Was “Old Toby” Lost?
Revisiting the Bitterroot Crossing

How Blacksmiths Fed the L&C Expedition
Prince Madoc, the Welsh, and the Mandan Indians
Was Toby Lost?
Did the Shoshone guide take "a wrong road" over the Bitterroot Mountains, as Captain William Clark contended, or was Toby following a lesser-known Indian trail?
By John Puckett

Forging for Food
How blacksmiths of the Lewis and Clark Expedition saved the Corps from starvation during the winter of 1804–1805 at Fort Mandan
By Shaina Robbins

Prince Madoc and the Welsh Indians
When Lewis and Clark arrived at Fort Mandan President Jefferson suggested they look for a connection between the twelfth-century Welsh prince and the Mandan Indians. Did one exist?
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Review Round-up
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By Krys Holmes

On the cover
Lewis and Clark at Travelers' Rest at Lolo Creek, 1805, by Edgar S. Paxson, 1913, oil on linen, (5½ by 10 inches). Picture commissioned for the Missoula County Courthouse. Courtesy of the Missoula Art Museum.

On September 9, 1805, the Corps of Discovery turned west from the Bitterroot River and headed up a stream they named "Travelers' Rest Creek." The western artist, Edgar S. Paxson, depicts this meeting between the Lewis and Clark party and three Nez Perce Indians at a heavily used Indian campsite about a mile or so above the mouth of the creek. George Drouillard was introducing Captain Lewis to the three Nez Perce Indians whom Private John Colter met while hunting somewhere up the creek. Lewis made the universal open-handed gesture of welcome. Clark's servant, York, at Lewis's right, was dressed in blue as befitting a personal slave at that time. "Old Toby," the Shoshone guide whom the captains had hired to lead them across the Bitterroot Mountains, is seated at Lewis's left hand, displaying a map he had drawn for the captains on deer skin. Behind Lewis are Captain Clark, Sacagawea—who is cradling her seven-month-old son, Jean Baptiste—and her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau.
Count Them: The 10 Most Frequently Used Words in the L&C Journals

Your readers may be interested in the following information I developed while writing an afterword for the recently published Signet Classics reissue of *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, originally edited by John Bakeless in 1962. Bakeless was a polymath—an author, historian, researcher, journalist, soldier, spy, and horticulturist. Based on the 1904-05 Thwaites edition, Bakeless's version reflects his scholarly erudition, editing skill, and the Cold War character of his times. Born at Carlisle Barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Bakeless grew up on the campus of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, where his father was dean. Educated at Williams College, he earned a doctorate at Harvard and wrote a biography of Daniel Boone before he served in the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department in WWII on a secret mission in Greece behind German lines. Among his later books was a biography of George Rogers Clark.

Bakeless's editing of *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* produces a seamless narrative and reveals his eclectic interests in military procedure, botany, ornithology, and cultural ephemera. Curiously, given his rearing at the Carlisle School, his narrative treats Indians poorly. He includes relatively little about Sacagawea and even less about the other Indians who guided the captains through their lands. Bakeless is especially tough on Sacagawea's husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, whom he dismisses as a "worthless ... squaw-man." His judgments about "treacherous redskins" can grate on modern ears.

Of more interest to us now, Bakeless provided the explorers with what he called the "present" of correcting their erratic spelling and grammar. He eliminated all the fear less misspellings like "musquetors" and "mockersons" that spilled every day from the captains' pens, especially Clark's.

In doing so, Bakeless gives us an unexpected present. By standardizing the spelling, Bakeless makes it possible to accurately count the individual words most frequently used by the captains. (The enlisted men's journals are not included in his edition.) Using a computer-generated "word cloud," we can gain new insights into the captains' priorities. Consider the fact that the ten words that appear most often in the captains' journals are, in order of frequency: river (by a large margin), men, Clark, Lewis, Indians, miles, great, captain, party, and horses.

We might anticipate the self-describing nouns, such as the captains' last names, men and party. The all-important
Indians are never far from their thoughts. And we now see in sharper relief how intimately they are bound to the face of the land (river, miles), their most critical means of transportation (horses), and the unimaginable scale of the West (Great Falls, great numbers of buffalo, Great Shute). One is surprised only that "mosquito" did not finish higher in the ranking.

Every generation looks at Lewis and Clark with different eyes. To John Bakeless, the captains exemplified exceptional military leadership and manly enterprise. To revisionist Western historians, Lewis and Clark were agents of empire, bit players in a larger drama of imperial conquest and colonization. To Native Americans, the arrival of white men "with faces as pale as ashes" represented the destruction of their cultures and the loss of their homelands. Today we celebrate a multicultural Corps of Discovery, as if it were a prototypical World War II platoon.

At the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy in 1960, the poet Robert Frost was unable to read his original poem in the glare of that bright January morning. Instead, he recited "The Gift Outright," a poem more about the old frontier of Lewis and Clark. "This land was ours before we were the land's," Frost wrote of the triumphant young nation "vaguely realizing westward." Two hundred years after Lewis and Clark, Americans still feel the pull of a people vaguely realizing westward.

What embodies our ideals as a society more than the lessons we draw from Lewis and Clark? Their journey has become our defining national epic. Like Lewis and Clark, Americans aspire to face the unknown with fortitude, to travel through magnificent landscapes, to forge a harmonious society out of diverse individuals, and to deal with unfamiliar cultures with sensitivity and respect. Those ideas may be the most important ones that Lewis and Clark brought back from their quest for knowledge.

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WPO welcomes letters. We may edit them for length, accuracy, clarity, and civility. Send them to us c/o Editor, wpo, P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403 (e-mail: wpo@lewisandclark.org).
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The mission of the LCTHF is: As Keepers of the Story - Stewards of the Trail, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. provides national leadership in maintaining the integrity of the Trail and its story through stewardship, scholarship, education, partnership and cultural inclusiveness.

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President’s Message

Proceeding On From a Challenging Spring

I would like to express my pleasure at the progress the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has made this year. The board has adopted a new mission and vision statement and a set of strategic goals. Our members assisted the National Park Service with their management plan for the Lewis and Clark Trail with their participation in numerous public comment sessions. Thanks to board member Ken Jutzi and a generous donor, we will soon have an up-to-date information management system. Administrative assistant Catherine Avery is ably staffing the Great Falls office and board member Lorna Hainesworth is making sure chapter newsletters reach a wider audience. Several board members, at their own expense, attended the Hike the Hill event in Washington, D.C., with the Partnership for National Historic Trails and took the opportunity to discuss with NPS director Jon Jarvis the challenges we face getting the young involved in the outdoors. Lorna and I also spoke about the Corps of Discovery at the Smithsonian Institute.

Regional meetings were successful and the 2010 annual meeting in Lewiston finished in the black. Our financial situation has improved somewhat as well. I think we have some potentially wonderful opportunities in front of us, if we can get our house in order.

Since becoming your president, I have listened to the advice available from individuals with indispensible qualifications. I consulted with Charles Bryan and Dan Jordan, two excellent supporters. I have also sought advice from Dr. Nick Mueller, president and CEO of the National World War II Museum; and Kat Imhoff, the Montana Director of The Nature Conservancy—extremely successful fundraisers. Some feel these individuals represent museums and do not face the challenges we do. I strongly disagree. I think it was Dayton Duncan who called the Lewis and Clark Trail a 7,000-mile museum, and my father concurred. Mark Weekley, superintendent of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and his staff, who share this vision, are looking to work as partners with us in the years ahead.

The Missouri River is a national treasure woven into the fabric of our country. Our group proclaims to be its steward. But since the bicentennial we are losing the trail, thread by thread. We are losing the opportunity to make a difference in preserving, promoting and teaching the Lewis and Clark Trail. Children are not learning about the Corps of Discovery; local officials feel the bicentennial celebration was an end point. The river itself is under attack. The recent oil spill on the Yellowstone River is a case in point, as is the arrival of the mega loads traveling at a snail’s pace over U.S. Highway 12. We simply do not have a moment to waste. Many of our members may be completely unaware of it, but energy corridors are being built right on top of some of our most precious sites.

I urge you to face the facts: our membership peaked at 3,500 and has declined to 1,350. Our organization is on life support. Without a huge transfusion of resources we will die. Will it take hard work to accomplish? You bet. But no one can tell me our survival is not worth it.

The floods of 2011 will expose the Missouri River and its management to extreme national scrutiny. The floods will prompt a round of discussions about the river's management. This is our opportunity to have a chair at the table. We will not have that chair if we cannot resolve to proceed to the next level of our organization's mission.

We have a group of passionate, dedicated and loyal supporters of a national treasure and I, for one, refuse to waste their time.

When problems occurred on the Lewis and Clark Expedition the captains did not waste (continued on p. 23)
Was Toby Lost?

The Shoshone Guide and the Corps in the Bitterroot Mountains

By John Puckett

Toby or "Swooping Eagle"

In mid-August 1805, the Lewis and Clark Expedition met the Shoshone Indians on the Lemhi River in Idaho to trade for horses. The corps also wanted to find a passage through the Idaho Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. On August 20, 1805, Captain William Clark requested a guide to accompany him down the Salmon River and an elderly man consented to undertake the task.

That man was Toby, who had been recommended by Sacagawea's brother Cameahwält because he was well-acquainted with the country north of the river. "His real name was Pi-keek queen-ab, or Swooping Eagle," wrote Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs. "The Shoshone language calls him Tosa-tive koo-be (Tobe), meaning furnishing white man with brains."

The Corps of Discovery needed Toby to guide them across the Bitterroot Mountains, because they were so thickly forested, steep, and irregular. His name is mentioned only once in the Lewis and Clark journals—but he is credited with guiding the Corps of Discovery across the Bitterroot Mountains to the Clearwater River in Idaho where they launched canoes for the journey to the Pacific Coast. Along the way, he guided Captain William Clark and Sergeant Patrick Gass down the Salmon River so Clark could be assured it was, indeed, a "river of no return."

Descriptions of the eleven-day journey across the Bitterroot Mountains are particularly brief in Clark's journal, and almost nonexistent in Lewis's. This omission makes it difficult for the reader to discern particular segments of the journey. In some instances, the most difficult part of the corps' journey over the Bitterroot Mountains was covered in a few short paragraphs. The most important part of the Bitterroot crossing in 1805—

Glade Creek, where the Lewis and Clark Expedition camped on September 13, 1805.
Still, he was accused of “taking the wrong Shoshone guide Toby, left Lolo Hot Springs which I observed the Deer Elk &c had made roads to.” As they travelled toward the pass, Clark observed “several roads led from these Springs in different directions, my Guide took a wrong road and led us out of our rout 3 miles.”

Anyone who has hiked in the densely wooded western mountains can understand Toby’s experience of trying to find the right trail in the web of game trails in the underbrush. Numerous animal trails lead in and out of springs and salt licks, and it would have been difficult to find the right one. As he searched, Toby may have been negotiating the differences in his language and Clark’s. Still, he was accused of “taking the wrong trail.”

Clark explains, with a hint of uncharacteristic irritation, “after falling into the right road I proceeded on thro toler­abl rout for abt. 4 or 5 miles.” Private Joseph Whitehouse explains in his journal, “We could not get along the Indian trail, for the timber had been blown down in a thicket of Pine & other trees. —We went round this falling timber, and round a hill and got into the road again.”

**FOLLOWING THE LOLO TRAIL**

At this point, the corps was following the Lolo Trail, also known as the Nez Perce Trail. This was also the trail that the Salish followed to the fishery at the mouth of Colt Killed Creek. The Lolo Trail follows the main ridge top that separates the two rivers (the Kooskooskee or Lochsa and the North Fork of Clearwater). The trail had various branches—Lewis and Clark came west on a route that passed by the site of the present-day Powell Ranger Station. When they returned in 1806, they were guided by Nez Perce Indians on an easier trail, the Lolo or Nez Perce Trail that proceeded directly from the high ridge route to Lolo Pass.”

The expedition camped the night of September 13, 1805, at the end of the Quawmash Meadow, on Glade Creek, where the Bitterroot Mountains closed on either side. When the Corps left the Glade Creek Camp the next day they followed the trail, the Nez Perce or Lolo Trail, to the top of an east-west ridge. About two miles above the Glade creek Camp, the Nez Perce Trail diverged from the Tushepaw Trail. At this point, Toby and the corps followed the Tushepaw Trail west to a Salish fishing site.

**TWO TRAILS DIVERGED**

Scholars feel Toby made a mistake when he left the Nez Perce Trail and continued on the Tushepaw Trail. Charles R. Knowles wrote that “Toby again led the party astray. On the fourteenth, instead of taking the explorers off the ridgeline trail and down a well-worn path off today’s Pack Creek, a fishing camp on the Lochsa River, the party stayed on the Tushepaw Trail, instead of following the Nez Perce Trail northwest to cross the Crooked Fork of the Kooskooskee (Lochsa). The trail junction was not marked, but the trail to the Colt Killed Creek, where the fishery was located, was well-traveled, as the Tushepaws (Salish) had been to the creek earlier in the season to fish.”

Many scholars felt that Toby was lost because he didn’t take the Nez Perce Trail, which came out down at the fishery. Toby, however, most likely guided them on the southerly route to the Tushepaw fishing site because it was the only route he knew. On Clark’s Salmon River reconnaissance, Toby told the captain that he had “been among these Tushepaws (Salish), and having once accompanied them on a fishing party to another river, he had there seen Indians who had come across the Rocky Mountains.”

On September 14, 1805, Clark wrote of the difficult Bitterroot crossing:

we Set out early and Crossed a high mountain on the right of the Creek for 6 miles to the forks of the Glade Creek [This was the long-term destination fishing spot for the Tushepaws (Salish)]. The right hand fork which falls in is about the Size of the other, we Crossed to the left Side at the foks, and Crossd a very high Steep mountain for 9 miles to a large fork from the left which appears to head in the Snow topped mountains Southerly and S.E. we Crossd Glade Creek above its mouth, at a place the Tushepaws or Flat head Indians have made 2 wears across to Catch Salmon and have but latterly left the place. I could see no (Signs of) fish, and the grass entirely eaten out by the horses, we proceeded on 2 miles & Encamped opposit a Small Island ....

Private Whitehouse gives his own version of that difficult day in his journal entry September 14, 1805. After
climbing a mountain “covered with pine,” the corps then had a steep rocky descent ahead of them.

abt. 4 miles we descended it down on the Creek at a fork where it ran very rapid and full of rocks. We then ascended a verry high mountain, about 4 miles from the forks of the creek to the top of it went Some distance on the top then descended it about 6 miles. Some places verry Steep. came down at another fork of the Creek where it was consider. larger. The natives had a place made across in form of our wires in 2 places, and worked in with willows verry ingeniously, for the current verry rapid. we crossed at the forks and proceeded on down the creek ... our Guide tells us that the natives catch a great number of Sammon along here.¹⁰

On September 14, 1805, the Corps camped at the site of the present-day Powell Ranger Station. The next day, they travelled four miles down the Lochsa River to another fishing site. Clark wrote on September 15, 1805:

We set out early. the morning Cloudy and Proceeded on Down the right Side of River [Kooskooske or Lochsa] over Steep points rokey and buschey as usual for 4 miles to an old Indian fishing place, here the road leaves the river to the left and assends a mountain winding in every direction to get up the Steep assents & to pass the emence quantity of falling timber which had falling from dift. causes i e. fire & wind.¹¹

This was Wendover Ridge, one of the routes most likely used by Nez Perce on their trips east. As Clark states, “the road” led up to the ridge top. After a long hard day, they camped on the ridge top that was the Lolo Trail.
A field of blue camas in Quamash Meadow on Glade Creek, where the corps gathered before following the Nez Perce Trail into the Bitterroot Mountains.

On their return, Lewis wrote June 27, 1806, that the Nez Perce "informed us that when passing over with their families some of the men were usually sent on foot by the fishery at the entrance of Colt Creek in order to take fish and again met the main party at the Quamash glade on the head of the Kooskooske river." 12

**LOLO TRAIL vs. TUSHEPAW TRAIL**

The Lolo Trail to the river was not as prominent as the Tushepaw Trail because it wasn't used as frequently. The Nez Perce Indians followed the Lolo Trail east to hunt buffalo on the plains, but these weren't annual trips. Alan Pinkham, Nez Perce tribal elder and cultural committee member, in a personal conversation stated, "trips East to hunt buffalo were more random." The infrequent trips were made by "families [who] would get together to make the trips, which could last for a year or more." 13

The Lolo Trail's eastern end, as far as Wendover Creek, appears to be older than the western part, as Ralph Space observes in his book *The Lolo Trail*. 14 The Salish Indians—who called Lolo Creek "tum-sum-kee" or no salmon creek—traveled the Lolo Trail over the divide to the Kooskooske or Lochsa River to fish for salmon. Because of the shorter distance, the Tushepaws (Salish) may have used the trail more frequently for their fishing expeditions than the Nez Perce did for their buffalo hunting expeditions.

Toby may have been a part of one of those fishing expeditions. 15 During the winter story telling period, there was a legend told among the Salish of how, during the creation of the world, "Coyote failed to bring salmon over the divide to stock the Bitterroot." After the tribes acquired the horse, the activity on the Tushepaw Trail may have increased, making it more visible and easier to follow. As logs fell across the trails or their filled in with brush, newer trails would result along the route.

When the Corps of Discovery camped on the evening of June 28, 1806, they could look across the Kooskooske...
(Lochsa) River to the ridge above Glade Creek where the trails forked and Toby had taken the trail to the fishery the previous fall. On June 29, 1806, Lewis wrote:

We collected our horses early this morning and set out, we pursued the heights of the ridge on which we have been passing for several days; it terminated at the distance of 5 ms from our encampment decended to, and passed the main branch of the Kooskooske 1 ½ miles above the entrance of Quamamash creek (Glade Creek). Beyond the river we ascended a very steep acclivity of a mountain about 2 Miles and arrived at it's summit where we found the old road which we had passed as we went out, coming in on our wright. The road was now much plain and more beaten, which we were informed happened from the circumstance of the Oodashshoots visiting the fishery frequently from the valley of Clark's river [Bitterroot River]; tho' there was no appearance of their having been here this Spring.16

The journals do not indicate that Corps returned on the “old road,” thus indicating where there was a trail junction.
Lewis stated the mountain was very steep and the group must have spread out to negotiate the steep slope and the fallen trees—an arduous task.
There was no exact place on the ridge trail where the guide would have known that, in order to stay on the Nez Perce Trail, he had to head northwest. Given that the Shoshones and Nez Perce tribes were not on the best of terms, Toby probably did not know about the Nez Perce Trail. He was recommended as a guide because he knew the area north of the Lemhi.
Was Toby lost? Clark accused Toby of taking the wrong trail. Other than that—Toby didn't hesitate in his leadership of the corps along Tushepaw Trail, which was most likely the route he knew. Toby proceeded on: there are no entries about being lost; no indications about backtracking to find the “correct” trail. If the corps had been truly lost think of the consequences. Instead, Toby led them down the Kooskooske River to Wendover Ridge. Because we don't have a great deal of evidence about where the Lolo Trail left the ridge above the Glade Creek Camp, and because Toby told Clark that he had been on the trail to the fishery and they were on a road that led across the mountains, Toby did not seem lost at all. In fact, on September 26, 1806, in St Louis, Meriwether Lewis subsequently gave Toby a great deal of credit for his expedition's success.17
Toby was responsible for the remarkable feat of guiding the Corps of Discovery through the most difficult part of the journey on their way west—crossing the Bitterroot Mountains. They most certainly would have been lost were it not for Tosa-tive koo-be or Tobe.

John Puckett is a retired forest service employee and is currently a volunteer at Travelers' Rest State Park.

NOTES
1 Gary E. Moulton, ed. The Definitive Journals of Lewis and Clark, 13 volumes, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001); Vol. 5, p. 128. “When he concluded his address, he requested a guide to accompany him down the river and an elderly man pointed out by the Chief who consented to undertake this task.” P. 131, Footnote 6. “This man would guide Clark on his reconnaissance of the Salmon River and conduct the entire party over the Lolo Trail to the Clearwater River country in Idaho, one of the most difficult parts of the entire journey.”
4 Moulton, Vol. 5 p. 203.
12 Moulton, Vol. 8 p. 56.
13 Alan Pinkham, Nez Perce elder and cultural committee member. Personal conversation on the times and duration of tribal members going east to Montana to hunt buffalo. February 2010.
16 Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 63.
Forging for Food: Blacksmiths of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

When the Lewis and Clark Expedition wintered with the Mandan tribe between late October 1804 and early April 1805, they faced a long, hungry winter. Below-zero temperatures grounded the hunters, and the Corps' limited supplies made trading difficult. They may have starved had it not been for the blacksmiths who fixed Mandan axes and kettles in exchange for the villagers' corn, beans, and squash, which strengthened the men and the bonds between the two groups.

By Shaina Robbins

As Captain Meriwether Lewis wrote in Fort Mandan on February 5-6, 1805: “The blacksmith's have proved a happy rescue to us in our present situation as I believe it would have been difficult to have devised any other method to have procured corn from the natives.”

In the early winter, the men hunted and fished without difficulty when not building Fort Mandan. In a single day in mid-November, they brought in thirty-two deer, twelve elk, and a buffalo, an amount necessary to feed the hungry men. Although they were able to trade in the Mandan village for some corn, they relied on meat as their main food source. The corps ate, as Lewis noted on July 13, 1806, “an emensity of meat; it requires 4 deer, an Elk and a deer, or one buffalo, to supply us plentifully 24 hours.” Unfortunately, their season of plenty would not last long. Hunting and visits to the Mandan villages became more difficult as the weather grew chillier. On December 7, 1804, intense cold forced the hunters to abandon half of the eleven bison they had killed. On December 17, 1804, when Clark reported the temperature at forty-five degrees below zero, to hunt was life-threatening.

By Christmas, as the men struggled to stay warm in the newly constructed Fort Mandan, corps members enjoyed dishes of pumpkins, beans, corn, and chokecherries made by generous Mandan women. The men needed more food but had few items to trade. The solution, oddly enough, was the blacksmith’s shop. As soon as the men completed the forge on December 27, 1804, Mandan villagers brought metal items such as axes and kettles for repair, offering more corn, beans, and squash in exchange.

On New Year’s Eve, 1804, Clark wrote, “Our blacksmith mending their axes hoes, &c. &c. for which the Squars bring Corn for payment.”

In addition to bringing in bushels of corn, the blacksmith’s efforts pleased the Indians, who lacked metallurgical skills. Both sides felt that they had made an excellent trade, and bonds between the Corps of Discovery and the Mandan were strengthened considerably. Throughout that long, cold winter at Fort Mandan, the
Lewis and Clark blacksmiths kept their comrades fed and their hosts happy through their efforts in the smithy. They continued that service throughout the rest of the journey,

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keeping their comrades’ guns in working order making various repairs. Without their labor, the journey across the continent would have been far more miserable and hungry.

Given the significance of their role, it is surprising the blacksmiths are barely identified in the Lewis and Clark journals. Only John Shields is named as a blacksmith, although recent historians have also identified Alexander Willard and William Bratton. The blacksmiths’ identities, however, are by no means clear.

BLACKSMITHS AND DIPLOMACY

Captain Meriwether Lewis first mentioned the party’s blacksmiths in the detachment orders issued at Camp River Dubois on February 20, 1804, when he placed the corps under the command of Sergeant John Ordway. He ordered them to finish their unnamed work, the importance of which can be measured by their reward: “during the time they are at work will receive each an extra gill of whiskey.”

Both Lewis and Clark mentioned the blacksmiths in the plural, but a contemporary writing the next winter at Fort Mandan suggested that there was only one. Fur trader Antoine François Larocque, who also wintered with the Mandan in 1805, wrote, “My landlord went
down to the Americans [Lewis and Clark] to get his gun mended; they have a very expert smith who is always employed making different things and working for the Indians, who are grown very fond of them, although they disliked them at first.” Larocque’s account indicated that ironworking by a single smith served as a diplomatic tool among the Mandan, who originally felt suspicion toward the American explorers.

Another fur trader at Fort Mandan, Charles MacKenzie, quoted a Gros Ventre chief’s description of the blacksmiths as the only “two sensible men” among the “white warriors.”

According to MacKenzie, the Mandan held negative opinions of the Corps of Discovery, making the diplomatic overtures of the blacksmiths all the more significant. The Mandan initially resented the corps’ limited trading supply and felt that an appropriate diplomatic overture required more gifts. Other attempts to influence Native American leaders had apparently left them unimpressed, but the smiths had overcome their contempt. Interestingly, MacKenzie seems to indicate that there were only two metalworkers—a gunsmith and a blacksmith.

The men continued on their journey but eventually recognized the need to abandon some supplies. After two days of last-minute repairs—Lewis particularly wanted the main spring of his air gun fixed—the men cached their bellows and metalworking tools near the mouth of the Marias. Ammunition, food, skins, and a variety of other expendable articles were also included. At this time Lewis named the main gunsmith, John Shields, in his journal, but the names of any other blacksmiths were unmentioned. Sergeant Ordway clarified, fortunately, that numerous blacksmiths were involved in the mending process, although the journal writers switched back and forth between referring to a single smith or several.

The blacksmiths’ duties continued. Leaving Fort Clatsop the next spring, the captains ordered the men to fire and regulate their guns to see if repairs were needed. A number of the rifles did require minor repairs, and Clark discovered on April 7, 1806, that his gun required re-boring to restore its worn rifling. Two days later, he announced that Shields had “Cut out my Small rifle & brought it to Shoot very well.” This was his last mention of Shields or the other blacksmiths, although their work may have continued.

On the return trip the men dug up the bellows and other tools near the Marias and carried them downriver in their boats, eventually leaving them with Charbonneau at the Mandan villages. As scholar Gary Moulton noted, this act exemplified Lewis’ efforts to civilize the Native Americans in accordance with Jefferson’s instructions.

**JOHN SHIELDS: “[W]orks extremel y well”**

Private John Shields was certainly the head gunsmith and possibly the main blacksmith on the expedition. Lewis had instructed Clark to seek out young, strong, unmarried men. Shields, however, was thirty-five (the oldest member of the original party), married, and a father. Clark took him on because of his abilities as a smith.

Although Shields initially tested the captains’ patience by resisting orders, threatening Sergeant Ordway’s life, and being court-martialed at Camp Dubois in April 1804, his metalworking skills proved vital to the Corps. As Clark wrote on April 8, 1806, “The party owes much to the ingenuity of this man, by whose guns their guns are repaired when they get out of order which is very often.” The corps relied heavily on red meat, and thus on guns, to provide the nearly six thousand daily calories needed to sustain their exertions crossing the continent. Keeping firearms in working order proved imperative for protection as well. Guns also served as displays of American power and ingenuity when the group encountered Indian nations.

As the party passed the mouth of the Marias River on June 10, 1805, Lewis praised Shields’ skills, writing, “We have been much indebted to the ingenuity of this man on many occasions; without having served any regular apprenticeship to any trade, he makes his own tools principally and works extremely well in either wood or metal, and in this way has been extremely servicable to us, as well as being a good hunter and an excellent waterman.” Although self-taught, Shields’ impressive skills as a gunsmith and his ability to make his own tools indicated that he was a capable blacksmith as well.

Shields received the pay of a private for his enlistment, but on January 15, 1807, in a letter to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, Lewis singled out Shields for special commendation, writing, “Nothing was more peculiarly

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Although Shields initially tested the captains’ patience by resisting orders, threatening Sergeant Ordway’s life, and being court-martialed at Camp Dubois in April 1804, his metalworking skills proved vital to the Corp.
useful to us, in various situations, than the skill and ingenuity of this man as an artist, in repairing out guns, accouretments, &c. and should it be thought proper to allow him something as an artificer, he has well deserved it." Eventually all of the men received double pay, but to earn Lewis’ particular respect was significant, for few of the men warranted such praise.29

During his last years, Shields trapped with Daniel and Squire Boone, his relatives, and then settled in Corydon, Indiana. He apparently farmed for a while before dying in December 1809, more than three years beyond the journey’s end.31

ALEXANDER WILLARD:
“BOLDNESS, INTREPIDITY [AND] ENDURANCE”

Private Alexander Willard almost certainly assisted with blacksmithing work throughout the journey, given that he enlisted at the rank of an artificer—or “military smith to a particular corps”—at the age of twenty-one, at Oxford, New Hampshire.32 Though he had been trained as a blacksmith and gunsmith, none of the journal keepers named him as such when he transferred to the Corps of Discovery.

Like Shields, Willard used blacksmithing to redeem himself for mistakes made early on in the expedition. He fell asleep on guard duty and was court-martialed. Perhaps because of his blacksmithing skill, his punishment was lessened from death to lashing—one hundred lashes on his bare back over the course of four evenings in July 1804.33 During the expedition, he lost his tomahawk, dropped his rifle into a river, and allowed his horse to wander away.34 Lewis wrote in particular aggravation over the loss of the horse, “This in addition to the other difficulties under which I labored was truly provoking. I reprehended him more severely for this piece of negligence than had been usual with me.”35 Chastised, Willard won back his leaders’ good will with his efforts as a blacksmith at Camp Dubois and Fort Mandan.

In March 1808, Lewis, the recently appointed governor of the Louisiana Territory appointed Willard as a blacksmith to the Sauk nation, paying him “30 dollars pr. Month and one & ½ rations pr. day to be furnished at the public expense with an assortment of tools, a shop and coal house, a comfortable cabin with a punic (sic) floor, with fuel, and to have his baggage transported from hence to the Sauk village.”36 Willard, now married, readily accepted the generous position, and he must have fulfilled his duties well, given that Clark placed him in similar positions for the Delaware and the Shawnee the next year.37 By 1850 and 1860, however, census records listed Willard as a farmer by occupation, though local residents claimed he continued to work as a smith.38 Willard’s obituary asserted that he was “very favorably mentioned in the report of Lewis and

He fell asleep on guard duty and was court-martialed.
Perhaps because of his blacksmithing skill, his punishment was lessened from death to lashing—one hundred lashes on his bare back over the course of four evenings in July 1804.

WILLIAM BRATTON: HUNTER AND BLACKSMITH

Only circumstantial evidence links Private William E. Bratton to the blacksmiths on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Descendants revealed in Olin Wheeler’s Wonderland that as a child, Bratton apprenticed with a gunsmith, becoming “expert in the use of tools,” although he never pursued a metalworking career as an adult. Wheeler thus suggested, “it is not improbable that Bratton was one of the ‘blacksmiths’ that were so useful at Fort Mandan,” but he never argued the point with certainty.”40

A number of recent historians have listed Bratton as a blacksmith on the expedition, including Gary Moulton, who described Private William E. Bratton, saying, “Bratton was useful to the expedition as a hunter and blacksmith.”41

In journal entry footnotes, however, Moulton named only John Shields and Alexander Willard as the expedition’s metalworkers.42 This contradiction reflects the general confusion about the corps’ blacksmiths. Scholars are not wrong to suspect that Bratton was one of the Lewis and Clark blacksmiths, but their assumptions are not based on definitive primary sources.

Indeed, the captains assigned Bratton away from John Shields during the preparation of the iron-framed boat. While Shields and several others busied themselves with assembling the boat, Bratton made tar for sealing its sides together.43 In other instances related to ironworking, such as took place during the winters at Camp Dubois and Fort Mandan, the journals offer no hints about Bratton’s
activities. This seems to indicate that his assistance as a smith was minimal.

Blacksmith or not, Bratton displayed impressive courage on the expedition. On May 11, 1805, he stumbled across and shot a grizzly bear, managing to hit “the monstrous beast” through the lungs before running for help. At Fort Clatsop in 1806, Bratton exhibited similar nerve during a long illness, even enduring a healing sweat bath and a dunk in an icy river at the hands of John Shields. He was also a skilled hunter, whom Clark described, along with the others from Kentucky, as being among, “the best woodsmen and hunters of the young men in this part of the country.” The captains appreciated these efforts and respected Bratton for his sense of duty, even considering him, along with Patrick Gass and George Gibson for military advancement when Sergeant Charles Floyd died. Even if Bratton never assisted as a blacksmith, he earned his place in history for his exertions and positive attitude on the expedition; however, it would seem odd for the captains not to have offered him particular praise if his exemplary service were coupled with efforts as a smith.

After the expedition, Lewis went beyond the basic release from military service to describe and offer his gratitude for Bratton’s exceptional efforts throughout the journey. He praised him for his hard work and courage but did not describe Bratton as a metalworker, despite his training. The general brevity of the letter could explain this, along with its similarity to Shields’ discharge papers, or this omission could indicate that Bratton was not actually one of the Corps’ blacksmiths.

Three months later, in a letter to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, Lewis listed William Bratton’s rank as a private, not an artificer, and included no remarks. The contrast with Lewis’s warm praise for Shields seems significant. In addition, the conclusion of the letter repeats almost exactly the sentiments expressed in Bratton’s discharge, indicating that Lewis may have been using similar praise in every discharge letter. Had Bratton provided significant metalworking services, perhaps Lewis would have had more to say. On the other hand, Lewis commended only Shields for his work as an artificer, neglecting to mention the other blacksmith, whether this was Bratton or Willard.

Following the expedition, Bratton worked as a keelboat business operator, a soldier in the War of 1812, and a justice of peace in Waynetown, Indiana. The earliest census records list Bratton’s livelihood as farming. This, coupled with the fact that his children said he never worked as a smith, indicates that he abandoned his childhood trade.

Throughout his later years, Bratton alluded to those cold, hungry days at Fort Mandan, even picking up scattered grains of corn at a corn husking, for which he was mocked. “He replied that he had seen the time he would have been very thankful for a few grains of corn for the men of the Lewis and Clark expedition almost starved at times.” Perhaps Bratton was so careful in saving the corn because he had experienced the labor the blacksmiths had to give in order to earn a few kernels at Fort Mandan. Perhaps he simply remembered with gratitude the service of the other blacksmiths. Either way, his actions after the expedition indicate just how vital the contributions of the metalworkers truly were.

**SMITHING FOR SUSTENANCE**

Fortunately the blacksmiths were available to alleviate the expedition’s hunger by keeping guns in working order and trading their services for food.

Shaina Robbins, a graduate from Brigham Young University and a summer employee at the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls, Mont., will pursue her master’s degree in history at Utah State University in the fall.

**NOTES**

1 For an excellent summary and analysis of the winter at


Moulton, Journals, Vol. 3, p. 239.


Ibid., p. 253.

Ibid., p. 258.


Though called a captain during the expedition and in popular culture, William Clark’s actual military rank at the time of the expedition was that of a second lieutenant. David Lavender, Way to the Western Sea (New York: Harper & Row, 1998), p. 98.


Moulton, Journals, Vol. 4, p. 271.

Ibid., p. 279.

Ibid., p. 275.

Moulton, Journals, Vol. 9, p. 166.


Ibid., p. 95.


Ibid., p. 268n.


Moulton, Journals, Vol. 7, p. 95.

Moulton, Journals, Vol. 4, p. 275.


Morris, pp. 80-1.

Charles James, “Artificer” in A New and Enlarged Military Dictionary, or, Alphabetical Explanation of Technical Terms: Containing, among other Matters, Succinct Account of the Different Systems of Fortification, Tactics, e., also the Various French Phrases and Words that have an Immediate, or Relative Connection with the British Service, or May Tend to Give General Information on Military Subjects in Either Language (London, 1805).


Moulton, Journals, Vol. 9, p. 31; Moulton, Journals, Vol. 4, p. 308.

Lewis, April 19, 1806, Moulton, Journals, Vol. 7, p.143.


Obituary of Alexander Willard, Sacramento Union, March 11, 1865, as quoted in Morris, p. 201.


Ibid., p. 176, n. 2.

Moulton, Journals, Vol. 4, p. 349.

Moulton, Journals, Vol. 6, p. 293.


Clark to Lewis, Louisville, August 21, 1803, in Jackson, p. 117.


Bratton Descendants, as quoted in Morris, p. 101.

August 2011 We Proceeded On — 15
PRINCE MADOC AND THE WELSH INDIANS:

Was There A Mandan Connection?

BY AARON COBIA

According to the Cherokee legend, in the final battle, Native warriors rushed silently along a narrow precipice, the only route to the entrance of the white people's fortification. The ingenious design of the white people's fortress allowed only a few warriors to engage the defenders at a time. The unceasing flow of Natives overran the last of the defenders. The few survivors fled west and north up the Muddy River (Missouri River). After hundreds of years of fighting, the last band of Welsh Indians took flight, using their coracles or bullboats to navigate up the Missouri River, where they settled and intermixed with new bands of Indians. Allegedly, the Cherokee say, this band of white or Welsh Indians became the Mandan Indians. It was one curiosity that President Thomas Jefferson, the expedition's founder, wanted to investigate.

Could these Mandans be descendents from Madoc, the infamous twelfth-century Welsh prince who escaped his country to sail to North America? The Corps of Discovery encountered the Mandans twice on their voyage across the continent. Finding a link between the Mandan and Welsh Indians was certainly not a central aim of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, but President Thomas Jefferson was curious about a possible relationship. By providing a map and journal entries by John Evans, whose original purpose was to "go in search of the Welsh Indians," Jefferson provided the expedition with the only knowledge concerning the Upper Missouri and the Mandans. Indeed, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark as well as the other members of the expedition had heard of the legend of the Welsh Indians—for by this point the legend of Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd had been debated by scholars and historians for almost three hundred years.

The legend of Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd began in 1169 A.D. with the death of his father, King Owain Gwynedd. As Madoc's brothers, Howell and David fought over succession to the throne, Wales was plunged into a civil war. Madoc, an expert mariner, sailed west in search of a more peaceful existence. He allegedly made an initial voyage, left some of his men to prepare a colony, then returned to Wales to recruit colonists. Ten or eleven ships ostensibly made the voyage back to the Americas to join with the original colony, but were never heard from again. Allegedly Madoc remained in the new country, where
eventually his people were forced up the Missouri River in coracles or bullboats where they settled and intermingled with the Mandans.

Time has not diminished the legend of the Welsh Indians nor the intensity of the debate about Madoc’s existence. First-hand accounts of Welsh-speaking Indians cropped up as early as 1608, when Jamestown-resident Peter Wynne described, the Monacans, whose language was thought to resemble Welsh, in a letter to Sir John Egerton.\(^5\) In a 1686 account, the Reverend Morgan Jones, a Welsh Presbyterian minister, described being captured by Tuscaroras. The tribe stayed his execution only when he prayed aloud in his native Welsh and two Indians visiting from the Doeg tribe understood him and interceded on his behalf.\(^6\) These Indians told Jones they were descended from white men who had come across the seas many moons before.\(^7\)

In a 1782 letter describing his Cherokee campaign, John Sevier, Tennessee’s first governor, claimed he found ancient fortifications that Oconostota, an old Cherokee leader, said were built by white people who formerly inhabited the country—people who travelled by boat up the Missouri River, and were no longer white but had become red like all the other Indians. Oconostota’s grandfather had called the people Welsh, and said they crossed the Great Water and landed near the mouth of the Alabama River near Mobile, and slowly migrated northward up the river.\(^8\) Modern-day archeologists using carbon dating have discounted most of Sevier’s information. Sevier does mention fortifications near DeSoto Falls, however, that have not been invalidated.\(^9\)

Nearby, Josiah Priest documented a find in 1833 by a Mr. Ferguson, who described fortifications where twenty men could have withstood the whole army of Xerxes. The fortress was constructed in such a way that only one man at a time could pass between the rocks and a man could be pushed off the edge with the slightest shove. This was
a place of last refuge, Ferguson wrote, where a defender
could overwhelm an enemy larger in number and where,
it was likely, "they were reduced by famine, and perished
amid the yells of their enemies." 10

By the eighteenth century, explorers curious about the
existence of "white Indians," focused their investigations
on the Mandan Indians. French-Canadian explorer Pierre
Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye was one of
the earliest visitors to a Mandan village. On December 3,
1738, he wrote that although he was disappointed to find
the Mandans were not white-skinned, he claimed that he
saw light-skinned, fair-haired, and red-headed Mandans. 11

In 1791, Welsh scholars and historians, who wanted
to prove the verity of Madoc's voyage, planned an
expedition to locate the Mandans. A young adventurer
named John Evans, volunteered for the quest to find the
Welsh Indians. 12 After being held captive in St. Louis by
the Spanish Governor, and then recruited by his captors
to seek out and win over the Mandans' loyalty, Evans
journeyed up the Missouri with a different purpose:
charting the river. When he arrived in the Mandan villages,
he replaced the English flag flying over Fort Mandan with
a Spanish one. 13 He spent approximately six months living
with the Mandans and flatly rejected any claims that they
were related to Madoc or the Welsh nation. Many argue
that he was right—that the claim was too far-fetched and
impossible to prove. On the other hand, Evans might not
have been at liberty to say what he actually thought as the
Spanish did not want the British to have any more claims
to that region. 14

When the Corps of Discovery set out on their
expedition most, if not all the members, knew about
the legend of Madoc. As stated earlier, they encountered
the Mandans twice during their expedition. Several members
of the corps made interesting journal entries concerning
the Indians they encountered. In April 1805, Private
Joseph Whitehouse wrote the Mandans were "in general
peaceable well disposed people—and have less of a savage
nature in them, than any Indians we met with on the
Mesouri River." He went on to describe their complexion
as "very light in Colour" suggesting a connection to a more
civilized European descent. 15 Then on September 4, 1805,
Sergeant Ordway wrote:

these natives are well dressed, descent looking
Indians. light complexioned. they are dressed
in mo Sheep leather Deer & buffalow robes &C.
they have the most curious language of any we
have Seen before. they talk as though they lisped
or have a bur on their tongue. we Suppose that
they are the welch Indians if their is any Such
from the language. 16

Whitehouse seemed to corroborate Ordway two days
later, in his observations of September 6, 1805.

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**Bullboats and Figures by the Swiss artist Karl Bodmer.**

we all supposed these Indians to be the Welch
nation of Indians, if there be any such a Nation;
& from their language we believe them to be the
same. Captain Lewis took down the names of
almost every thing in their language in order to
find whether they are the same,— or if possible
to find out from their language & if there is any
thing similarity between it, & the Antient Welch
language &...whether they originated from the
Welch. 17

Although these two entries were most likely written
about the Salish or Flathead Indians, the remarks provide
definitive proof that the members knew of, and were
actively searching for, the legendary Welsh Indians
descended from Prince Madoc. Lewis even documented
much of the Salish language, in order to further investigate
any similarities. 18
Speculation about the Mandans and their relationship to the Welsh continued in the nineteenth century. Painter George Catlin visited the Mandan villages during his extensive travels among the Indians of the Great Plains from 1832 to 1839, painting members of more than thirty-five tribes. Convincing the Mandans were "...sprung from some other origin than that of the other North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race," Catlin developed a special relationship with the Mandans. They gave him insights into their customs and culture that they allowed no other white men. Catlin, when describing the Mandans, recalled a statement from "Governor Clarke" saying that "[Catlin] would find the Mandans a strange people and half white."  

Catlin’s physical descriptions of the Mandans matched those of Vérendrye’s and Whitehouse’s, and he was also able to capture the features and expression of tribal members in his powerful paintings. In addition to Catlin’s observations, another visitor, Maximilian, Prince of Wied, who spent time among the Mandans during the mid-1830s, observed that, “After a thorough ablution, the skin of some of them appears almost white.” Prince Maximilian also went on to describe how the Mandans’ ancient traditions resembled Bible stories, which created more speculation concerning a European tie to the Mandans.

Not long after Catlin’s visit to the Mandans, a smallpox epidemic struck the tribe and reduced their numbers to as few as thirty-one members. The remaining Mandans banded together with the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes. Although the tribe was nearly decimated, their culture persisted for a time. One remaining cultural feature was the use of the Mandan “bull boat,” strikingly similar—some argue identical—to the Welsh coracle fishermen have used for centuries. The coracle was in major use during Madoc’s time, and is suggested that the reference to “ten ships” was confused with the launching of ten coracles aboard two ships. Madoc allegedly carried coracles for use in shallow water and for fishing the rivers. Both Lewis and Clark captured a description of the Mandan ‘bull boat’ in their journals. The Mandans also used this vessel for fishing; the only known tribe in the America’s to use such a craft. Karl Bodmer was able to document the “bull boat” shortly after the smallpox epidemic. His painting shows the similarities between the “bull boat” and the coracle in both craftsmanship and use.

Did Madoc exist? Were there actually Welsh Indians? The beauty of history resides in the knowledge that events in the past, are always depicted by whatever the remaining evidence is.

Did Madoc exist? Were there actually Welsh Indians? The beauty of history resides in the knowledge that events in the past, are always depicted by whatever the remaining evidence is. It falls to the reader to analyze the evidence and attempt to prove it true or false. Textual and physical evidence suggests the possibility of a “white or Welsh Indian” tribe somewhere in the Americas. It is possible the Mandans may have descended from Madoc and his colony. There is very little remaining evidence; most of which is circumstantial. The legend of Madoc and the Welsh Indians lives on, if only in snippets bound together by myth: bull boats and scraps of journals, or a man whose life was saved by a prayer uttered in Welsh.
Aaron Cobia, from Henderson, Nevada, is an undergraduate student at Brigham Young University. He specializes in the American West and is a research assistant for Dr. Jay H. Buckley.

Notes


3In Welsh, “ap” means “son of.”


6There is no corroborating evidence that an Indian tribe by the name of Doeg ever existed.


10Josiah Priest, American Antiquities and Discoveries in the West (Albany: Hoffman and White, 1835), pp. 176–77. There is no additional information provided by Josiah Priest concerning Mr. Ferguson.


16Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 218.


20Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 313.


22Ibid., p. 93.

23Catlin is considered the first, and one of only a few, white men to ever see first-hand the Mandan O-kee-pa ceremony. The O-kee-pa is a religious ceremony, which was an important part of the Mandan culture. Part of the ceremony requires the participant warriors, after fasting for four days, to hang from the roof of the lodge, held by skewers through the flesh of their back. They remained this way until they fainted. After they come to, they take part in an endurance race around the village called the “last race” to see who is the strongest. Those warriors who completed this ceremony were considered honored by the spirits. Ibid., pp. 159–77.

24Ibid., p. 94.

25H. Evans Lloyd, trans., Travels in the Interior of North America (London: Ackermann and Co., 1843), pp. 359, 337. Prince Maximilian was trained by Enlightenment-era scientists and had travelled extensively through parts of Brazil and the Great Plains region of North America studying native Indian tribes of both locations. He documented and published his experiences and findings in two separate works, the latter of which was translated into English by H. Evans Lloyd.

26Samuel G. Drake, The Aboriginal Races of North America; Comprising Biographical Sketches of Eminent Individuals, and an Historical Account of the Different Tribes, from the First Discovery of the Continent to the Present Period (New York: Hurst & Company, Publishers, 1880), p. 677. The numbers given by Drake were 1600 Mandan reduced to only 31. Others list the number of survivors somewhere between p. 125 and 145.

27Deacon, Madoc and the Discovery of America, 171.
The North American Journal of Prince Maximilian of Wied

Edited by Stephen S. Witte, Marsha V. Gallagher
Foreword by John Wilson
Translated by William J. Orr, Paul Schach, Dieter Karch

University of Oklahoma Press
Vol. 1, May 1832 - April 1833, 544 pages, $85, 2008
Vol. 2, April - September 1833, 612 pages, $85, 2010

The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied are a major publishing event. Splendidly edited, translated, and lavishly illustrated, these two volumes are an indispensable tool for anyone interested in the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The first two volumes of the University of Oklahoma's three-volume edition of the journals of Prince Maximilian are now in print; the third will be published in 2012.

Volume one covers Maximilian's journey from Germany to St. Louis, Missouri starting on May 7, 1832, to April 9, 1833. Volume two covers April to September 1833, when Maximilian and artist Karl Bodmer travelled from St. Louis, Missouri to Fort McKenzie, and then back to Fort Union. Volume three will cover the rest of the journey from November 8, 1833 to April 18, 1834, including the winter that Maximilian and Bodmer spent at Fort Clark in today's North Dakota, observing the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians.

With the availability of these superb texts, the observations and discoveries of this German prince should receive the attention they deserve. Until now, his journals have been available only in a severely abridged, hard-to-find, and incomplete translation by H. Evans Lloyd in volumes twenty-two through twenty-five of Reuben Gold Thwaites's series, Early Western Travels.

Maximilian (1782-1867) came to North America to see the untrammeled wilderness and to capture the culture of the "vanishing Indian" before the juggernaut of American industrial civilization overwhelmed and destroyed the Missouri River country. Maximilian wrote:

"The greatest injustice was exercised towards the Indian population, and that, even now, wrongs untold are heaped on this much to be pitied and oppressed race. A large portion of those nations has entirely disappeared, and the accounts which have been preserved of them are extremely imperfect...."

Three years after his departure, smallpox decimated most of the Mandan people, including the Mandan leader Mato Tope (Four Bears), a favorite of Maximilian and Bodmer, as well as American painter and ethnographer George Catlin, who visited Mandan from 1832 to 1833. Without these men, our understanding of the lives of the Mandan and Hidatsa people would be profoundly impoverished. As J. Brooks Joyner writes in the foreword to Volume Two, their "written and pictorial recordings of this newly explored wilderness territory form a part of a unique national treasure and offer insight into a place and time that was soon to shed the mantle of the unknown before the rapid advance of eager pioneers and settlers."

The Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied are fascinating to students of the Lewis and Clark Expedition because the German ethnographer, his hunter David Dreidoppel, and the Swiss painter Karl Bodmer followed Lewis and Clark nearly a generation after their journey. Maximilian's party, however, traveled principally by steamboat, as paying guests on vessels operated by the American Fur Company. AFC employees even operated the keelboat they took from Fort Union to Fort McKenzie. When they reached AFC's terminus at Fort McKenzie, Maximilian and Bodmer ventured only a few miles further when they realized they would have to transport themselves.

Freed from rowing, however, Maximilian was able to focus his full attention on the landscape, peoples, flora, and fauna in the country in a way that Captain Meriwether Lewis—with his manifold responsibilities—was never able to do. Maximilian also had Karl Bodmer. Because Lewis and Clark were opening the country on the backs and thigh muscles of their crew, they did not have the luxury of bringing along a professional artist. Bodmer's watercolors and aquatints of the Missouri...
We proceeded on August 2011

River country have become some of the most important portraits of the Great Plains and its aboriginal inhabitants.

Maximilian's debt to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, however, was enormous. When he arrived in St. Louis on March 24, 1833, Maximilian immediately called on the sixty-three-year-old explorer and U.S. Indian agent. Clark helped Maximilian copy the route maps of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, which oriented Maximilian as he ascended the Missouri River and helped him anticipate the landmarks ahead of the steamboats Yellow Stone and the Assiniboin. Ironically, Maximilian's copies of the Clark originals are all that remained of Clark's field maps for the portion of the journey between St. Charles and Fort Mandan.

With the expedition's Missouri River maps and Biddle-Allen edition of the journals to guide him, Maximilian experienced the Missouri River valley through the lens of the Corps of Discovery—referring to their travels on nearly every page. Near today's Sioux City, Iowa, for example, Maximilian and Bodmer inspected the bluff where Charles Floyd was buried, "on one of the hills to the right," Maximilian wrote, "which rises like a roof above the wooded embankment."

In Montana, Maximilian, a European aristocrat, found fault with the homely and colorful names Lewis and Clark gave to rivers and land features. As the boat passed Pot Island and Teapot Creek, now inundated by Fort Peck Lake, Maximilian wrote, "These are examples of the ridiculous place-names assigned by these travelers." Similarly, he added, "We saw several islands, among which was doubtless Lewis and Clark's Good Punch Island, a name which is unworthy of being transmitted to posterity."

During the winter he spent with the Mandan and Hidatsa, Maximilian met Indians that Lewis and Clark had met a generation earlier. He studied the buffalo medicine-calling dance. He copied an extensive vocabulary and provided a rudimentary grammar to the Mandan language which is a treasure—as the Mandans today attempt to hold onto their language.

For sheer fascination, the journals of Maximilian equal and sometimes surpass the journals of Lewis and Clark. Better educated than captains Meriwether Lewis or William Clark, Maximilian had a keen eye and a clear, incisive, brilliantly detailed prose. The result is an immensely rich and complex cultural treasure.

—Clay Jenkinson

By Honor and Right: How One Man Boldly Defined the Destiny of a Nation

John C. Jackson

Prometheus Books, 2010
347 pages/$28 cloth

On September 17, 1806, as the Corps of Discovery descended a particularly rough portion of the Missouri River, they met "a Captain McClellin...ascending in a large boat." The two parties halted to exchange information. McClellin gave the Corps "Some Buisquit, Chocolate Sugar & whiskey"; the corps gave McClellin a barrel of dried corn. When the parties separated, the Corps of Discovery headed east for St. Louis. Captain John McClellan traveled west to establish a Santa Fe trading post. Instead, McClellan found himself in the Pacific Northwest, where he attempted to block British expansion of the fur trade to the upper Columbia River.

This meeting between the two parties opens the tale of By Honor and Right: How One Man Boldly Defined the Destiny of a Nation by "historical detective" John C. Jackson, a history professor emeritus from the University of Central Missouri and author of seven books about lesser-known western traders and explorers. Constructing McClellan's story was not easy. Jackson had no journal of McClellan's western journeys, no maps or survey notes. Instead, he constructed his narrative from McClellan's correspondence and family genealogies; tribal oral histories; records of fur trading company, small communities, businesses and the U.S. military; and journals of early nineteenth-century western explorers.

Jackson put together a biography that flows like a river through western history—touching on McClellan's involvements in social and political turmoil in the Louisiana Territory, tribal upheaval in the Rocky Mountains, and cut-throat fur trade and trading opportunities with Santa Fe. Jackson reconstructs McClellan's Pacific Northwest explorations, placing his journey in the context of other early-day explorations.

Jackson is at his best when describing specific incidents—the events leading up to the letters McClellan wrote from Fort Lewis on the Columbia River, warning David Thompson he was trespassing on United States soil. Jackson is also respectful of the meetings between McClellan and the Salish and the Pi'kani; his descriptions of the changes wrought by the fur trade on the tribal cultures are insightful.

By Honor and Right, however, does have problems. Clear maps would help the reader visualize where McClellan served (continued on p. 23)
Reviews (continued from p. 22)

around the Great Lakes, the Santa Fe trade routes he envisioned and the lands he explored west of the Missouri River's headwaters. There are also unexplained references to people, places, and policies that affected McClennen’s missions. Why, for example, did General James Wilkinson select McClennen for the trading mission to Santa Fe? Why were the Spanish reluctant to welcome traders like McClennen to Santa Fe?

Jackson, at times, makes sweeping judgments without explanation. He calls David Thompson’s narrative a “fantasy” and describes part of Alexander Mackenzie’s narrative as “speculative hogwash.” He describes the Corps’ keelboat, laden with maps, reports, samples of flora, fauna, agricultural products and cultural items as filled with “oddities of no consequence” upon its return to St. Louis.

Nevertheless, John C. Jackson’s book, *By Honor and Right* is well-worth a look. It shows us not only how swiftly word of the Corps’ discoveries spread—but also how their journey inspired and motivated men like John C. McClennen to venture west, seeking fame, wealth and adventure.

—Barbara Kubik

The reviewer is an independent scholar based in Vancouver, Washington, and a former president of the LCTHF

President’s Message (continued from p. 4)

time. Indeed Jefferson himself adapted to circumstances as they occurred when he purchased the Louisiana Territory. I suggest that we do the same. As Lewis told us in his journals, his crew was healthier and happier when they were on the move. I say it is time we follow that model and get moving. The decision is yours.

—Stephanie Ambrose Tubbs
President, LCTHF
The Stories Left Behind

"History," wrote Thomas Carlyle in the seventeenth century, "is the essence of innumerable biographies." Choosing which stories to tell to convey a state's history was the struggle writer Krys Holmes encountered.

By Krys Holmes

Writing history is a grueling process of picking what to leave out. Every history writer who completes a manuscript looks down upon a floor strewn with forsaken discards, the beautiful irrelevancies, the asides that didn't fit, the luminous details sacrificed to page count. The difference, after all, between a sculpture and a block of stone is what's chipped off and left on the studio floor.

When I wrote Montana: Stories of the Land, now Montana's official history textbook, my editorial team heaved six metric tons of research my way, nine-tenths of which ended up recycled as note pads. So many stories left out! Stories that wrenched my heart, like the lone woman homesteader whose three children all died in a single morning (two snakebites; one drowned in the laundry tub while she treated the others.) Photos that amused (the Kresbach family's homemade car powered by an airplane propeller). Oral histories so vivid they brought the dead back to life, such as the story of the Northern Cheyennes' escape from Fort Robinson.

Many of the stories left out concerned the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Of the book's 461 pages, only five mention Lewis and Clark's trek across the Rocky Mountains—though some think of the expedition as a seminal moment in Montana history. Why so little attention? Several reasons, which my editors—Dave Walter, research historian at the Montana Historical Society and godfather of the textbook and then later Martha Kohl, editor and book-shaper to the last—and I landed on.

The book came out in 2007, just after the bicentennial frenzy that begat books, exhibits, articles, re-enactments, lesson plans, films, and websites about every detail of the expedition. Teachers and students could easily find elsewhere as much material as they needed. Meanwhile, we wanted to introduce students to lesser-known explorers we knew readers wouldn't as likely encounter: the La Vérendrye brothers, who hazarded westward in 1742, broke their navigational equipment, and probably did not get past the Bighorn Mountains; Alexander Mackenzie, whose 2,800-mile journey across the Rockies north of the 49th parallel in 1792–3 excited Thomas Jefferson to muster his own expedition.

Francois Laroque, rejected by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark for being French, who staged a defiant journey of his own discoveries, including Pompey's Pillar a year before Clark inscribed his initials there. And David Thompson who lived in the Northwest forty years, had thirteen children with his Piegan wife of fifty-seven years, walked 55,000 miles, mapped two million square miles of the region, charted astronomical data, plants, and animals, language and cultural practices of the people, and established trapping and trading forts.

One afternoon in 2004, when I started writing Montana: Stories of the Land, a group gathered on Helena's capitol lawn for a preview of Lewis and Clark bicentennial activities. One of the speakers was Salish educator Julie Cajune, whose long black hair barely shifted in the breeze as she put the Corps of Discovery in its historical context: "One of my grandmothers walked from here to Mexico and back," she said, "and no one celebrates her bicentennial." Already, I thought, a story that had to be left behind.

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During the Bicentennial, the U.S. Mint issued the Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial Commemorative Silver Dollar. Some of the proceeds from the sale of the coins have been provided to the Foundation to create the Trail Stewardship Endowment for the purpose of preservation, protection, and interpretation of the natural, historic, educational, and cultural resources of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

Projects supported by the Endowment shall acknowledge support from the Lewis & Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment: A National Council of the Lewis & Clark Expedition Bicentennial Legacy Project.

The Foundation’s Trail Stewardship Advisory Committee now solicits applications from chapters of the Foundation for grants from the Trail Stewardship Endowment for projects that will have a demonstrable, positive impact on Lewis and Clark Trail. We encourage chapters to be creative in their thinking about how they will be stewards of the Trail in their area. The Trail is here defined as the routes taken by members of the Expedition in 1803-06 in the 11 official Trail states and in those states included in the Eastern Legacy portion of the routes.

An ideal grant application will include attention to the following:

a. long-term time frame for the enhancement of the Trail (keeping the Tricentennial in mind),
b. leverage of the funds granted by involvement in the project by other groups such as Indian tribes and local, state, and federal private and governmental organizations,
c. potential for the project to lead to the creation of a conservation easement for a threatened and important site along the Trail, and
d. demonstration that the chapter has authorization to carry out the proposed work on property (land, signage, etc.) owned by another organization.

Examples of projects (not meant to limit the creativity of chapters in seeking funding):

a. surveys of the status of the Trail and important sites along it,
b. preliminary work toward the goal of creating a conservation easement,
c. site clean up,
d. trail building,
e. trail maintenance, and
f. sign/monument/statue/etc. repair or construction.

Grants from $500.00 to $5,000.00 will be awarded. A chapter may submit more than one grant application at this time. Applications for smaller amounts of funding should be 1-2 pages in length whereas those for larger amounts should be 2-3 pages in length.

Each application must contain the following:

a. Chapter name.
b. Contact person with mailing address, phone number(s), and email address.
c. Title of project.
d. Amount requested.
e. Project description, with due attention to how the project will impact the Trail long-term, any partner groups to be involved, and any conservation easement plans.
f. Itemized budget (more detail required for larger grants than for smaller grants).

Applications should be submitted as a Microsoft Word document or a .pdf file to Committee Chair Bob Gatten at bob.gatten@gmail.com, to whom questions should be addressed.

Schedule
June 15: announcement sent by email to chapters
August 15: deadline for applications
Sept. 15: review by committee completed and recommendations sent to Board
Oct 1: Board review completed and check mailed to chapter

Requirements for reports will be sent to chapters when grants are awarded. Documentation of results, including photos where appropriate, and detailed accounting of how funds were expended will be required.

The Committee will be seeking additional applications for grants, most likely in the fall of 2011, so please also think creatively about projects that you can continue or begin in 2012. Such additional grants may include (pending Committee and Board approval) sites such as graves of Expedition members and may be for amounts larger than $5,000.
Glade Creek Meadow, where the Lewis and Clark Expedition camped on September 13, 1805, the night before Captain William Clark's guide "Old Toby" took the corps on what Clark described as the "wrong" trail over the Bitterroot Mountains. Photo by John Puckett.