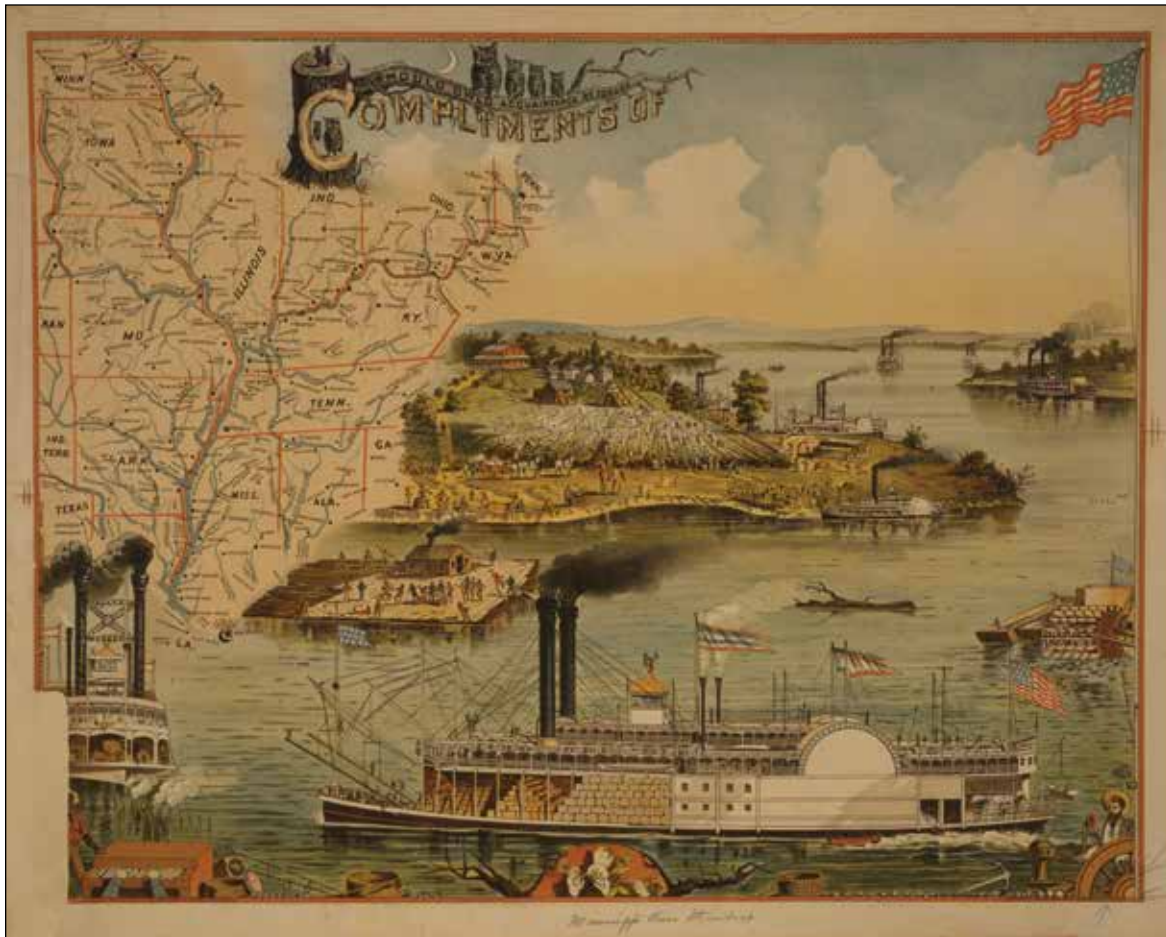
A letter writer who called himself “No Idler” came to Lucretia’s defense in the next issue of the newspaper. No Idler wondered how Idle Tom could be at loss for “profitable employment” given the variety of activities needed to cultivate the fertile land of the Missouri valley. No Idler also chastised Tom for his “snub” to Lucretia, and said he would respond for her since she had been “prohibited from appearing again in print” and might now be “perhaps darning some Idler’s old socks.” Although No Idler was clearly in agreement with Lucretia about the societal problems associated with Idle Tom and his

like, he did not offer a defense of her right to “intrud[e] herself upon the notice of the public.” Instead, he simply presented his own answer as an alternative to her further reply.²⁶

In any case, Lucretia did not heed Idle Tom’s suggestion to retreat to the domestic sphere. Instead she presented him with a list of reasons why members of the community might want to engage in a useful pursuit, including “for the purpose of keeping themselves aloof from indigence and effeminacy.” Where he had implied she was not a good woman, she in turn questioned his manhood, and went on to suggest that his laziness was a result of drinking too much liquor. In Lucretia’s view, men like Idle Tom were a public nuisance. Although she never directly defended her right to contribute to a public discussion of the community’s development, her rejoinder showed her willingness to engage with these issues when she saw fit. Moreover, Lucretia claimed a kind of economic citizenship for herself and, by implication, her fellow industrious women, even though she was excluded from the political variety. At the same time, she seized the right to point out on how little men like Idle Tom contributed to the public good even though he had more political access than she did.²⁷

While this letter marked the end of the exchange between Lucretia, Idle Tom, and their neighbors, the issues they raised came to the fore in particular because of the stresses of the economic situation of the early 1820s. After the worst effects of the Panic had subsided, the tone of public discussions shifted somewhat. Much like the merchants who began to take some crops in exchange for merchandise, some farmers came to emphasize the ways merchants could help the farmers achieve their economic goals, instead of the fears about how they might be thwarted. “A Farmer,” writing in 1825, considered the best way to bind the local community together. This farmer called for, what he called, “a natural organization of the duties of our citizens.” He believed this would be brought about when each inhabitant focused on his particular vocation and then sought to coordinate them to develop the resources of the country. In this vision, individual interests did not conflict but could mesh for the good of the whole if each community member realized the broader context of his or her action. A Farmer hoped that “individual security, wealth and happiness” would certainly lead to “general prosperity.” This was not simply a land of farmers, but a broader community that needed a variety of diverse yet complementary members.

This farmer thought that the best way to bring about harmony was to develop economic aspects that had lagged in the region, such as wheat growing and flour milling. In this way, farmers and merchants would be bound together because their individual interests would mesh closely. By such “mutual support,” the farmers’ demand for foreign articles would increase as their economic conditions improved, and the merchants could then expand their importation. The author was excited about the potential that could result from the “united patriotic exertions of our citizens,” but certain community members had more



Promotional prints like this one highlighted the importance of steamboats in Missouri and Mississippi river commerce. Steamboats were a symbol of prosperity and growth along the rivers, just as railroads or automobiles or jet planes would be for future generations. (Image: Library of Congress)

readily acknowledged roles. Perhaps he thought that women would be an important part of that increased demand for foreign articles, but in any case he did not include them explicitly in his letter. He did make sure to include the positive effects this unity would have on laborers, though, and assured them that they would have increased work opportunities.²⁸

Moreover, the expanded trade this writer called for resulted in the addition of an unwelcome level of diversity to the local community. The boats that the farmers and merchants needed to transport goods to and remove exports from river towns on the Missouri also brought boatmen to town. These river workers provided the necessary labor to move the goods and crops of the river valley, which were so crucial to the area's economic development. Yet, while their work was appreciated in the river towns, their presence, or more precisely their uncontrolled mobility, was not. Most often their stay was only temporary, but even that could prove disruptive to the local community. For example, the "citizens" of Franklin "were alarmed by" the 50 boatmen who assembled in the public square in May 1822. The boatmen had weapons

and attacked the town jail, though there was no one in it at the time. The locals responded promptly and, while most of the boatmen escaped, 17 were apprehended. They were kept overnight in the very jail they had attacked but released the next day upon payment of a fine, and presumably continued their trip up the Missouri with their boats. The editor of the local paper concluded that the attack was "a mere act of wantonness," and he hoped that any subsequent offenders would be punished much more harshly.²⁹

These particular boatmen were only in Franklin briefly on their way from St. Louis to Council Bluffs, but later that year the town was beset by a more lingering but also related problem. Locals complained of "strollers" in our streets" comprised of discharged soldiers from Council Bluffs, some free blacks, and many unemployed boatmen. Not only were these men not a part of the usual local community, they also disrupted it. The Franklin newspaper complained that the newcomers would "occasionally carouse and enjoy themselves at the expense of good order and decorum." In order to combat this problem, a "respectable number of the citizens of Franklin" gathered

at the courthouse to form a regulatory committee to help the local authorities take care of any rowdiness that might result from those less invested in the community.³⁰ The “citizens” at the meeting seemed certain that the “strollers” did not have much of a place in the community, in spite of the important role these mobile outsiders played in its economic development and protection. Where newspaper editor Robert M’Cloud had hoped all Missourians would forge a “bond of fraternal concord,” these citizens preferred a looser connection.³¹ They did not want to entirely exclude the boatmen, for their economic dreams hinged on the mobility they offered. However, they did want to control and limit the movement of these disruptive elements.

Negotiations about the balance between whole and parts of society echoed at many levels in Missouri at the time of the Missouri Compromise. Missouri’s progress to statehood had sharpened the conflict within the country about the spread of slavery. Missouri had had to coordinate its own interest in having slavery with other national interests, some of which were antithetical to its own. Moreover, the compromise that was brokered to allow Missouri’s entry did not completely or finally resolve the issue of the expansion of slavery, much as the end of the Panic did not remove the economic conflict among the settlers. Together, these aspects illuminate the ongoing debates about the shape of community. Missourians struggled to understand how difference, in this case

over economic roles and the moral construction of the community, could be combined in a unified, operational whole.

While the Panic of 1819 brought to the fore debates about the relationship between different economic groups in society, it did not cause a major reordering of it. Missourians stressed the need to align individual interests with the good of the whole and suggested ways that that might be achieved. Yet the best interest of the whole was not always defined precisely the same way, and opinions differed as to the exact balance of individual interests that would achieve it. As we have seen here, discussions about merchants, women, and boatmen exposed the fault lines within the society, which did not entirely retreat even as the effects of the Panic wore off. Merchants and farmers tried to find ways to meet both their needs in an increasingly commercially oriented economy. For women, the path was less clear. While Lucretia made the case for the importance of women’s contributions, most often women were not part of, or a subject in, the public negotiations. Meanwhile, mobile boatmen faced increased regulation but also seized opportunities presented by the need for their movement. The community of the new state was fraught and contested, and would continue to be so, but the public culture that was being created provided space to debate the moral economy of the community even if not all discussions turned into outright challenges or dramatically shifted its makeup.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ *Missourian* (St. Charles, Missouri), June 24, 1820.
- ² David D. March, "The Admission of Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 65 (1971) : 427-49; William E. Foley, *The Genesis of Missouri: From Wilderness Outpost to Statehood* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 293-98; Perry McCandless, *A History of Missouri: Volume II, 1820-1860* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971, 2000), chapter 1; and Louis Houck, *The History of Missouri: From the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union*, vol. III (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1908), chapter 29.
- ³ *Missourian*, June 24, 1820.
- ⁴ For further description of the local effects of the Panic of 1819, see McCandless, *History of Missouri*, 23-30; Hattie M. Anderson, "Frontier Economic Problems in Missouri, 1815-1828," Part I, *Missouri Historical Review* 34 (1939-1940): 48, 52-53, 58-59; and R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 16-22.
- ⁵ See McCandless, *History of Missouri*, 26-28, and Hurt, *Little Dixie*, 17-19.
- ⁶ *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 23, 1821.
- ⁷ *Missourian*, May 23, 1822. Letters to the editor in this period were commonly signed with a *nom de plume*.
- ⁸ *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 23, 1821.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, August 14, 1821.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, September 4, 1821.
- ¹¹ McCandless, *History of Missouri*, 26.
- ¹² *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser* (St. Louis), August 8, 1821. From the names listed, I have been able to identify a number of those who gave toasts as local merchants. In fact, those gathered got their wish early in 1822 when the Loan Office certificates were declared unconstitutional. McCandless, *History of Missouri*, 28.
- ¹³ *St. Louis Enquirer*, September 8, 1821.
- ¹⁴ Hurt describes Lamme as "the most successful large-scale merchant in Franklin" (*Little Dixie*, 7). *Missouri Intelligencer*, December 25, 1821. Lamme, who was for a time in partnership with J. Hickman, used this phrase or very similar ones in all his ads during the period.
- ¹⁵ Hurt, *Little Dixie*, 21.
- ¹⁶ *Missouri Intelligencer*, December 25, 1821. Lamme was not the only merchant to specify he would take produce for old debts but cash for new goods, but the prominence and explicitness of his regular ads may have particularly sparked the ire of those who felt oppressed by such measures.
- ¹⁷ *Missouri Intelligencer*, August 26, 1823. Hurt notes that in 1820 Lamme "tried to sell merchandise for cash ... but necessity forced him to sell on credit and take goods in barter to stay in business" (*Little Dixie*, 21). As this ad shows, Lamme's commitment to cash exchanges extends beyond 1820. I do not dispute Hurt's claim (on the same page) that "[a] pure cash economy remained impossible," but it seems noteworthy that as much as he could Lamme fought the necessity to barter and take credit.
- ¹⁸ For example, a Paul, Ingram & Reily ad in the May 6, 1823, *Missouri Intelligencer* states: "Flax, Tow Linen and Bees wax received in payment." James Ross, a merchant at Chariton, said he would sell for cash "or such trade as may suit him." (*Missouri Intelligencer*, May 8, 1824). For a discussion of the importance of credit in a frontier economy, see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991), 319-23.
- ¹⁹ This trend in some ways is the opposite of the traditional "frontier" model, which finds that things get more implicated in the market as time goes on.
- ²⁰ *Missouri Intelligencer*, December 2, 1825.
- ²¹ *Missourian*, May 16, 1822.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Ibid.* For a discussion of women's work in frontier settlements, see John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986), 151-55.
- ²⁴ *Missourian* (St. Charles, Missouri), May 23, 1822.
- ²⁵ *Missourian*, May 30, 1822. Idle Tom also suggested that "Lucretia" was not actually a woman but might be "one who hopes to find safety under petticoats."
- ²⁶ *Missourian*, June 6, 1822.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.* Lucretia also disparaged Idle Tom's lack of education and deliberately quoted the words he misspelled.
- ²⁸ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), November 5, 1825.
- ²⁹ *Missouri Intelligencer*, May 7, 1822. Presumably the boatmen's fines were paid by their superior on the boat and later withheld from their wages. For more on the boat workers on the Missouri River, see William R. Swagerty, "A View from the Bottom Up: The Work Force of the American Fur Company on the Upper Missouri in the 1830s," *Montana* 43 (1993): 18-33.
- ³⁰ *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 15, 1822.
- ³¹ *Missourian*, June 24, 1820.