Thomas Jefferson on Meriwether Lewis’s Mysterious Death

Reuben Lewis: From Family Man to Fur Trader
Gary Moulton’s Voyage of Discovery
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On the cover
Alfred Jacob Miller (1810-1874)
Rendezvous near Green River (General View of the Indian Camp under the Mountains of the Winds) ca. 1839, Oil on canvas
Courtesy of the Everett D. Graff Family Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming
What a thrill to be president of this organization!

The following was my view from the podium on August 1, 2012 at the annual meeting's evening banquet in Clarksville.

At the LCTHF awards banquet on August 1, 2012, Ralph Saunders of Billings, Montana, opined in his acceptance speech for the 2011 Meritorious Achievement Award: "You are Lewis and Clark." I think he is accurate. Our national government has a National Park Service, which oversees the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail administered by Superintendent Mark Weekley and his staff in Omaha, Nebraska. We have many wonderful Lewis and Clark local chapters, partners, and groups scattered across the United States. However, the heart of Lewis and Clark, as that heart beats in the year 2012, is carried in each individual coming together in the group called the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. Each individual carries the passion for this story that we have all heard time and time again—the story that changes in meaning with each generation, the story that lights a fire in each of us.

As your new president, I have four primary goals. The first is to grow the Foundation's membership. We need to share and promote the story and increase our membership. My second goal is to make sure that in our operations we are making the best use of technology. Lewis and Clark, when they headed west, made sure the they travelled with the finest gear—and as a foundation heading into the future, we, too, must make sure that we put our best foot forward with up-to-date computers, digital scanners, and an attractive, easy-to-use website.

Third, we need to strengthen our relationships with our federal, state, and local partners. We have, at all levels of the government, terrific partners that are ready to work with us. Finally, we need to vigorously promote the use of our nine endowed funds (including our large Bicentennial Trail Stewardship Fund) to actively benefit our 32 local chapters. We have seen the things that were accomplished with these grants in 2011. Two examples of these projects include the Ohio River Chapter's construction of an Ohio River keelboat and the Crest of the Rockies at the Platte Chapter's survey of Jean Baptiste Charbonneau's travels during his fur trapping days in Wyoming and Colorado. Let's encourage people to create more Lewis and Clark projects for 2012.

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What a terrific journal is We Proceeded On! Who could not love the August 2012 issue "Who Was Sacagawea?" This November issue contains an interview with Gary Moulton and articles by John...
C. Jackson and Tom and John Danisi and more! Make sure your membership is current so that you won’t miss an issue of this ground-breaking journal and its scholarly articles and illustrations. It is one of the many benefits of your membership.

MEMBERSHIP
Your membership is crucial. You are the Lewis and Clark Trail Foundation—you make it happen. Will you please help us by renewing your membership? Whenever your membership renewal comes to your mailbox do not delay: write that check as if the corps depended on it! If you have renewed recently, thank you.

I want you to find one new member in the next two or three months. Initiate a Lewis and Clark discussion—was Meriwether Lewis murdered or did he commit suicide—at a business dinner. If you receive interest, ask your friend to join this national organization and your local chapter. You can give them a membership application (the application you just happened to have in your pocket/purse). These membership applications are available from the Great Falls office and also from our website: www.lewisandclark.org (on the home page, click “Join or Donate” then press the green “Online” or “Using Mail in Form.”) Also, consider purchasing a gift membership for your friend. Note that membership in our national foundation is separate from chapter membership.

TRIBAL LEGACY PROJECT ON LCTHF WEBSITE: ED EDMO “THE LEGEND OF SNAKE”
Be sure to look at the LCTHF website that provides a link to the tribal legacy website developed by the National Park Service and Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. Featuring a rich cultural and geographical history of the nearly 100 tribes Lewis and Clark encountered, the website includes wonderful videos of historians, storytellers, and dancers. It covers everything from creation myths to language revitalization.

I recommend a video of Native American Ed Edmo, describing in four minutes his Shoshone-Bannock “Legend of Snake.” To view/hear, please open www.lewisandclark.org and click “Tribal Relations.” Scroll down to “Traditional Culture,” select that: then upper right “navigate to” and “keyword search” and scroll down to “Ed Edmo Legend of Snake.”

STURDEVANT IN CLASS
Now I can answer with some authority when students ask me, as they did in Oakhill Day School in Gladstone, OH, “How many Native American tribes did the Lewis and Clark expedition meet?”

These kids were wonderful. When one child asked: “How many Indian tribes did Lewis and Clark expedition meet? I returned this question back to the children (who had not yet studied Lewis and Clark) and the answers came back: “One?” “Two?” “Four?” “Six?” Marvelously open.

Let us adults be like these children: curious, energetic, willing to learn, happy and loving; also, willing to answer the call, but adding our maturity.

ANNUAL APPEAL
Please answer the call to contribute to our annual fund, which you have received or will be receiving. These donations fund our general office operations. We need the funds from your volunteer tax-deductible, year-end contributions.

I’m looking forward to a great year.

—Dan Sturdevant
Kansas City, MO

Editor’s Note
Our eagle-eyed readers will note a few editorial changes in this issue. In order to comply with The Chicago Manual of Style, 16th Edition, we are changing state abbreviations in lists to postal abbreviations. In running text, state names will be spelled out. Footnote citations will also comply with The Chicago Manual of Style, listing volume and page numbers as numerals instead of abbreviations. See the footnotes above for an example.

—Caroline Patterson, Editor

Ed Edmo on Tribal Legacy website
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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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L&C Roundup

Paul Allen's 1814 map of Lewis and Clark's track across the western portion of the United States from 1804 to 1806. This map, which was copied by Samuel Lewis, was originally drawn by William Clark. Courtesy of the David Rumsey Map collection. wwwdavidrumsey.com

Atlases, Maps, Star Charts
The David Rumsey Map collection, now available online at davidrumsey.com, you can find, in a few keystrokes, the 1893 map of the German Empire, a 1693 lavishly illustrated star and constellation map illustrated by Ignace Gaston Pardies. And of course, you can find the 1814 A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track Across North America, drawn by Samuel Lewis from the original by Captain William Clark.

The collection, which was started more than 25 years ago by the real estate developer who made what he called an "accidental fortune" in partnership with Chuck Feeney, Rumsey retired in 1995 to pursue this other passion. "Maps stat ed my inclination for art, science, and history," he said.

The Rumsey collection now contains more than 150,000 maps and focuses on rare eighteenth- and nineteenth-century maps of North and South America. There are all kinds of maps included: atlases, wall maps, old school geographies, children's maps, manuscript maps, and maritime charts ranging in age from 1700 to the 1950s.

Today nearly a quarter of that collection — more than 40,000 items — is available online and more items are added regularly. Viewers can not only access the high-resolution images of the maps, but they can also compare them to one another to analyze history of an area. American maps, for example, tell the story of how the country's history, culture, and population evolved — how Indian populations were pushed West by expanding eastern settlements and towns grew and declined as railroads unfolded.

Celebrating George Catlin
A large crowd gathered at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn on July 30, 2012, to witness the unveiling of The Greeter, a bronze sculpture of the Hidatsa Chief Black Moccasin by John Coleman. Coleman created the sculpture to honor George Catlin, who died in 1872, but did not receive a grave marker until 1961. Even then, Coleman said, his grave was marked by a simple gravestone tucked in an out-of-the-way location. Creating the sculpture was Coleman's way of righting a wrong — and he worked with Green-Wood president Richard J. Moyland to donate it to the area. The bronze statue will be placed near Catlin's grave. Established in 1838, this bronze statue of Black Moccasin, Chief of the Hidatsa Indians, was unveiled at Green-Wood Cemetery in tribute to painter George Catlin.
the 478-acre cemetery is a National Historic Site with 560,000 permanent residents, including many well-known figures ranging from Leonard Bernstein to Boss Tweed.

The reception, which was attended by several of Catlin descendants, also included Donna Couteau, of the Sac and Fox tribes, and her husband Joe Cross, of the Caddo and Potawatomi tribes, who discussed Catlin’s importance to Native Americans—how his beautiful paintings captured images of their ancestors. Linda Ferber, vice president and senior art historian at the New-York Historical Society spoke about George Catlin, the artist. Gwen Pier, executive director of the National Sculpture Society, talked about Green-Wood as a sculpture garden.

Coleman, who is a member of the Cowboy Artists of America and was voted a professional member of the National Sculpture Society in 1999, said the sculpture is based “on an account by Catlin of the time he spent with Black Moccasin, chief of the Hidatsas.” In 1832, George Catlin was the first artist to follow Lewis and Clark to the Upper Missouri, and he painted Black Moccasin’s likeness for his Indian Gallery. Coleman explains that the sculpture is what “Black Moccasin may have looked like when he met Lewis and Clark: a man in his 70s standing on the banks of the Missouri River, holding his ceremonial pipe and making a welcoming gesture with his eagle fan.”

From the Library Shelves to the Easel

Artist Sandra Harris, who has painted scenes featuring the Lewis and Clark Expedition, was first inspired by the story in the library. She read about the journey in one of the first library books provided by her aunt, who founded the library in the small Mississippi town where she grew up. Inspired again by Ken Burns’ documentary The Journey of the Corps of Discovery as well as Stephen E. Ambrose’s Undaunted Courage, Harris has interpreted several scenes from the expedition in her oil paintings.

Most recently, Harris’ work featured scenes from the Expedition was featuring during a Living History demonstration at Fort Atkinson on June 2-3, 2012. The story of Fort Atkinson was where, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark first encountered the Otto and Missouri Indians.

Tribal Legacy Project

Find an overstuffed chair and sit down with your laptop to explore the www.le-tribalegacy.org—a rich resource for anyone interested in Native American history ranging from creation myths to contemporary educational issues. The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail recently released an excellent multi-media website that features Native American perspectives expressed during the bicentennial.

The website features video presentations by descendants from the array of tribes ranging from the Arikara to the Otos encountered by the Lewis and Clark expedition as well as other Native American speakers. Topics are divided geographically and thematically—and cover a broad range of issues including various forms of contact with Europeans (including the French and British) as well as the Lewis and Clark Expedition, western expansion, language revitalization, healthy living, as well as land stewardship. Direct links to various sections of the website are also available on the LCTHF website, www.lewisandclark.org.

CORRECTIONS

We wish to correct the following errors and omissions. In Carolyn Gilman’s article, “Lewis and Clark Encounter A World of Women,” a reprint credit to Gateway Magazine of Missouri was omitted. Also, the name of the artist in the caption on page 14 should be corrected to read: John Wesley Jarvis. Likewise, the picture caption on page 15 should read: Charles Balthazar Fevret de St. Memin.

Similarly, the credit for the Edgar S. Paxson print on the August 2012 WPO front cover should have read as follows: Edgar S. Paxson (American, 1852-1919) Sacajawea, 1904, Oil on canvas, 50 x 29 inches, Montana Museum of Art & Culture Permanent Collection

November 2012 We Proceeded On 5
In a January 10, 2003 USA Today article, editor Gary Moulton was asked about the Corps of Discovery. Moulton said, "No matter how often I return to it I'm struck again and again, 'How did these guys pull it off?' The ingenuity, the integrity, the doggedness."

The same could be said for Moulton's accomplishment in editing the Lewis and Clark journals. The project, published by the University of Nebraska Press from 1983 to 2003, was originally envisioned as a 9-year, 10-volume set of journals. Instead, it blossomed into a life's work. The 13 volumes include an atlas, as well as the journals of Sergeants John Ordway, Charles Floyd, and Patrick Gass, and Private Joseph Whitehouse.

Author Anton Chekhov described writing as "a long patience." But what of editing the unabridged journals of one of the nation's most historic journeys—the 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition? The project began in 1979 and ended 20 years later. It involved one hundred experts on everything from botany to zoology, and earned its editor, Moulton, numerous awards including the J. Franklin James Award of the American Historical Association and a Nebraska University Outstanding Research and Creative Activity Award. It began with a help wanted ad.

"I had been editing historical documents and teaching part-time at Southwestern Oklahoma State University," said Moulton, with characteristic modesty as we sat July 31, 2012, on opposite sides of a splintered picnic table at the sun-drenched campground at Fort Knox II—a field trip for the 44th annual meeting of the Lewis and Clark Heritage Trail Conference. "My wife, an employee at Southwestern, saw an ad for an editor for a Lewis and Clark project at the Center for Great Plains Studies at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. It seemed to be just the thing."

Moulton was hired by the Center for Great Plains Studies and...
when they went looking for an editor in 1977. Eventually sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities along with the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, the project was launched because so many journal documents had surfaced in the years since Reuben Gold Thwaites’ 1904-05 edition of the journals, and it was time for a new edition.

Although Moulton was an experienced historical editor, he claims he did not know a “great deal” about the Lewis and Clark Expedition, so he began to read, immersing himself in “different editions of the journals.” These included Nicholas Biddle’s one-volume *The History of the Expedition Under the Commands of Captains Lewis and Clark* published in 1814; Elliott Coues’ three-volume *The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark*, 1893; and Reuben Gold Thwaites’ eight-volume *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* published in 1904-05. Although different sources came in handy at different points, Moulton said, he relied on the original journals for his transcriptions.

Then the labor-intensive transcription process began. “It was a thrill,” Moulton says. “I spent several days each year in Philadelphia at the American Philosophical Society looking at the original journals after transcribing them from microfilm in Lincoln. I typed out my pages on a typewriter. Then came computers. By 1980, we had a dedicated word processor.” Moulton worked daily on the journals, in between teaching and lecture duties at the University of Nebraska, and raising three children with his wife, Faye.

Each journal, he said, was about “5-inches by 8-inches and 150 pages long.” Moulton said. The pages were unlined sheets in the so-called “red books” of morocco leather. He noted captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark used several types of journals in addition to the red books in which they recorded daily accounts of the trip. Both Lewis and Clark used “good ink,” he added, as “they knew they were writing for posterity.”

“*I had 100 different consultants.*” These included “linguists, botanists, meteorologists, geologists, historians, and—as the field developed—environmental scientists, engineers [who helped him follow the route], and local [Lewis and Clark] experts.”

After he transcribed the documents, he returned to the American Philosophical Society and compared his transcripts with the original journals. “I marked trouble spots and made sure to correct them.” Moulton folded his hands as he talked, his blue eyes bright. “There were two processes during the project. The first was to get a clear, accurate transcript when I was moving from handwritten notes to type. The second part was the explication of the text: what is this animal? Where was this camp? How many miles did they travel? Often, I had to go to source books and specialists: books about botany, zoology, and so on. I had 100 different consultants.” These included “linguists, botanists, meteorologists, geologists, historians, and—as the field developed—environmental scientists, engineers [who helped him follow the route], and local [Lewis and Clark] experts.” Moulton said the two captains sometimes wrote in the journals after the fact so they would rely on memory and the help of fellow journalists, and it was up to Moulton and his experts to “untangle those mysteries.”

Each aspect of the journal project was different. “I worked on the atlas first, and had to study map making,” Moulton said, noting that he read up on cartography and found maps to help him. Creating the atlas also gave him a great deal of admiration for William Clark. “He kept entries for each of the 863 days the Corps was out—he was a dedicated journal keeper,” Moulton said. “He cared for sick people. And made maps. After making that atlas, I learned a great deal of respect for him.”

When I asked him if he got emotionally entangled with the lives of the captains, Moulton said he did not. “I saw my job as more editing, taking notes, annotating properly,” Moulton smiled his even smile. “I have a personality fitted for that. I am a detail person.”

When asked about the future of Lewis and Clark scholarship, Moulton said that he feels that much has been done about Meriwether Lewis, but the definitive biography of Sacagawea has not yet been written. “As we draw back from the Bicentennial,” Moulton said, “it will be interesting to see what a whole new generation of historians will do.”
Reuben Lewis: Fur Trader, Subagent, and Meriwether’s Younger Brother

by John C. Jackson

If Meriwether Lewis could be called the “godfather of the Rocky Mountain fur trade” because of his support of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, then his lesser-known younger brother Reuben Lewis deserves a place in the historical record as one of the first practitioners of that challenging business. Born February 14, 1777, the second son of Captain William Lewis and Lucy Thornton Lewis, just three years after Meriwether, Reuben was only two when his father died in 1779. When his mother was remarried to Captain John Marks, he accompanied his parents and his brother Meriwether to Georgia, but was eventually sent back to Albemarle for his education.

In contrast to his high-profile brother Meriwether, Reuben was the sibling in the background, holding things together. During the years of 1803 to 1806 when his older brother organized and led the Corps of Discovery west, Reuben remained at home in Charlottesville, Virginia, looking after their twice-widowed mother Lucy Marks and the family plantation. Well-educated and competent, Reuben’s role as caretaker was eclipsed when Meriwether returned east in 1806 from exploring the West to enjoy public acclaim and the gratitude of the nation. In winter 1807, when Meriwether Lewis finally assumed the office of governor of the Territory of Louisiana, Reuben accompanied him to St. Louis, arriving with the baggage train in March 1808, eleven days before his brother. While the Governor was being greeted by the citizens, Reuben stood in the background. Governor Lewis his administration, Reuben and John Pernier arranged the furniture in the four-room Governor’s mansion at the corner of South Main and Spruce that rented for $250 a year.

On August 5, 1808, entrepreneur Manuel Lisa returned from establishing a trading post on the Yellowstone River at the mouth of the Big Horn River. He was accompanied by two former corps members, expedition hunter George Drouillard and former Private John B. Thompson who were brimming with the latest news from the west where fur trappers were now working on the Yellowstone and upper Missouri rivers. Some had even crossed the Rocky Mountains and wintered with the Salish Indians along the Clark Fork River. Lisa wasted no time once he arrived in St. Louis—he set in motion plans for a syndicate of local businessmen to finance an extensive trading and trapping organization.

Governor Meriwether Lewis lacked the authority to make appointments in the affairs of the federal Indian factory system, the trading post system created by an act of Congress in 1795 with the express intention of setting up trade with the Indians. Instead, on August 24, 1808, his friend William Clark, head of Indian Affairs, led the construction crew and military guard west to construct Fort Osage. As Clark stated in a letter to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, he “found Reuben Lewis (only brother of the Gov)” at that place and engaged him as subagent for the Indians with instructions how to act but no promise of a fixed salary. Reuben Lewis would also assist Factor George Sibley in the Factory store.

When Clark returned to St. Louis, George Sibley remained at Fort Osage. Sibley, the former assistant factor at the now redundant Bellefontaine Factory, grew up in the factory system and his father still operated a post on the lower Mississippi River. Clark drafted a treaty to which the Osage Indians objected and the former Osage...
Agent Pierre Chouteau was obliged to present an amended treaty to the Osage, which was witnessed by Captain E. B. Clemson and Lieutenant L. Lorimier of the military garrison as well as Subagent Reuben Lewis. In the 1808 treaty, Chouteau negotiated a deal for the fort to be built “to promote peace friendship and intercourse with the Osage tribes,” and to “protect them from the insult and injuries of other tribes of Indians.” For this, the Osage ceded all of Missouri east of the fort. The Greater Osage were to receive $1,000; the Little Osage, $500.

**Reuben and the Missouri Fur Company**

Thrown on the raw frontier after just six months, Reuben Lewis was not without resources. He had an experienced mentor in George Sibley. As Clark wrote to Dearborn on April 29, 1809, the only subagent he appointed was Reuben Lewis at Fire Prairie, a settlement near Fort Osage. During the previous winter, Reuben frequently worked with different tribal nations numbering three to four thousand not always harmonious Indians. He had no fixed salary but was paid $45 a month and received two rations a day to cover the expenses in presents and drink that he was obliged to make to chiefs and powerful men “to whom policy makes it necessary to pay extra attention.” Reuben’s tenure at this upstream outpost, however, would not be long.

The syndicate that Lisa and a group of new partners organized over the winter 1808-09 included the aristocratic Pierre Chouteau and his son Pierre Auguste, the parvenu Manuel Lisa, and pillars of the St. Louis establishment like Sylvester Labbadie, William Morrison, Pierre Menard, Benjamin Wilkinson and Andrew Henry. The association also included William Clark and Reuben Lewis who had direct connections to Governor Lewis. That was an important consideration because the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company’s articles of association and co-partnership were not signed until March 3, 1809, a week after Governor Lewis authorized a government contract for $7,000 for the safe return of the Mandan chief Sheheke to his people. The $7,000 payment was ostensibly for a force of 125 properly armed militia, of which 40 were to be expert riflemen. However, after fulfilling that duty the militia would be free to join the MFC as trappers. Because of his government position, Meriwether Lewis could not participate in the MFC and his method of aiding it would be criticized. But that was no reason to deny his brother the opportunity to make a fortune.
Thomas James of nearby Florissant was hired as steersman of the keelboat that was rowed by 25 American riflemen. His partner, Reuben Lewis, and the surgeon, Doctor William H. Thomas, were passengers. When the crew decided they were going to break into the cargo, Reuben summoned Manuel Lisa to restore order. If James was a reliable witness, the voyage up the Missouri River was a hungry and uncomfortable experience for all concerned. And it was not going to get better for those expert riflemen who had never set a trap.

**A Bloody, Butchering Business**

The fur trade was a bloody, butchering business where participants had to hunt to live. It took skill to locate a likely place to make a set, pry apart the trap, bait a stick with castoreum, wade into the icy water to plant the chain picket in water deep enough to drown a beaver before it could amputate its own foot, skin it, and roast the naked carcass for breakfast, all the while keeping a bright eye for the Blackfeet.

St. Louis businessmen with little experience in the realities of the Indian trade expected to go into the country and make fortunes. Lewis and Clark or John McClallen had military experience but Manuel Lisa was just an Indiana Indian trader before he took men to the Yellowstone River. So were Pierre Menard, Pierre Chouteau, Andrew Henry or Reuben Lewis for that matter. They were audacious—feeling all they needed to do was to show up and take charge—that they could easily insert their ambition and skill into places the Native Americans knew well and were ready to defend. A clash of cultures was inevitable.

The militia was disbanded at Fort Mandan, a second Fort Mandan the Missouri River Fur Company built above the Hidatsa Indian villages, about 10 miles upriver from Lewis and Clark’s fort of the same name. Pierre Chouteau, who was appointed by Governor Lewis to command the federal force, returned to St. Louis fall 1809 as would Manuel Lisa. That meant there was no United States representative to mediate between the trapping company and the tribes they expected to encounter. On October 23, 1868; *Harper’s Weekly* sketched the fur traders being attacked by Indians. Gilcrease Museum Archives.

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*We Proceeded On* November 2012
12, at the newly constructed Fort Mandan, Chouteau confirmed the appointment of Reuben Lewis as subagent for the Indian Department of the upper country by the orders of Governor Lewis. That gave official sanction to the junior partner's dual responsibilities as representative of the Missouri Fur Company and the U.S. government. The men moved up the Yellowstone River to Fort Remon (also known as Fort Raymond) the first commercial fort in the West. Built in 1807 by the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, the trading post was situated at the mouth of the Bighorn River, where they planned to stage an invasion of the Three Forks of the Missouri. Meriwether Lewis's enthusiasm for the beaver resources of northwest Louisiana Territory had stimulated the soft gold rush of 1807. His brother Reuben gave up a government job at Fort Osage to become a working partner and came inland with the boats in 1809.

**At the Three Forks of the Missouri**

By early spring of 1810, Reuben was at the new fort at the Three Forks of the Missouri River where hostile Blood and Atsiina Indians soon terrorized the trappers. Early in 1810, many Northern plainsmen left their winter camps to adventure south. A group of Piikani Blackfeet crossed the Missouri River in February and were on the Yellowstone where they saw "a fort inhabited by White people" at the mouth of the Big Horn. There was a Crow camp nearby which they attacked, drove off the people and obtained a considerable booty at the cost of one wounded warrior. Later that summer of 1810, other Piikani would not be so lucky when they lost 16 warriors in an attack on Salish buffalo hunters who were armed with new guns and ammunition obtained from the British.

However Bloods, Atsiina and Sarcee Indians (now known as the Tsu T'ina Nation) followed the Old North Trail along the west side of the upper Missouri to the Three Forks where they discovered and attacked parties of Americans. Later those Indians went to the British posts on the upper Saskatchewan River to brag of their exploits. "Atsiina bragged that they attacked a party of Americans "and murdered them all" (which was untrue) before bringing away booty including furs marked "Valley and Jnumell" and a black Newfoundland dog. The Bloods lost two men before they killed and mutilated Drouillard.

Penning in the beleaguered Missouri Fur Company fort at the Three Forks, partner Pierre Menard was discouraged. He hoped by autumn to connect with Snake or Flathead Indians and to induce them to fight the "Blackfeet and take some prisoners. One of those could be sent back to their tribesmen, Menard maintained, "with propositions for peace—which I think can easily be secured by leaving traders among them below the falls of the Missouri." After a second attack, by Bloods, Menard was unable to find anyone willing to take the risk.

Unaware that his brother, Governor Lewis had died tragically while travelling to Washington to clarify his standing with the new James Madison administration, Reuben wrote to his brother on April 21, 1810 that he had "written General Clark on the subject of our situation, our trade and prospects in the country which at the present are very unpromising."

My principle hopes are now from the Columbia... By June when the Boat will leave this country I am in hopes to be enabled to have it more in my power to form an opinion on the future prospects of the Company & should they not mind I shall be clearly of the opinion that it would be for the interest of General Clark & myself to sell out, if it could be done upon living terms, but at the same time I do not by any means relinquish the idea of trade in this Country & should the New York Company go into operation I should have no doubt but an interest in that would be valuable, and that would be my desire to sell out of the present....

They might consider shifting their attention to the expedition the New York entrepreneur John Jacob Astor

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*Early scenes of Missouri Territory, circa 1800. Cordell Boat, reproduction of pen and ink drawing, copyrighted by Pierre Chouteau.*
was planning to send to the Columbia River. Discouraged, Pierre Menard returned downstream as did Morrison's surrogate, Bryan, and the shaken Thomas James. But Andrew Henry was made of better stuff and reorganized some of the trappers into a brigade that ascended the Madison Fork and crossed a low divide to the soggy beaver habitat on the fork of the Snake River that bears Henry's name. That meant that someone had to stay at Fort Remon to support the trappers and receive the expected pelts.

Reuben Lewis, as a working investor, drew the short straw and agreed to stay at the depot, not only supporting Henry and party, but other trappers working independently along the Yellowstone and Bighorn Rivers. Lewis continued trading with indulgent Crow Indians and probably entertained northern plainsmen like the beaver hunting Piikani, who were always open to a better price for their peltry.

The Atsiina Indians and other northern plainsmen dreamed that Americans were such great medicine men that they had the power to leave their enemies destitute. It is unlikely that Reuben Lewis ever heard that from the Crow Indians who frequented Fort Remon.9

**ASTOR'S PACIFIC FUR COMPANY ARRIVES**

By March 1811, the overland party of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company was moving up the Missouri with the intention of crossing the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, just as Reuben anticipated in April 1810. In late May, three of Andrew Henry's trappers, who had returned by a route south of the Yellowstone River, had suggested a better overland route instead of travelling on the Yellowstone River. Manuel Lisa's new outfit encouraged the Astorians to take horses and strike west from the Arikara villages, which spared Reuben Lewis at Fort Remon from enduring their passage while he waited for Andrew Henry to reappear.

After closing up Fort Remon in 1811, Reuben Lewis went down to Fort Mandan where, on June 22, 1811, he received the Astorians who rode ahead to obtain the horses promised by Lisa. Touring botanist John Bradbury noted that they were "received in a very friendly manner by Mr. Reuben Lewis, brother to Captain Lewis, who traveled to the Pacific Ocean."10 Despite clouds of mosquitoes and short provisions, the attentive
Reuben managed to provide a breakfast of jerked meat. Provisions improved after Lisa and the boats arrived and there was a grand dinner on the Fourth of July when Lisa and Lewis entertained the enlightened scientific visitors that included journalist Henri Marie Brackenridge, John Bradbury, Thomas Nuttall and the Hidatsa chiefs Le Borgne and Black Shoe.

Bradbury and Brackenridge returned downstream in the two boats Lisa sent back, making a fast trip in 14 days. Journalist Brackenridge wrote a letter to the editor of the Missouri Gazette that was published on August 8, 1809 describing Andrew Henry’s violent send-off from the Three Forks. He maintained that a party of 200 “Blackfeet” attacked 19 hunters and killed one man before the others retreated into the fort. In the resulting exchanges 22 of the attackers were killed. This could be taken as a garbled account of the experiences of the previous spring, but Indians who visited the British post on the Clark Fork of the Columbia during the winter 1811–12 told a similar story of seeing the post shot full of bullet holes.11

In spring 1811, Andrew Henry’s band of brothers may have evacuated Henry’s Fork of the Snake, some travelling east to the middle of the Missouri River, others breaking off to continue hunting. Henry arrived at Fort Mandan sometime in September and the fur company partners were back in St. Louis in October 1811. Fort Remon was left without a central figure during the winter 1811–12 although it is possible that trappers who remained along the Yellowstone may have returned there between the fall and spring hunts.12

SAINT LOUIS FUR COMPANY, PART TWO

When the partners met on January 17, 1812, it was decided to allow the St. Louis Fur Company to expire in March and apportion the assets among them. The next day a new limited partnership was agreed upon with a three-man directorate and assets of approximately $50,000, half of which were to be raised by public subscription. The stock sale did not work out very well. General Clark became concerned by the drain on his finances. He and Lisa had to come up with six-month notes for $10,000 each and Labbadie with a note for $1,000. Lisa was given $1,000 to supervise operations and Reuben Lewis was hired as a clerk for $525 per annum plus $75 worth of merchandise. Clark took no chances with the wily Lisa—he had his nephew James O’Fallon and Clark’s former clerk, John C. Luttig, join the two keelboats at Bellefontaine on May 8, 1812.

At the Three Forks in April 1810, Reuben Lewis had expressed confidence in the promising young Jean Baptiste Champlain whose wandering had taken him south to the mountains that divided “the waters of the Spanish River as it is called or what is supposed to be the Rio del nort, from the waters of some of the Southern branches of the Columbia or a River falling in to the gulf of California which he thinks most probable.” Lewis tried to get a sketch from him “as he is a young man of observations” but no sketch was included in correspondent William Clark’s great map of the West. Champlain intended to set out with a chief of the Arapaho for that nation and from there was “willing to go on to the flatheads with a few goods & an invitation to come to this place to trade.”13

Later that summer Champlain showed up at Fort Mandan with twenty-three men that he had taken to the Arapaho Country where Spanish came from Mexico to trade with those Indians. Lisa equipped him with a small outfit and sent Champlain back to make contact with those Mexican outriders. Nothing was heard of him again.

As the Fort Manuel records show on September 7, 1812 Charles Sanquinet was to receive $350, Cadet Chevalier $300 and Charles Latour $300 “pour serche les Chasseurs qui etet sur la Rre.des Espagnal et Arapaoes.” That was a substantial investment just to relocate a missing trader but Lisa wanted to establish contact with Spanish traders from New Mexico. On Friday, September 11 1812, three parties, and 18 men started off for different destinations: Sanguinette and two Men set off with five horses for the Spanish waters, Lorimier and four men headed for the Wind River, and Lewis, two engagés and seven trappers set off for the Little Bighorn River.
Reuben’s reason for going to the Little Bighorn River may have been based on a sketch map William Clark had in his possession. The sketch was a copy drawn from the observations George Drouillard made during his exploration of the Tongue and Little Bighorn rivers in early 1808. During this second tour of the mountains, Drouillard explored the headwaters of the Little Bighorn and saw constant streams and “creeks filled with beaver.”

Drouillard wrote to his sister on May 23, 1809, “the expenses which I had through my lawsuit ... have absorbed all my savings that I had made in the upper country: this obliges now to return to this part of the country with the brother of Governor Lewis who continues to employ me as before for the United States”

During the winter they spent together at Fort Remon or at the Three Forks while casting for alternatives, Drouillard and Lewis may have returned to the potential of the Little Bighorn.

At best, Lewis was leading a small trapping brigade and they were on their own. Moving south from the Yellowstone River, he was able to shield his men from northern enemies and bring the trappers closer to less exploited beaver reserves. Reuben could not depend upon support from Fort Mandan or other MFC operations on the Missouri River. As the Clerk John Luttig noted, about the first of December 1812 Lewis dispatched one of his men, the experienced Baptiste Antoine dit Machecou, with a report “that the hunters which were equipped by the Company and which had been on the Spanish Waters trapping, had been robbed by the Crows, one of them, Danis, was Killed by some Indians supposed Gros Ventres [Atsiina] the Day Messrs. Lewis & Lorimier arrived at the little Horn River. Machecou departed from the Little Horn River in Company with Duroche but unfortunately separated 2 days in a Snow Storm.”

Duroche, carrying the letters from Lewis and Lorimier did not arrive until December 16, 1812, Cadet Chevalier also arrived express from Charles Sanguinette with a letter in hand

...dated the 3d instant in the Prairie on his Return from the Arepaos, in which he confirmed the sad News of the hunters, he found none and was informed by the Areapos, that 3 of them were Killed by the Blackfeet, supposed Champlain and 2 others, Lafargue and 5 others had run off to the — Spaniards, 8 of them had gone to the Crows which now are with Mr. Lewis, and 3 or 4 others they knew nothing at all, they the hunters had much Beaver some cached and the Remainder plundered with all other things. Mr. Sanguinette requested 2 Men to meet him to transport a parcel of horses, which he had traded with the Arepaos ...

It was January 16, 1813 before Lisa sent off Duroche, Machecou and Fouche with three horses loaded with tobacco and powder to Lewis. They turned back out of fear of Indians and eventually deserted. Luttig’s journal stopped March 5, 1813, but Louis Lorimier came in on March 20, 1813 — no doubt inquiring what became of the badly needed trade goods. Lisa hired Lorimier for $250 — with Edward Rose as a guide — to return to Lewis and tell him of a deteriorating situation at Fort Manuel. They were warned to look out for their lives. Lisa took a boat to St. Louis where he arrived on May 29, 1813. It is not known when or by what route Reuben Lewis returned to the Missouri but he was in St. Louis on September 10, 1813 when the
Missouri Fur Company partners gathered to begin the painful process of dissolving.

REUBEN LEWIS: LIFE AS A SUBAGENT

From 1809 to 1813, Reuben Lewis, on the orders of Governor Lewis, served his appointment as subagent for the Indian Department of the upper country, which was generally everything west of St. Louis. It is uncertain whether that appointment was rescinded during the following two administrations of his brother Meriwether's enemy Frederick Bates or the brief tenure of Governor Howard. The position had never carried much legal authority and Lewis never enjoyed the resources that might have made his appointment effective. But he understood and remembered his brother's persistent concern that British traders from the north might be making inroads over tribesmen he considered to be wards of the United States. During the winter of 1812 to 1813, the issue reared its head again, as the indignant John Luttig recorded when he arrived with Charbonneau to find the British fur traders from the Northwest Company had not only out-maneuvered them, but had disgraced them as well by telling stories about the Americans.

Charbonneau and 1 Engagee arrived from the Bigbells, himself and Woahl had traded out of 492 Plus only 168, the Chief named Borne was thrown off by the Nation only 5 Lodges remained with him, and had a separate Village, he persuaded Charbonneau to come with some Powder & cct... cct... to his Village to trade, he went and took 25 lbs of powder and 50 lbs of Ball of which he was robbed off when Charbonneau was informed by the Chief Chrveux De Loup who first Chief among them that 4 or 5 Days after his Arrival from hence in December last, 2 from the N.W. Company had been with them, they came under pretext to trade dressed Buffaloe Skins, and made some Presents to the Chiefs, and began to harangue against the American traders, told them we would give them nothing, but a little powder, and that they the N.W. Company would furnish them with everything without Pay if they would go to war, and rob and Kill the Americans, this had the desired effect on Borne, and he made several speeches to that purpose, but being disgraced and not liked he retired without Success, though himself fulfilled his promise to rob, but was afraid to Kill, thus are those Bloodhounds the British constantly employed and do everything in their Power to annoy and destroy the Americans and their trade, they have nothing to fear on Account and in Respect of our Government, all though in our territories, and in fact our Government does not care to meddle with them, nor how many Citizens are sacrificed by the British influence with the Indians, if there was a fort at the River St. Peters as was promised by Lie. Pike and another in these Parts of the Missouri, it would do infinitely good to hunters and traders, and bring great wealth to the States, but this is out of question, they have a strong Garrison at Bellefontaine, and that is enough, the soldiers parade, eat and drink and spent their time in Idleness, is there any necessity to keep so many idle fellows in a settled Country, they do not even prevent and cannot protect out Settlers about 80 or 90 Miles above, and we have seen outrages committed by the Indians, horrid to relate, there was after the Sheep were destroyed by the Wolves, a small Garrison erected on Salt River Mississippi which will do more good than all Bellefontaine, and if one was to be erected about 500 Leagues up the Missouri it would be very good to Keep the Indians in their Bounds, Provisions are plenty and the other necessaries could be sent by the traders, but it has been frequently the Case, and has been said our Citizens have no Business to go among the Indians to trade but the profits thereof are not considered, and this Branch of Business will never succeed if not protected by Government, to seat of the British Traders.

By fall of 1816, Reuben Lewis was back at Fort Osage after performing duties as the contractor's agent (who may have been Clark) in his expanded role in the Indian Factory system. In a letter to his mother, Reuben believed that dealing in Indian goods would make him from $800 to $1,000 a year, and if it did not, he would move on.

Lewis was a government agent first to the Osage, then to the Cherokee Indians on the Arkansas River from 1816 to 1820. According to the list of tribes in Missouri Territory on April 24, 1817, Reuben Lewis, Esq. was at the Arkansas Agency with charge of six thousand Cherokee Indians who were complaining to Governor Clark of continuing difficulties with the Osage Indians. Governor Clark affirmed his appointment of Lewis as agent to the Cherokee on the Arkansas in a letter to the acting Secretary of War on May 15, 1817. Lewis also served as a justice of the peace for the county of Arkansas, when John Glenn was licensed as a trader to the Cherokee on September 23, 1817.

Major William Lovely, a Revolutionary War veteran, was an assistant agent to the Cherokee in Tennessee.
He brought his young wife to an abandoned Osage village where they settled the Arkansas agency in a place of aching isolation. Despite his position, Lovely contrived the purchase of a large tract of Indian land which the government refused to certify. After four years, Lovely died in 1817 leaving his widow in the midst of warring tribes. Governor Clark asked Subagent Reuben Lewis to insure her safety.

A heroic rescue of a damsel in distress might have made good copy for a romance novel, but a grass widow approximately his own age was not in the picture for the forty-year-old bachelor.

Agent Lewis was commissioned to run the survey line for the land given by the United States to the Cherokee Nation, in exchange for land ceded to the United States by the Turkeytown Treaty of July 8, 1817. Later, he was appointed in the same capacity, to lay off the Quapaw Reserve. The year 1819 was when the Cherokees east of the Mississippi began to exchange their eastern homelands for new locations along the Arkansas River. By 1820, young men of the Cherokee Nation committed depredations on United States citizens. Lewis estimated losses to amount to $425 in the report and voucher he forwarded to the U.S. Department of the Treasury. According to the Missouri Historical Society historian, Stella Drumm, domestic troubles began intruding on Reuben Lewis’s life in spring 1819. She cites a letter from an Albemarle neighbor, Mr. Harper, dated May 12, 1819 addressed to Reuben Lewis, Agent for Cherokees on the Arkansas. Reuben Lewis was summoned, as the “prop” of the family, to return home and take care of his mother.

On August 15, 1819, Reuben Lewis wrote the Secretary of War John C. Calhoun. “From the peculiar and unfortunate situation of my mother and family, I must beg leave to decline accepting a commission to lay off the Quapaw Reserve, and for the same circumstances, I am compelled to resign my appointment as agent for the Cherokees on the Arkansas.” His resignation was accepted, to take effect December 31, 1819. But Lewis was still at the agency in spring 1820 when he received a letter from Richard Searcy discussing financial matters concerning Searcy, Governor Clark and Major Lewis. After his half-brother became unreliable, the dutiful son returned to Albemarle County to look after his mother’s affairs. Lucy Lewis Marks had a reputation as a mid-wife and herbal doctor which appears to have extended

Chicago in 1820. Print showing Native Americans engaged in fur trading on the banks of a river or lake at the settlement of Chicago.
to "doctors" John Marks and Reuben Lewis. Given the medical understanding of the time it is likely they practiced folk medicine—an 1842 merchant's statements of items from the University of Virginia included items purchased by Reuben such as sassafras and turpentine. Herbal medicine was probably less harmful than the mercury-laced pills that contributed to the death of Reuben's brother Meriwether and were still part of the pharmacopeia of the widely esteemed Doctor Benjamin Rush.

Lewis, the former fur trader and Indian agent, watched from afar as a rejuvenated Missouri Fur Company returned to the Yellowstone in July 1821, the same year the Northwest Company merged with the Hudson's Bay Company, promising increased competition for peltry on the Northern Plains and across the Rocky Mountains. Some old friend might have sent him a clipping of the newspaper advertisement that the partners William H. Ashley and Andrew Henry ran seeking "Enterprising Young Men" to enter the upper country. Later, he would also have read about the resulting disasters.

Over the preceding years Reuben Lewis emerged from the shadow of his brother as a fully fledged frontiersman, as capable of leading trappers in the field as Andrew Henry. As he transitioned from fur trader to Indian agent, Lewis advanced in government service under the guidance of William Clark. Lewis started at Fort Osage dealing with intertribal conflict that arose from as relocated eastern tribes crowded into western Indian territories on the Arkansas. After spending twelve years on the tumultuous frontier, Reuben returned to Albemarle County, Virginia in 1820, 43 years of age, and ready to settle down in a community of inter-related planters. On December 18, 1822, he married his distant cousin Mildred Danby but the couple did not have children. Reuben died on 17 January 1844 and was buried at Valley Point, Albemarle County.

The courage of Reuben Lewis was like his brother's, undaunted, but it was tested at a dangerous time in the West, when collisions between Native American hunters and Euro-American fur trappers had more deadly consequences. Meriwether Lewis saw the fur trade as the initial realization of the potential of a vast, new country and a barrier to foreign intervention. It was his brother, Reuben Lewis, who soldiered through the grim realities of the new West.

NOTES


http://www.monticello.org/library/exhibits/lucymarks/lucymarks/bios/reubenlewis.html


3 Thomas James, Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans (Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).


7 John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811 (1901; Reprint Lincoln and London; University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 153.


http://www.archive.org/stream/journaloffurtrad00luttuoft/journaloffurtrad00luttuoft_djvu.txt

12 Ibid., 151


15 She was the daughter of a neighbor Samuel Dabney and his wife Mildred Meriwether.
Uncovering Jefferson’s Account of Lewis’s Mysterious Death

By John Danisi and Thomas C. Danisi

On the morning of October 11, 1809, Governor Meriwether Lewis died at Grinder’s Inn, in Tennessee. The nature of his death was a source of consternation and puzzlement for Lewis’s contemporaries. It remains so for Lewis and Clark historians, who—for the most part—also attribute Lewis’s death to suicide. However, as we shall see, by one of those ironic twists with which intellectual history abounds, this prevailing view runs in a direction opposite to that of President Thomas Jefferson, who had a very close association with Lewis.

Lewis’s Contemporaries and Historians: Lewis’s Derangement or Depression of Mind

Two weeks before Lewis’s death, U. S. Army Captain James House wrote to Secretary Frederick Bates, the acting territorial governor of the Louisiana Territory. House was stationed at Fort Bellefontaine in St. Louis from 1806 to 1809. Recently furloughed, House was traveling east when an alarming incident concerning Lewis occurred on September 15, 1809. In his September 28, 1809 letter to Bates, House related that a person from Chickasaw Bluffs told him “that Governor Lewis had arrived there [at Fort Pickering] ... in a state of mental derangement [and] that he had made several attempts to put an end to his own existence.”

In letters, Captain Gilbert Russell and Major James Neelly corroborated House’s hearsay statements when they chronicled their interactions with Lewis. In an October 18, 1809 letter to Jefferson, Neelly wrote that Lewis “appeared at times deranged in mind,” a few days after leaving Fort Pickering, and that he regarded Lewis’s symptoms of derangement at Grinder’s Inn as the central factor in his death, “by suicide.” In Russell’s legal affidavit recorded November 26, 1811, Russell stated that Lewis arrived at the Fort in “a state of mental derangement” produced “as much by indisposition as other causes.” But before he could be prevented, he “made two attempts to Kill himself.” Russell also reported
The Subscriber being then the Commanding Officer of the Fort on discovering from the crew that he [Lewis] made two attempts to kill himself ... resolved at once to take possession of him and his papers, and detain them [Lewis' papers] there until he recovered. 5

When Lewis left Fort Pickering at the end of September 1809, Russell commented on his reduced state. By much severe depletion during his illness he had been considerably reduced and debilitated, from which he had not entirely recovered when he set off ... in three or four days he was again affected with the same mental disease. He had no person with him who could manage or control him in his propensities and he daily grew worse until he arrived at the house of a Mr. Grinder ... where in the apprehension of being destroyed by enemies which had no existence but in his wild imagination, he destroyed himself. 6

The above statements by Lewis's contemporaries, along with other documentary evidence—including Priscilla Grinder's testimony, Russell's two earlier letters to Jefferson concerning Lewis's death, Alexander Wilson's 1810 statement about his visit to Grinder's Inn, and James Madison's 1809 letter to Jefferson, among others—have led most Lewis historians to attribute Lewis's death to suicide as a result of lifelong depression. 7 Many historians maintain that Lewis attempted to take his life while traveling to Fort Pickering and that he "destroyed himself" at Grinder's Inn. 8 They conclude that these suicidal actions by Lewis were exclusively the result of mental disease—of some derangement or severe depression.

Consider, for example, the historian Stephen Ambrose. In his biography Undaunted Courage, Ambrose held that Lewis's depressions of mind were equated to "the same melancholy in Lewis's father...a malady that ran in the family... [and which had the marks] of a manic-depressive psychosis." In Gary Moulton's The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery, Lewis was subject to hypochondriac affections and "that he suffered bouts of depression, which resulted in a state of severe depression" when he departed from Saint Louis. Finally, David Peck, in The Death of Meriwether Lewis, maintained that Lewis "had a constitutional/genetic tendency toward depression, which was beyond his conscious control." 9

As Peck puts it, both President Jefferson and William Clark "recorded observations of Lewis's personality that, when viewed from a modern medical perspective, strongly suggest depression." 10 For these historians, Lewis's depression is pathological—in that it is a recurrent symptom of a purely mental disorder of psychoneurotic or psychotic proportions, which is rooted in the early formation of his personality or of his thought processes, and characterized by feelings of sadness and hopelessness, confusion or derangement, and sometimes accompanied by suicidal desires and suicide attempts. 11

Moreover, this pervasive view of depression as the explanation of Lewis's death and of suicide as the nature of his death is, in the opinion of the above historians, consistent with, and corroborated by, Jefferson himself. To be sure, Jefferson was intimately acquainted with Lewis's personality. A reporter with the Democratic Clarion, a newspaper of Nashville, Tennessee, wrote in 1809: "he [Lewis] was a pupil of the immortal Jefferson—by him he was reared ... was instructed in the tour of the sciences ... was introduced to public life ... [was] to command a projected exploring party to the north west coast." 12 Jefferson was also the central person who was kept informed by many correspondents of Lewis's condition and his death.

Jefferson's comments seem key to our understanding of Lewis's death, and one would expect Lewis's contemporaries and historians to follow the observations that he set forth in his letters. Surprisingly, however, Jefferson's letters to and from Russell and Paul Allen reveal a fresh and suggestive perspective on Lewis's death that diametrically opposes the view of House, Neelly, and Russell. Jefferson's view of his friend's death, as found in these letters, can be read to support the idea of a self-inflicted, targeted shooting that was intended to end the agony of his unbearable pain, not to commit suicide— a position with which the authors of this monograph have maintained. 13

JEFFERSON: LEWIS'S HYPOCHONDRIAC AFFECTIONS

Let us first turn to Jefferson's observations regarding Lewis's personality. In his August 18, 1813 biographical letter to Paul Allen, and in his April 18, 1810 letter of response to Gilbert Russell, Jefferson explored the nature of Lewis's death. In the Allen letter he wrote:
Governor Lewis had from early life been subject to hypocondriac affections. It was a constitutional disposition in all of the nearer branches of the family of his name, & was more immediately inherited by him from his father. While he lived with me in Washington, I observed at times sensible depressions of mind but knowing their constitutional source, I estimated their course by what I had seen in the family.14

Clearly, the phrase “hypocondriac affections” is not to be understood from its modern usage, which is derived from late nineteenth- and twentieth-century psychology. The word “hypocondriac”—a word in ordinary usage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—comes from the Greek—hypochondriakos—and from the Latin—hypochondriacus—meaning “of the abdomen.”18 In the singular form, “hypocondria” in Greek, and “hypocondria” in French, means “the abdominal region of the body.” The word “affection”—a word in ordinary usage in Jefferson’s day—comes from the Latin—affection or affectio—meaning “to exert an influence.”19 The Latin word “affection” also means “a disease or malady.”20

Jefferson made a similar statement to Russell about Lewis in an April 18, 1810 letter:

We have all to lament that a fame so dearly earned was clouded finally by such an act of desperation. He was much afflicted & habitually so with hypocondria. This [act] was probably increased by the habit into which he had fallen & the painful reflections that would necessarily produce in a mind like his.15

Two questions arise here: What did Jefferson mean when he said that Lewis had been “subject to hypocondriac affections” and to “sensible depressions of mind?” And secondly, what did he mean by the phrases “hypocondriac affections” and “hypocondria?”16 Interestingly, the historians mentioned earlier attempted to address the first question using the categories and logic appropriate to modern psychology. But they failed to address the second question in an appropriate way.

Jefferson’s use of the phrase “hypocondriac affections” was perfectly understandable to him because of his knowledge of several languages: Greek, Latin, and French, all of which he mastered. Indeed, he was a lifelong student of those languages, as he reminded his friend Joseph Priestley in January 1800, writing that “to read the Latin & Greek authors in their original, is a sublime luxury. ... I thank on my knees, him who directed my early education, for having put into my possession this rich source of delight.”17

Jefferson’s familiarity with these languages as well as his knowledge of and interest in the classics helps shed some light on the way he understood and chose his words.
Jefferson used the phrase “hypocondriac affections” in the context of the original Greek etymology, just as any educated physician of the day would have done. In his use of this phrase, we can see Jefferson’s true understanding of Lewis’s personality and death. The intelligence and depth of his insight about Lewis’s condition took him far beyond the prevailing view of House, Neelly, and Russell. In Jefferson’s opinion, Lewis was prey to hypochondriac affections, a disease that did not have a mental source, but, in Jefferson’s words, a “constitutional source.” Not only was it an organic or bodily source, passed on to Lewis by his family in the form of a diseased body, but Jefferson also observed, “it was a constitutional disposition in all of the nearer branches of the family of his [Lewis’s] name.” Jefferson added that “[it] was more immediately inherited by him from his father.”

Jefferson’s references, therefore, to Lewis’s “hypocondria” and his “hypocondriac affections” are evidence that Jefferson believed Lewis suffered from an actual physical disorder in specific organs—the liver and the spleen—of Lewis’s body. This disorder, moreover, altered Lewis’s constitution and troubled him with “sensible depressions of mind.”

**JEFFERSON: LEWIS’S HYPOCHONDRIAC AFFECTIONS AS AN INTERMITTENT DISEASE**

What did Jefferson mean when he wrote on August 18, 1813 that he had “observed at times [Lewis’s] sensible depressions of mind?” Jefferson did not supply an immediate answer. However, in an 1816 letter to John Adams, Jefferson wrote of what he called “gloomy and hypocondriac minds.” He indicated that hypochondriac minds were marked by “sensible depressions of mind,” and that such minds were peculiar. Such individuals, he further observed, may accuse or question themselves, may display disgust and despair, and may be apprehensive about the future.

In an April 8, 1816 letter to Adams, Jefferson spoke of a hypochondriac mind as one preoccupied with gloominess, and one that is a byproduct or affliction of an individual’s diseased body. He was implying that such susceptibility to, and experience of, sensible depressions of mind was rare, especially where the constitution of an individual was entirely normal; one did not find those depressions of mind in a healthy subject. In the same letter, Jefferson compressed these points in a memorable sentence:

There are indeed (who might say Nay) gloomy and hypocondriac 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.

Jefferson was saying that Lewis’s sensible depressions of mind proceeded, or had its origins in, Lewis’s diseased body—namely in the hypochondriac region. In Jefferson’s opinion, Lewis’s depressions of mind were byproducts of Lewis’s existing physical disease—a disease, moreover, which manifested itself as a recurrent or intermittent disease. It is useful here to recall Jefferson’s words: “he [Lewis] was much afflicted & habitually so with hypocondria.”

Jefferson’s understanding of Lewis’s hypochondriac affections opened the way to Jefferson’s view, not only of Lewis’s personality, but also of Lewis’s death. In his biographical letter written to Paul Allen on August 18, 1813, Jefferson expanded upon his discussion of Lewis’s hypochondria:

During his Western expedition, the constant exertion which that required of all the faculties of body and mind, suspended these distressing [hypochondriac] affections; but after his establishment at St. Louis in sedentary occupations they returned upon him with redoubled vigor, and began seriously to alarm his friends. He was in a paroxysm of one of these when his affairs rendered it necessary for him to go to Washington. He proceeded to the Chickasaw bluffs, where he arrived on the 16th of Sep. 1809 with a view of continuing his journey thence by water.

In this passage, what Jefferson highlighted was the sudden intensification or “redoubled vigor” of Lewis’s intermittent disease. The “affections” now referred to a chronic disorder, perhaps an acute exacerbation, in the organs in the hypochondriac region of Lewis’s already diseased body. This disorder shattered Lewis’s constitution, and profoundly troubled him, afflicting him with a “paroxysm.” Jefferson claimed any paroxysm of intermittent disease would produce “painful reflections,” and, in his opinion, Lewis himself was undergoing such a paroxysm.

What Jefferson meant was that Lewis’s “sensible depressions of mind” had reached the much
worse form of “painful reflections” of mind; Lewis was now laboring with a painful and recurrent anguish, which was often accompanied by a severe periodic headache.

Jefferson, who had suffered the intermittent paroxysm in a milder form, complained to his daughter, Martha Jefferson Randolph, and later to James Monroe, that he was in the seventh day of a “severe indisposition of periodical headache.” On March 20, 1807, he wrote to her:

I write this in the morning before the Fit has come on. The fits are by no means as severe as I have felt in former times, but they hold me very long, from 9 or 10 in the morning till dark. Neither Calomel nor [Peruvian] bark have as yet made the least impression on them.

Consider another authority who observed those who suffered from severe intermittent paroxysm. In the chapter titled “Of the Causes of the Remitting and Intermittent Fevers of the Camp, and those of low and marshy Countries,” the eighteenth-century Scottish military physician, Sir John Pringle, who served with the British army for 25 years, described cases of soldiers who were undergoing the paroxysm of intermittent disease as follows:

There were some instances of the head being so suddenly and violently affected, that without any previous complaint the men ran about in a wild manner, and were believed to be mad, till the solution of the fit by a sweat, and its periodic returns, discovered the true nature of their delirium [or fever].

Notice also here: The intermittent paroxysm was, in Pringle’s as well as in Jefferson’s opinion, the result of illness—not madness, nor insanity. Pringle continued:

That a few returns of the paroxysms reduced their strongest men to so low a condition as to disable them from standing. That some became at once delirious ... and would have thrown themselves out the window, or into the water, if not prevented.

Russell reported to Jefferson that Lewis had made two attempts to kill himself on a boat en route to Fort Pickering—though he did not specify whether Lewis had tried to shoot himself or jump overboard. If Lewis attempted the latter, his behavior would have been similar to that of the soldiers undergoing the paroxysm of intermittent disease as described by Pringle.

More importantly, however, Jefferson construed from his contemporaries’ reports that Lewis’s behavior was a case of intermittent paroxysm. Lewis’s behavior, Jefferson was saying, was the result of illness, and not of depression; of a hypochondriac mind, and not of a deranged mind. He was indicating, moreover, that Lewis’s behavior did not rise to the level of an attempt at suicide.

In his biographical letter of August 18, 1813, Jefferson went on to speak of Lewis as prey to the intermittent paroxysm, and noted that Lewis’s friends were alarmed that his “distressing hypochondriac affections” had returned with “redoubled vigor.” Jefferson was also aware of Mrs. Grinder’s statements that she was alarmed by Lewis’s behavior at Grinder’s Inn. She reported to Alexander Wilson that Lewis’s behavior was erratic.

[Lewis] walked backwards and forwards before the door, talking to himself. Sometimes ... he would seem as if he were walking up to her; and would suddenly wheel round, and walk back as fast as he could. Supper being ready he sat down, but had not eat but a few mouthfuls when he started up speaking to himself in a violent manner. At these times ... she observed his face to flush as if it had come on him in a fit. He lighted his pipe, and drawing a chair to the door sat down, saying ... in a kind tone of voice, “Madam this is a very pleasant evening.” ... it being now dusk [she] went off to the kitchen ... and being considerably alarmed by the behaviour of her guest [Lewis] could not sleep but listened to him walking backwards and forwards ... for several hours, and talking aloud. “like a lawyer.”

For Jefferson, Lewis’s “gloomy and hypochondriac mind” was likely laboring with a painful and recurrent anguish. He was continually reflecting and questioning—engaged in a kind of ongoing lawyering activity—in a concentrated effort to get straight with some matter of great urgency.
What was the anguish preying upon Lewis’s “hypocondriac mind?” What was the helpless agony that stimulated “painful reflections” in “a mind like his?” Jefferson offered a response, although it was limited by his limitations. Moreover, Jefferson’s temperament, by his own admission, stood in the way of his fully understanding Lewis’s condition. He focused solely upon Lewis’s desperation. As Jefferson said of himself:

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. 34

In sum, Jefferson attributed Lewis’s behavior to a physical disease—“hypocondriac affections.” 33 Jefferson led us to a greater insight regarding Lewis’s condition, but because he was not a physician that understanding had limitations. Moreover, Jefferson’s temperament, by his own admission, stood in the way of his fully understanding Lewis’s helpless agony. As Jefferson said of himself:

Jefferson and Macculloch: The Intermittent Paroxysm Within Lewis’s Disease

Historians in the past have attributed Lewis’s death to suicide as a result of lifelong depression. Unfortunately, this view conceals more than it reveals. We have long hypothesized, and have long argued with documentary evidence — here and elsewhere — that Lewis’s untimely death cannot be understood exclusively by the categories of modern psychology. Rather his death must be scrutinized by the biological categories of medicine of his day, which links his death to intermittent disease — specifically, to hypochondriac affections and/or the ague or malaria with his intermittent paroxysms. Furthermore the documentary evidence supports the fact that the paroxysm within the intermittent diseases, along with malaria, was treated successfully with the introduction of quinine pills in the 1830s. 35

Macculloch’s description of a patient “labouring under intermittent” throws added light on the nature of Lewis’s death. In the grip of intermittent paroxysm, a malarial sufferer, such as Lewis, was suddenly afflicted with a painful and helpless agony — “a united state of irritability and despair,” which to his “alarm and horror,” may have stimulated his mind “to think of suicide.” 39 According to Macculloch, it cannot be said that the suicidal desire truly amounted to a wish on his part to kill himself.

Macculloch offered a portrait of another feeling or desire, which was also “rigidly a portion of the disease.”

As relates to the desire [of suicide], the simple fact is, that the patient feels a species of antipathy against
some peculiar part of his body, added to the general disordered feeling, or he longs to commit the act by wounding that particular point; while, whether his aberration amounts to the desire of suicide or not, this very point or place is the one eternally forcing itself on his imagination as an object of hatred and revenge. And so perfectly insane is this feeling, that I have been informed by more than one patient who has suffered from it, that there is no conviction at the same time that death would follow; or rather that the impression is as if the offending part could be exterminated or cured by the injury, and that the patient would then be well. 40

While Lewis may have been reflecting on suicide, something else in his mind, in Maccullough's opinion, was being reflected upon, and kept Lewis from killing himself—namely: "the impression is as if the offending part could be exterminated or cured by the injury, and the patient would then be well." Moreover that impression or idea when entertained by the patient liberates his mind and fosters action; and, when acted upon by him, draws him out of his situation of "irritability and despair" or helpless agony.

Maccullough noted that intermittent patients in the grip of intermittent paroxysm, such as Lewis, may have felt "a species of antipathy" toward some parts of their bodies. He further observed that those patients obsess on a particular part of the body affected by an uneasy but undefinable sensation, such that the mind constantly reverts to it as a source of suffering ... or a condition of absolute pain ... always returning to that one point under the same stage of fever or delirium. When, as is not unusual, it is seated in the head, it is even distinguishable by a dull pain, or a confusion, or a sense of "buzzing" (for thus it is described by patients,) in one fixed place ... and that while a pistol would be the only acceptable mode, there would also be no satisfaction unless that were directed to this actual and only point.41

This "sensation" or feeling for Maccullough, was like a force that seized their minds "such that the mind constantly reverts to it as a source of suffering ... or a condition of absolute pain;" yet their minds longed to initiate some specific but favorable action—"to commit the act by wounding that particular part ... or offending part." 42

Maccullough also noted "there would also be no satisfaction [for those patients] unless that were directed to this actual and only point."

But if the minds of those patients were committing to one course of action over another—their minds were active and not merely passive. In line with Jefferson's and Maccullough's observations, we view that the mind of the intermittent patient, such as Lewis, as active, or as having a say in his or her situation of suffering. Historians, on the other hand, tend to view Lewis's mind as passive, arguing that lifelong depression controlled and triggered his death. Maccullough's observations can be paraphrased in the following manner:

In other words, delirious patients were known to fixate on parts of the body where the affliction seemed to reside, and they might even resort to shooting or otherwise "wounding" themselves to be
Jefferson historians, construe his death as a suicide, resulting from depression, insanity or a sudden frenzied impulse—i.e., from a deranged mind. However, after unpacking Jefferson’s observations about Lewis’s hypochondria, the authors of this monograph side with Jefferson.

We construe Lewis’s death as a non-suicide, “an act of desperation,” resulting from a hypochondriac mind dwelling in a diseased body. Specifically, Lewis set up the business by “wounding” the “offending part[s],” which he had experienced “as an object of hatred and revenge … as a source of suffering.” But Lewis had “no conviction” in that business of his “that death would follow.” There was only the conviction that “the offending part[s] could be exterminated or cured by the [self-inflicted] injury, and that [he] would then be well”—specifically, that he would then be able to live the remainder of his life in a way distinct from the life of prolonged and recurring suffering which the sovereign treatments of his day, prescribed by his physicians, would have provided him.

The outcome of the shooting was surprising. Lewis survived and lived for some hours. How did he manage that? The first shot was targeted to his head, grazed, but did not penetrate the skull. The second shot was targeted to a little below the Breast. This was a self-inflicted shooting, a self-inflicted injury to be sure, but neither shot was capable of causing immediate death—in short, it was not a suicide.

The point here is that neither the first nor the second shot was immediately fatal. It is hard to imagine that a person bent on killing himself, and as skilled with firearms as Meriwether Lewis, could have botched the job so badly. At literally point-blank range, how could he have missed two large vital organs, the brain and the heart … Lewis’s self-inflicted wounds were directed, in the words of Macculloch, at “the offending part[s]” of his body.

In accordance with Jefferson’s and Macculloch’s observations of intermittent or malarial sufferers, we contend that Lewis set up “the business” of shooting himself with the conviction to live a life without absolute pain, and not the conviction to kill himself, to commit suicide. As Lewis himself was reported to have said to his servant John Pernier, “I have done the business my good Servant give me some water.”

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final version. We also thank Martha Riley, librarian at Washington University School of Medicine, Bernard Becker Library, Rare Book Department, who provided the medical illustrations for this article. Lastly, we owe many thanks to Mary C. Danisi for her help with Greek, Latin, and French terminology.

John Danisi, who received his doctorate at New York University, is the chair of the philosophy and religious studies department at Wagner College; he specializes in the areas of medical ethics and classical American philosophy.

Thomas C. Danisi, an LCTHF member, published his latest book, Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis, in January 2012. In February 2002, WPO published his first article on a new perspective on Lewis’s death. This article by the authors took ten years of research to refine that perspective and to bring fresh insight to Jefferson’s account of Lewis’s mysterious illness and death.

NOTES

1All the documentary evidence that appears in the block quotations of the article is an exact copy of the text and letters in the original.

2Adjutant General’s Office to James House, July 16, 1809, RG94, M565, roll 2, p. 155, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

3James House to Frederick Bates, September 28, 1809, Frederick Bates Papers, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, Missouri; Thomas C. Danisi, Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2012), 230–231; Argus of Western America, November 4, 1809, 238.

4James Neelly to Thomas Jefferson, October 18, 1809, in Danisi, Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis, 231–232.


6Ibid., 245.

7Ibid., 237, 240–244.

8Statement of Gilbert Russell, November 26, 1811, in Danisi, Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis, 245.


10Democratic Clarion, October 20, 1809, microfilm roll 113, Tennessee State Library, Nashville, Tennessee; Danisi, Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis, 236.


12Thomas Jefferson to Paul Allen, August 18, 1813, in Danisi, Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis, 249–250.

13Thomas Jefferson to Gilbert Russell, April 18, 1810, Ibid., 243.

14We note, in passing, that the words “hypocondria” and “hypochondria” were used interchangeably in Jefferson’s time. Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “Hypocondria and Hypochondria”; Ephraim Chambers, Cyclopaedia: or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 1st ed., 2 volumes (London: 1728), 1:279.


17Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, s.v. “Affectation.”

18Ibid.

19Ibid., Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis, 201.

20Thomas Jefferson to Paul Allen, August 18, 1813, Ibid., 249–250.

21Danisi, Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis, 200.


23Thomas Jefferson to Paul Allen, August 18, 1813, in Danisi, Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis, 250.

24Paroxysm: 1. An episode of increased acuteness or severity of a disease, usually recurring periodically, and which is of an urgent character and appears suddenly, such as pain, fear, excitement, convulsions, fit, etc. 2. The term is also applied to the febrile periods of malaria or some other intermittent disease (see Pringle). Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “Paroxysm.”

25Thomas Jefferson to Gilbert Russell, April 18, 1810, Ibid., 243.

26Thomas C. Danisi and John C. Jackson, Meriwether Lewis (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2009), 146, n. 63.
31 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 John Sappington wrote: “To relieve this state of things (enlargement and derangement of the spleen) doses of 50 or 100 grains of quinine are given, and with obvious effect, I have often very satisfactorily percussed the spleen, and marked its limits, before the administration, I have seen this organ very perceptibly reduced in its whole circumference, and, the paroxysms arrested or palliated in an incredibly short time.” *The Theory and Treatment of Fevers* (Arrow Rock, Missouri: John Sappington, 1844), 98.
37 Ibid., 1: 236.
38 Ibid, 247-248.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid., 250-251.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid., 250.
44 Notice here that Jefferson’s phrase “an act of desperation” is vastly different from Russell’s phrase “an act of derangement.” Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, s.v. “Derangement and Desperation.”
46 Danisi, *Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis*, 184 and 186.
47 Statement of Gilbert Russell, November 26, 1811, Ibid., 246.
49 Ibid., 251.
51 James Neelly to Thomas Jefferson, October 18, 1809, in Danisi, *Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis*, 232.
What is the Shortest Distance between Wolf Point and San Francisco?
The Lewis and Clark Trail

by Philippa Newfield and Phillip Gordon

On April 28, 2012, fifty people gathered at the Roosevelt County Library in Wolf Point, Montana, for the Lewis and Clark Heritage Celebration—an afternoon of presentations by local historian Forrest Mount and author Robert Bird Baker as “Pierre Crouzatte’s [sic] ghost” as well as a menu of chili and fry bread prepared by the library staff and served by the Friends of the Roosevelt County Library. There were prizes awarded for the Lewis and Clark poster-framing contest. There were also guest speakers: Bob Saindon, past president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation; and Edward Lewis, a distant nephew of Meriwether Lewis. The celebration was one of several unlikely joint ventures between the LCTHF’s California Chapter, members of which reside in San Francisco, and the Roosevelt County Library in Montana’s northeastern corner on the Fort Peck Reservation.
Andy Hayes, the Roosevelt County librarian, and her staff.

We returned to Wolf Point in 2009 to show 52 of our photographs at the Roosevelt County Library in an exhibit entitled On and Off the Lewis and Clark Trail: Grain Elevators and More. We sponsored an opening reception for which the Friends of the Roosevelt County Library prepared all manner of cookies and western-themed chocolates. The Friends, in turn, received all proceeds from the sale of the photographs.

The photography exhibits have been ongoing. Every three months, we mail 15 new matted photographs from around the world—and by various photographers—to the library for exhibits such as “Festa d’Italia” and “Holiday in France.” We were most gratified when Andy Hayes wrote, “Thank you for bringing the world to Wolf Point.”

After that first photography exhibit in 2009, we joined the LCTHF and started going to the annual meetings. It was in Omaha in 2011 at the Chapter Presidents’ Breakfast that we learned of the trail stewardship grants funded by the Lewis and Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment: A National Council of the Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial Legacy Project. We asked Dan Sturdevant, the current President of the LCTHF, about the California Chapter’s partnering with an entity in a Trail state.

When Dan advised us to proceed on, we worked with the Roosevelt County Library to develop a seven-part Lewis and Clark program, incorporating input from local educators, historians, artists, craftspeople, and Native Americans of the Fort Peck Reservation. The trail stewardship grant received in the 2012 funding cycle supported the creation of a Lewis and Clark exhibition in the library including a mural, large-format photographs of the area’s flora and fauna described by Lewis and Clark, a Lewis and Clark-themed quilt, and a silhouette of Lewis and Clark as they point the way to the exhibition area; new Lewis and Clark books and videos; community Lewis and Clark events; and a Lewis and Clark summer “adventure camp” at the library. The effectiveness of education in creating mindfulness about the importance of the Trail was brought home when Jeff Turner, the editor of Wolf Point’s Herald-News who wrote a front-page story on the library’s Lewis and Clark Heritage Celebration in the May 3, 2012, edition, returned to the library to take out books on western history so he could build on what he had learned while covering the event.

What began as a personal adventure along the Lewis and Clark Trail has, with the support of the trail stewardship grant, developed into a cooperative project between the California Chapter and the Roosevelt County Library. This multifaceted, intergenerational, community-based education program has, in turn, engendered greater awareness on the part of the residents of Wolf Point and the Fort Peck Reservation of the rich Corps of Discovery history right in their own backyard and of the need to preserve the Trail now and into the future. For the members of the California Chapter, the project has provided a window onto the Trail that transcends the limitations of geography, emphasizing for them, as well, the importance of trail stewardship.

“I think for people here, knowing that Lewis and Clark passed through the area makes history come alive,” librarian Andy Hayes adds. “It’s a wonderful experience for all the people involved—whether they were embroidering, building, painting, quilting, cooking, or teaching. Everyone got into the act.”
Who among Western Americana enthusiasts does not recognize the name Zebulon Montgomery Pike (1779-1813)? He is a standard in any history textbook discussion of government-sponsored explorations during Thomas Jefferson's presidency. Yet we know him primarily for his poor geography, awkward timing, as well as his capture by Spanish authorities in the southern Rockies. Pike's untimely death at the age of 34 during combat in the War of 1812 ended any possibility of Pike restoring his own reputation as a loyal American and capable leader. As Donald Jackson noted in his introduction to the two-volume Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, "Nothing that Zebulon Pike ever tried to do was easy, and most of his luck was bad."

This anthology, ably assembled and edited by Matthew Harris and Jay Buckley, traces the historiography of Pike and explores multiple legends and realities that have clouded a clear picture of the lieutenant's place in American history. The book succeeds admirably in accomplishing the dual goal of informing the reader about Pike and other Jeffersonian-era enterprises and intrigues, as well as elevating Pike to more respectable, if still secondary place behind the better-known captains of the Corps of Discovery, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

Coeditor Harris introduces Pike "in American memory," analyzing what others have said about the soldier who was sent north up the Mississippi River in 1805 and then west to present-day Colorado between 1806 and 1807. Deemed a "spy" and described as "lost" by early biographers, Pike was neither conspiratorial nor treasonous according to Harris. Instead, he validates Donald Jackson's learned assessment in his 1966 edition of the Journals that Pike was a spy for the State "and proud to be one," at a time when the United States was contesting boundaries with England and Spain, and was establishing formal diplomatic relations with numerous Indian tribes. Labeling Pike an empire builder, field scientist, mapmaker, explorer, spy, and soldier, Harris argues that "his two expeditions set in motion a pattern of conquest and settlement that would forever alter the political, environmental, and geographic landscape of the region."

Immediate past president of LCTHF, Jay Buckley, contributes two pieces in the book: one resurrecting Pike among "forgotten and misunderstood" explorers; the second placing the Pike expeditions in context with other government-sponsored probes during Jefferson's last 26 years of life from 1800 to 1826. Buckley's command of early national-period history is impressive and accurate, giving readers a clear chronology, as well as brief biographies of key players, a literal "cast of characters."

Beyond the editors, other contributors familiar to readers of We Proceeded On include James Ronda on "Pike and Empire," John Logan Allen on "Pike and American Science," and William Foley on James Wilkinson as "Pike's Mentor." Each essay offers fresh insights and benefits from these well-established scholars' decades of research on the period. Ronda's erudite chapter combines ethnohistorical and diplomatic approaches toward the goal of understanding Pike's interaction with Osage, Kansas, Pawnee, and potentially Comanche hosts on the southern plains. It is another masterpiece of Ronda's craftsmanship. Allen offers landscape observations of Pike's that are normally overlooked by scholars who dwell on his oft-quoted negative assessment in Pike's official 1810 report, An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi and through the Western Parts of Louisiana, to the Sources of the Arkansas that described the Great Plains as "barren soil," a region lacking timber and comparable to
the "sandy deserts of Africa." Allen compares Pike's "Report" of 1810 with his "Papers" that were used extensively by Elliott Coues in 1895, and his Southwestern Journals, that were first published in 1932 but unavailable in a definitive scholarly edition until Donald Jackson's 1966 *Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike.* The word "prairie" (meaning at the time meadow) rather than desert permeates Pike's daily journal entries as he crossed the plains. Nevertheless his 1810 "Report" cast a long shadow over his reputation, as did his false geography on major rivers and drainages, which Captain William Clark included on his master map of the West, the most important reference for travelers who traversed the region well into the 1840s.

Allen, however, sees Pike as an important contributor to American mapmaking and science, in an age when even explorer and naturalist Alexander Von Humboldt conjectured and erred because he was uncertain about unexplored terrain. Pike, after all, provided the first American map of what became the Santa Fe Trail and more than a word of caution to those entering the arid Southwest who were used to natural rainfall while traveling and for their livelihoods.

General James Wilkinson, the ranking military officer in the U. S. Army, comes alive in William Foley's assessment, "Pike's Mentor and Jefferson's Capricious Point Man in the West." Wilkinson has not fared well with biographers. Foley reinforces that, noting "self-aggrandizement remained the one discernible constant in his inconstant life." This lengthy chapter will satisfy anyone seriously interested in the connections (and antagonisms) between Jefferson-Burr-Wilkinson-Pike.

Two final essays round out the book: Jared Orsi's and Leo Oliva's. Although both pieces intersect in northern New Spain, where Pike was an interloper, each essay has a different purpose. Orsi paints with broad strokes, seeing Pike as instrument and "eyes" for a Jeffersonian empire in the West, an agent of the nation through General Wilkinson, whose purpose was to parley and meet with Indian tribes, collect data, and secure loyalties. Orsi's strongest suit is his discussion of Jefferson's focus on "rendering the West legible." By that he means putting onto paper the land, people, and resources of the West—private and public—through surveying, mapping, and eventually subdividing the land into bounded grids. Pike was the first step in this process. Oliva's essay (first published in *Kansas History* [2006]) is an engaging reconstruction of two lieutenants' encounter, first as enemies, and later as friends. Following Pike's capture, Lt. Facundo Melgares escorted Pike and his men from San Fernandez (just south of Albuquerque) to Chihuahua City, and back north through Texas to the United States border. Perhaps because of mutual respect, Pike's men were allowed to keep some of their weapons, and Pike presented Melgares with a symbolic shotgun when the two parted company. Oliva believes information shared by Melgares with Pike on places and peoples not seen in New Spain was "considerable," enhancing Pike's "Report" and attracting interest in trade (illegal at the time) between Louisiana and New Mexico.

This is an important book and will reach a much broader audience than the anthology released in 2007 as the official proceedings of the Pike Bicentennial Commemoration, which included versions of the same essays found here by Ronda, Allen, and Oliva (albeit without footnotes), as well as twelve other essays. (Although no national bicentennial exhibition has compared to that curated by Carolyn Gilman and mounted by the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, for Lewis and Clark [2004-2006], on June 3, 2006, the Pike's Peak Public Library District and the Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum hosted an excellent one-day symposium on Zebulon Pike. The proceedings were anthologized as "To Spare No Pains": *Zebulon Montgomery Pike and His 1806-1807 Southwest Expedition: A Bicentennial Commemoration*, ed. Tim Blevins, Matt Mayberry, Chris Nicholl, Calvin P. Otto, and Nancy Thaler (Colorado Springs: Clausen Books for the Pikes Peak Library District, 2007). Harris-Buckley, et al. elevate Pike to a proper place among American military explorers, while also filling in many small but important details on Jefferson, Wilkinson, Melgares, and others, including Native American leaders, with whom Zebulon Pike interacted personally and professionally. Most important, this new work places Pike in context with other Jeffersonian western initiatives, making him an important player in American imperial designs on Native Americans' loyalties, nature's resources, and foreigners' domains.

—W. R. Swagerty
Sturdevant New
2012—2013 President;
New Board Members

The executive committee of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation welcome two new members: Clay Smith and Larry Epstein. The board of directors welcomes new members Della Bauer and Sue Buchel. These board members spend numerous hours each year guiding the Foundation's work. They travel to board meetings at their own expense and lead committee work in order to carry out Foundation policies and practices.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dan Sturdevant of Kansas City, MO, steps up as president at an important time in the organization's development. A lawyer in private practice since 1975, Dan specializes in probate and trust administration of estates. He is married to Mary Lee Sturdevant, a schoolteacher who has retired, but continues to teach part-time. Dan is a regular performer in the Kansas City area, currently as part of the "Tiffany-Dan Duo." An active LCTHF member, Dan has been on the board from 2010 to 2011 and was the 2011 financial affairs chair. He has also served as the president of the Missouri–Kansas Riverbend Chapter since 2003.

Margaret Gorski of Stevensville, MT, will serve as president-elect. Margaret is the regional recreation program leader for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service for the Northern Region, based in Missoula. She has worked for nearly 36 years in various assignments at a regional level and in three national forests and three national parks in the West. Margaret was the national coordinator for the Forest Service in their activities associated with the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial from 1998-2006. She was first elected to the Foundation Board in 2008 and returned in 2011-2012 as the vice president.

Larry Epstein of Cut Bank, MT, was appointed to the board as the new secretary. A fourth-generation Montanan, Larry is a retired lawyer and county attorney who now works as a Montana legislative lobbyist. Larry is an avid river rafter (he rafted six rivers in 2012, including the Grand Canyon's Colorado River) and bicyclist, (he completed the 430-mile Park-2-Park ride from West Glacier to West Yellowstone). A hiker, backpacker, traveler, and reader, he also fancies good bourbon and craft beers. A Lewis and Clark fan since age 11, he has been a LCTHF member since the early 1980s, a 1998–2003 board member, and was the 2003 president. Larry is known for his tours to the Meriwether Lewis-Blackfeet fight site on the Two Medicine River.

Clay Smith of Port Townsend, WA, will serve as treasurer. He had a 23-year career in the Air Force and spent 11 years in higher education administration. Clay became immersed in the Lewis and Clark story in and around Great Falls, Montana, where he served as chair of the 2008 LCTHF annual meeting. He has served three years as Foundation Treasurer and two months as President. He was appointed to fill a Board vacancy in October 2011.

Jay Buckley of Orem, UT, past president, took the reins of LCTHF at a crucial time. An associate professor of history at Brigham Young University,

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

At-large board of director members are elected by the membership and typically serve three-year terms. Board members are appointed to fill vacancies on the Board until the term in question has been completed.

**Della Bauer** of Omaha, NE, retired as a lieutenant colonel after 21 years of service as a registered nurse with the Wyoming Air National Guard. She attended the Mercy Hospital School of Nursing in Council Bluffs, IA after earning a B.S. in Nursing from Metropolitan State College in Denver, CO. A long-time LCTHF member, Della has been a member and a four-year chapter president of the Mouth of the Platte Chapter since its beginning in 2001. In 2011, she served on the planning committee for the 43rd LCTHF annual meeting. She is also a member of the Oregon-California Trails Association, the Douglas County Historical Association, the Pottawattamie County Historical Society and the Nebraska State Historical Society.

**Sue Buchel** of Great Falls, MT retired from the National Park Service and US Forest Service, where she worked as cultural resource specialist and curator at Nez Perce National Historical Park; assistant director of the Lewis and Clark National Historical Trail Interpretive Center, as well as directing the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Training Academy. As an active member of the Portage Route Chapter, Sue has lectured on a number of Lewis and Clark-related topics and published a WPO article on Benjamin Barton in 2005. Since November 2010, she has volunteered to oversee the LCTHF library collections. She currently works as a consultant on museum collection management and historical interpretation.

**Ken Jutzi** of Camarillo, CA, worked for 35 years in Navy-related research, development, and management. He brings his talents to initiate a new Internet-based Information Management System and a new LCTHF website. Former president of the California Chapter, he is also a member of Portage Route and Ohio River chapters. He chairs the LCTHF Awards Committee. Ken was re-elected to the board in 2011. Jutzi has traveled the entire Lewis and Clark Trail. At 2012 annual meeting, he was awarded a distinguished service award.
Barb Kubik of Vancouver, WA, serves on LCTHF's education and scholarship committees and is a member of the editorial board. As the historian for the Meriwether Project design team, she is assisting with the creation of a computer role-playing game based on the Corps of Discovery. Barb also works on “The Journey Book”—the educational component to The Confluence Project. Barb and Rennie Kubik are members of the Washington, Idaho, and Oregon chapters. Barb is the Washington State chapter president. She was a featured speaker at the LCTHF regional meeting held in 2001 in Pierre, SD. She and Rennie have two grown sons, Erik and Alex.

Ron Laycock of Benson, MN, who retired from a career in human services and public administration, has devoted himself to preserving the history of Lewis and Clark. This interest was sparked when he taught Elderhostels and worked as a historian on bus tours of the Lewis and Clark Trail. He worked as a historian on numerous canoe trips through the White Cliffs area of the Missouri River. A member of the LCTHF since the mid-1980s, he has attended 23 consecutive annual meetings, served as 2003–2004 president, and in 2004 received the foundation’s meritorious achievement award.

Gary Moulton of Lincoln, NE, is professor emeritus from the University of Nebraska–Lincoln and editor of the 13-volume *Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. He began this 20-year editing project in 1979 with support from the Foundation, UNL Center for Great Plaines Studies, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He was reelected to the Board in 2010 and serves on the editorial committee.

Philippa Newfield of San Francisco, CA, was elected to the Board in October 2011 to fill a vacancy. She continues to serve on the editorial committee. She and her husband, Philip Gordon, have traveled the Trail from the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Columbia and look forward to exploring the Eastern Legacy. An anesthesiologist by profession, she is interested in the art associated with the expedition and works with her husband to organize ongoing photography exhibitions at the Roosevelt County Library on the Trail in northeastern Montana. She is active in the California Chapter.

Bill Stevens of Pierre, South Dakota, was elected to the board in 2006 and reelected in 2009. President of the Encounters on the Prairie/Central South Dakota Chapter, Bill has eighteen years experience in state government, including Executive Fiscal Aide to three South Dakota governors and a Legislative Fiscal Analyst to the South Dakota Joint Appropriations Committee. He owns Stevens Video and annually guides a Lewis and Clark cruise on the Missouri for eight hundred students.

Elita Tom (as Sacagawea) and Larry McClure. Elita's travel was funded by LCTHF members and friends in Oregon and Washington.

Annual Meeting: Rendezvous with the Clark Clan in Clarksville, Indiana

The 44th Annual Meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation was in Clarksville, Indiana, near the Falls of the Ohio. The event was hosted by the Ohio River Chapter.

The Falls of the Ohio River is where Lewis and Clark joined forces before setting off on their expedition to find a practical water route to the Pacific Ocean on October 26, 1803. The co-captains returned to the Falls of the Ohio November 5, 1806, before parting company and traveling by separate routes to report to President Thomas Jefferson on the findings of their historic expedition.

On top of a LCTHF Board meeting, business meeting, and plenary session regarding trail stewardship grants, there were talks on topics ranging from George Rogers Clark to Jefferson's Moose, from the Shawnee Indians to the Fabulous Floyds. Then there were the field trips: the sun-drenched (complete with bourbon stingers and a drum and fife corps) reception and tour at Jonathan Clark's home at Trough Spring. We crowded the picnic tables to feast on delicious barbeque (how many helpings did you have?) at Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Park, where re-enactors discussed the George Rogers Clark cabin, just downstream from the Falls of the Ohio. And at the George Rogers Clark National Historic Park. The final field trip was to Locust Grove, located in east Louisville, the home of William Clark's sister Lucy, where captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark dined with the likes of the Audubons in the lush dining room and George Rogers Clark (represented by a re-enactor) spent his final days. At the evening banquet, we gathered for more delicious food and drinks from local distilleries, and bid on items ranging from books to paintings and listened as the 2012 Foundation awards were presented. Outgoing LCTHF President Jay Buckley gave a fascinating talk on William Clark and the crowd welcomed incoming President Dan Sturdevant.
Clockwise from top row:
Barbeque at Fort Knox.
A re-enactor discusses the history of Fort Knox II, built in 1803
George Rogers Clark National Historic Park
The living room of Jonathan Clark’s Trough Spring home
Bighorn sheep horn on display in the dining room of Jonathon Clark’s Trough Spring home.
Christmas Eve 1805 was a night like no other. The weather was cool and rainy, with showers of hail. But the Christmas day dawned rainy and cool at Fort Clatsop. Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were awakened at daybreak by the discharge of the fire arms of all our party & a Selute, Shoute and a Song which the whole party joined in under our windows, after which they retired to their rooms were Cheerfull all the morning—"1"

What was the “Selute” that awakened the two captains on Christmas morning? Sergeant Patrick Gass wrote the corps paraded, then fired a round of small arms to wish “the Commanding Officers a merry Christmas.”2 According to Private Joseph Whitehouse, the men’s “Selute” at daybreak was the firing of their guns, a traditional way “in honor to the day.”

The “Shoute” may have been, as Gass described it, a loud and hearty “Merry Christmas!” A shout was also an old Southern tradition—if you surprised a friend with a shout of “Christmas Gift!” first, that person then owed you a gift. Certainly, there was an exchange of gifts that day. According to Patrick Gass, “Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke collected what tobacco remained, and divided it amongst those who used tobacco, as Christmas-gift; to the others they gave handkerchiefs in lieu of it.” Only Captain Clark recorded the gifts he received—“Fleeche Hoserey vest draws & Socks” from his good friend Meriwether Lewis, a pair of moccasins from Whitehouse, and a small Indian basket from Private Silas Goodrich. From Sacagawea, he received two dozen white weasel, or ermine, tails, such as those used to make the elegant tippet her brother had given Lewis in August. Sometime during the week, visiting Chinookan-speaking people had brought a welcome gift of “black roots.”3

The Corps may have sung one of a number of Christmas carols, many of which we would recognize today. Carols such as “Deck the Halls,” “God Rest Ye Merry, Gentlemen,” “Hark the Herald Angels Sing,” “O Come All Ye Faithful,” and “The First Nowell” date back, at least in words, to the sixteenth century. We would recognize the words, but not the music. Over the centuries, the music of many Christmas songs has changed. “God Rest Ye Merry, Gentlemen,” for example, was a popular eighteenth-century Christmas song, but the tune we sing today was not written until the mid-nineteenth century.

Christmas dinner, Clark noted, was the least remarkable part of the day. In contrast to their Christmas 1804 at Fort Mandan, where the Mandans brought them a kettle of “boild Simmins, beens, Corn & Choke Chearis with the Stones which was paletable,” the Yuletide meal at Fort Clatsop consisted of “pore Elk boiled, Spilt [spoiled] fish & some roots. It was, Clark concluded, a “bad Christmass diner.”

The corps was most grateful for two gifts that day: their new home, Fort Clatsop, and their good health. John Ordway wrote, “we have no ardent Spirits but are all in good health which we esteem more than all the ardent Spirits in the world.” Whitehouse wrote, “We all moved into our new Garrison or Fort, which our Officers named after a nation of Indians who resided near us, called the Clatsop Nation; Fort Clatsop.” The two men noted that despite the damp weather, the steady diet of “pore Elk meat and no Salt” and fresh water, and the labor of constructing their winter quarters, the party was “mostly in good health,” adding that good health was a “blessing, which we esteem more, than all the luxuries this life can afford.”4

May your own winter holidays be like those of the Corps of Discovery’s “filled with fair Starr light,” close to your friends, “comfortable” in your homes, and filled with the blessings of “good health.”

Historian Barb Kubik of Vancouver, Washington, is a longtime LCTF member and serves on the board of directors.

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Notes
4Moulton, 6:137.
5Ibid.
6Moulton, 11:407.
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