HONORING
MERIWETHER LEWIS
PRESERVING HIS LEGACY
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On the cover

The Lewis and Clark Living History Association, led by members of the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles, led a procession to Meriwether Lewis’s grave during a memorial service for the famed explorer on October 7, 2009. They were followed by the Tennessee State Guard (also pictured), individuals bearing the flags of each trail state, representatives of families and organizations who would place wreaths on Lewis’s grave, individuals carrying plants from each trail state, members of the Lewis family and service attendees.
President’s Message

Board focus remains on transparency and stability

It is an honor and privilege to serve as the 2009-2010 president of the LCTHF. Your board of directors and I are working daily to stabilize our Foundation on several levels and elevate its perception in the public eye.

My remarks at the business meeting during our 41st annual meeting included the word “transparency.” We want to keep you informed about all of our actions and make everyone aware of our Foundation’s needs. One of those is an annual report from you on the volunteer hours you donate by promoting the Lewis and Clark story through your many activities including chapter meetings, service projects, committee work, and public or private presentations. Additionally, we need annual chapter reports so that we can communicate more effectively.

Our previously announced staff realignment has moved forward with the hiring of Dr. Stephen Forrest as director of operations and member services. Stephen has a very high energy level and experience in all areas we need for our Foundation to be successful. Additionally, our endowment funds are secure, though not as high as they were at the peak of the securities market in 2008. We believe we will be able to make withdrawals from the appreciated value of the endowed funds very soon. Through your generosity we are looking at a stronger financial future.

As part of our ongoing stabilization, I visited with our partners in the National Park Service’s Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail office in November. Mark Weekley, the new trail superintendent, truly understands partnerships and his staff is energized for future projects. As part of our effort to be good partners, I have asked Mark to share his thoughts with us in Trail Notes starting with this issue of WPO.

Trail stewardship is part of our mission and we encourage our chapters from sea to sea to plan and carry out stewardship projects that benefit the trail. The fun we have during these projects is a bonus. Off-trail chapters also have exciting opportunities. Partnering with other organizations to tell the Lewis and Clark story in schools, senior centers or community venues is just as valued as river cleanups or trail restorations. All of these activities raise public awareness of our Foundation and its mission. Please remember that good media exposure can lead to new members for the chapter and the Foundation, so make the local news outlets aware of your activity with a news release before the event and pictures afterward.

The memorial service for Meriwether Lewis on October 7, 2009, at Grinder’s Stand on the Natchez Trace Parkway helped promote the planned Meriwether Lewis Education Center at that hallowed site. Your board of directors approved a resolution of support for that new center and...
currently we are working to secure congressional approval and funding for it. The Natchez Trace Parkway Association is leading this effort, but our status as a national organization can provide a major voice of support for the center.

An increasing amount of our future communications with members and chapters, including future issues of *The Orderly Report*, will be through e-mail. I'm sure you will understand that e-mails are much less expensive than paper and postage.

To facilitate our e-mail communications, please send your e-mail address to jgodfrey@lewisandclark.org. Your privacy will be our top consideration and your address will be used for Foundation information only.

Please feel free to contact me at 859-278-7723 or pmjlmallory@insightbb.com with comments that will strengthen your Foundation. I hope you will continue supporting your Foundation with your voice and finances by planning to attend the 42nd annual meeting this August in Lewiston, Idaho.

My wife, Paula, joins me in extending our best wishes for the New Year.

—Jim Mallory
President, LCTHF

NPS grant deadline is February 20

The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is happy to announce that the 2010 Challenge Cost Share Program is open for business and accepting applications for projects until February 20, 2010. Projects should begin this summer and be complete no later than September 30, 2011. Financial assistance will be limited to $10,000 with a 100 percent non-federal matching requirement.

We have updated some of our forms and processes so be sure to check us out at http://www.nps.gov/lecl/parkmgmt/challenge-cost-share.htm.

—Lee Smith
Administrative Officer, LCNHT

Public engagement will help the NPS achieve its full potential in the long-term management of the NHT.

The feasibility study for the Eastern Legacy segment of the expedition will be a balanced and unbiased study prepared by the NPS for Congress. While the NPS will prepare the study, the agency must remain neutral in its findings. First and foremost the study will determine if the resource is nationally significant. It then must determine if the resources are suitable and feasible additions to the National Park System. This study will answer such questions as: Should the Lewis and Clark NHT be extended to include the Eastern Legacy or not? How should the Eastern Legacy be managed? What is the route or routes of the Eastern Legacy that should be part of a trail extension? What would it cost to administer the Eastern Legacy? Is there public support or opposition for making the Eastern Legacy part of the Lewis and Clark NHT? What are the potential impacts of this action? This list goes on and on. Once the study is complete, Congress will decide what, if any, action to take. Even if resources are found to be significant, suitable and feasible, there may be other alternatives besides NPS management of the route.

The estimated timeframe for completion of the comprehensive management plan is five years, while the feasibility study will take 18 to 24 months. By its nature, a management plan prepares us for the future much the way the Eastern Legacy focuses on the preparations made by the Corps of Discovery. The theme of preparation and looking forward is one that will usher us into the new era of Lewis and Clark NHT administration. Clearly, this is going to be a busy and exciting time, please stay tuned for opportunities to help with these projects.

—Mark Weekley
Superintendent, LCNHT

February 2010
Lewis's death still sparks debate and controversy

I was offended by David Nicandri's recent unfair attack on the character of Meriwether Lewis in his article, "Meriwether Lewis: The Solitary Hero," (p. 8) in the November 2009 WPO. I have known Mr. Nicandri for many years and I have always been put off by his bias that Lewis was a selfish and vain-glorious explorer. There are two major theories about Lewis's death, neither of which can be proved 200 years later, and, as shown at the recent LCTHF annual meeting, the debates continue. Mr. Nicandri's dislike and slanderous attitude toward Lewis show a lack of respect on his part.

DON POPEJOY
Spokane, Wash.

I am only one of a countless number of people who devote their time and energy to preserving the Lewis and Clark Trail and the history of the expedition. I have been giving talks and demonstrations, and doing living history for 15 years. I use WPO as one of my resources and highly recommend it to others. It is, however, becoming harder to teach when I have to spend time correcting misinformation that is provided by others. I shake my head in despair and wonder at what is happening to our heritage. Many people are getting the wrong story through inaccurate and biased material that erodes our history. We should be preserving it. That is why I joined this organization and donate my time and money. Am I the only one who can see what is happening? Where is the outrage at losing our history?

I use as an example the recent article in WPO by David Nicandri titled "Meriwether Lewis: The Solitary Hero." The article could not be further from the truth regarding Lewis's character and motives. The author uses quotes from the journals, but the rest of the article is not based on facts. It is a distortion of the truth to cast a negative light on Meriwether Lewis. Nicandri has taken facts out of context and superimposed them with biases to rewrite the history this organization preserves. As a member, I am disappointed.

To address all the issues I have with the article I would need to write a paper longer than this letter. To make my point, I will mention just a few. When Lewis found the Great Falls, he was not looking for glory as Nicandri wrote, but rather he was leading the third and last scouting party up the river, looking to assure the expedition they were on the right course. Two separate scouting parties preceded Lewis, led by Patrick Gass and William Clark. Clark went farther than Gass and had every opportunity to discover the falls. Allowing others to go first is not the action of a glory seeker.

When Lewis crossed the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass, he was not looking for glory. He was looking for the Shoshones because the expedition needed horses, a guide and assistance to continue its journey. Lewis made the journey only because Clark could not. Clark clearly stated this by writing in his journal on August 9, 1805, "I should have taken this trip had I been able to march, from the raging fury of a tumor on my ankle muscle." Once again, Lewis was not concerned with being first. If Clark had been able to march, it would have been Lewis laboring with the canoes while Clark was standing on the Continental Divide.

At "Dismal Nitch," Lewis was not the first to go scouting or looking to see if there was a ship in the area or a better place for the party to weather the storm. Lewis, however, went the farthest. By going all the way to the coast, he increased his chances to make contact with fur traders. It should be noted that it was not always easy for ships to enter the mouth of the Columbia. Considering the weather, it was possible that a ship was sitting off the coast waiting for conditions to change.

These are just a few examples of some of the errors in the article that alter the character of the expedition while casting Meriwether Lewis in a negative light. When audiences have been exposed to articles such as this, I have to take time away from my programs to correct misinformation.

STEVE MOREHOUSE
Dillon, Mont.
accurately interpret period medicine without reading period literature. An article should be buttressed by facts. Otherwise it is opinion and should be noted as such.

John W. Fisher
Juliaetta, Idaho

Awards deadline approaching
The deadline for submitting nominations for the Foundation’s annual awards is May 1, 2010. The Awards Committee will review nominations for Meritorious Achievement, Distinguished Service, Youth Achievement, Chapter and Appreciation awards, and the newly revived Robert Bett Library and Archives Award. The awards give special recognition to deserving individuals.

Criteria and nomination guidelines are available on the Foundation Web site at www.lewisandclark.org/?p=about&n=awards-committee.

Ken Jutzi
Committee Chairman
Camarillo, Calif.

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February 2010 We Proceeded On — 5

Editor’s Note
In the November 2009 issue of WPO, I used the painting, The Captains Lewis and Clark: Trusted Leaders, Loyal Friends (p. 14), by Charles Fritz to illustrate David Nicandri’s article, “Meriwether Lewis: The Solitary Hero.” The article advanced Nicandri’s theory that Lewis and Clark may not have shared the intimate friendship many historians have suggested. The use of this image and the accompanying caption was insensitive on my part. Its use was not to imply that Fritz’s depiction of the captains as loyal friends was, in any way, incorrect.

Lewis and malaria, revisited
We Proceeded On readers who did not attend the 2009 LCTHF annual meeting, which included a commemorative presentation honoring the life of Meriwether Lewis, should know that of all the speakers, Thomas C. Danisi influenced the most people concerning Governor Lewis’s death. His well-documented presentation of the possible malarial cause of Lewis’s death was in striking contrast to Dr. Ronald Loge’s article, “Meriwether Lewis and Malaria,” (WPO, May 2002, p. 33), which offered inadequate documentation in three footnotes. Additionally, Dr. David Peck’s dismissal that malaria contributed to Lewis’s death, “The Death of Meriwether Lewis,” (WPO, November 2009, p. 16) offers no citations from period literature.

I look forward to every issue of WPO, reading it from cover to cover looking for new sources of information. I frequently read the endnotes and sometimes check the original sources. You cannot
Editor's Note

Honoring dear friends and welcoming new operations director Stephen Forrest

During the past year, the Foundation said goodbye to two dear friends, Meriwether Lewis and Bob Hunt. Meriwether Lewis has been gone for two centuries, but Bob Hunt passed away just last summer. We have chosen to honor these two extraordinary individuals in this issue of We Proceeded On.

We have featured countless articles on the life and death of Meriwether Lewis. We have glorified him, analyzed him, and debated his actions and decisions. No doubt that will continue for a long time to come. However, on October 7, 2009, a few days prior to the 200th anniversary of his death, we stopped glorifying, analyzing and debating for an afternoon and simply honored him. The National Park Service estimates that 2,500 people attended a memorial service for Lewis at his gravesite near Grinder's Stand on the Natchez Trace. The commemoration of his death included tributes, speeches, the unveiling of a bust, a re-enactment, a solemn procession to his grave, dinner on the lawn, and the opportunity for individuals to pay their respects and honor a great American. The ceremony included speeches from historian Stephanie Ambrose Tubbs; Howell Lewis Bowen, a collateral descendant of Meriwether Lewis; and Peyton “Bud” Clark, a great-great-grandson of William Clark.

Their speeches, along with photos of the historic event, are included in this issue (“Meriwether Lewis August 18, 1774 – October 11, 1809,” p. 20).

WPO also has featured 21 articles, four of which appeared in two parts, by scholar and Foundation member Bob Hunt. I had long been familiar with Bob’s work before I had the pleasure of meeting him. His contributions to WPO spanned two decades and his topics, all intriguing and well researched, were not mainstream subjects and therefore appealed to me, for I had long since beaten several dead horses with my own research on Sacagawea.

The 2006 annual meeting, which coincided with the final signature event of the bicentennial commemoration, opened with a re-enactment of the welcome ball held in Lewis and Clark’s honor at William Christy’s Tavern on September 25, 1806. The festivities included a dance/processional that took pairs of “dancers” around the room in intricate patterns. I had the good fortune to be Bob Hunt’s partner, which gave us nearly an hour to visit and get to know one another. I remember my excitement when he introduced himself. Here was a prolific contributor to WPO who thought outside the traditional boundaries of Lewis and Clark scholarship, and I had just begun to edit my first issue of this publication. We soon realized that the evening would not provide enough time to cover all of our mutual interests. Thus, our correspondence began.

Bob had stopped using e-mail by the time we met so he corresponded through cards and letters, sometimes a couple of sentences long and other times, several pages in length. I have always been a bit traditional about correspondence and much prefer a handwritten note to an e-mail, though I admit to a great overuse of this modern communication. He sent me story ideas and drafts of articles. He sent comments, criticisms and compliments on items appearing in WPO. He asked for updates on my family and in short time, became a dear and trusted friend.

In July 2008, I had the opportunity to dine with Bob, his wife, Pat, and their good friends Al and Virginia Furtwangler at the Rainier Club in Seattle. It was a wonderful evening at which time, on behalf of the Foundation, Carol Bronson and I gave Bob a bound copy of all of his contributions to WPO. The conversation moved from Foundation history to Lewis and Clark anecdotes and from personal connections to food and music. Long after coffee and dessert had been served, our party reluctantly departed the club. However, I had made a new friend through Bob and my correspondence with Al has continued.

I miss Bob very much and over time, so will readers of WPO. We provide a tribute to Bob in this issue (“Remembering Bob Hunt, a gentleman and scholar of Lewis and Clark,” p. 34) and a bibliography of his articles in WPO. The August issue of WPO will include the best of his work and from personal networks to a team of scholars and enthusiasts who have followed Bob’s work over two decades.

As we say goodbye to these individuals, I know that we will not soon forget the contributions both have made to the scholarship we all love to study, explore and debate.

Welcome Stephen Forrest

On that note, I would like to turn our attention from goodbyes to a warm welcome to Montana native Stephen Forrest, who recently was hired as our director of operations and member services. He assumed the position in January.

Forrest brings extensive experience in the non-profit sector and fiscal management to our national membership organization. He is internationally recognized as an innovative and skilled historical educator, historic preservationist and policy advocate.

Since 2008, he has served as a lecturer at St. Clare’s, Hertford and St. Catherine’s Colleges, University of Oxford in the United Kingdom. Prior to that, he was a faculty member in history and education at Montana State University in Great Falls.

Forrest holds a doctor of philosophy degree in history from the University of Oxford and a doctor
of education in adult education from Oklahoma State University. These are in addition to his master of arts in history from the London School of Economics and undergraduate degrees from the University of Montana.

In addition to managing non-profits, Forrest has worked with Native American, African American and Latino American communities, along with people from more than 20 countries. Forrest has developed a variety of educational programs, including university degrees and for-credit classes, and numerous partnerships between educational institutions and community agencies. He also has served as a speaker and panel moderator for popular and academic audiences on American history, Native American history, Irish history, community development and education. He has coordinated lecture series and speaking engagements for national and international scholars. His personal scholarly interests include the impact of the sense of place in history, Jeffersonian education, and the integration of history, anthropology and geography.

In his new position, Forrest is responsible for the overall operation of the Foundation’s programs and supervision of the staff. He is responsible for financial reporting; recruiting, retaining and strengthening our relationships with members and chapters; developing relationships and working with volunteers and partner organizations; and coordination with chapters hosting Foundation meetings. Forrest will work with the board to develop an annual operations plan and with staff members to establish priorities and work plans.

“Lewis and Clark stand as one of America’s great epic stories,” Forrest said. “Helping preserve and protect the story and trail by becoming part of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is a great honor.”

—Wendy Raney
Editor

“An excellent study of a misunderstood hero.”

Meriwether Lewis
by Thomas C. Danisi & John C. Jackson

Independent scholars Danisi and Jackson have written this definitive biography based on twelve years of meticulous research, re-examining the original Lewis and Clark documents and searching through obscure and overlooked sources to reveal a wealth of fascinating new information on the enigmatic character and life of Meriwether Lewis.

“This is by far the best biography of the serious, sexy, dangerous half of the Lewis & Clark expedition, the eternally puzzling and contradictory Meriwether Lewis.”

SteveReads.blogspot.com

“This is an excellent study of a misunderstood hero and of the early national period in U.S. History.”

David Lee Poremba,
The Past in Review online

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February 2010
We Proceeded On — 7
Samuel Latham Mitchill was known by various titles: doctor, senator, professor, representative and husband. An avid and prolific letter writer to his wife, Catherine Akerly Mitchill, he wrote some of his most beautiful and descriptive letters about Meriwether Lewis. He worked seven months a year in Washington, D.C., and the other five on North Hempstead, Long Island, a seaside nook a few miles from New York City. Mitchill spent his personal hours at home working as an editor, analyzing chemistry formulas, and tending to his wife, Catherine, and their two daughters.

Information about Mitchill was difficult to obtain, and it was only because I was eager to enliven and dig deeper into the story of Meriwether Lewis that I have this information at all. John Jackson said that unless we had new information to present in our co-authored biography of Lewis, it would not be worth writing. I already had spent four years tracking clues and facts on Lewis’s long-standing physical illness, but finding additional new information felt like a daunting task.

I thought of Mahlon Dickerson, a close friend of Lewis’s. Perhaps there was more about him that historian Donald Jackson had failed to uncover. However, the Dickerson Papers were in New Jersey and I guessed that a lot of money would be spent for a small return. I considered other friends of Lewis, and his brother Reuben. I thought of many individuals, but most did not have a known “collection of papers” and the rest did not write about Lewis.

About the time I started to worry about uncovering some truly new material that would reveal the personal side of Meriwether Lewis, a faint thought persistently reminded me of a Frederick Bates letter. A month after Lewis’s death, Bates had written to his brother scoffing at Lewis because “he had been spoiled by the elegant praises of Mitchell & Barlow ...” While familiar with Joel Barlow’s ode to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, I had no idea of Lewis’s connection to Mitchell.

Years earlier, I had found a couple of letters praising James MacKay’s explorations for the Spanish. Those letters were printed in the Medical Repository, the leading scientific journal founded and edited by Samuel Latham Mitchill. The more I dug, the more I found, and in October 2004, I made a trip to the Museum of the City of New York to examine the Samuel Latham Mitchill collection.

I made a chronological wish list of his letters because, in the event that it would be difficult to read his handwriting, I had to prioritize what I thought were the most important years. Within moments of putting on the white gloves and opening the December 1806 case, I learned that his handwriting, thankfully, was readable.

It was well known that Lewis arrived in Washington, D.C., after the completion of his western exploration, late in the day of December 28, 1806, so I started reading the letters dated a few days earlier. Initially, they offered no mention of Lewis, but the Mitchell letter dated December 30 revealed exciting news:
Capt. Lewis has reached this place after the performance of a journey across the Continent of North America, quite across to the Pacific Ocean, and back again. The distance is computed to be considerably more than three thousand miles ... I feel rejoiced on his own account; an account of Geography & Natural History; and on account of the Character and Honour of Country that this expedition has been successfully performed.9

Mitchell must have been near or in the presidential mansion when Lewis arrived, for this letter was three pages long and filled with details of the expedition. Mitchell biographer Alan D. Aberbach described President Jefferson and Dr. Mitchell as having the curiosity of little children and said they “listened for hours as Lewis reported on his tale of hardship and success.”10

Mitchell had become a member of the Legislature of New York in 1790 and was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1801. He became a senator in November 1804 and remained in that capacity until 1813 when he decided to return to New York and attend to scientific pursuits.11 His first observation of Thomas Jefferson occurred about a month after Mitchell’s initial arrival in Washington:

He is tall in stature and rather spare in flesh. His dress and manners are very plain; he is grave, or rather sedate, but without any tincture of pomp, ostentation, or pride, and occasionally can smile, and both hear and relate humorous stories as well as any other man of social feelings. At this moment he has a rather more than ordinary press of care and solicitude, because Congress is in session and he is anxious to know in what manner the Representatives will act upon his Message ...12

For the 12 years that he resided in Washington, Mitchell wrote almost daily to his wife. She visited him infrequently, and with two daughters it was difficult to make the trip from New York to the nation’s capital.13 In March 1806, she made a trip to Washington and had an awkward encounter with President Thomas Jefferson. At the conclusion of a church service in the House of Representatives, she accidentally stepped on his toes and was “so prodigiously frighten’d,” she told her sister, “that I could not stop to make an apology, but got out of the way as quick as I could.”14 Catherine’s letters to her sister also described the latest news. In August of 1807, she wrote that her husband, “Sam,” had accompanied Robert Fulton on the maiden voyage of his steamboat in New York harbor. “An ingenious piece of workmanship,” Catherine remarked and was surprised how fast the steamboat moved through the water “with the tide against her.”15

Catherine lived in a wondrous and fortunate time and enjoyed the additional benefit of being married to a man with a consuming hunger for knowledge. A witty friend once stated, “Tap the doctor at any time, he will flow.”16 The House of Representatives referred to him as the “Stalking Library,” Thomas Jefferson called him the “Congressional Dictionary” and to his admirers he was known as the “Nestor of American Science.”17

He first met Meriwether Lewis at a dinner at the presidential mansion in January of 1802. Jefferson “has generally a company of eight or ten to dine with him every day. The dinners are neat and plentiful, and no healths are drunk at table nor any toasts or sentiments given after dinner.” At this first dinner, seven were invited and the “President and his secretary, Captain Lewis, completed the party.”18 By April 29, Mitchell had become a select member of the dinner party of regulars. Afterward, Mitchell said that he accompanied Lewis into the “President’s Council Chamber,” and “saw two ... Busts of Indian Hatuyary, lately found near the Mississippi. I did not know until I saw these that sculpture had advanced so far among the Native red-men of North America.”19

Mitchell wrote some of the most interesting descriptions of Meriwether Lewis later and he never lost
an opportunity to write a review in the Medical Repository regarding Lewis and Clark’s accomplishments.20

Legislative historians have struggled for years to understand why there were no written records of the inauguration of what today is called, the Lewis and Clark Expedition. All that exists in the congressional files is mention that Jefferson delivered a secret message to Congress on January 18, 1803, and Congress approved a 10- to 12-man expedition on February 26, 1803.21 Discovery of Mitchill’s letter to his wife dated January 31, 1803, finally enhanced those records. He began with:

My Dear Kate: I write you from a secret conclave of Congress ... the House of Representatives is now setting with closed doors. The Galleries were cleared a little while ago to receive a confidential communication. After receiving it, a Debate arose whether it ought to be considered as a secret any longer or whether the Injunction of Secrecy should be taken off. And that discussion is now going on. So I thought I would write you, my dear, a few lines to let you know ... something about this Political Secret, was I not restrained by my own decision because I have just set down after making a Speech against taking off the Injunction of Secrecy. You must however not imagine any thing about it, nor pretend to suppose that a secret expedition is mediated up the river Missouri to its source, thence across the Northern Andes and down the Western water-courses to the Pacific Ocean, and that the reason of keeping it secret is that the English and Spaniards may not find it out and frustrate it.22

Mitchill had sworn to secrecy, probably on a stack of Bibles, but could not help himself and told his wife anyway! What a treasure for the Lewis and Clark archives.

On January 11, 1807, Mitchill dined alone with Lewis and wrote his wife:

During the expedition, communications ... and productions of the country were ... forwarded to the President. Where that mode of intercourse was not possible, the articles collected were ... brought home by the adventurers in person. They achieved so much, that I told Lewis ... shortly after his return to Washington, when he dined with me, I looked upon him ... as a man arrived from another planet.23

Five days later Mitchill sent Catherine an elaborate letter. A short excerpt follows:

A few evenings ago, I went to the Presidents House to see the specimens of Natural History brought by Capt. Lewis from Louisiana, and his Map of the regions he has visited between the Mississippi and the Pacific. He has several non-descript animals. ... He has brought with him the seeds of many plants; and shewed me several presses ... in fine preservation. These make an instructive herbarium of the Regions to which he passed. ... But his Map of those parts of North America is the most instructive of his bounties.24

On February 18, 1807, Mitchill met William Clark at one of Jefferson’s dinners.

After the adjournment, I went to dine with Mr. Jefferson. There I found Capt. Clarke the traveller to the Pacific Ocean. He is a fine-looking soldierly man, and very conversant with the North American Indians. My seat at the table was between the President and him. So of course I could converse, by turns, with each. I improved the opportunity to inquire of Capt. C. concerning the manners and Customs of the native tribes he had visited on the Missouri.25

It is almost indescribable how the Samuel Latham Mitchill papers have augmented and expanded the record of Lewis and Clark’s “bounties.” They originated with one man who was easily Thomas Jefferson’s scientific equal and who excitedly shared information with the scientific and geographical community. Descriptive letter writing is a disappearing art. Some corners of the past remain dark and unknown for lack of such letters, while others are illuminated and brought to life because of a single dedicated correspondent. Some faithful letter writers, such as Mitchill, are located in important places at crucial times in history, and record exciting facts and observations mixed in with the more mundane descriptions of family life and personal incidents.


6 The Samuel Latham Mitchill papers are held at the Museum of the City of New York in New York City. In July 2004, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation awarded me a small research grant, which helped fund this important trip.

7 The first date was December 1806, then 1807, 1805, the rest of 1806, 1804, 1808, 1801 and 1802.


10 Aberbach, In Search of an Identity, p. 70.


13 Ibid., p. 740. A digital reproduction is available through Cornell University Library - The Making of America, http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=harp;cc=harp;r=rgn=full%20text;idno=harp0058-5;didno=harp0058-5;view=image;seq=0750


19 Samuel L. Mitchill to Catherine Mitchill, April 29, 1802, folder 41.321.10, Museum of the City of New York, New York City. The term “hatary” used by Mitchill in his letter refers to the headress on the bust.


24 Samuel L. Mitchill to Catherine Mitchill, January 16, 1807, folder 41.321.103, Museum of the City of New York, New York City.

25 Samuel L. Mitchill to Catherine Mitchill, February 18, 1807, folder 41.321.69, Museum of the City of New York, New York City.
The Curious Case of the Purloined Preface

Half of Private Joseph Whitehouse’s journal preface is taken from Alexander Mackenzie’s journal, but Whitehouse may not have been the offender

By H. Carl Camp

More than 200 years after the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the records and documents of that historic voyage of discovery still occasionally yield a surprise. A research project I am pursuing has required me to read—actually, re-read very closely—all of the journals kept by members of the expedition. To be specific, I have read volumes 2 through 11 of Gary Moulton’s definitive edition of The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition.

A short time ago as I began reading Private Joseph Whitehouse’s journal (in volume 11), I experienced a strong sense of déja vu. I was sure I had encountered these same words and phrases in an entirely different publication. As I wracked my brain trying to identify a likely source, I settled on Alexander Mackenzie’s 1801 publication recounting his 1789 and 1793 journeys across Canada to the Arctic and Pacific oceans. About six years ago, in conjunction with another research project, I read Mackenzie’s fascinating account of the numerous challenges he and his small band of explorers met and overcame in pursuit of their transcontinental objectives.¹

In short order I obtained a copy of the book and placed Whitehouse’s preface alongside Mackenzie’s. The wording of the opening paragraphs in the two documents gave me a jolt. The similarities were unmistakable. As I continued to read and compare, the degree of correspondence between them became more pronounced. The match did not involve merely an occasional word here and there, but long passages that were mirror images of one another. Unambiguous evidence of an act of plagiarism lay before me. (See the accompanying sidebar for a comparison of the two documents. The plagiarized passages are rendered in italics in the Whitehouse version.²)

Mackenzie’s preface runs approximately 1,380 words; Whitehouse’s is essentially the same length at 1,340 words. One-half, or more, of the Whitehouse preface repeats the words of Mackenzie. To be sure, in some passages of the Whitehouse document there is evidence of adaptation and paraphrasing, obviously done to customize it and make it appear to be the plagiarizer’s own, i.e., changes involving national identity, background and experience, motivation, aspirations, et cetera. Consequently, some passages have been moved about within the composition. Even with these adjustments, it is clear the Whitehouse preface closely adheres to the basic format established in the Mackenzie document.

Authors customarily inscribe their name and place and date of writing at the end of a preface. Alexander Mackenzie was no exception; at the end of his preface he appended his name and this notation: “London, November 30, 1801.” Joseph Whitehouse (or possibly some other unknown scribe) followed suit five years later with his name and this: “Saint Louis December 10th 1806” (He did not include punctuation.)
Upon first encounter, this appears to be an open and shut case: Joseph Whitehouse plagiarized his preface. However, the matter is not so clear-cut. It is rather more complicated than it would seem at first glance. As Moulton observes in Appendix B of volume 2 (pp. 543–544) and in his "Introduction" to volume 11 (pp. xv–xvi), "Private Joseph Whitehouse's journal is in two versions, both now at the Newberry Library, Chicago." The provenance of both versions is somewhat murky since the handwritten manuscripts passed through the hands of multiple owners (as well as editors and analysts) over the years since the expedition ended. We need not recount here the minute details of their respective journeys into the public domain; Moulton provides a useful summary in the sources cited above. A more detailed account of the discovery and eventual publication (or planned publication) of both documents can be found in Paul Russell Cutright's *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals.4* Of the "original Whitehouse journal," the following points bear particular emphasis: (1) there are notable gaps in the day-to-day entries; (2) the last journal entry is dated November 6, 1805—long before the end of the expedition; (3) internal notations in the narrative strongly suggested there were additional entries to follow; and (4) no preface was published in the Thwaites edition, presumably because it was unavailable, having been separated from the main body of the manuscript and "lost." (Or, perhaps it did not even exist at that time.)

Of the 1966 "paraphrased version," the following points are particularly noteworthy: (1) some of the gaps in the original journal are filled in, most notably the period from

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*In late August 1805, high in the Rocky Mountains, Private Joseph Whitehouse stitches a pair of buckskin overalls as Sergeant John Ordway catches up on the day's activities in his journal. Seaman, the Newfoundland dog that Meriwether Lewis purchased prior to the expedition, lounges beside Ordway. During the Lewis and Clark Expedition, much of the clothing the men wore had to be made from scratch from animal hides. Born in 1775, Whitehouse was the key figure in the manufacture of this clothing, as he had been a "skin dresser" prior to joining the army. This was a busy time for him as he oversaw the cutting and sewing of enough clothing to hopefully get them to the Pacific Ocean.*

On presenting this Volume to my Country, it is not necessary to enter into a particular account of those voy­
gages whose journals form the principal part of it, as they will be found, I trust, to explain themselves. It appears, however, to be a duty, which the Public have a right to expect from me, to state the reasons which have influ­
enced me in delaying the publication of them.

It has been asserted, that a misunderstanding between a person high in office and myself, was the cause of this procrastination. It has also been propagated, that it was occasioned by that precaution which the policy of commerce will sometimes suggest; but they are both equally devoid of foundation. The one is an idle tale; and there could be no solid reason for concealing the circumstances of discoveries, whose arrangements and pros­
cution were so honourable to my associates and myself, at whose expense they were undertaken. The delay actually arose from the very active and busy mode of life in which I was engaged since the voyages have been completed; and when, at length, the opportunity arrived, the apprehension of presenting myself to the Public in the character of an Author, for which the course and occupations of my life have by no means qualified me, made me hesitate in committing my papers to the Press; being much better calculated to perform the voyages, arduous as they might be, than to write an account of them. However, they are now offered to the Public with the submission that becomes me.

I was led, at an early period of life, by commercial views, to the country North-West of Lake Superior, in North America, and being endowed by Nature with an inquisitive mind and enterprising spirit; possessing also a constitution and frame of body equal to the most arduous undertakings, and being familiar with toilsome exertions in the prosecution of mercantile pursuits, I not only contemplated the practicability of penetrating across the continent of America, but was confident in the qualifications, as I was animated by the desire, to un­
dertake the perilous enterprise.

The general utility of such a discovery, has been universally acknowledged; while the wishes of my particular friends and commercial associates, that I should proceed in the pursuit of it, contributed to quicken the execution of this favourite project of my own ambition; and as the completion of it extends the boundaries of geographic science, and adds new countries to the realms of British commerce, the danger I have encountered, and the toils I have suffered, have found their remuneration; nor will the many tedious and weary days, or the gloomy and inclement nights which I have passed, have been passed in vain.

The first voyage has settled the dubious point of a practicable North-West passage; and I trust, that it has set that long agitated question at rest, and extinguished the disputes respecting it for ever. An enlarged dis­
cussion of the subject will be found to occupy the concluding pages of this volume.

In this voyage, I was not only without the necessary books and instruments, but also felt myself defi­
cient in the sciences of astronomy and navigation: I did not hesitate, therefore, to undertake a winter’s voyage to the country, in order to procure the one and acquire the other. These objects being accomplished, I returned, to determine the practicability of a commercial communication through the continent of North America, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which is proved by my second journal. Nor do I hesitate to declare my decided opinion, that very great and essential advantages may be derived by extending our trade from one sea to the other.

Some account of the fur trade of Canada from that country, of the native inhabitants, and of the exten­
sive districts connected with it, forms a preliminary discourse, which will, I trust, prove interesting to a nation.
Transcription of the preface to Private Joseph Whitehouse’s journal

On presenting this Volume to my fellow Citizens, it is not necessary to enter into particular account of this Voyage; but I trust that the generous public, will make such allowances as they shall think fit, to one who has never before presented himself to them in the character of an Author; for which the course and occupations of my life; has by no means qualified me, being much better calculated to perform the Voyage (as arduous as it might be) than to write an account of it; however it is now offered to the Public, with the submission that becomes me. I was led at an early period of my life to enter into the Army of the United States, by views I had to acquire Military knowledge, & to be acquainted with the Country in which I was born; and accordingly was somewhat gratified by being ordered (shortly after I joined the Service) to Kaskaskias Village, in the Illinois Country. I there, from frequent conversations, I had with Traders; whose traffic was with the Indians, residing on the Missouri River, contemplated that there might be a practicability of penetrating across the Continent of North America, to the Pacific Ocean by way of the Missouri River, but found from the most perfect account that I could collect from any of them; did not extend beyond the Mandan Nation, who inhabited on the same River Missouri, which lays in 47° 24' 12 North Latitude, the Countries beyond that place, being utterly unknown to them, and even to the Indians inhabiting that Country.

I had been at Kaskaskia Village some time, when I was informed That His Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esquire, President of the United States, had appointed Captain Meriwether Lewis, and Captain William Clark, to take command of a party of Continental Troops, and Volunteers, in order to explore the Missouri River; and find out its source; and to find (if possible) by that rout a passage to the Pacific ocean. I was fortunate in being chosen one of the party of Continental Troops by them, which contributed much to quicken the execution of my favorite project, and of satisfying my own ambition. The dangers I have encounter’d, and the toils I have suffered, have found their recompence, nor will the many and tedious days, or the gloomy and inclement nights that I have passed, have been passed in vain. This Voyage I hope has settled the dubious point respecting the Source of the great Rivers Missouri, and Columbia; and I trust that it has set that long agitated question at rest, in regard to a passage being across the Continent of North America, to the Pacific Ocean, and the Northern boundary of Louisiana.

In this Voyage I furnished myself with books, and also got from Captains Lewis and Clark, every information that lay in their power, in order to compleat and make my Journal correct; and part of my Journals were kept by one of them when I was on a fatigue party. This was done by them, in case of any great accident happening to the party, as that if any of them should return to the United States, or their Journals fall into the hands of any civiliz’d Nation, that the grand object of our discovery’s might not be defeated. The object being accomplished, it lays with you to determine the practicability of a commercial communication across the continent of North America, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which is proved by my Journal. Nor do I hesitate to declare, my decided opinion, that very great and essential advantages, may be derived; by extending our Trade, from one Sea, to the other.

The very great advantages of the fur trade, from that hitherto unknown Country, both by ascending the Missouri River, and by way of the Columbia River to the Pacific ocean, will I trust prove Interesting to a Nation, whose general policy, is blended with, and whose prosperity is supported by the pursuits of commerce. It will also qualify the reader, to pursue the succeeding Voyages, with superior intelligence and satisfaction. This Voyage will not I fear afford the variety, that may be expected from it; and that which it offers to the Eye, is not of a nature to be effectually transferred to the Page; Mountains and Valleys, the vast Priaries; the wide spreading forests, the lakes and Rivers, on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, succeed each other in general description;
whose general policy is blended with, and whose prosperity is supported by, the pursuits of commerce. It will also qualify the reader to pursue the succeeding voyages with superior intelligence and satisfaction.

These voyages will not, I fear, afford the variety that may be expected from them; and that which they offered to the eye, is not of a nature to be effectually transferred to the page. Mountains and vallies, the dreary waste, and wide-spread forests, the lakes and rivers succeed each other in general description; and, except on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, where the villages were permanent, and the inhabitants in a great measure stationary, small bands of wandering Indians are the only people whom I shall introduce to the acquaintance of my readers.

The beaver and the buffalo, the moose-deer and the elk, which are the principal animals to be found in these countries, are already so familiar to the naturalists of Europe, and have been so often as well as correctly described in their works, that the bare mention of them, as they enlivened the landscape, or were hunted for food; with a cursory account of the soil, the course and navigation of lakes and rivers, and their various produce, is all that can be reasonably expected from me.

I do not possess the science of the naturalist; and even if the qualifications of that character had been attained by me, its curious spirit would not have been gratified. I could not stop to dig into the earth, over whose surface I was compelled to pass with rapid steps, nor could I turn aside to collect the plants which nature might have scattered on the way, when my thoughts were anxiously employed in making provision for the day that was passing over me. I had to encounter perils by land and perils by water; to watch the savage who was our guide, or to guard against those of his tribe who might meditate our destruction. I had, also, the passions and fears of others to control and subdue. To day I had to assuage the rising discontents, and on the morrow to cheer the fainting spirits, of the people who accompanied me. The toil of our navigation was incessant, and oftentimes extreme; and in our progress over land we had no protection from the severity of the elements and possessed no accommodations or conveniences but such as could be contained in the burden on shoulders, which aggravated the toils of our march, and added to the wearisomeness of our way.

Though the events which compose my journals may have little in themselves to strike the imagination of those who love to be astonished, or to gratify the curiosity of such as are enamoured of romantic adventures; nevertheless, when it is considered that I explored those waters which had never before borne any other vessel than the canoe of the savage; and traversed those deserts where an European had never before presented himself to the eyes of its swarthy natives; when to these considerations are added the important objects which were pursued, with the dangers that were encountered, and the difficulties that were surmounted to attain them, this work will, I flatter myself, be found to excite an interest, and conciliate regard, in the minds of those who peruse it.

The general map which illustrates this volume, is reduced by Mr. Arrowsmith from his three-sheet map of North America, with the latest discoveries, which he is about to republish. His professional abilities are well known, and no encomium of mine will advance the general and merited opinion of them.

Before I conclude, I must beg leave to inform my readers, that they are not to expect the charms of embellished narrative, or animated description; the approbation due to simplicity and to truth is all I presume to claim; and I am not without the hope that this claim will be allowed me. I have described whatever I saw with the impressions of the moment which presented it to me. The successive circumstances of my progress are related.
The permanent Villages, both on the Rivers Mesouri, and Columbia; and the Inhabitants in general, with bands of wandering Indians, are the only people, whom I shall introduce to the acquaintance of my readers.—— The Buffalo, the white Bear; the Elk, the Antelope, the mountain Goat, & the Beaver; are mostly so familiar to the Naturalists, and are so frequently described, that a bare mention of them, as they enliven’d the landscapes, or were hunted for food; with a cursory account of the soil, the course of the Rivers, and their various produce, is all that can reasonably be expected from me.—— The toil of our Navigation to the source of the Mesouri, was incessant; and often times extreme; and in our progress over the Rocky Mountains with the Burthens on our shoulders, which aggravated the Toils of our march, and added to the wearisomeness of our way, adding to which the extreme dangers we encounter’d in descending the River Columbia at a season of the Year, that not even the Natives of the soil would attempt; I hope will convince my readers, that Manly fortitude and perseverance was our only guide.——

Though the events which compose my Journal, may have little in itself to strike the imagination of those who love to be astonished; nevertheless, when it is consider’d that we explored those Waters, which had never before borne any other Vessell, than the Canoe of the Savage; and traversed those Forests and plains, where no American Citizen, or European had ever before presented themselves, to the Eye of its swarthy natives; when to these considerations, are added, the Important objects which were pursued; with the dangers that were encounter’d, and the difficulties that were surmounted to attain them; this work will, I flatter myself, be found to excite an interest, and conciliate regard, in the minds of those who peruse it.—— I hope the generous public will indulge me, by believing; that I have laid before them, only whatever I saw, (or were seen by Captains Lewis or Clark) with the impression of the moment; that it was told by them, or presented itself to me, and have never allowed myself to wander into conjecture, but have given as full, and exact account of the Country, and other transactions, that occur’d in the Country, that we passed through, as my abilities would allow. I cannot in justice to myself omit saying, that the manly, and soldier-like behaviour, and enterprising abilities; of both Captain Lewis, and Captain Clark, claim my utmost gratitude: and the humanity shown at all times by them, to those under their command, on this perilous and important Voyage of discovery; I hope will ever fill the breasts of Men who were under their command with the <will> same, and make their characters be esteem’d by the American people, and mankind in general; and convince the generous Public, that the President of the United States, did not misplace his judgment when he appointed them to the command of this party on discovery; which is of so great a magnitude and utility, to the United States and mankind in general.——

I am not a candidate for literary fame, at the same time, I cannot but indulge the hope, that this volume, with all its imperfections, will not be thought unworthy the attention of the scientific Geographer; and that by unfolding Countries; hitherto unexplored, and which I presume, may be considered as a part belonging to the United States, it will be received as a faithful tribute to the prosperity of my Country.

Saint Louis

December 10th 1806

Joseph Whitehouse
Mackenzie's preface continued from p. 16

without exaggeration or display. I have seldom allowed myself to wander into conjecture; and whenever conjecture has been indulged, it will be found, I trust, to be accompanied with the temper of a man who is not disposed to think too highly of himself: and if at any time I have delivered myself with confidence, it will appear, I hope, to be on those subjects which, from the habits and experience of my life, will justify an unreserved communication of my opinions. I am not a candidate for literary fame: at the same time, I can not but indulge the hope that this volume, with all its imperfections, will not be thought unworthy the attention of the scientific geographer; and that, by unfolding countries hitherto unexplored, and which, I presume, may now be considered as part of the British dominions, it will be received as a faithful tribute to the prosperity of my country.

London,
November 30, 1801.

November 7, 1805, to April 2, 1806; (2) the additional material still ends months before the culmination of the expedition and there are scattered gaps elsewhere in the narrative; (3) a preface—the preface in question—first appears in the "paraphrased version" but was not published until 1997; (4) according to analyses and comparisons conducted by Cutright, Whitehouse (or the unknown scribe of the "paraphrased version") modeled many of his entries on those of Patrick Gass and John Ordway, principally the latter; was wordier than the original author; and introduced some new observations (not all of which were accurate); and, (5) the handwritten originals on which the paraphrased additional materials allegedly were based still are missing.6

The central question in all of this, it seems to me, is this: Who authored the preface that's now under a cloud? Was it Joseph Whitehouse or was it some as yet unknown person?

Joseph Whitehouse's name and the place and date of the writing at the end of the preface encourage the reader to believe he prepared this portion of the manuscript, unaided, within a few weeks of the expedition's homecoming. That suggests an extraordinary measure of discipline, conscientiousness and calculation on his part, for the inclusion of a preface would seem to indicate the intent to publish his handiwork. That is somewhat surprising, involving as it does someone whose educational attainments were very modest to put it charitably. It is true, of course, that Patrick Gass moved swiftly to arrange the publication of a heavily edited and paraphrased version of his journal in 1807, the first extensive account of the expedition to reach the public. And Robert Frazer published a prospectus for the publication he planned to issue based on his journal, but his book never materialized. Whether or not the plans of these two encouraged Whitehouse to entertain similar aspirations remains a mystery.

There is no direct evidence that Lewis and Clark included a copy of Alexander Mackenzie's published journals in the small library they carried along on the expedition. Bernard DeVoto asserted they did; a more cautious Donald Jackson inferred they probably did since some of their journal entries revealed a more than casual familiarity with Mackenzie's writing and mapmaking. If they did have a copy of the book with them, it seems likely that Whitehouse could have gained access to it and made use of any selection that would advance his purposes. He virtually says as much in this passage from the preface: "In this Voyage I furnished myself with books, and also got from Captains Lewis and Clark, every information that lay in their power, in order to compleat and make my Journal correct ... ". It is clear from various other journal entries that the enlisted men who were keeping accounts of the expedition's progress read and borrowed from one another's writing. The co-captains did so as well. In an environment where such practices were more or less routine, it should not be all that surprising if a relatively unsophisticated journal keeper, such as Whitehouse, went so far as to "borrow" liberally from a formal publication available to him. To understand how it might have happened is not, however, to condone the practice.

For whatever reason, and however it may have happened, it has long been assumed the preface in question and some
other portions of Whitehouse's journal were separated from the main body of his writing, which led to the publication of a truncated version in the Thwaites edition. Presumably the missing materials, if not destroyed, awaited later discovery. That apparently occurred in 1966 with the appearance of the so-called "paraphrased version."

The discovery of this additional Whitehouse material brought his account of the expedition about six months nearer to the date of its culmination. The paraphrased additional material contained the preface now in question and it also rejoined the missing segments with those portions of the Whitehouse journal already published. However, those fragments in Whitehouse's original handwriting remain missing since they did not accompany the handwritten "paraphrased version." That's a curious happenstance and raises an intriguing question: What if "Whitehouse's Preface" was not written (plagiarized) by him at all? What if the "paraphrased version" was written by an enterprising scribe who attributed the additional material to Whitehouse in order to enhance the market value of an historic document? In that case, not only would the preface harbor indisputable evidence of an act of plagiarism, but also intent to defraud since authorship would have been falsely attributed to Whitehouse.

Alas, we end up with more unanswered questions—and a bigger mystery—than when we started. Only one thing is clear at this point: A flagrant act of plagiarism has been committed and has lain undetected, possibly for a couple of centuries. The finger of suspicion points to Joseph Whitehouse. However, another person yet unknown could have done it. Absent the appearance of conclusive evidence in Whitehouse's handwriting, we are unlikely to discover the truth. Yet, given the history of the tardy appearances of other Lewis and Clark documents, such an outcome cannot be ruled out entirely.

H. Carl Camp is a member of the WPO Editorial Advisory Board. He is a retired political science professor from the University of Nebraska in Omaha.

NOTES
4 Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, 8 volumes (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1904-1905). After the Thwaites centennial edition was published, Dodd, Mead and Company sold the handwritten manuscript to a private collector of antique books and documents. That individual later donated the manuscript to the Newberry Library in Chicago.
6 Ibid.
8 Moulton, Vol. 11, p. 6. By contrast, Mackenzie lamented in his preface: "In this voyage [his first, to the Arctic], I was not only without the necessary books and instruments, but also felt myself deficient in the sciences of astronomy and navigation ..." Mackenzie/Lamb, p. 58.
On October 7, 2009, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation members participated in a national commemorative ceremony to honor Meriwether Lewis. The tragedy of his short life was mourned and his timeless achievements celebrated. Collateral Lewis descendant Howell Lewis Bowen, historian Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs and Clark descendant Peyton "Bud" Clark addressed the crowd of roughly 2,500 people who came to honor an American hero. Their speeches are printed here along with photos of the special event.

**STEPHENIE AMBROSE TUBBS**
**HISTORIAN**
**PROGRAM CHAIR, 2009 ANNUAL MEETING**

Good afternoon. Thank you all for being here to share this commemoration of an extraordinary hero, Meriwether Lewis; the man we have come to honor would be proud to know that 200 years after his passing he remains present in our thoughts and in our hearts.

His life, though brief, is an example of what can be achieved through determination and hard work, no matter the odds. His trail breaking and undaunted courage continue to inspire us to reach beyond the familiar. His life reflects what can be achieved if you follow a dream. For Meriwether Lewis, that dream involved exploration and discovery. It involved leading others into the heart of the unknown and bringing back accounts that would show the world that America was a land of infinite promise; a place where the only limits were self-imposed, where even terrible mountains and frigid snows could not impede "proceeding on."

As Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> Of courage undaunted, possessing a firmness & perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from it's direction, careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order & discipline, intimate with the Indian character, customs & principles, habituated to the hunting life, guarded by exact observation of the vegetables & animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed, honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves, with all these qualifications as if selected and implanted by nature in one body, for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him.

It was those words that inspired my father to write his biography of Meriwether Lewis, and I feel certain my father is with us today celebrating the life of a man who made himself a hero.
As a military historian, my father admired the accomplishments of Meriwether Lewis's leadership, but I think truly it was the lyrical way Lewis described the landscape of the West that captured my father's and mother's hearts to such an extent that they decided to take our family on the greatest camping trip of all time. They wanted us to experience those landscapes first hand, to appreciate the beauty and the grandeur of our country from sea to shining sea, and to share their love for the variety and scale of the American West.

Mostly, I think, in Lewis my father saw a man who took on a great challenge given him by his most beloved teacher and managed to live up to it. He kept his men alive, brought all but one home safely, and kept the journals that would inspire all of us to travel his trail.

Certainly we know Lewis was a devoted son. His letter from Fort Mandan to his mother conveys his loving reassurance that he would be all right and return home unharmed:

You may expect me in Albemarle about the last of next September twelve months. I request that you will give yourself no uneasiness with respect to my fate, for I assure you that I feel myself perfectly as safe as I should do in Albemarle; and the only difference between 3 or 4 thousand miles and 130, is that I can not have the pleasure of seeing you as often as I did while at Washington. Give my love to my brothers and sisters, and all my neighbours and friends, and rest assured yourself of the most devoted filial affection of Yours, Meriwether Lewis

When Lewis came to this place he had much on his mind. Without doubt he was not at peace and in many ways in severe distress. It was not a place any who knew or loved him would have foreseen as his final stop.

Yet here we are, and today is a day to remember what a uniquely remarkable man he was and how much he still means as an example of how to get the job done, no matter how formidable the obstacle. You do not have to be an expert in leadership to appreciate the life of Meriwether Lewis. You just have to understand that one man, following his dream, can make a difference if he loves his country, his friends and most of all, his mentor. He set out to explore the West and to bring back information that would prove useful to future generations. On that account, I think we can all agree and say, "Well done, Captain Lewis, well done. Rest in Peace."

Jefferson himself dictated the words to be inscribed here on Lewis’s grave: "I died young but you, O Good Republic, live my years for me, as well as yours, with better fortune."

HOWELL LEWIS Bowen
COLLATERAL DESCENDANT OF MERIWETHER LEWIS

I t is not possible to express all the love and admiration the family has for, and would like to say about, Meriwether Lewis in a short period of time, so I would like to read a poem where every word counts.

ODE TO GOVERNOR LEWIS
By Janice Bowen

Meriwether - you were a firm believer
Kind hearted captain - leader of men
Gentle lion of courage - uncommon man
Devoted son from a tightly woven family fabric
Resolve and duty were early companions
Aspiration’s lust never settled on your brow

While stroking Seaman’s wide head
Your gaze streamed westward
In a long shimmering blur
As you looked beyond complexities
Seeing only soaring flight
Broad reach to a shinning sea

There were many brushes with death
Yet many more with grace
You knew that wind taught dancing
On waters glassy face

You convinced danger to give up her weapons
While navigating vagrant, roiling waters
Then led your party skyward
To draw closer to the western sun

It was thrilling to hold your red leather-bound
Journal - attention to detail on every page
Then reflect on your love for this flowing country
Showing your favor with sacrifice and service

We imagine your fine hand pressing the quill
Caressing the beating wings of discovery
As you painted psalms of praise for companions,
Creatures, plenty, the joy, and always for towering beauty

We remember you, our glorious ancestor and hero
Language thins and falters when according you
Our unwavering affection and esteem
Please accept this wreath of honor
We lay gratefully at your feet
Honored members of the Lewis family, ladies and gentlemen: Historians have often pointed out how different Lewis and Clark were and certainly the journals support this.

Lewis, better educated, the expedition botanist, mineralogist and astronaut. A rather solitary man, but having a natural talent for leadership, perhaps somewhat of an introvert and at times moody.

Clark, little formal education, frontier surveyor and army engineer, the expedition map maker. A hearty, genial sort, socially inclined, more of an extrovert.

Lewis’s spelling, usually correct and always consistent, in short, boring!

Clark’s spelling, colorful, creative, often unique and always interesting. They complemented each other well!

However, I would like to make a case for how much alike they were, alike in terms of their upbringing and the values and principles they lived by. I would like to suggest that, in fact, the very moral fabric that made up the heart and soul of these two American heroes was woven from the same thread.

The Clark and Lewis families had their roots set deep in Virginia soil and were counted among the social elite. Their lifestyle was consistent with that of Virginia gentry, plantation owners, where the foundation for prosperity was built firmly on the longstanding institution of slavery. It was an aristocratic world where the “code duello” still prevailed, and differences were often settled with pistols on the “field of honor.” Among the elite, a man’s honor and integrity were paramount and his word was his bond. “Death before dishonor” was not just a catchy phrase etched in your sword blade, but rather the code that men like Lewis and Clark lived by.

Young Lewis and William Clark were “Sons of the Revolution,” raised in military tradition. The heroic deeds of their family members must have made a lasting impression on the boys, but those years were also a mixture of tragedy.

At the age of five, Meriwether’s father rode off in the rain to return to service in the Revolution. Tragically, he got thoroughly soaked crossing a swollen stream, contracted pneumonia and died soon after.

William’s five older brothers all served as officers in the Revolution. Captain John Clark died of consumption as a result of his treatment while confined on a British prison ship. Brother Richard, while serving on the frontier under brother George Rogers, left Fort Jefferson en route to Vincennes and was never seen again.

With three young children and a plantation to care for, Meriwether’s mother was soon remarried to another Revolutionary War veteran, Captain John Marks. While receiving his formal education, Meriwether was often the ward of his soldier uncle, Captain Nicholas Lewis, living in Albemarle County not far from Monticello and under the watchful eye of Thomas Jefferson. In his late teens, Lewis joined the military. He served with distinction and proved to be a natural born leader.

When the war was over, William Clark’s family migrated to a new settlement founded by George Rogers Clark at the Falls of the Ohio, taking with them not only the family slaves, but the customs and traditions of the Ohio Valley.

In 1792, Clark joined the regular army under the command of “Mad” Anthony Wayne, and in August of ’94, he commanded a “chosen company of elite riflemen sharpshooters” at the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

In 1795, young Ensign Lewis was transferred to General Wayne’s Legion after reportedly challenging a superior officer to a duel. He was assigned to Wayne’s Chosen Rifle Company. His commanding officer, William Clark. There is no evidence that the two men had previously known one another, but certainly they were drawn together by their common Virginia gentry background and their numerous mutual acquaintances. For certain there was an undeniable chemistry, a certain magic that bound the two together, and a historic friendship unparalleled in the history of military exploration began.

By 1802, William had moved north of the river and was living with brother George Rogers at “Clark’s Point”
overlooking the Falls of the Ohio. It was there on July 17, 1803, he received the historic letter from Lewis telling him of the expedition and asking him to take part:

"... If therefore there is anything under those circumstances, in this enterprise, which would induce you to participate with me in its fatigues, its dangers and its honors, believe me there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself."

Clark wrote back: "This is an amence undertaking fraited with numerous difficulties, but my Friend I can assure you that no man lives with whom I would prefer to undertake & shear the Deficuts of Such a Trip than yourself." (During the speech, Bud Clark spontaneously added, "In this sentence Clark invented two words and misspelled six!")

It is obvious from their letters that the two men had a deep and profound respect for one another. Although Lewis had promised Clark that he would be equal in rank, and the president had requested a captain's commission for him, the War Department found its own reasons for making him only a second lieutenant, a grade lower than when he had resigned. It was a bitter disappointment to Clark and to Lewis. Captain Lewis wrote angrily to his friend:

"... it is not such as I wished, or had reason to expect; but so it is—a further explanation when I join you. I think it will be best to let none of our party or any other persons know any thing about the grade, you will observe that the grade has no effect upon your compensation which by G—d, shall be equal to my own."

Accordingly, and against all military protocol, both men were known as captains and they shared the command with a lack of disagreement that has few, if any, equals in the history of exploration.

This is huge! Lewis, duty bound, a strict military disciplinarian, defies orders from the Secretary of War office! His honor is at stake here! He has given his word to his friend and his word is his bond, a bond far more important to Lewis than military orders from Washington.

Soon after the return from their western tour, President Jefferson appointed Meriwether Lewis Governor of Louisiana Territories and William Clark Brigadier General of the Militia and Indian Agent for the Tribes of the Territory of Louisiana.

Once again Lewis and Clark were a team in the service of their country. ... Once again, Lewis would enter an unknown world ... a world filled with envy, greed and petty, back-stabbing bureaucrats.

On August 18th, 1809, his 35th birthday, having had his bills rejected, the deeply distressed Lewis replied to Secretary of War Eustis that he would travel to Washington to clear his name. "Be assured Sir," he wrote, "that my Country can never make 'A Burr' of me— She may reduce me to Poverty; but she can never sever my Attachment from her."

Lewis's honor and integrity had been insulted by his political enemies, and surely for a man like Meriwether Lewis, this was a fate worse than death weighing heavy on his troubled mind.

Clark was haunted by his final meeting with Lewis. He told his brother Jonathan that on August 25th, his friend had expressed his distress "in Such terms as to Cause a Cempothy which is not yet off." Clark assured his brother, "I do not believe there was ever an honest er [sic] man in Louisiana nor one who had pure or motives than Govr. Lewis." The ever hopeful Clark predicted, "I think all will be right and he will return with flying Colours to this Country."

Howell Lewis Bowen, a collateral descendant of Meriwether Lewis, read "Ode to Meriwether Lewis" before a gathering of 2,500 people at Grinder's Stand, near Lewis's gravesite.

The bust of Meriwether Lewis by sculptor Harry Weber was unveiled at the memorial and donated to the Natchez Trace Parkway of the National Park Service.
... Sadly, William Clark would never see his beloved friend again.

Years later, Clark wrote to his 16-year-old son (my great-great grandfather, George Rogers Hancock Clark) who was unhappy away at school, whining about how tough he had it and asking to come home. Clark’s message to his son reflects the enlightenment beliefs he shared with his dear friend Meriwether Lewis:

“You have capacity and can make of yourself anything you please, do not suffer yourself to be unhappy from misfortune or disappointment; we all have to meet them and should bear them with firmness, resolved to use every exertion to better our situation and gain the good will of our fellow creatures.”

His advice to his son echoes the sentiments his beloved friend and co-captain had penned below Lemhi Pass some 33 years earlier, “... to redouble my exertions ... giving them the aid of that portion of talents which nature and fortune have bestowed on me; or in future, to live for mankind, as I have heretofore lived for myself.”

It was a longstanding tradition in the Clark family to name the first-born son “John” or “Jonathan.” Four of William Clark’s older siblings honored that tradition, William did not. ... The love and respect he held for his friend and co-captain compelled him to name his first-born “Meriwether Lewis Clark.”

Lewis and Clark, soldiers, explorers, statesmen ... American heroes, their lives are written in the history of the country they loved and served.

Today we pay special tribute to Meriwether Lewis, a true American hero who lived his life always with honor and integrity ... and with uncompromising devotion and loyalty to his beloved friend.

Lewis and Clark, compadres in life, forever joined in the history of their country ... their kindred spirits walk among us here today and always.

Thank you for the privilege of speaking here today, and may God bless our American family.

Photos of the commemoration are courtesy of Joe DeKalb, chief photographer for the Tennessee Department of Tourism.

NOTES
1 This quote is from a draft version of the response William Clark wrote to Meriwether Lewis. It is dated July 17, 1803, from Clarksville. William Clark Papers, E.G. Voorhis Memorial Collection, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, Missouri.
Opposite page: Josh Loftis, a descendant of Private George Shannon, portrays Meriwether Lewis’s arrival at Grinder’s Stand with Robert and Priscilla Grinder descendant Lisa Barber as Priscilla Grinder.

This page, clockwise from top: The 101st Airborne Infantry Band plays a musical prelude at the commemoration; the commemoration concluded with a wreath-laying ceremony at Lewis’s gravesite; members of the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles pay their respects to the expedition leader; descendants of Meriwether Lewis leave the monument after placing a wreath on it.
Journey to complete collection of L&C books is entertaining; Atlas worthwhile

Shotgun on My Chest: Memoirs of a Lewis and Clark Book Collector
Roger Wendlick
12-Gauge Press
299 pages / $28.00

I once saw a T-shirt with this message across the front, “When I get paid I buy books. If there is anything left I buy food and pay rent.” This pretty well summarizes Roger Wendlick’s fifteen-year search for old and rare Lewis and Clark books. His goal was to have them all!

Wendlick was well known in the Portland area as a collector of all things associated with the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition. His first venture into the world of Lewis and Clark books came in 1984 when he purchased a 1904 edition of the eight-volume set of The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. He believed it would fit nicely with his other 1905 Lewis and Clark items. That purchase changed his life. Wendlick discovered there were many more Lewis and Clark books, many published before the 1904 Thwaites edition of the journals. He was determined to get all of those books.

*Shotgun on My Chest* is a series of stories about a man driven to find and buy a copy of every book on Lewis and Clark ever written. He added an 1814 set of the first journals published to his collection, then an early edition of the Patrick Gass journals. He became acquainted with the world of used-book stores, public auctions of rare books and used-book dealers. He was familiar with dealers who potentially would have or know of particular books he wanted. Sometimes booksellers contacted him.

While many people collect books, few were as driven, or focused, as Wendlick. He was not a wealthy man nor from a wealthy family. He was a blue-collar construction worker in Portland buying books he couldn’t afford (he once paid $12,500 for a set of the 1814 journals) and developing strategies to pay for them. He maxed out his credit cards and then applied for another to extend his line of credit. He re-financed his house three times to take advantage of the equity. There was always another book to buy. His collection grew, as did his debts.

Collecting old and rare books was an educational experience. He learned, for example, what it meant when a used book was advertised as “missing a signature.” (In the process of printing, several pages are printed onto a large single sheet that is then folded four, six or eight times. That folded sheet—a signature—is then stitched into the book and later trimmed.) He became a knowledgeable collector, even an expert, on Lewis and Clark literature. As his collection grew, so did its value. Protecting the rare volumes was only prudent. Wendlick’s solution was a large vault in his bedroom, disguised as a walk-in closet. His goal was to have it all, every old and rare book on Lewis and Clark ever printed. In his years of collecting, he had built the finest collection of Lewis and Clark literature ever assembled by an individual. He was a recognized expert on the books of Lewis and Clark and still working in construction.

By 1998, he had collected literally every Lewis and Clark book he wanted. Now that he had achieved his goal, he was unsure what to do with the collection. Over the years, Wendlick had made many friends in the used-book community, among them was Doug Erickson, head of special collections at Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon. The college was interested in increasing its own Lewis and Clark collection. After lengthy negotiations, Wendlick’s $750,000 collection found a new home at Lewis and Clark College.

Is there life after a fifteen-year quest such as Wendlick’s? Indeed there is. He has served on the board of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and is a member of the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles that retraced the Lewis and Clark Expedition’s route from 2003 to 2006. He is a re-enactor, portraying George Drouillard across the country. He loves to tell stories of his book-buying experiences.

I found just one error in the book in a re-telling of his trip following the trail. He visited Spirit Mound in South Dakota and mistakenly places the nearby town of Vermillion in Iowa. Nonetheless, this is a book to read and enjoy.

—Ron Laycock
*Book collector and LCTHF past president*
James D. Harlan, University of Missouri cartographer, and James M. Denny, renowned Lewis and Clark scholar with the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, have created the definitive geographical book about the Lewis and Clark Expedition within the state of Missouri. This beautifully illustrated book combines the expedition's journal entries with original 1815 to 1819 U.S. General Land Office surveys and surveyor notes of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to re-create Missouri's historic landscape of the 1800s.

Twenty-seven maps or plates show Lewis and Clark's route from the Ohio River's confluence with the Mississippi River, up the Mississippi River to St. Louis and up the Missouri River to the modern Iowa state line. Each map includes expedition campsites, exploration sites, towns and villages, forts, the expedition course, historic hydrography, land grants, common fields and historical land cover. A couple of points I personally find intriguing are the overlays of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers showing them today and in 1803, and the pinpointing of Spanish and French land grants.

As I read the book, the reconstructed maps, interwoven with the journal entries, put me in the keelboat and pirogues with Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery, seeing what they saw as they traveled up the Mississippi River from November 20 to December 13, 1803; up the Missouri River from May 14 to July 18, 1804; and when they made their way back to St. Louis from September 9 to September 23, 1806. This atlas will be a collector's item for Lewis and Clark scholars.

—Jane Randol Jackson
Meriwether Lewis Chapter brings Foundation south for 41st annual meeting
The Foundation’s 41st annual meeting, “Courage Undaunted—The Final Journey,” provided ample opportunity for Foundation members to learn about the life of Meriwether Lewis, as well as his final days. Roughly 300 people attended the meeting in Olive Branch, Mississippi, October 4-7, and more than 2,500 people attended the commemoration ceremony to honor Meriwether Lewis at his gravesite near Grinder’s Stand on October 7th.

The week started with an optional trip that included a Memphis Queen III tour of the Mississippi River and a stop at Fort Pickering where Clay Jenkinson, as Governor Meriwether Lewis, discussed his journey from St. Louis to the fort and issues that concerned him at the time.

The meeting officially began Sunday evening with a dinner and period dance. Presentations on Monday focused on local history. The evening presentation by Dan Jordan, “The Enduring Legacy of Thomas Jefferson,” provided new information and insight into the Sage of Monticello.

Tuesday’s presentations included two roundtable discussions on whether Lewis was murdered or took his own life, and a presentation on Lewis’s complex life. The highlight for attendees was the memorial ceremony commemorating the life of Meriwether Lewis. (See pages 20-25 for speeches from and photos of the ceremony.)

Presenters at the meeting included Jim Holmberg, Jay Buckley, John D.W. Guice, Clay Jenkinson, David Nicandri, Daniel Jordan, Thomas Danisi, James Crutchfield, Michael Petty, Michael Carrick, Ernest Cowan, Rick Keller and John Fisher.

Photos on opposite page, clockwise from top left:
- Laura Boswell and her daughters, Maggie (left) and Brinkley, welcome LCTHF members aboard the Memphis Queen III Riverboat.
- Foundation members aboard the Memphis Queen III encountered Governor Meriwether Lewis on the Mississippi River on his way to Fort Pickering.
- Clay Jenkinson as Meriwether Lewis is greeted by members of the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles as he arrives at Fort Pickering.
- Foundation members dance aboard the Memphis Queen III to music by the Booneslick Strings of St. Charles and Daniel Slosberg.
- Rain greeted meeting attendees as they boarded the Memphis Queen III for a journey on the Mississippi River. A little water did not dampen the enthusiasm of members who were treated to a light brunch, musical entertainment and a presentation on the history of the Chickasaw Bluffs.
- Meeting participants at Fort Pickering watch for the arrival of Governor Meriwether Lewis from an overlook above the Mississippi River.

Photos on this page, from top:
- Camp Pomp participants learned sign language from Roger Wendlick (left) and Josh Loftis. They also had the opportunity to spend time at the living history encampment, enjoy and learn about period music, and participate in a number of crafts to learn more about expedition tools and equipment.
- The grounds of the conference center were filled with a living history encampment hosted by the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles; the replica keelboat from St. Charles, Missouri; and campsites of local Boy Scouts of America troops.
- Adults and children alike participated in the period dance at the meeting’s welcome reception with music provided by the Booneslick Strings.

February 2010 We Proceeded On — 29
Jim Mallory elected president of LCTHF; Boswell and Hainesworth join board

At the October board of directors’ meeting in Olive Branch, Mississippi, James Mallory of Lexington, Kentucky, was elected president of the Foundation. His term runs from October 1, 2009, to September 30, 2010. Mallory has served five years on the Foundation’s board of directors. He and his wife, Paula, became members of our organization in March 1986. They started attending annual meetings regularly in 1998 and have been actively involved in the Ohio River Chapter for many years.

He has traveled the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail over the past 20 years, covering several parts four or five times. He retraces portions of the journey in Kentucky on a weekly basis.

Mallory has a bachelor’s degree in economics from Missouri Valley College in Marshall. He is a retired businessman who spent 13 years of his 23-year career with a garment manufacturer as a corporate account salesman.

He has served on a variety of regional and national Lewis and Clark committees including the Kentucky Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commission. He is past president of the Foundation’s Ohio River Chapter and was co-chairman of the Foundation’s 34th annual meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, in 2002. He is chairman of the Foundation’s Trail Completion Committee, which is focused on extending the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail east, to include the preparatory and return routes of Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

Margaret Gorski was named president-elect and Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs was elected vice president. Jerry Robertson is the Foundation’s new treasurer and Larry McClure will serve another year as secretary.

Board members elected by Foundation membership through mail-in ballots were announced at the annual meeting. Jay Buckley, Bill Stevens and Clay Smith were elected to three-year terms. Bryant Boswell was appointed by the board to a two-year term and Lorna Hainesworth to a one-year term to fill positions vacated by Mallory and Tubbs when they assumed their roles as president and vice president.

Margaret Gorski is the tourism and interpretation program leader for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service’s Northern Region, based in Missoula, Montana. She has worked for nearly 30 years in various assignments in three national forests and three national parks in the West. Her experiences have included working as a district ranger, district recreation staff, recreation planner, landscape architect and seasonal park ranger-naturalist. She served for eight years as the Forest Service’s Lewis and Clark Bicentennial national field coordinator, directing the agency’s strategic planning for and involvement in the national bicentennial commemoration.

She has a master’s degree in landscape architecture from the University of California, Berkeley and a bachelor’s degree in forest resources outdoor recreation from the University of Washington.

Stephnie Ambrose Tubbs is an author, historian and national speaker. She co-authored The Lewis and Clark Companion; An Encyclopedic Guide to the Voyage of Discovery and wrote Why Sacagawea Deserves the Day Off and Other Lessons from the Lewis & Clark Trail. Tubbs lectures across the country about her experiences and observations on the trail, which she first followed in 1976 with her father, author Stephen Ambrose. Tubbs works with citizen groups to preserve and protect the trail and adjoining wilderness areas. She serves on the boards of Montana Preservation Alliance, the American Prairie Foundation, Friends of Montana PBS and the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Foundation. Her service includes work on the Foundation’s Trail Stewardship and Trail Completion committees. She has served on the Foundation board since 2005 and lives in Helena, Montana.

Jerry Robertson retired after 33 years in the export grain trade, where he worked in upper management for several international grain companies. He earned a bachelor’s degree in economics from Indiana University and a master’s degree in agricultural economics and managerial accounting from Cornell University.

Robertson has served for several years as chairman of the Foundation’s Financial Affairs Committee. He is a past president and treasurer of the Ohio River Chapter and served on the board of the Falls of the Ohio Bicentennial Committee. He has served on various church committees and helped start endowment funds for two different churches. He is a collateral descendant of William Bratton on his mother’s side and of John Shields on his father’s. He lives in Sellersburg, Indiana.
Larry McClure, a retired educator, is interested in how schools can incorporate the Lewis and Clark story into learning activities and has promoted teacher awareness as a board member of the Foundation's Oregon Chapter and on the Foundation's behalf.

In 2005, McClure served on the Foundation's local coordinating committee for its annual meeting hosted by the Oregon and Washington chapters in Portland, Oregon, and Vancouver, Washington. He was elected to the Foundation's board of directors in 2006. For 16 months, he wrote a local weekly column summarizing Corps of Discovery activities and area bicentennial events. He volunteers as director of the Tualatin Heritage Center in his hometown in Oregon.

Jay Buckley was first elected to the board of directors in 2007. He is an associate professor of history and director of the Native American Studies program at Brigham Young University.

He has a Ph.D. in history from the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, and master's and bachelor's degrees in history from Brigham Young University.

He worked as an editorial assistant for the Center for Great Plains Studies and completed his Ph.D. under the direction of Lewis and Clark historian and journal editor Gary E. Moulton. Buckley's monograph, William Clark: Indian Diplomat, was released in 2008. He co-authored By His Own Hand? The Mysterious Death of Meriwether Lewis and has published numerous articles on various aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He is working on two books, a fur trade history of the Great Plains and Canadian prairies, and an examination of the life of Zebulon M. Pike.

Buckley has served on the Foundation's Archives Committee and has a solid working knowledge of the collections in the Foundation's William P. Sherman Library and Archives. He was the Portage Route Chapter's Scholar-in-Residence in 2004. He currently serves on the WPO Editorial Advisory Board. He lives in Orem, Utah.

Bill Stevens has served on the LCTHF board since 2006 and has been president of the Encounters on the Prairie Chapter in central South Dakota for nearly a decade. He is the owner of Stevens Video Services in Pierre, South Dakota. Stevens has a bachelor's degree in political science and a master's degree in public administration from the University of South Dakota.

He worked for 19 years in South Dakota government fiscal management as deputy commissioner in the Constitutional Office of School & Public Lands, special projects director and executive director of the South Dakota Public Utilities Commission, legislative fiscal analyst to the legislature's Joint Appropriations Committee and executive fiscal aide to three South Dakota governors. He serves on the Foundation's Membership and Trail Completion committees. Stevens has served three years as chairman of the Pierre Area Chamber of Commerce Lewis and Clark Trail Bicentennial Promotion Committee. He has led thousands of students, tourists and local residents on tours along the trail.

Clay Smith recently completed a third one-year term as Foundation treasurer, is past president of the Portage Route Chapter and has served as chairman of the Foundation's Finance Committee. Smith served as interim president of the Foundation in the fall of 2009. He also served as chairman of the Foundation's 2008 annual meeting in Great Falls, Montana. He earned a bachelor's degree in science education from Oregon State University, a master's degree in business administration from Northeastern University and a Ph.D. in college student services administration from Oregon State University.

He retired as a lieutenant colonel from the U.S. Air Force in 1984 after serving 22 years. He worked as vice president for enrollment, management and student services at Saint Martin's College in Lacey, Washington, for seven years before taking the same position at the University of Great Falls in 1998. He retired in 2002 and resides in Great Falls.

Bryant Boswell is a dentist from Star, Mississippi. He earned a bachelor's degree in biology from Mississippi State University and a graduate degree from Baylor University College of Dentistry.

He served as president and secretary/treasurer of the Mississippi Dental Association and the Mississippi Chapter of the American College of Dentists. Boswell also served for 12 years as scoutmaster of a local Boy Scout troop. He is a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, serves on the board of directors of the LCTHF Meriwether Lewis Chapter and was instrumental in developing the Lewis and Clark Living
History Association. He portrayed Private Robert Frazier and Captain Meriwether Lewis during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial and served as the host/planner for the LCTHF 2009 annual meeting in Olive Branch, Mississippi. He served three years in the U.S. Army.

Lorna Hainesworth is a retired government employee from Randallstown, Maryland. She has a bachelor's degree in secondary education from the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh and a Certificate in Education for Public Management from the School of Business and Public Administration at Cornell University.

She began an intensive study of the Corps of Discovery's expedition in August 2003. She retraced the entire Lewis and Clark journey from March to August 2004 beginning in Washington, D.C., and ending at the Pacific Coast, and described her adventure in Road Spirit Rules. Hainesworth is a member of several chapters and attends events such as historical marker installations and statue dedications related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. She has become the Lewis and Clark resource contact for the Frederick County Daughters of the American Revolution and the Hispanic Barracks in Frederick, Maryland. She currently is researching primary resource documents to discover new expedition facts.

Other members of the board of directors are Phyllis Yeager of Floyds Knobs, Indiana; Dick Williams of Omaha, Nebraska; Jane Randol Jackson of The Villages, Florida; and Dick Prestholts of Bridgewater, New Jersey.

Karen Seaberg is the Foundation's past president and serves on the Executive Committee with Mallory, Gorski, Amstrong Tubbs, Robertson and McClure. The board meets three times a year in person and by conference call on an as-needed basis.

Buckley and Keith receive distinguished honors

LCTHF board member Jay H. Buckley, a professor at Brigham Young University, recently was awarded the 2009 State Historical Society of Missouri Book Award and the Eagleton-Waters Book Award for his monograph William Clark: Indian Diplomat, published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 2008. This is the first time the same book has received both awards.

Senator Thomas F. Eagleton and society trustee Henry J. Waters III established the Eagleton-Waters Book Award to recognize the author of the best book published on the political history of Missouri. The award is presented biennially, and winners receive a certificate and $1,000. The society's executive director selects a committee to review nominations, which are received from publishers and authors.

The Missouri History Book Award is given annually to the author of the best book written on the history of Missouri and Missourians. Original scholarship in the form of historical biographies, monographs and/or general studies is eligible for a $1,500 cash award and a citation. A panel of judges determines the winner of the award from submissions made by publishers and authors.

Jim Keith, executive director of the Clark-Floyd Counties Convention and Tourism Bureau, is a recipient of the 2009 Chancellor's Medallion awarded by Indiana University Southeast. The Chancellor's Medallion is the highest honor presented by the chancellor of the university. It is given to individuals who have rendered distinguished service to the university and to the community, have given their talents in the promotion of human welfare and community well-being, and who—through their integrity, sensitivity and commitment—serve as models for students and alumni of IU Southeast.

Keith has been the executive director of the Clark-Floyd Counties Convention and Tourism Bureau since 1981. During his time as director he spearheaded the successful "Sunny Side of Louisville" campaign. Keith has been an active Foundation member and key supporter of our education, stewardship and outreach programs. Through his commitment to the Foundation, the Clark-Floyd Counties Convention and Tourism Bureau has been one of the Foundation's strongest advocates and supporters in recent years.

He is an active member of his community and serves as an elder at First Presbyterian Church, is a 40-year member and past president of the Jeffersonville Rotary Club and is active in Leadership Southern Indiana. He also is involved with the Ohio River Greenway Development Commission. He is chairman of the Indiana Lewis and Clark Commission/Foundation, which promotes the state's involvement in the Lewis and Clark story and supports IU Southeast's Lewis and Clark Summer Teachers' Institute training.
“Hypochondriac Affections”: Letters help define Jefferson’s phrase

BY ANN ROGERS

What did Thomas Jefferson mean when he wrote that Meriwether Lewis had been “subject to hypochondriac affections”? Was he referring to a physical disease when he wrote that Lewis “was much afflicted & habitually so with hypochondria”? Jefferson offered no definition of the word “hypochondria” when he used it in an 1810 letter to Captain Gilbert Russell and no explanation of the term “hypochondriac affections” when he used it in an 1813 letter to Paul Allen. Fortunately, letters Jefferson wrote to John Adams and others shed light on the way he understood and used these terms.

The Adams-Jefferson correspondence extended over more than four decades and, unsurprisingly, the two former presidents covered a wide range of topics. In March 1816, Adams posed this question to his old friend: “Would you go back to your Cradle and live over again Your 70 Years?” Jefferson replied in a letter written at Monticello on April 8, 1816. After reminding Adams that there would be, in fact, 73 years to relive, he responded in the affirmative, expressing his belief that “it is a good world on the whole, that it has been framed on a principle of benevolence, and more pleasure than pain dealt out to us.”

Recognizing that not everyone shared this positive view, he added: “There are indeed (who might say Nay) gloomy and hypochondriac minds, inhabitants of diseased bodies, disgusted with the present, and despairing of the future; always counting that the worst will happen, because it may happen.” Although Jefferson noted that “hypochondriac minds” can be “inhabitants of diseased bodies,” he was not describing a physical disease. Instead, he was describing an outlook, a disposition, a state of mind.

He continued in the same paragraph: “My temperament is sanguine. I steer my bark with Hope in the head, leaving Fear astern. My hopes indeed sometimes fail; but not oftener than the forebodings of the gloomy.”

Jefferson clearly was comparing opposing temperaments: his self-described sanguine nature contrasted to the “gloomy and hypochondriac minds” that lacked hope and were filled with fear.

This 1816 letter to Adams is strong evidence that Jefferson’s use of the term “hypochondriac affections” in 1813 also referred to temperament. A dictionary definition of “affection” is “a mental state or tendency; disposition.” This definition can be applied easily in the 1813 letter in which Jefferson wrote that Lewis’s “hypochondriac affections” were directly “inherited by him from his father,” that they abated when Lewis’s mind and body were fully engaged and that they returned during periods of “sedentary occupations.”

The passage often is quoted because the letter in which it appears was published in the Biddle edition of the Lewis and Clark journals under the title “Memoir of Meriwether Lewis.”

In finding a correlation between Lewis’s activity level and his “hypochondriac affections,” Jefferson was repeating his long-held belief that a positive mental outlook required “a habit of industry and activity.” In a 1787 letter written to his then 15-year-old daughter Martha, he counseled her to avoid idleness: “Body and mind both unemploy’d, our being becomes a burthen, and every object about us loathsome, even the dearest. Idleness begets ennui, ennui the hypochondria, and that a diseased body.” As in his 1810 letter to Russell, Jefferson offered no definition of the term “hypochondria,” but he placed it between ennui and disease. In Jefferson’s chain of “begets,” hypochondria followed from mental and physical inactivity and, in turn, could lead to physical disease.

Jefferson wrote the advice to his daughter while she was attending a convent school and he was serving as minister to France. Eight days earlier, he had written to a Parisian friend, Madame de Tessé. Already “smitten” with the Hotel de Salm in Paris, he admitted a new infatuation in the city of Nimes:

Here I am, Madam, gazing whole hours at the Maison quarree, like a lover at his mistress. The stocking-weavers and silk spinners around it consider me as an hypochondriac Englishman, about to write with a pistol the last chapter of his history.

The tone is lighthearted but the image is startling, especially when set alongside the memoir of Meriwether Lewis, written a quarter-century later, in which Jefferson described a man of “hypochondriac affections,” a man he believed wrote his last chapter with a pistol.

In a recent biography of Lewis, Thomas Danisi and John C. Jackson quote from the 1813 memoir and state that “Thomas Jefferson used a term that has since been widely misunderstood.” Danisi and Jackson present the argument that “Hypochondriac affections” actually referred to the disease known as hypochondriasis, a complex, physical sickness” and that “the hypochondriasis that afflicted Meriwether was a debilitating complication of chronic untreated malaria.” This argument links Jefferson’s phrase to an etymologically-related medical term without giving attention to the way Jefferson used the words “hypochondriac” and “hypochondria” in his own writing.

Lewis may, indeed, have experienced bouts of malaria, a disease common in his time and in the regions in which he lived. One can speculate that he was suffering a recurrence during his final journey and even that a recurrence may have played a role in his death. However, Jefferson’s references to Lewis’s “hypochondria” and to his “hypochondriac affections” are not

Please see “Soundings” on page 36

February 2010  We Proceeded On — 33
Remembering Bob Hunt, a gentleman and scholar of Lewis and Clark

With the recent passing of Bob Hunt, the Foundation lost a beloved member and a prolific scholar whose wide-ranging articles about the Lewis and Clark Expedition informed and entertained WPO readers for decades.

Bob was born in St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1920 and died in Seattle on September 4, 2009, at age 89. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, served in the Air Force during World War II and the Korean War, and spent most of his life as a banker, retiring as a senior vice president of Seattle Trust and Savings.

I am sure Bob's career was important to him, but it was his avocation as a Lewis and Clark scholar that nurtured his spirit and doubtless contributed to his longevity. Under the byline of Robert R. Hunt he indulged his endless fascination with the great journey in 21 pieces published in WPO from 1987 to 2007. His fixation with all things related to the Corps of Discovery knew no bounds; his topics ran the gamut from matches to music to fishing reels. As this magazine's editor from 2000 to 2006, I was privileged to publish six of his pieces and in the give-and-take between writer and editor to experience up close his probing, boundless curiosity. I will remember Bob best as a person and friend. I always looked forward to spending time with him at the annual meetings—a sweet, gentle, self-effacing man. That sentiment was widely shared, as the following statements attest.

—Jim Merritt
Former editor, WPO

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Bob and I first met at the LCTHF annual meeting in Collinsville/St. Louis. That was back in 1993, when he was just joining the WPO editorial board and I was just launching my book Acts of Discovery: Visions of America in the Lewis and Clark Journals. Bob had long lived and worked in Seattle, my hometown, and I was just beginning to sketch ideas for another book, about Chief Seattle. We had a lot to talk about, more than we could possibly finish then and there.

For a few years we got by with a regular correspondence between annual meetings. If I dropped a hint about a current project, he would notice relevant leads and send me clippings and library references. He also kept at me with friendly proddings and made perceptive, encouraging comments on any papers or chapters I sent him.

In 1996, my wife and I left eastern Canada and moved to Oregon, and Bob urged me to meet him for lunch at the Rainier Club whenever we came to Seattle for an opera or a family visit. We began to see each other every month or two, a routine we both counted on for the next 13 years. Over time, Bob became my closest friend in the Foundation and one of my dearest friends in life. We met and talked about a lot of things: Lewis and Clark, Northwest history, operas, Shakespeare, naval explorations, Jefferson and Hamilton, classic British poets and essayists, our personal rambles and observations on the trail and overseas, and articles and performances either of us had just read or seen. Often, one of us would show up with a little list of topics and we stayed on till we ran through them all—long after the waiter vanished, the cookie plate lay empty and the teapot was cold. Two retired gents in proper jackets and ties just kept on talking and laughing at a table by the window, glad of each other's company, glad to have each other to prepare for and keep up with, season after season.

—Al Furtwangler
Author and L&C scholar

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For a number of years, each time I received my copy of We Proceeded On I'd check to see if there was an article by Jim Large or Bob Hunt. If so, then I could be assured of a quality piece that would capture my interest and challenge my intellect. We lost Jim a number of years ago and now Bob is gone. We'll not see their likes again. Bob was one of the kindest and most thoughtful people I knew from my Lewis and Clark associations. In spite of his ability to keep coming up with new topics on the expedition or bring new light to old ones, he was one of the most self-effacing people I've met. His interests were as big as his heart and covered a multitude of Lewis and Clark topics: fish, horses and mosquitoes; fun, games, music and amusements; guns and the espoon; footgear and shelters; crime, punishment and whiskey; and sign language and trade jargons. And he covered them all with thoroughness, grace and wit. I'll miss him.

—Gary Moulton
Editor, The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition

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My memories of Bob Hunt go back...
It is from such detailed study that we learn so much more about the Corps of Discovery and its journey. Bob ranks among the most prolific and dedicated contributors to WPO. Exchanges of e-mail with Bob about a Lewis and Clark question or point of interest were always educational and enjoyable for me.

Bob was a true gentleman, and I will forever fondly remember him and appreciate his efforts on behalf of the Lewis and Clark story.

—Jim Holmberg
L&C scholar and former director,
LCTHF

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Bob's articles in We Proceeded On were some of the best we've seen. He wrote about the smallest details of the people, the story and the journey. His research was thorough, his writing smooth and his subject matter always fascinating. He wrote well, and his articles read well; Bob's works were the kind I wanted to read, think about and re-read ... preferably while sitting on my deck with a cold beer or before a fire with a hot toddy!

As a historian I relied on his research, his written word and his endnotes to help me write a better report, locate a new source of information and/or check my own facts.

He set a very high standard for researchers, for writers and for We Proceeded On. He was always a gentleman, always kind and always interested in what others were working on. I shall miss him.

—Barb Kubik
L&C scholar and past president,
LCTHF

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My earliest recollections of Bob go back to my first annual meeting of the LCTHF, in 1993. I must have met him at that time, and every year afterward he was always there, always friendly, always welcoming. In many ways he represented the best of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation in his dedication to the story and faithfulness to the organization. As a newcomer I so appreciated his smiling face and the interest he took in me as a person. Certainly We Proceeded On benefited from his continuing scholarship and engaging articles. How fortunate we were to have had him with us these many years.

—Jane Henley
Past president, LCTHF

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Bob was a gentleman, always willing to visit and share his vast knowledge of Lewis and Clark. I once talked to him about a paper I was working on and my struggles with a particular section. He said, "I'll send you something." A few days later a packet arrived in the mail. In it was an article Bob had once written on the very subject we had discussed, along with some research material he had used and a personal note of encouragement. A true scholar and friend.

—Ron Laycock
Past president, LCTHF

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Bob Hunt was a fine person who made an impression on many lives. I had the pleasure of reading his articles in WPO for several years before I met him. His subjects ran from the mundane of tents and footwear to comparisons of the expedition with Homer's Odyssey. Bob's articles stretched my mind, and when I read them, the Lewis and Clark story took on new dimensions. Bob was a gentleman, and talking with him was always a pleasure. I last visited with him in St. Louis during the 2006 annual meeting and final signature event of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial. He was frail of body, but his mind was strong, and I could sense how much it meant to him to share his knowledge about Lewis and Clark with others. Thanks, Bob, for a job well done. We wish you well on your Trail Eternal.

—Jim Mallory
President, LCTHF
We Proceeded On evidence that he was diagnosing any physical disease. From the 1787 letters to Martha Jefferson and Madame de Tessé to the 1816 letter to John Adams, Jefferson consistently used the term "hypochondriac" in relation to a dark outlook on life. That outlook could, he believed, lead to physical disease, but he did not equate it with a disease. He used the terms "hypochondriac" and "hypochondria" to refer to a pessimistic disposition or temperament that could be influenced for good by vigorous activity or for ill by sedentary habits. The way Jefferson used these terms across nearly three decades of his correspondence provides a context in which to understand his comments on Meriwether Lewis.

Rogers's book Lewis and Clark in Missouri (University of Missouri Press) is in its 3rd edition. She has a Ph.D. in English and taught American literature for 12 years.

Notes
3. Ibid., p. 467.
4. Ibid.
8. Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 226. I thank Linda Monaco at Princeton University Library for alerting me to the Madame de Tessé letter and to another written to James Madison, in which Jefferson described a man with whom he was corresponding as "a little hypochondriac and discontented." Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 95.

Bob Hunt's We Proceeded On bibliography

Following is a complete list of articles by Robert R. Hunt published in We Proceeded On over a 20-year span, from 1987 to 2007. Those published through 1999 can be found in the three-volume Explorations into the World of Lewis and Clark (Robert A. Saindon, ed.), published in 2003 by the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

8. "Fun and Games on the Lewis & Clark Expedition" (sport, play and physical conditioning), August 1993.
11. "Tent Shreds and Pieces" (nomadic shelter on the expedition), February 1996.
13. "Luck or Providence?" (narrow escapes on the Lewis and Clark trail), August 1999.
15. "For Whom the Guns Sounded" (Sergeant Charles Floyd's funeral revisited), February 2001.
18. "Wireless in the Wilderness" (the many ways of communicating on the Lewis and Clark trail), May 2005.
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