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# Missouri Historical Society Collections

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*The Society Disclaims Responsibility for Views  
Expressed By Contributors.*

## ANNOUNCEMENT

The publication of the *Missouri Historical Society Collections* is resumed with this number. In the future it will be issued regularly at least three times a year. Each number will contain, among other articles of interest, diaries, letters or documents from the Society's manuscript collection. A section of the magazine will be devoted to Genealogy with space for notes, queries and answers.

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## JAMES CALLAWAY IN THE WAR OF 1812

Letters, Dairy, and Rosters<sup>1</sup>

By EDGAR B. WESLEY

The demands of the British commissioners during the negotiation of the Treaty of Ghent reveal the importance which England attached to the Mississippi river and the surrounding region. They insisted upon the creation of an Indian state, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the principle of *uti possidetis*. They proposed an Indian country above the line of the Treaty of Greenville, and when that proposal was rejected,<sup>2</sup> they asked that the Indians be included in the peace treaty.<sup>3</sup> The navigation of the Mississippi, which had been conceded in the Treaty of 1783, presented a complicated problem, for the Louisiana Purchase and the declaration of war in 1812 altered the situation if they did not actually abrogate the original agreement.<sup>4</sup> Even though the matter was left unsettled, its discussion indicates the importance of the western region. The third proposal, that each nation retain what it then possessed, would have been of fateful consequence to the Mississippi country had it prevailed, for the Indians and British controlled the river as far south as the site

<sup>1</sup> The Missouri Historical Society received the Callaway Collection from the late Mr. Joseph Maher of St. Charles, Missouri. The letters and diary, here published, constitute the principal part, the rest being rosters, tax lists, and miscellaneous letters and notes.

<sup>2</sup> When the negotiations were temporarily broken off, the report reached the frontier that "The principal cause was the question relating to the Indians." Alfred Edward Bulger, "Last Days of the British at Prairie du Chien," in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XIII, 155-156.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, IX, 18-19, 28; Frank A. Updyke, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1812*, 201, 208, 210, 216-217, 226. These writers give the facts and cite the sources.

<sup>4</sup> Adams, *op. cit.*, IX, 44-46; Updyke, *op. cit.*, 217, 300, 319-321.

of Fort Madison. The people along the Mississippi believed that the British planned the complete conquest of the river.<sup>5</sup>

The fortunate outcome of these questions has obscured the dangerous possibilities, and the minor scale of military operations has led to a minor consideration by historians.<sup>6</sup> The war in the East has received due emphasis, and the recent interest in William Henry Harrison has led to fairly detailed study of the war in the Ohio region,<sup>7</sup> but there was no man of comparable importance to unify the story or inspire a similar review of the events along the Mississippi. Everything which made the war important in the Old Northwest holds equally true of the Mississippi region with the tremendous addition of the river itself. If this viewpoint is reasonable, a new study of the War of 1812 which apportions due consideration to the Mississippi will have to be made.

The declaration of war in 1812 was something of a relief to the frontiersmen. They had suffered repeated outrages at the hands of the Indians and were hampered in their retaliation by the nominal peace. The war gave them unlimited opportunity to secure revenge and to proceed against the British whom they regarded as the source of most of the attacks. However, the British who took part in the war along the Mississippi were few, and in operation it was essentially an Indian war. It assumed no

<sup>5</sup> Christian Wilt Letters, Missouri Historical Society. This idea was strengthened by the Battle of New Orleans, for the news of peace had not reached St. Louis.

<sup>6</sup> William James's taunting remark, written in 1818, still indicates the historical status of 1927: "Neither the dislodgement of the Americans from Prairie du Chien, nor the affair between the Indians and the American armed barges, ascending the Mississippi [sic] . . . is noticed in any American history that we have seen." *Military Occurrences of the late War*, II, 190.

<sup>7</sup> Dorothy Burne Goebel, *William Henry Harrison*; Beverley D. Bond, Jr., "William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XIII, 499-516.

great objective proportions, but the armies were by no means insignificant in view of the population,<sup>8</sup> and in view of their importance and the area which they covered.

The defense of the Mississippi region may be considered as twofold, protective and military.<sup>9</sup> The fear of Indian attacks led to the widespread erection and occupation of forts, a custom that was designated as "forting." Wherever several families could conveniently get together, they erected a blockhouse. In case the number of families to be accommodated was large, several cabins were erected in a rectangular arrangement, each with its projecting story and necessary loopholes. Palisades connected the outer sides of the buildings, and a considerable space was thus enclosed. Not every cabin which was called a fort deserved the designation, but several were important because of their size or location. Some forts existed before the war, but most of them were erected in 1812. The Missouri frontier, being the more exposed, took to "forting" first, but the Mississippi frontier was not far behind.

The northernmost post of a local nature was Fort Mason, near the site of Hannibal.<sup>10</sup> Southward, in what is now Pike county, were Fort Buffalo, two miles below the present Louisiana, and a post near the site of Clarksville. Wood's Fort, Stout's Fort, and Clark's Fort were in what is now Lincoln county. Fort Howard, named in honor of the governor, was an

<sup>8</sup> The population of the Territory of Louisiana in 1810 was 20,845; that of Illinois Territory, 12,282.

<sup>9</sup> A third defensive measure might be designated as diplomatic, for many efforts were made to secure the neutrality, if not the active assistance, of the Indians, and some of the Sac and Fox were temporarily detached from the British side. Some forty or fifty Shawnee and Delaware accompanied Dodge's expedition up the Missouri in 1814.

<sup>10</sup> Louis Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 136-138. Houck locates most of the forts, but errs in some cases.

unusually large fort near the mouth of the Cuivre and the present village of Old Monroe. It accommodated between twenty and thirty families, and its erection required the labor of sixty men for two or three weeks. It was designed to supplant several family forts.<sup>11</sup> Rumors that the Indians of the upper Mississippi planned an attack led to the erection of a fort directly on the Mississippi in the summer of 1813. The site selected was eight miles above the mouth of the Cuivre and opposite a sandstone cliff on the Illinois side. The fort was smaller than Fort Howard, yet it was large enough to enclose several families. It was named Cap au Gris and was placed under the command of Capt. David Musick.<sup>12</sup> In the St. Charles District were Fort Howell on Howell's Prairie, southwest of St. Charles; Zumwalt's Fort, near O'Fallon; Castlio's Fort, near Howell's Prairie; Kountz's Fort, eight miles west of St. Charles; Fort Peruque, on the stream of that name; and Pond Fort, southeast of the site of Wentzville. In what is now Warren county were Kennedy's Fort, near the present Wright City; Callaway's Fort, near Charette; and Boone's Fort, the largest one in the section, near the Missouri. On Loutre Island were Talbot's Fort,<sup>13</sup> and Fort Clemson. In the Boon's Lick country were McLain's Fort, near the site of New Franklin; Fort Kinhead, about a mile above the site of Boonville on the north side of the river; Head's Fort, four miles above the present town of Rocheport, Boone county; the first Fort Cole, east of Boonville; the second Fort Cole, an unusually large one, near the present East Boonville; McMahon's Fort, five miles from the site of Glasgow, and Cooper's Fort, a large stockade flanked by log houses sufficient for twenty families, near the present

<sup>11</sup> John Shaw, "Narrative of . . .", in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* II, 205.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 209. It was sometimes called Fort Independent.

<sup>13</sup> Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 136.



Glasgow. There were other forts of a local nature, but these indicate the wide extent and great importance of this method of defense during the war.

In addition to these temporary family forts there were three regular government posts which were occupied by garrisons at the outbreak of the war: Fort Osage, on the Missouri, near the present town of Sibley, Jackson county; Fort Madison, in what is now southeastern Iowa; and Bellefontaine, on the south side of the Missouri, a few miles above its mouth. Small garrisons of regular troops occupied the forts and performed various duties relating to expeditions and protection.

The building of forts was equally popular in Illinois. By March, 1813, twenty-two forts had been erected in an irregular line from the mouth of the Missouri to the Kaskaskia river, sixty miles to the east. Scouts were sent between the posts daily, and spies scoured the country for miles beyond the occupied regions.<sup>14</sup> The principal forts, located by reference to present geographical terms, were: Journey's Fort, Aviston, Clinton county; one at Carlyle in the same county; Hill's Fort and Jones's Fort in Bond county; Chamber's Fort, near Lebanon; one at the mouth of the Illinois; one on Marcot Prairie on the west bank of the Illinois nineteen miles above its mouth; one opposite the mouth of the Missouri; one near Troy, Madison county; seven in White county; and Fort or Camp Russell, near Edwardsville, which was the most important post in Illinois during the war. The regular post at Fort Massac was also garrisoned, but it was too far from the frontier to be of great importance.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Missouri Gazette*, March 20, 1813.

<sup>15</sup> Frank E. Stevens, "Illinois in the War of 1812," in *Ill. State Hist. Soc., Publications*, IX, 71-72. This article, covering pages 62-197, consists largely of letters, reports, and speeches made to and by the Indians.

The frontiersmen had learned from experience that the national government would not and perhaps could not protect them against Indians. Although the regular army had been increased from time to time because of rumors of war, it consisted of only 6,686 men in July, 1812; whereas the authorized strength was 35,603.<sup>16</sup> The garrisons in the west were reported as follows on June 6, 1812, just before the declaration of war: Forts Bellefontaine, 134; Osage, 63; Madison, 44; Massac, 36; Dearborn, 53; Vincennes, 117; Wayne, 85; and Mackinac, 89.<sup>17</sup> The war led to various rearrangements, and on August 23 it was estimated that only twenty regulars remained at Bellefontaine, and that about twenty occupied Fort Mason, which had not previously been a United States fort.<sup>18</sup>

To supplement the regular forces, the militia was called out from time to time, and companies of volunteers and rangers were authorized and raised. The law of January 2, 1812, empowered the president to accept the services of six companies of rangers for a period of one year, and the law of July 1 added an additional company; that of February 25, 1813, authorized ten additional companies, and the act of July 24 continued the laws for one year, and a final renewal for one year was passed on February 24, 1814.<sup>19</sup> Under these laws several companies of rangers were raised in Missouri and Illinois. On May 1, 1813, the nation was divided into nine military districts. The Eighth, consisting of Kentucky, Ohio, and the territories of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and

<sup>16</sup> Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States*, 92.

<sup>17</sup> *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 320.

<sup>18</sup> Christian Wilt Letters, *Missouri Historical Society*.

<sup>19</sup> U. S., *Statutes at Large*, II, 670, 774-775, 804; III, 39-40, 98.

A law of August 2, 1813, specified the organization of the company which was to contain altogether one hundred and nineteen men. *Ibid.*, II, 74.



Missouri, was placed under the command of General Harrison, with Illinois and Missouri as a sub-district under General Benjamin Howard.<sup>20</sup> This arrangement insured unity of control, but the vast extent of thinly populated country and the nature of Indian warfare rendered all measures unsatisfactory, and the constant changing of troops produced the results usually attending such military rotation.<sup>21</sup>

The war along the Mississippi began earlier and lasted later than in other sections, for, being largely an Indian war, it may be viewed as a continuation of the uprising started by Tecumseh in 1811,<sup>22</sup> and one affair of some importance, the attack on Cotes sans Dessein, occurred as late as April, 1815. The principal events of the war in the Mississippi sector were: the evacuation of Fort Osage, June, 1813;<sup>23</sup> Governor Edwards's expedition to Peoria, October, 1812;<sup>24</sup> the various attacks on Fort Madison and its evacuation, September 3, 1813;<sup>25</sup> General Howard's expedition to Peoria, September-October, 1813; the occupation of Prairie du Chien, June 2, 1814, and the building of Fort Shelby; the capture of Prairie du

<sup>20</sup> *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 387, 432.

<sup>21</sup> Historians, as well as local chroniclers, have failed to distinguish between regulars, volunteers, rangers, and militia. In fact such differentiation is difficult, for no systematic study of the problem has been made. Upton's *Military Policy of the United States* is the nearest approach, but it attempts to cover an extended field, abounds in errors, and does not even mention the troops along the Mississippi in the War of 1812. This divided and opportunist policy is important, for, as Upton well shows, it resulted in the military debacle of the United States in the War of 1812.

<sup>22</sup> Forsyth Collection, Missouri Historical Society; Archibald Wilson Webster, *Western Preliminaries of the War of 1812*, Master's Thesis, Washington University.

<sup>23</sup> Letter Book C, 1812-1816, Indian Office, Washington.

<sup>24</sup> Edward's account is found in Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois*, 69-72.

<sup>25</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, III, 142-143: "Ft. Madison," in *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), III, 97-110; Frank E. Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 33.

Chien by the British, July 19, 1814;<sup>26</sup> Lieut. John Campbell's expedition and the Battle of Rock River, July 22, 1814;<sup>27</sup> Gen. Henry Dodge's expedition against the Indians near Fort Osage, August-September, 1814;<sup>28</sup> Maj. Zachary Taylor's expedition to Rock river and the Battle of Credit Island, September 5, 1814, and the building of Fort Johnson in September and its evacuation and destruction in October, 1814. Besides these major events there were numerous attacks, massacres, skirmishes, and smaller expeditions.

James Callaway, the subject of this article, took part in Howard's expedition, the Battle of Credit Island, and the building and occupation of Fort Johnson; so a general statement of these events seems necessary. On July 16, 1813, the Indians attacked Fort Madison for the ninth or tenth time, and General Howard determined to repel their southward advance and rid the frontiers of their depredations by making a foray into the upper Illinois river country where the powerful Potawatomi lived. This tribe was able to put more than a thousand warriors into the field,<sup>29</sup> and they were thought to have committed outrages on the west side of the Mississippi as well as in Illinois. In August Capt. Nathan Boone, with sixteen or seventeen picked rangers, of whom Callaway was one, was sent to reconnoitre a route for the army. They were attacked by the Indians on August 15 and were scattered and driven across the Mississippi. Their experience proved the necessity for the expedition, and the Illinois militia and rangers, assisted by some Indiana and Kentucky companies, moved northwest from Camp Russell and

<sup>26</sup> James, *op. cit.* 189-190, Appendix No. 39; *Niles' Weekly Register*, VI, 242; *Missouri Gazette*, May 7, July 2, 30, Aug. 6, 1814.

<sup>27</sup> *Missouri Gazette*, July 30, Aug. 6, 1814.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 24, 1814.

<sup>29</sup> Forsyth Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

crossed the Illinois three miles above its mouth. They marched in detached groups in order to meet and repel stray bands of marauding Indians and thus relieve the frontier. The Missouri troops crossed the Mississippi at Fort Mason on September 17 and joined the Illinois forces, making a total of fourteen hundred.<sup>30</sup> General Howard was in command, assisted by Col. Alexander McNair, and Majors William Christy and Nathan Boone for the Missouri regiment and Col. Benjamin Stephenson, and Majors W. B. Whiteside and John Murdoch for the Illinois regiment.<sup>31</sup> The army marched along the Mississippi to a point near the site of Quincy and then turned eastward toward the Peoria town where it arrived September 29.<sup>32</sup>

In the meantime Col. Robert Carter Nicholas with two hundred regulars ascended the Illinois in armed boats. They explored the region, began the erection of the fort at Peoria, and repelled an Indian attack before the arrival of Howard and the main body of troops. After Howard's arrival he sent out detachments to pursue the Indians, but the men found the villages deserted. After destroying what provisions were found, they returned to camp. Howard then sent Major Christy up the river in two armed boats. Christy ascended the river to within seventy-five miles of Chicago but found no Indians. Major Boone with one hundred men was sent in the direction of Rock river, and he also reported that the country was deserted.

The main body of troops labored at the building of Fort Clark, at Peoria, from the second to the fifteenth of October, bringing the timber from across the lake.

<sup>30</sup> *Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 13, Oct. 2, 1813; Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 113.

<sup>31</sup> Stevens, "Illinois in the War of 1812," in *Ill. State Hist. Soc., Publications*, IX, 146-147.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 149-150.

The weather was unusually cold, and the officers decided that nothing more could be done; so upon the completion of the fort the troops returned to Camp Russell where they were disbanded on October 22.<sup>33</sup>

In July, 1814, the capture of Prairie du Chien by the British and the defeat of Campbell's expedition threw the frontiers into a panic and emboldened the Indians to make sallies further down the river. The settlers gathered in forts, and General Howard drafted the militia and gathered the rangers for an expedition against the Sac and Fox of the Rock river region. Parts of these tribes were friendly to the Americans, and the efforts to spare the friendly ones afforded a cloak of protection for the hostile ones who had committed most of the outrages for which the Potawatomi and other tribes had received the blame.

A force of four hundred and thirty militia and rangers<sup>34</sup> under Maj. Zachary Taylor left Cap au Gris for Rock river<sup>35</sup> on August 22. They reached Rock river on September 4, and after the Battle of Credit Island on the fifth, the troops retreated to the rapids below the site of Fort Madison.<sup>36</sup>

Major Taylor sent Captains Callaway and Whiteside with one hundred men to erect Fort Johnson on the east side of the river near the site of Warsaw, Illinois. The fort was well situated on a high bluff

<sup>33</sup> Stevens, *op. cit.*, 151-153; Callaway to his wife, October 5, 1813, *infra*; *Missouri Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1813.

<sup>34</sup> *Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 3, 1814. Taylor's report says there were 334 effective men. *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1814. Callaway says 290.

<sup>35</sup> General Howard wished to mislead the Indians into believing that the objective was Prairie du Chien, hoping thus to secure their withdrawal and an open route to Rock river. Even Callaway thought Prairie du Chien was the objective.

<sup>36</sup> No details of the battle are given since Callaway's letters and diary cover that event. The longest account is Taylor's report published in *Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 17, 1814; *Niles' Weekly Register*, VII, 137-138; Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 52-54.

opposite the mouth of the Des Moines. The garrison was soon short of supplies, and Taylor declared that he would withdraw if they did not arrive by the last of September. He held out, however, until about October 22 when the fort was burned and the troops withdrew to Cap au Gris.

James Callaway, whose general activities in the War of 1812 have been indicated in the preceding pages, was the son of Flanders Callaway and Jemima Boone, daughter of Daniel Boone.<sup>37</sup> He was born about twelve miles from Lexington, Fayette county, Kentucky, on September 13, 1783. The Callaways moved to Missouri about 1801 and settled near Charette Village, the present Marthasville, Warren county. James engaged in the fur trade and went to Kentucky in 1804 with his cousins, Boone and William Hays, to dispose of some furs.<sup>38</sup>

Callaway married Nancy Howell on May 9, 1805. Nancy, daughter of Francis Howell, was born in Newbury county, South Carolina, January 27, 1788. The Howells moved to Upper Louisiana in 1795 and first settled in the St. Louis District, near the Missouri River; about three years later they moved to Howell's Prairie in the St. Charles District, several miles southwest of St. Charles.<sup>39</sup>

From his marriage in 1805 until the beginning of the war in 1812 Callaway engaged in various activities. His education was only ordinary, but he had good natural talents, and an affable personality won him considerable local popularity. He was frequently engaged in some activity of a public nature. For

<sup>37</sup> The sources for Callaway's life are a sketch written by his youngest brother-in-law, Lewis Howell, and the miscellaneous letters, bills, receipts, and notes found among his papers. Unless otherwise indicated these are the bases for statements about his life.

<sup>38</sup> Hazel Atterbury Spraker, *The Boone Family*, 180.

<sup>39</sup> Mary Iantha Castillo, *Some Missouri Pioneers*, 8-9.

some years he was a deputy sheriff and collected taxes in the St. Charles District, and in 1808 he was appointed cornet of a troop of cavalry in the militia.<sup>40</sup> In the same year he was paymaster for the Clark expedition which built Fort Osage (Clark), paying Nathan Boone for his services as guide to the troops. In 1810 he was appointed secretary's assistant for taking the census of the St. Charles District, and in 1812 was appointed to administer oaths. In 1814 he served as administrator for a small estate. He had some financial dealings with General Howard who gave him a note for \$400 on August 21, 1814, while they were at Cap au Gris, and just before the departure of Taylor's army.<sup>41</sup> The activity, however, which he most enjoyed was that of military affairs. His exact record is somewhat obscure, but he seems to have been a captain of a militia company of cavalry as early as 1810. He took great pride in drilling his men, and, although an agreeable and considerate officer, he did not hesitate to see that fines were imposed upon delinquents.<sup>42</sup>

Callaway's domestic life was happy, and he succeeded financially. He bought fifty arpents of land on the northwestern part of Howell's Prairie from Louis Crow,<sup>43</sup> and built a house on a small stream to which he gave the name Crout Run. The Callaways had three children, Thomas Howell, born in 1806; William Boone, born in 1807, and Theresa Etaline, born in 1811.<sup>44</sup> In 1814 Callaway bought an

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, I, 331, 332; II, 25.

<sup>41</sup> The administrators of the Howard estate hesitated to pay the note, and it was not until after Callaway's death that the claim was finally paid.

<sup>42</sup> The militia laws of the territory were not severe, and attendance seems to have been lax. District of Louisiana, *Laws* . . . , I, 42-46, 150-162, 252-253.

<sup>43</sup> List of Territorial Taxes, 1815, St. Charles County.

<sup>44</sup> Castillo, *Some Missouri Pioneers*, 19-20.

adjoining tract of one hundred and fifty arpents from Crow and as early as 1808 he owned at least one slave, and at the time of his death he owned four, valued at more than a thousand dollars.

Callaway's general movements during the war can be traced from his letters and from miscellaneous notes among his papers. Early in 1812 he was captain of militia and saw duty as a spy and frontier guard. From April 29 to May 18 he was captain of a troop of mounted riflemen who patrolled the region northeast of St. Charles. He continued his military service on the Mississippi frontier, going as far north as Stout's Fort, near the site of Auburn, in what is now Lincoln county. Some time in the early summer he became lieutenant in the company of rangers of which his uncle, Daniel M. Boone, was captain. In July he was stationed at Camp Pleasant on the Cuivre,<sup>45</sup> and in September and October he accompanied Howard's expedition to Peoria. In November he was on the opposite frontier, constructing Fort Clemson on Loutre Island. He spent part of the winter of 1813-1814 at home, but the spring of 1814 found him again on duty along the Mississippi. On July 14 he was appointed captain of his company of rangers, succeeding Daniel M. Boone who resigned on June 21; during the summer and fall he served under Taylor in the Rock river expedition. After the evacuation of Fort Johnson he returned to the western frontier.

During the winter of 1814-1815 he was on duty at Fort Clemson. The Indian raids continued, and early in March a band of thirty or forty Sac and Fox stole some horses from the settlers near Loutre Island.

<sup>45</sup> While at Camp Pleasant Callaway received a letter from Benjamin Emmons, a member of the newly established legislative house, who reported the progress of their activities. The letter indicates Callaway's interest in politics, for it was written in response to his request.

Callaway took fifteen men and rode hastily up the west side of Loutre creek in pursuit of the Indians who had left a clear trail in the mud. About two o'clock they discovered the horses in the the care of some squaws who fled upon their approach. The Indians had returned to the settlements to commit further depredations or else had lingered behind to lay an ambush for their pursuers. Lient. Jonathan Riggs suggested that the expedition return by a different route, but Callaway rejected the proposal, thinking that such precaution was unnecessary, since he supposed there were not more than a half dozen Indians in the neighborhood.<sup>46</sup> About sunset as they descended into a little ravine near the junction of Prairie Fork with Loutre creek, they were fired upon. Callaway and one man were behind the others, leading the horses, and when the firing was heard, the man suggested that they escape, but Callaway refused and rushed on to regain the head of his troop. In doing so he was wounded three times, and his horse was killed. Hiram Scott, seeing that his captain was wounded, tried to take him up behind, but the horse, frightened or wounded, would not move. The Indians were closing in on them, and Scott hastily made his escape to the rear, while Callaway ran for the creek, thrust his gun to the bottom, and dived into the water. A pursuing Indian came up and shot him in the back of the head as he swam. Four or five others were killed and two wounded.<sup>47</sup>

A few days afterwards when the water was lower

<sup>46</sup> Some accounts give their conversation in detail and indicate that Callaway was headstrong, and insulting in his reply to Riggs. Callaway's last letter to his wife indicates the strain under which he had labored during the preceding days and nights, and it is reasonable to suppose that this weariness caused him to be impatient of a circuitous return.

<sup>47</sup> The dead men were Hutchins, Gilmore, James McMullen, and James McDermott; wounded, James Gleason and John Atkin.



Flanders Callaway and several men visited the scene and discovered the body lodged against a willow tree below where the battle occurred. Callaway's gun was found sticking in the mud from which the waters had partly receded. He was buried on the hillside and a slab bearing the inscription "Captain James Callaway, March 7, 1815," was placed on his grave.<sup>48</sup>

Nancy Callaway was attending school<sup>49</sup> when she received word of the death of her husband. She left without a word and stoically walked home, but fainted as she entered the house. Her efforts to keep the farm in good condition and to care for the children while her husband guarded the frontier is an affecting testimony of her qualities. In 1818 she received a pension of twenty dollars a month, dating from her husband's death. She lived to the age of seventy-six, dying in 1864.<sup>50</sup>

Callaway was about six feet in height, rather slender, of dark but ruddy complexion, and was usually

<sup>48</sup> The exact details of this battle and of Callaway's death constitute a problem, for the numerous accounts differ on so many points. All accounts agree that the battle occurred on the same day the men started. If that is correct, it is hard to reconcile Callaway's last letter with the date universally given, the seventh of March. It is possible that all have taken it from the gravestone which could be in error. *Missouri Gazette*, March 11, 25, and April 1, 1815; Bryan and Rose, *Pioneer Families of Missouri*, 95-101; Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 124-125; S. H. Long's *Expedition*, in *Early Western Travels* (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed.), XIV, 133; Rufus Babcock, *Memoir of John Mason Peck*, 139; *History of St. Charles, Montgomery, and Warren Counties, Missouri*, 156-159; Samuel Gibson and Nathan Boone's accounts to Draper. (copied by Mr. Ovid Bell of Fulton, Missouri, whose kindness is cordially acknowledged) There are other accounts, but these probably contain about all the versions of the affair.

<sup>49</sup> One of the touching aspects of the Callaway correspondence is the fact that Nancy could not write. (Letter of May 9, 1814, *infra*.) She later learned to write a tolerable script. One letter which she certainly wrote, being of a legal nature, is in the Callaway Collection.

<sup>50</sup> In 1818 Mrs. Callaway married John Harrison Costlio by whom she had several children.



NANCY CALLAWAY CASTLIO  
(Through courtesy of Miss Oleta Bigelow)

accounted a rather handsome man. His courage was unquestioned and his long and constant service endeared him to frontiersmen. He had a cheerful, kind, and affectionate nature which caused him to be an indulgent father and a kind master. His numerous activities gave him a wide acquaintance, and his qualities rendered him popular with all classes. Such men as Callaway were the ones who helped to establish that traditional respect for frontiersmen which has become a part of the American heritage.

#### LETTERS

Mouth Dardenne<sup>51</sup>  
5th May 1813

Dear wife

I fondly imbrace this oppertunity of Informing you that I am well and your Brothers<sup>52</sup> also Larking<sup>53</sup> is Some what unwell but not Dangerously our Rout is from The portage De Soux<sup>54</sup> on one Day and Back to portage Desoux the Next about Sixteen Miles we Draw provision a plenty and corn I Calculated when I Left you to have returned to you before the twenty Days is out but I find that this fronteer above Mentioned is too Dangerous to be Left unguarded and as it is Consigned to the Care of the Company under my Command And it so small that I Do not think it

<sup>51</sup>The Dardenne flows northeast through St. Charles county and empties into the Mississippi about six miles above the mouth of the Illinois. Callaway's patrol thus covered a vital area.

<sup>52</sup>Her brothers, then in service under Callaway, were John, Thomas, Francis, and Benjamin Howell.

<sup>53</sup>Larkin S. Callaway was a younger brother of James. He was born in Kentucky in 1794, and married Susannah L. Howell, Nancy's younger sister, December 22, 1815. It is interesting to note that Thomas Howell married Susannah Callaway, making three alliances between the two families.

<sup>54</sup>Portage des Sioux was located on the west bank of the Mississippi about five miles below the mouth of the Illinois.



possible for me to Leave it at all I shall write you again Next week No Indians sign No Neus kys my Daughter for me and shake hands with the Boys give my Complimentes to Susannah and the rest of the family while I Remain your Lovin Husband untill Death

James Callaway

Mrs Nancy Callaway

Portage Desoux  
9th May 1813

Dear wife

I am in perfect helth at present and your brothers also Larking is also got well I am about to inform you with Respect to Indians news fully I belive as any person as I had it from General Howard<sup>55</sup> Himself and was this day in council with a party of sauxks and foxes and Peyankeeshaws They gave all information with respect to Dixon<sup>56</sup> and his Indians that they knew of they State the Last accounte from perara de Sha<sup>57</sup> was that Dixon had ben through all the nations on the Illenoies Mississippi and Rock River and Indians all agreed to come with him to

<sup>55</sup> Benjamin Howard was appointed governor of Louisiana Territory (Missouri) September 19, 1810, but his delay in taking charge and his absences often left affairs in the hands of Frederick Bates, Secretary and at various times Acting Governor. Howard was appointed a brigadier general on March 12, 1813, and William Clark became governor, July 1, 1813. Howard died at St. Louis, September 18, 1814.

<sup>56</sup> Robert Dickson was a British fur trader who operated from Prairie du Chien. He was very active and successful in enlisting the Indians on the side of the British. For a discussion see Ernest Alexander Cruikshank, "Robert Dickson, the Indian Trader," in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XII, 133-153.

<sup>57</sup> Prairie du Chien was a fur and trading post on the east bank of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Wisconsin in what is now southwestern Wisconsin. For a description of the place in 1811 see a letter of Nicholas Boilvin to the Secretary of War, in E. B. Washburne, ed., *The Edwards Papers*, 59-67; also printed in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XI, 247-253.

fight against St. Louis that dixon gave them Large presents such as Powder ball paint wompum &c &c they was to meet him at perara De sha aprel Last and when they asked Dixon where the British Was that was to bring the cannon and help them fight he Told them Their was an number of Traitors below at portage St Charles and St Louis That would assist them the Indians made answer that as thir was no British and he had made the failure they would Return home to their Villags and make their Corn and hunt for Meat for their famalies Dixon then told them that they must give up the presents they Had Recived of him they told him no that they had performed And was willing to perform provided he would fulfill his proposoition but as the faillure was entirely on his part that thay would keep His presents & go home too and did goo Since that Time a Mr forSythe<sup>58</sup> has come down the Illenoies river and stats that dixon is to be down the tenth of this Month to the Mouth of the Illenoies river where they are to Rendevux with a large numbe of Indians But for-sythe Is not Calld a man of Truth tharefore no Confidence Can Be placed on his Tale we are verry well prepared for their reception at this place as their is Capt Owens has a Company of artillery in A Gun boat and 60 men Capt Smith<sup>59</sup> has a gun boat and 60 men Capt Desha<sup>60</sup> has a good block house on the river and 100 men Regulars several six pounders and an

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Forsyth was an Indian trader and agent. He was born at Detroit, December 5, 1771, and died near St. Louis, October 23, 1833. During the War of 1812 he was stationed at Peoria where he acted as a secret agent for the United States. A collection of his papers belongs to the Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>59</sup> William Smith was captain of a volunteer company raised in 1812, and he had charge of other companies at later dates.

<sup>60</sup> Robert Desha of Tennessee became a captain in the regular army, March 12, 1812, and was breveted major for gallant conduct at the attempted recapture of Mackinac. He was a representative in Congress from Tennessee from 1827-1831.



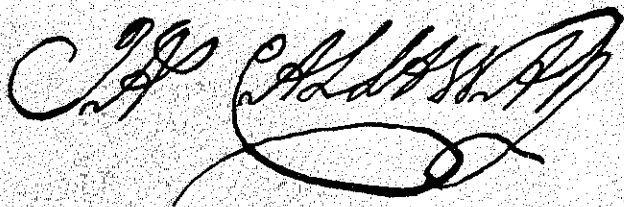
Isleand in the middle of the River<sup>61</sup> well fortified that you may see the river for too mil<sup>62</sup>

Stouts fort<sup>63</sup> 11th June 1813

Dear wife

I have for a few Days Past been very unwell at the Present I am weak but mending verry fast. I had Started home a few Days ago but met Jesse Vanbibber<sup>64</sup> and some orders that obliged me to Return to my Encampment not withstanding my sickness I Expect I Shall be Down on saturday Next in order to go to Court I shall only have time to Stay a few Days we have no news no Indian sign Discov-  
ered on this frontier I wis[h] to see you verry much and also my Children<sup>65</sup> No more at present My Compliments to all enquireing frends

Your husband



Mrs. Nancy Callaway

<sup>61</sup> This island, just below Portage des Sioux, was fortified in April, 1813, in accordance with General Howard's suggestion. Col. Daniel Bissell directed that the fort should have walls four and a half or five feet thick and seven feet high with a palisade to protect the sides. The post was occupied on May 10, 1813, by Capt. Charles Lucas, who named it Fort Lookout.

<sup>62</sup> This letter is unsigned. It was written on the back of the preceding one.

<sup>63</sup> Stout's Fort was a small stockaded post near the site of Auburn, Lincoln county.

<sup>64</sup> Jesse Van Bibber was the second son of Peter Van Bibber, who came from Virginia to Missouri about 1803.

<sup>65</sup> Their children and their ages at this time were, Thomas Howell, seven, William Boone, five, and Theresa Etaline, three.

Camp Near St Charles 15th June 1813

Dear wife

I am in Good Health and sincerely hope that these Lines may find you and my Dear Children in a good State of health I have nothing particular to write you at present we know not when we shall be removed from this place nor where we shall be marched to we have accounts Quite favourable from general Harrison we hear that he has Drove the British and Indians from his Quarter<sup>66</sup> and a number of the Indians wish to make peace their was a 60 or 70 went Down the Mississippi the other Day to St Louis to make peace for some of the rock river nations<sup>67</sup> I wish you to send by Oliver some buisquit butter cheese a bottle Shugar and some cloathes

I remain Dear wife your

Loving husband till Death

J. CALLAWAY

Mrs. Nancy Callaway  
Howells Station  
Attention  
F. Howell

Cappo Gray Sept 14th 1813

Dear wife

I am at this time in Perfect Health as also Brother Larking and your Brothers we have a full supply of Provisions our horses fet and able to perform the trip, I do not know where We are to go as yet and I believe no person will know untill we return I am now a Crossing the Mississippi in order to pilot the Troops that have came on from the Illinois Terri-

<sup>66</sup> Harrison won a notable victory by repulsing Proctor's attack on Ft. Meigs during the first few days of May, 1813.

<sup>67</sup> The Sac and Fox who lived in the Rock river section were divided, but most of them took the side of the British.



tory to the place where we crossed the Mississippi when the Indian routed us,<sup>68</sup> I expect we shall all go to the Peori towns and Return from that Place perhaps we may go to Rock River but I think not, as our force is some what smaller than we calculated it would be.<sup>69</sup> I think we shall be about fifteen Hundred strong as this is the Last time untill I Return that I shall have an opportunity of writing to you I wish you not to be uneasy about me make yourself easy and as Comfortable as possible and as sure as their is an opportunity of writing I shall send you a Letter Rember me to my Dear Children and should I never Return be Carefull in giving them good Learning if in your Power and teach them humanity and genteellity I am in hopes of Returning again in the Course of a month at which time I shall procure a furlugh to be with you a few days and at the expiration of my term of service I shall Quit the woods I am Determined on it Those Lines I write in good Health and High sperits in hopes it will meet you together with my Dear Children in the same way. While I Remain untill Death Your Loving and ever affectionate Husband

JA<sup>S</sup> CALLAWAY

N.B. some money in the hands of Deacon Cottle for me

Mrs. Nancy Callaway  
Dardenne

St Charles County  
Attention Mr [John E] Allen

<sup>68</sup> In August General Howard had sent Capt. Nathan Boone with Callaway and fifteen or sixteen rangers to reconnoitre the region over which the army expected to march. They were attacked by forty or fifty Indians and had to retreat across the Mississippi, without any loss, however, except the wounding of two men.

<sup>69</sup> Callaway's conjecture turned out to be correct, for the main army did not try to go to the Rock river section.

October 5th 1813  
Peorias Camp No 16 on the  
east side of the Illinois river

Dear wife I am at Present in good Health and Likewise the boys in my mess we have met with no Indians as yet we are prepareing timber for the fort and as soon as the fort is Completed I expect we Shall return home the army has been about twenty miles above this Place found Some Indian Plunder but no Indians and but Little sign it is generally beleived that all the mischief that has been done in the Course of the Sumer Past was Done by the Sacks as we have seen but Little sign since we left the missippi; our horses is verry much reduced; their has nothing material happened only one man killed by his own mess mate that belonged to Capt. Biggers Company.<sup>70</sup> So no more at present but remain

Your loving husband till Death

JA<sup>S</sup> CALLAWAY

Mrs Nancy Callaway  
St Charles County  
C/o Mackay Wherry Esqr.  
St Charles

Luter Isleand<sup>71</sup>  
November the 24th 1813

Dear wife I have had my health since at this place but very Little untill at this time I have a tolerable

<sup>70</sup> Probably James Bigger, captain of a company of Indiana volunteers who took part in this expedition.

<sup>71</sup> Loutre Island is in the Missouri river, near the north bank, and is divided by the Warren-Montgomery county line. It is not a true island, being connected with the mainland during dry seasons. It was then about twelve miles long, very fertile and heavily wooded. It was settled probably as early as 1798, certainly by 1807, and became a flourishing settlement before the mainland was ever occupied. There were several forts near the island and at least two or three on it. The fort which Callaway erected was named Clemson in honor of Capt. Eli B. Clemson.

share, considering the weather and the bad Camps; we have just got in our house Last night before the snow fell it is not as yet very Comfortable but we are at work as fast as possible the fort is as far forward as Could be expected I think the men will all get in their Quarters against Sunday night the boys is well I Shall be Down between the first & tenth of next month Crow is to assist in getting in my Corn if the weather will admit of it. I have no news at all write to me by the first opportunity and remember me to the Children whilst I Remain your Husband

JAS CALLAWAY

Nancy Callaway

Fort Clemson 19th March 1814

Dear and Loving Wife

With infinite satisfaction I Take up my Pen to inform you that I am hearty and well at this time and Likewise your Brothers, and feel gratified when I hope that these Lines will find you and my Dear Children well—I have no news to write you at this time, but if any should come to my ears believe me that I shall take the earliest opportunity to apprise you of it, it will no Doubt be a great satisfaction to hear that I have Bought one hundred and fifty arpens of Land adjoining our Tract, of Lewis Crow and Paid him in full for it—one hundred and eighty Dollars and Paid two Hundred and twenty five Dollars to My father and the ballance of what Money I Collected I Paid My Debts and have a small sum Left to Devide with you and the rest of my friends—I am well a ware My Dear wife that I Put more on your shoulder than you are well able to bear but as it will be of great Importance to us both and a general advantage to the family, and as I know you are willing to bear a great burden to Promote Our welfare I wish If it is in your Power to Hire some Person to

Trim my apple Trees perhaps you could get Mr Stone<sup>72</sup> and if not him you Could get Brother Larking to do it as he Told me he should spend the greater part of his time with you I do not Know when I shall be able to Come Down I fear not untill my Time is out—as the officers all have been Confined here so Long that they are about to get furloughs and they only are to go one at a time and my Tour will Come Last that I expect I shall not Come Down untill my Time is out or at Least untill the first of May—I hope My Dear if you should meet with an opportunity that you will send the Children to school as it is and allways was my wish to send them to school.

so no more at Present But Remains Dear wife your Loving Husband untill Death.

JAS CALLAWAY

Mrs Nancy Callaway

Block house on the Mississippi  
Near portage Desioux 1st May 1814

Dear wife

with heart felt Pleasure I take up my Pen to inform you that I am in good health and in hopes that you and my Little Children are well you have no Doubt heard of the Murder that has been Done near woods fort,<sup>73</sup> I Deplore your Lonesome situation in times of Difficulty but I do not think that you are in the Least Danger for you are surrounded on every side by famalies, and the Indians have never yet Dared to Commit murder in the settlements at any other Place than on the frontier, we have no news about the rangers whether they will be raised or not neither

<sup>72</sup> John B. Stone was cornet of one of Callaway's companies and helped him at various times with his work.

<sup>73</sup> The *Missouri Gazette* of May 7, 1814, says: "Last week a man of the name of McCoy was shot and cut to pieces in the neighborhood of Wood's family fort, a few miles from St. Charles."



Do I Know when the boats will start from St Louis?<sup>74</sup>  
I have heard that they are to start at Different time  
give my Compliments to Mr. Oden and to my Dear  
Children and accept the kind wishes for your welfare  
hapiness and good health from Dear wife your Lov-  
ing and affectionate

JA<sup>S</sup> CALLAWAY

N.B. I do not expect to come home untill my Time  
is out J. C

Nancy Callaway  
Crout Run  
Mr Hutchens

Block house on the Mississippi<sup>75</sup>  
Near Portage De sioux 9th May 1814

Dear wife

I am enjoying Perfect Health at This time and in  
hopes that these Lines will find you and the Children  
in good health I was in hopes that I should of re-

<sup>74</sup> This refers to Governor Clark's plans for the occupation of  
Prairie du Chien. The expedition, consisting of fifty or sixty regu-  
lars and about one hundred and forty volunteers, left St. Louis on  
May 1, and occupied the post and erected Ft. Shelby. Some of the  
troops returned to St. Louis on June 26, their period of enlistment  
having expired. *Missouri Gazette*, May 7, July 2, 1814.

<sup>75</sup> The receipt which was given to Callaway when he left the  
blockhouse is given in full since it indicates the equipment of a  
frontier post.

Receved of Lut. James Callaway all the Publick Property belong-  
ing to and about the Block house on the Mississippi Near portage  
Dessoux (viz.) two six pounders, mounted, two aminditon Boxes—  
twenty one fixed Cartridgees—twenty three Blank Carriage: six  
canister of Balls— fifty nine Six pound Balls three priming how-  
itzers ten Brack howitzers two Shovels two sponges one pair of  
wipers three priming wires—four slicks port line two Drag Ropes  
fore lint stacks one yoke oxen. one cart one Cross Cut saw one  
pearouge one mare one bote and sixteen oars twenty two half  
pound Balls—

Arter [Arthur] Morgan  
Seccon leut us R

ceived a Letter from you by your brother but found  
you had neglected me however I excuse you because  
you Cannot write yourself and it is Difficult to get  
any Person to write for you the other Day their was  
a raft found near this Place supposed to be Indians  
but we have found out that it was three Negroes  
made it, so that we have no Indian News amongst us,  
I Do not expect to Come home untill my time of  
service expires it is now verry short and we have no  
Orders for Raising another Company as yet I should  
be verry glad to Come home one time more bfore we  
are Discharged but as things are aranged it is out  
of my Power therefore I must Content myself to stay  
and Pass the Time as well as Possible Tell the boys  
if they go to School and Learn well that I Will give  
them a handsome Present when I am Done Ranging.  
My Compliments to Mr Dozier and all enquiring  
friends not forgetting my Dear Etteline and except  
for your self the well wishes of Dear wife your ever  
affectionat and Loving Husband

JA<sup>S</sup> CALLAWAY

Mrs Nancy Callaway  
Crout run  
Mr. Ham

Stouts fort 5th June 1814

Dear Wife

I am at this time well, fortunately so for me, as  
their is a Number of the men sick at this time I keep  
Spies out constant they have made no Discoveries of  
Indian Sign as yet it appears to be still Times on  
the frontier at this time and I account for it in this  
way all the Indians that Intends war is a watching  
the movements of the armed boats under the com-  
mand of Governor Clark but I am Determined not  
to be Lulled to Sleep under those Impressions, I  
shall be on the alert and keep out Spies and recon-  
ring parties in all Directions I should be verry

sorry if I should put you to trouble, in those times no person knows what to do for the Best, but every Person have a right to thir own opinion, and it is my Opinion that you move all our household furniture Home without the Least fear Now my Dear wife if you Should be of the Same oppinion have them brought home and then Should anything turn up so that they Should be Lost thir can be no reflections cast—Do not think that I am jealous of reflections being thrown on me, neather would I wish you to think that I am willing to Cast any on you—

I should be extremely glad to get a few Lines from you for it affords me a great satisfaction to hear from you and my Children, Tell them that nothing they Can Do will please me so much as to go to School and Learn to read and write, that as soon as they Can Spell well I shall give them each a Copy Book and Let them Learn to write; My Compliments to Mr Oden and all enquiring friends and accept for yourself the well Wishes of Dear wife your Loving and ever affectionate

JAS CALLAWAY

Mrs Nancy Callaway  
Crout Run

Camp Stouts fort 15th June 1814

Dear wife

I Received your Letter of the 11th of this Inst. informing me that you ware all well Except my Daughter and I am in hopes that she will soon recover from her sickness as she only has the Measles Let her Drink warm Coffee Tea or some other warm Drink knight and morning and she will soon recover —You have no doubt heard that two of the citizens of Lower Quiver by the name of Ewings and a stranger from the State of Ohio, they ware at the Mill on sandy about 10 mile from Lower Quiver and about six from Cappelgrais they were in the act of filing

a saw and both Shot down<sup>76</sup> together they Lay untill they ware nearly eat up before they were found I have no other news at present

I remain in health your

Loving husband

JAS. CALLAWAY

Mrs Nancy Callaway  
Crout run  
per Express

Stouts fort twenty seventh of  
June one thousand eight  
Hundred and fourteen

Dear wife

I am in Perfect Health at Present in hopes that these Lines will find you in better health than when I left you, I know your situation is Lonesome and Disagreeable even when you are well, and it must be more so when you are sick, if you are not better I will steal time enough after muster to come and see you, and perhaps I may anyhow, your Brother Benjamin is sick but not Dangerous and your Brother Francis started yesterday to the Sharrett with my father who has been in Camp to sell some powder, my father tells me he will let me have old Bill to Do the work, I wished to get a hand of Tolbert to Do, and I expect I shall buy Cach from Zumwalt if he will sell him<sup>77</sup> fifty five of my men has started for a Trip for fifteen Days and fifteen men and one Sar-

<sup>76</sup> No other account of these murders has been found. It is certain that the murdered men were not John, Patrick, or William Ewing, for John paid taxes in 1816: Patrick was married, December 28, 1815: and William was appointed an ensign on October 1, 1814. The account is too realistic to admit of doubt, but there might be some mistake of names.

<sup>77</sup> There is no evidence that he ever bought Cach, but on Dec. 22, 1814, he bought Martin, a nineteen year old boy, from his cousin William Hays for five hundred dollars.



gent has started from this Place under the command of Lieutenant Riggs ordered with forty Days Provision to meet at Cappel grey on the first Day of Next month in order to go to Perara De Sha<sup>78</sup> I have no other news at this time I have sent the horse home that I rode out here and want my horse from your fathers that John Callaway Brought from St Charles

your Loving Husband untill Death

JA<sup>S</sup> CALLAWAY

Mrs Nancy Callaway

St Charles County

Crout Run

Attention Col<sup>o</sup> D. M. Boone

Isleand Camp opposite Cappel Graiss 9th August 1814

Dear father and Mother

I Take advantage of a few Leisure moments to inform you that I am well at Present and I hope when this Reaches you that you as well as the Rest of the family will be enjoying good Health You will no Doubt Hear before this Reaches you of the surrender of the Troops at perara Deshain<sup>79</sup> I have no orders at this time more than to lay here untill

<sup>78</sup> Lieut. John Campbell's expedition, consisting of forty-two regulars and sixty-six rangers, left St. Louis in July to strengthen the garrison at Prairie du Chien. The troops occupied three boats and the sutler and contractor furnished three additional ones. Prairie du Chien was captured on the nineteenth, and on the twenty-second the relief expedition was badly defeated at Rock river. *Missouri Gazette*, July 30, Aug. 6, 1814.

<sup>79</sup> A large band of British and Indians attacked the newly erected Ft. Shelby and the gun boat *Governor Clark* at one thirty on July 17. The boat was soon forced down the river, but the fort held out until the evening of the nineteenth, and then surrendered because the garrison had been weakened by the withdrawal of the men whose terms had expired, because there was no doctor to dress the wounded and because ammunition, water, and supplies were "almost expended." Seven men were wounded on the *Governor Clark* and 51 on the fort. *Missouri Gazette*, May 7, July 2, 30, Aug. 6, 1814.

further orders, my men are generally Healthy and in High Spirits I expect that I shall go on to the Perara as I understand that their is Large Drafts a making amongst the malitia

I feel in great Spirits myself, I have a verry good running Boat and well fortified—I think we are at the Defiance of the Indians unavoidable accidents expected I understand that an expedition is on foot against michilimakinak if they should be successful<sup>80</sup> we shall have easy times to what is generally expected at this time and at all events the attention of the Indians will be Drawn towards that place as it is a post of greater Importance than Perara Deshain it is the opinion of the officers from perari De Shain that the Indians will not be verry Troublesome Down this way only in scouting parties as the great boddy of warriors will be Drawn of to the north and against they return it will be too Late to Come Down, and besides they must have time to hunt provisions for their families to Live on in the winter season

Dear parents I mentioned in the foregoing part of my Letter that I was in high sperits you will understand that this sperit flows only when I think of the Voyage I have undertaken, and believing that a man embarking in his Country Cause is not only honourable but his Duty, and especially when it is invaded by a Cruel and savage foe. Should I Fall the Cause then will be an honourable one and I Trust no man may have it in his power to add a cowardly one, and, I want no person to greive for me, but when I Consider that I am connected to a woman worthy of every blessing and calculated to render me entirely happy; to leave her together with my Darling Infants unprotected in a savage world my high military sperits falls below par, and I am almost Readdy to resign my Commission, but a moment Reflection with Respect to the

<sup>80</sup> The expedition was a failure.

situation of my Country together with this consideration that there is a number of men that has Joined the service that would not if any other person Commanded makes me Quit such Thoughts—There is no man that Longs for a Private Life than I do, but I am at a great distance from it at present should you have an opportunity to call and Console my wife in her forlorn situation it would be Truly gratifying to me, with sincere wishes for your health welfare and hapiness I Remain sincerely your Dutiful son

JA<sup>S</sup> CALLAWAY

Mr Flanders and Jamimah Callaway  
St Charles County  
Sharette Village

August the 15th 1814 Camp Near Cappel Graiss

Dear wife

I Received your favour of the 13th Inst which gave me great satisfaction to hear that you were all well. I am sorry that you are reduced to the Necessaty of moving from home, but I am greatly in hopes that your mind will be more at rest than if you were at home so Lonesome as you must be, and I could almost wish you to let the boys go to School if your Brothers Do but you must be guided by your good judgement as you are their and know more and better how to manage affairs than I Can advise you at this distance. If you act your own judgement you will Please me and most Certainly you will Please yourself or at Least you can have no Person to Blame if you could get any Person to get out my wheat it would be a help to you and if you was to give one third for getting the ballance out it would be better than to Loose the whole

I still hold good sperites and Enjoy Perfect Health no news nor no orders since I wrote you before no Indian sign on this frontier Remember

me to my Dear Children your Mother and all enquireing friends I Remain Dear Wife your Loving Husband Hoping for your Health I am

JA<sup>S</sup> CALLAWAY

Miss Nancy Callaway  
Howells Fort  
Mr Bowen.

Lower Rapids on the Mississippi<sup>81</sup> 6th Sept 1814

Dear wife For the first time since I Left Cappel Graiss I Rejoice at an opportunity of writing to you to Let you know that I am well at present although it has not been so Long for in three Days after I Left Cappel Graiss I was taken with the fever and ague and it Continued untill three Days ago it Left me and I Recover my strength verry fast we are on our return from Rock River and at this Place we have to build a fort and as soon as that is Completed I shall be Down—

I must now inform you that we had a severe battle with the Indians and british at Rock River<sup>82</sup> which Lasted about six hours and here I will give you the particulars as they occur to my mind we arived at Rock river on the evening of the 4th of Sept and the first objects that presented themselves to our view was the Plains Covered with horses in a miles Travel we Discovered a Canoe Loaded with Savages we hoisted a white flag but they run into the woods we went on a Little farther and there was a few savages say two Hundred that appeared to our view but they were on each shore and we on an Island

<sup>81</sup> This letter was written from the post which was soon afterwards named Ft. Johnson. It was on the site of the present town of Warsaw, Illinois, and opposite the mouth of the Des Moines, on a bank ninety feet above the river.

<sup>82</sup> This battle occurred at Credit Island, on the west side of the Mississippi, in what is now a part of Davenport, Iowa.



we stopt and cooked our suppers still shewed our white flag but of no use we ware obliged to stay at the shore all knight for the wind blew a Hurricane; about three Hours before Day the Indians commenced a fire on our Centinels and wounded two of them at Day Light we were ordered to go and scour the Isleand which we succeeded in doing in this I had one man wounded and Capt whitesides<sup>33</sup> had one we killed one Indian, we was then ordered to our boats the wind blew still verry hard and prevented us from manoevering but Capt Rector<sup>34</sup> was ordered Down to the Lower end of the Isleand to prevent the savages from crossing to the Isleand that we occupied—all was well then as we thought but in this we ware Deceived for in the night the Brittish had thrown up a battery on the opposite side of the River at the Distance of about six Hundred yards and just as the boat Dropped Down to the Lower end of the Isleand they opened a fire on our boats from one six one four and one three Pounders the first shots flew over us for fifteen or twenty five but they found out their mistake and began to Lower thir peices and they stuck them in to our boats, masts, sails stering oars and at Last was base enough to knock the Splinters into the men's faces we Returned the fire from our swivels and small arms but found we could not hurt them owing to the Distance We Dropped Down about three miles and they fired at us all the Time with small armes and instead of the Horses we saw the evening before on the plains it was lined with savages armed and firing at us we kept up the fire at them with our swiivels small arms &c we had about two hundred or more after we Dropt Down their was a Council of war held by the officers and it was thought best

<sup>33</sup> Samuel Whiteside of the Illinois rangers.

<sup>34</sup> Stephen Rector of the Illinois rangers.

to give up the persuit as we ware not able to erect a bettery on shore so that we Could play our six pounder on the place we wanted it and if we built our battery below we could not ingure them so we thought best to Come off and so we Did we had ten men wounded one of them we buried this morning and I think one or two others will Die shortly; only one man in my company is slightly wounded Silvenus Cottle. I expect to be at home against the twentyeth or twenty fifth give my Compliments to all enquireing friends and except for yourself the well wishes of your

JAS. CALLAWAY

N B Your Brothers have the fever and ague and is verry thin in the Jaws but I'll fetch them home with me

J C

Mrs Nancy Callaway  
Howells Station

Fort Johnson, East side Mississippi Foot of  
the Lower Rapids  
25th Sept 1814

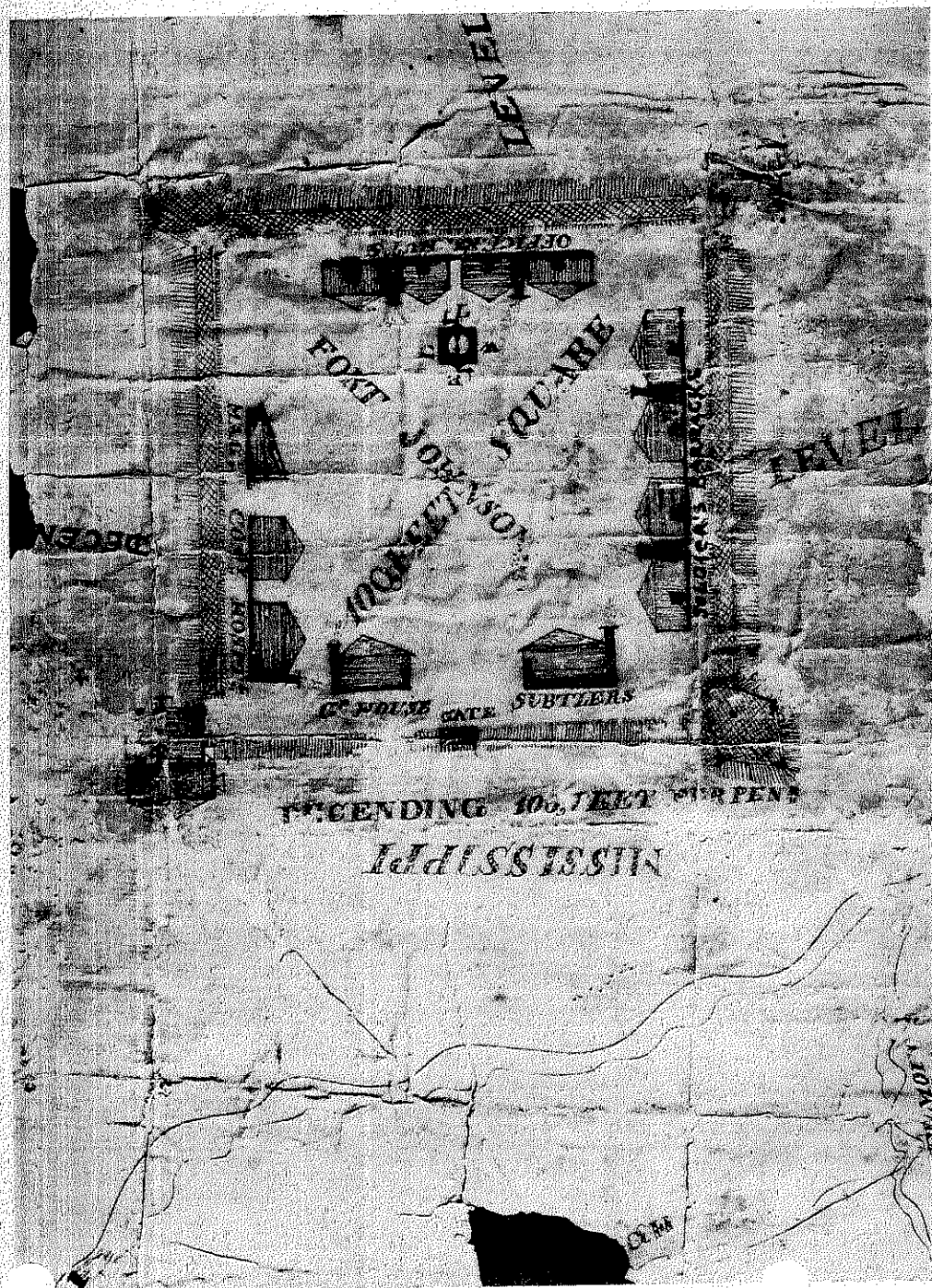
Dear wife

You will no Doubt (from my Last Letter to you) be a Looking for me in Person instead of this Small Peace of Paper which I send to you as a token of Love and friendship—a man in the service situated as I am is tossed and Carried about Like a Ship on the sea without a Rudder or a man to Steer her he may make calculations how and when he will go, but if a storm rises he is Drove a Contrary Course Such is the Case with me at Present, but it shall not always be so, I am ordered to Remain at this Place with fifty of my own men and fifty of Capt whitesides company how long I know not, but I expect to be Relieved in twenty or twenty five Dr

we have only had one attack made on us since we were at this Place and in that one only one man wounded we have our fort finished and it is verry Strong and their will be an addition to the Rangers about forty five Regular Troops two six and one three pounders and two swivels we have not more than ten Days of provisions for the Troops at this place and I am assured by Majr Taylor that if Provisions does not Reach this place against the Last of this month that the post will be Evacuated and all the men Come Down<sup>ss</sup> I have no news to write you but I should be extremely glad if you Could Convey a Letter to me as I am extremely anxious to hear from you and the Children for they are at all Leasure Hours on my mind, and my Leisure Hours are but few since at this place for I have been either officer of the Day or officer of the fatigue party every Day since I Came here after this my Duty will Not be Hard unless the Indians commence an attack on us, when I Return if I find all peaceble Times I mean to stay four or five weeks at Home and Have my affairs on the farm fixed in some small Degree Comfortable for the winter Should I not hear from you I Shall expect that you have had no opportunity of writing to me as I Do not expect you would Let one Slip by you I have riquested Mr. Becknell<sup>ss</sup> to go to Genl Howard and Know of him how Long I am to Stay at this place and if I am to Stay here he will Call and see you and you will Send me Some winter cloathes, sugar, Cheese, butter Give my Compliments to Susannah and all enquireing friends your

<sup>ss</sup> The supplies evidently failed to arrive, for the post was evacuated and burned about October 22, and the troops returned to Cap an Gris.

<sup>ss</sup> William Becknell was ensign in Callaway's company. He became a trader and made expeditions to Santa Fe in 1821 and 1823. See his "Journal" in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, II, 55-67.



FORT JOHNSON, DRAWN BY CAPT. CALLAWAY



mother in particular tell her to keep Benj at home that he Cannot stand the fatieges of a Campaign I have had my health verry badly but at this Time am hearty but verry weak as for further particulars you will Learn from your Brother who will hand you this Letter. I Expect to see you in good Health if not in good situation and under those Hopes I Live and Remain your Loving and ever affectionate Husband

JAS. CALLAWAY

Mrs. Nancy Callaway

Camp Clemson

5th March 1815

Dear wife

I have Just Returned from Bests fort,<sup>87</sup> on yeas-tearday evening Mr. John Wheldon<sup>88</sup> and one of my men was up their and heare four or five Guns and saw two Indians they Returned to this place and we marched up to Mr Quicks<sup>89</sup> in order to save them families from the Tomohwak we arived thir after swimming wading and Traveling Through the mud and water untill about midnight this morning we went on to Bests Fort but the rain had put out all the sign we Returned to Camp where the Spies from Louter Creek say they saw the sign of six Horses and one footman I am Just a going to start after them

Your affectionate Husband

Naney Callaway

JAS CALLAWAY

Crout Run

Capt. Wheldon

<sup>87</sup> Best's Fort was erected on the mainland near the western end of Loutre Island by Isaac Best in 1812.

<sup>88</sup> John Wheldon, in whose care this letter was sent, owned a large farm in what is now Dardenne Township, St. Charles county.

<sup>89</sup> Jacob Quick came from Germany and settled on the upper part of Loutre Island in 1811. He had married sons at this date.

## DIARY

On the 22nd of august at twelve oclock we Left Cappel Grais with a fair wind this movement was agreeable to a Detachment order Read on parade the evening before we set out Lieut hempstead<sup>90</sup> was Directed to Reconiter ahead of the fleet Major Z. Taylor who commanded the party in front of the fleet Capt Rector next and Capt whitesides to bring up the Rear we set out with hearts elated and sails filled untill Near sunset and encamped on the west side.

23rd August set out at Day Light and in rowing One Mile we hoisted sails and Landed on an Isleand on the East side and breckfasted one hour & set sail at Nine oclock and sailed about three Hours and the wind fell went on & encamped on the west side.

24th August set out at half past four and passed the Mouth of Buffelow<sup>91</sup> and encamped in the Mouth of Nie in Disorder here a Number of the men were ready to feint with fatenge

25th set out and six men on Board of my Boats Took The Measles 10 others sick we Took a Narrow part of the River and the men have to wade and pull the Boats I am this Day verry unwell myself we encamped opposite high Bluffs below fort mason

26 August set out early and passed fort Mason at eight oclock and breakfasted at Lagotries old house where we regaled our selves on peaches I have become better more men have the Measles we passed

<sup>90</sup> Stephen Hempstead of St. Charles county was appointed lieutenant of militia on June 4, 1812. Marshall, *Life and Letters of Frederick Bates*, II, 236.

<sup>91</sup> Buffaloe creek, a small stream in Pike county, flows northeast into the Mississippi five miles below the mouth of Salt river.

the Bay Charles<sup>92</sup> and encamped on an Isleand Near the eastside

27 we set out early and Breakfasted where a perrara shuts in on the westside We send some Indians and whitemen to spy they Return immediately and Report no signs of Indians we encamped on an Isleand where the bloff shuts in on the river on the eastside

28th we started with full sails and breakfasted where a parara Shuts in on the westside and Set out at ten oclock with filled sheets which continue untill evening we passed the River wancondan<sup>93</sup> and arive at perara Del yar and Stayed all Night 29th we set out early and breakfasted on a willow beach we sent out spies the[y] Discover Indian sign and Return we pass a perara on the west side and encamp on the same side.

30th we set out early and pass a perra on the east side the first on that Shore my men becom verry sick at twelve oclock we entered the rapids and Lay all Knight in them.

31st we set out early and about breakfast the Majors Boat swung and broke his Steering oar I landed sent him mine and ten men he got to shore and mended his oar their sprung up a stiff Breese and arived at the head of the Rapids a beautiful perara on the west side and an old farm on the east side we traveled about Six miles and one of my men by the Name of Pointer Died and we encamped at fort Madison

<sup>92</sup> The Bay Charles was a projecting arm that extended northwest for several miles. It was located just east of Palmyra, Marion county.

<sup>93</sup> The Wyaconda, a considerable stream, flows southeast across Clark and Lewis counties and empties into the Mississippi at Lagrange.



1st of september thursday we buried the man and mended the mast that had been Carried away by a gale of wind from the Majors boat we set out with half filled sails the wind increased and we sailed about 10 miles and encamped on the east side untill 8 oclock and anchored out in the river for the first Time

### 2nd Sept Friday

we set out about Day Light and about ten we passed several pararas on the east side and some on the west we encamped on an Isleand Near the west side.

### 3rd Sept saturday

we set out and breakfasted on the same Isleand but in Runing along this moruning we Discovered a Dog after breakfast we passed high Land bluff barran on the east side and the Ioway River on the west under full sail which Lasted untill evening we landed got our Suppers and set sail and ran all Knight and breakfasted about 15 Miles below Rock River On the morning of the 4th we ran up to rock River Discovered Horese when we ware opposite the mouth we saw a Canoe of Indians they Ran ashore and two went up the river with the Canoe we Ran up and Landed about three mile above the river on an Isleand and got our supper the Indians built a Large fire on the main Land opposite to us in the morning of the 5th of Sept before Day the Indians commenced a fire on us wounded two of our men we peraded and Drove them off the Isleand two other men wounded in this action Capt Rector Dropped Down a Small Distance below to prevent the Indians from Coming to our Isleand and about this time they commenced a Cannonnadeing on our Boats they over shot us at first but soon brought them to bear on us they shot one ball in the Com-manding officers boat one through the spie Boat and

3 towards Capt allens boat one cut the steering oar off the Indians from all Quarters firing their Small armes at us and we Returned the fire from our Small arms and swivils for one hour when we ware obliged to Drop down as they fired from a battery and we from our boats We Dropt about 4 miles below and held a Council of war in which we concluded and it was best as they ware (as was supposed) five times our numbers & had as heavy mettle as us and acordingly it was so

### MUSTER ROLLS, PAY ROLLS AND RECEIPT FOR ARMS

#### ROLL OF COMPANY OF CAVALRY—Undated.

James Callaway, Capt.	John Paterson
Prospect K. Robbins, Lieut.	Gion Gibson
James Whitesides, Ensign	Thomas Witherinton
Jonathan Riggs, Purser	Willis Hensley
Elisha Moore, 1st Seargt.	Thomas Cunegam
Larkin S. Callaway, 2nd Seargt.	[Cunningham]
Drury R. Prichet, 3rd Seargt.	Joseph Hanes [Hainds]
William S. Williams, 4th Seargt.	William F. Wells
Thomas Howell, Trumpeter	Joseph Gibson
William Smith, Private	Wilfond Deason
James Cleaver	Arthur Cordial
Thomas Smith	Ebenezer Davis
John Stuart	Evin Lemasters
James Deason	Pierre Bergeron
Robert Pruitt	Louis Pelleter
Jacob C. Darst	Antoine Mallet
Elijah Davis	Daniel Quick
William Jamerson	James James
John Gibson	Philip Durton
John M. Doff	D. Barton
John Deason	

MUSTER ROLL OF A COMPANY OF CAVALRY ACTING AS  
MOUNTED RIFLE MEN COMMANDED BY CAPT. JAMES  
CALLAWAY AND MUSTERED INTO SERVICE THE  
29TH APRIL, 1813, AND CONTINUED IN SER-  
VICE UNTIL THE 18TH MAY, 1813,  
INCLUSIVE.

Names	Rank	When Mustered Into Service	To What Time Employed or Engaged
James Callaway	Capt.	29th April 1813	18th May 1813
Prospect K. Robbins	1st Lut.	" " " "	" " " "
John B. Stone	2nd L.	" " " "	" " " "
Jonathan Riggs	Cornet	" " " "	" " " "
Larkin S. Callaway	Sargt.	2nd May 1813	18th May 1813
John Baldrige	"	29th April 1813	" " " "
William Smith	"	13th May 1813	" " " "
Thomas Howell	Trumpet	29th April 1813	18th May 1813
James Kerr	Private	29th April 1813	" " " "
John Stuart	"	" " " "	" " " "
Francis McDermid	"	" " " "	" " " "
John Atkinson	"	" " " "	" " " "
Robert Pruitt	"	" " " "	" " " "
Francis Howell	"	" " " "	" " " "
Joseph Hains	"	" " " "	" " " "
Richard Barry	"	" " " "	" " " "
Thomas Smith	"	" " " "	" " " "
Adam Zumwalt 1st	"	" " " "	" " " "
Enock Taylor	"	" " " "	" " " "
Alexander Baldrige	"	" " " "	" " " "
Lewis Crow	"	" " " "	" " " "
Benjamin Howell	"	2nd May 1813	" " " "
Antony C. Parmer	"	8th " "	" " " "
Daniel Hays	"	13th " "	" " " "
Boone Hays	"	13th " "	" " " "
Adam Zumwalt 2nd	"	14th " "	" " " "
John Howell	"	" " " "	" " " "

I certify on Honor that this Musterroll  
exhibits a True and Correct Statement  
of the Company of Cavalry under my Command.

(Signed) James Callaway, Capt.

## PAY TABLE

NOTES IN THE HANDS OF CAPT. CALLAWAY FOR COLLECTION.

By whom given	Amount	To whom given
Atkinson, John	\$.50 cts.	James Callaway
" "	1.	" "
Breading, William	4.37½	" "
Crump, Daniel	11.75	" "
Emmons, A. Ira	33.	" "
Hubbard, Jabez	50	Lindsey Carson
Linville, Aaron	80	Joseph Gibson
Megill, John	4	James Callaway
Smith, William	35.	Joshua Dodson
Taylor, Zachariah	150	Robert Cooper
Robertson, John	1.25	James Callaway
" "	3 6¼	" "
Price, Lemuel	32	Abram Darst

ROCK RIVER ACCOUNTS  
ON MUSICKS COMPANY.

	Amount Due
Samuel Abbot	\$4.11¼
Ignatius Anderson	6.7*½
Lindsey Burke	4.32
John Burnside	1.28¼
Philip Butler	.81
Johnathan Cottle	2.00¾
John Dozier	1.45
Peter Furlough	3.71½
John Howard	3.91½
John Jacobs	4.52¼
Page Johnston	.47½
Francois Mograin	.94¼
Jacob Noland	1.75
Jacob Trask	4.32
Johnathan Vess	2.87½
Caleb Witherington	3.24
Jobe Williams	1.01¼
Mel Whiteside	7.05½
Lieut. Williams	.40½



PAY TABLE CONTINUED  
CALLAWAY'S COMPANY

	Amount Due
Ens. W. Becknell	7.46
Reese Bowen	1.54½
Nathan Coughman	3.03½
Joseph Collard	1.01½
Daniel Crump	4.81
Hallard Dorcey	2.97
Tract. Emmons	2.46½
Aaron Gernsey	3.44
Samuel Groshong	.94½
Lowrey T. Hampton	.98
Thomas Kerr	.33¾
James Lewis	2.95½
James Long	.36¾
Daniel Larrison	1.25
Joseph Mitchel	1.75½
F. McDermid	1.01½
William Smith	1.62
William Woolf	4.45½
Lador Woods	12.64

## CRAIG'S COMPANY

Jeremiah Able	1.35
John Brown	.60¾
James Brown	.40½
— Bird	2.76¾
James Hamilton	1.28¾
— Loyd	.40½
Nathane McCartie	.40½
— Revah	1.98¾
John Sorrels	.47¾
Joshua Simpson	3.37½
Edward Stephenson	.64¾
Ebare Tayon	2.07½
John Wiggs	1.25
Louis Venice	.81

## RECEIPT FOR ARMS

2nd March 1812

Saint Charles.

We the undersigned acknowledge to have received of Capt. James Callaway of the Cavalry of St. Charles one Sword and belt and one pistol arms of the United States which we severally promise to be accountable for and return when demanded by the said Capt. Callaway. Witness our hands the day and year above written.

*Signed.*

X John B. Stone  
Jonathan Riggs,  
Even Lemasters  
Lewis Crow,  
Thomas Howell,  
Elijah Davis,  
John Stewart  
Joshua Dodson,  
Daniel Hays,  
John Doff,  
Anthony C. Farmers,  
Dury R. Rinhard  
Thos. Smith,  
Thos. McNair,  
Boon Hays,  
Prospect K. Robbins  
N. Howell X

*Signed.*

Alexander Chambers  
John Howell,  
Francis Howell,  
Larkin S. Callaway,  
Jacob C. Darst,  
Adam Zumwalt,  
William Smith,  
Joseph Haynes,  
Elisha Moore,  
Lawry Hampton,  
X Robert Pruett  
Joseph Gibson,  
James Gleasen  
John Deason,  
James Deason,  
James Deason,  
Wilford Deason.

To said troop or any of its members which purser shall collect the same with all convenient speed and keep a correct account of all monies so collected by him and he shall keep the same subject to the orders and draughts of the \* \* \* \*

Receipts for public Army.