We Proceeded On

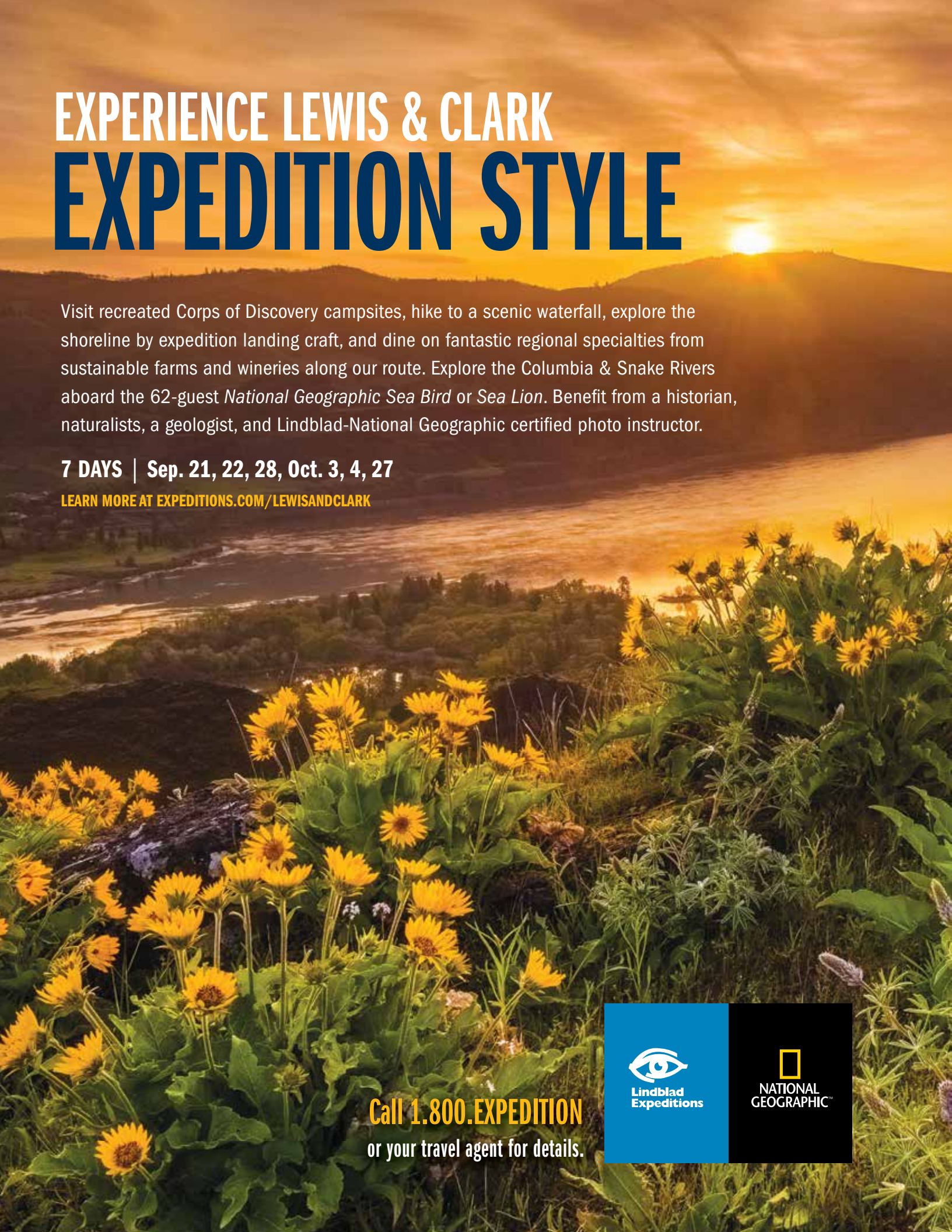
Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation February 2015 Volume 41, No. 1

The Intimate Journey of Lewis and Clark

The Threat on Kaw Point

Mrs. Johnson and the Student Corps of Discovery

Meriwether Lewis and William Bartram



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Contents

"Low Light at the Three Forks," by Charles Fritz, p. 7

Middle school Lewis & Clark Snake River field trip, p. 25

Bartram home and gardens, p. 28

On the cover: "The Wishram Land at Sunrise," by Charles Fritz

We Proceeded On welcomes submissions of articles, proposals, inquiries, and letters. Writer's guidelines are available by request and can be found on our website (www.lewisandclark.org). Submissions may be sent to Robert Clark, WSU Press, P.O. Box 645910, Pullman, WA 99164-5910, or by email to robert.clark@wsu.edu.

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Founder, We Proceeded On
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Our mission:
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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A Message from the President

As I began writing this message, the phrase "may you live in interesting times" popped into my head, most likely because the nation's midterm election has just passed. But the phrase might also have been stimulated by the fact that I have just returned from the annual National Historic Trails Conference convened by the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) (www.pnts.org) in Salt Lake City, Utah. Although the phrase is thought to be a Chinese curse, I think it can be interpreted as a call to make sense out of confusing times; to look past obvious barriers to see opportunity.

The National Historic Trail System faces many challenges in the current political climate. Funding sources and the way work is accomplished are changing, prompting the trails community to ask where we should turn our attention and what our priorities should be in order to pass these treasures on to future generations? The PNTS Conference was attended by agencies that administer National Historic Trails and their partner associations, like us. Since I attended my first PNTS conference, I have seen a significant evolution and maturation of thought about what it means to be associated with a National Historic Trail. How can we help agencies carry out their responsibility to manage the trails while achieving our respective organizational missions? Early work focused on how to find, mark, and interpret the trails. Today's discussions have turned to protection of the most important places on our trails from negative and often irreversible impacts created by non-conforming actions within the viewsheds of historic sites on the trail, most notably by energy development. There has been a significant increase in the number of wind turbines, oil pads, roads, pipelines, transmission lines, mines, and other developments on or very near many National Historic Trails. Projects are being developed in many previously untouched places where, up to now, we have enjoyed retracing historic events, following historical footsteps, imagining what the explorers and pioneers saw and experienced without many noticeable modern intrusions. Opportunity to provide public comment on these projects is generating much conversation about the exact location and definition of "the trail." Is it just the mark on the ground where people traveled, or the center of the river? Or does it include the landmarks referenced in journals, letters, and diaries; the plants and animals observed, collected, and recorded, or that sustained life for the travelers? Does it include everything you can see from significant historic locations?

It is clear that the trails community has reached a common understanding that The National Trails System Act defines trails as more than just the trace on the ground. It also includes the setting traversed by the travelers. As a teaching tool, it is much more powerful and instructive if one can actually experience history in the same setting where it took place. That is, after all, one of the primary reasons the trails were congressionally designated in the first place: to provide public recreational opportunities in places where significant historic events took place. We learn through these opportunistic experiences.

Of course not all places along the thousands of miles of trail are equally important, and not all places can realistically or practically be preserved. But the increasing number of threats to significant places on the trails has highlighted the urgency to complete the job directed by The National Trails System Act to identify the trail corridors on the ground and to make every effort to make these important places visible and known to the public.

I am proud to see all the effort exerted by dedicated members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation to do just that. The recent regional meeting in Kingston, Tennessee, highlighted efforts to place interpretive signs at Fort Southwest Point, where no Lewis and Clark interpretation had existed before. The "Go Adventuring" marketing project (formerly "Lewis and Clark Country") has been very well received by the tourism divisions in the "Mid-Mo" states, the Dakotas, and Montana. Efforts

are afoot to continue developing "circle tours" for the rest of the trail as a way to bring new audiences to the story. Active members are supporting several films that are in the works; new recreational access is being developed on the Jefferson River by the Jefferson River Canoe Chapter; members are providing public comment on how the Lolo Trail is discussed (or not) in the proposed Forest Plan for the Nez-Clearwater National Forests and on proposed transmission lines in the Columbia River Gorge. Many chapters continue to host or support educational events for students that enable them to experience history all along the trail. Most impressive of all, our past issues of *We Proceeded On* have been converted into word–searchable documents on the web, making all the wonderful articles published over the years available to the world by a click of the mouse or touch of a finger. All of these efforts make me truly proud of our members. Thank you for helping make Lewis and Clark history and the trail more visible to more people, which will perpetuate it into the future.

These discussions about current events on our National Historic Trails have me thinking about our organization's "50th Anniversary" and what we may want to do to commemorate it. What lessons can we learn by comparing 50 years ago to today? Will that help us answer the obvious question about where we want to be 50 years from now? In the process of thinking about it, we have uncovered that we actually have three 50th dates to consider: when the 50th volume of *We Proceeded On* will be published (February 2024); when we have our 50th Meeting (August 2018); and when we were established as an official stand–alone organization (June 27, 2020). Although no decisions have been made yet, conversations about what we could do to commemorate this great organization have begun. Ideas have already floated out, such as printing a commemorative edition of *We Proceeded On*, which seems like a logical and doable project. A special conference in St. Louis or St. Charles has been mentioned and has merit since the history of our organization is indelibly tied to the great state of Missouri. We are establishing a 50th Anniversary Committee to work on developing a plan that we can get our shoulders behind. Of course the committee and I need your input and seek any and all ideas. Our foundation needs your help not only in the form of your active participation, but also in your ongoing financial support, for which our staff and I are always grateful. One specific thing you could do would be to help us recruit chapter members to be members of our national organization. It is a bit confusing to many people that when you join a chapter, you are not automatically joining the national Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. But that is the system we have. To help us build our capacity to do more nationally, we need all chapter members to join national. If you are reading this message, then I know you are already a member of national. If each of you would bring in just one more chapter member into national, we would double our membership overnight. Let's make that one of our goals for our 50th anniversaries: to double the number of people who join us in being "Keepers of the Story and Stewards of the Trail."

My Friend and Companion

The Intimate Journey of Lewis and Clark

By William Benemann

PART ONE

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark shared a deep and significant bond, one that had major ramifications for their contribution to American history. Their ability to work as one, and to stand in for one another when the occasion required, was an important factor in the success of their mission, and most historical studies of the co-captains of the Corps of Discovery, however brief, single out this particular aspect of their story. But what was the nature of that bond? In both academic and popular realms, issues of gender and sexuality are beginning to be more widely explored, so it is understandable the Lewis-Clark pairing might evoke similar inquiries about its intimate dynamics. With so many other aspects of the Lewis and Clark story having been examined in minute detail, from the medicines they prescribed to the food they ate, it is perhaps time to explore this particular question in more depth, to lay out the evidence as it is now known, and to suggest some preliminary conclusions, with the caveat that much more needs to be uncovered before the issue can be fully understood. Though controversial, the question warrants discussion and analysis.

The idea that issues of gender and sexuality might have a significant impact on historical events is hardly new. Whole libraries have been written about Henry VIII's libido and its impact on English history and on the realpolitik of sixteenth-century Europe, yet until recently historians have been reluctant to cross the heterosexual barrier, to explore whether minority sexual orientations may have played an equally important role in the lives of familiar historical figures. Lewis and Clark's relationship certainly invites this type of inquiry, given the importance of the bond they forged as co-captains of the Corps of Discovery, and given the number of puzzling and unresolved mysteries surrounding that epic journey, most notably the circumstances surrounding Lewis's untimely death. Their relationship is central to their story. So intimately are the two men linked in the popular imagination that they have no independent identity. Clark lived on for thirty-two years after completion of this journey to the Pacific, serving as Superintendent of Indian Affairs and as governor of the Missouri Territory under every president from James Monroe to Martin Van Buren, and yet any mention of a post-expedition William Clark inevitably requires the designation "of Lewis and Clark fame" or the average reader will not make the connection. These two men have been paired in a conjoining that is unique in American history. Certainly the nature of that coupling deserves careful analysis.

Speculation is fueled because so very little is known about their sexual histories before and during the expedition. Clark always insisted, publicly and privately, that unlike his men, he and Lewis did not avail themselves of the Native American women offered to them. Historians have been unable to prove the contrary. James P. Ronda, in his definitive *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians,* discusses in some detail sexual contact between the Corps and the tribes they encountered. Of Clark he notes only that among the Nez

Perces in subsequent years there was a biracial man that the tribe claimed was the son of the famous William Clark. Ronda concludes, "Whether this particular man was indeed Clark's son or the child of another white explorer is beyond the power of existing historical evidence either to verify or deny."[1]

Landon Y. Jones quotes from an 1890 interview with an elderly Salish woman who remembered that eighty-five years earlier when the Corps of Discovery visited her village, William Clark "took unto himself" a member of her tribe, by whom he had a son named Peter Clarke.[2] Jay Buckley notes the oral tradition among the Nez Perces that Clark fathered a child with a woman from their tribe, but cautions that some other member of the Corps—or even a later white visitor—might well have been the father, adding the cogent observation that "offspring resulting from relations with other expedition members or explorers would have gained prestige if they could claim [instead] parentage from the red-headed chief in St. Louis."[3] (Buckley's comment would provide a good rationale for why Clark is usually named as the putative father, and not Lewis. As far as Native Americans were concerned, Meriwether Lewis slipped into obscurity after his visit to their territory, while William Clark remained as the prestigious Superintendent of Indian Affairs until 1838.)

Soon after returning from the expedition, Clark married Julia Hancock on January 5, 1808 (frequently described as the fiancée who waited patiently for him, even though she was only twelve years old when he set out for the Pacific Coast), and upon her death he married Harriet Kennerly Radford.

Lewis, on the other hand, never married. Jane Randol Jackson has suggested that before the departure of the expedition Meriwether Lewis impregnated the daughter of the Indian agent at Cape Girardeau, Louis Lorimier.[4] On November 23, 1803, Lewis spent a pleasant evening at the Lorimier home, where he met their daughter. While he refers to the unnamed young woman as "the most descent looking feemale I have seen since I left the settlement in Kentuckey," there appears to have been very little of a courting nature going on. Madame Lorimier "presided, and with much circumspection performed the honours of the table: supper being over which was really a comfortable and desent one I bid the family an afectionate adieeu."[5]

Jackson theorizes that the Lorimiers might later have traveled to St. Louis in order to bid farewell to their relative George Drouillard, but there is no evidence that the family ever made such a visit. Busy with the final details of the journey, Lewis—even if inclined to do so—would have had little opportunity to seduce the daughter of a respectable, decent, and circumspect family. When Lewis departed the city on May 20 he listed in his journal the local citizens who came to see him off, but said nothing of the Lorimiers. Marie Louise Lorimier *did* bear a son out of wedlock during the period of the Corps of Discovery, but it appears to be merely a cherished family tradition that the unnamed father was Meriwether Lewis. The Lorimiers never made claims on Lewis to provide financial support for his alleged offspring, even though Lewis resided in St. Louis until the time of his death and would have been readily available.

In a well-balanced exploration of the topic, Harry F. Thompson has explored the case of a Yankton Sioux man named Joseph DeSomet Lewis who claimed that Meriwether Lewis was his father, having impregnated his mother during the Corps of Discovery's visit to the Yankton Sioux village. Thompson concludes that there is simply not enough evidence to prove the man's claim, and suggests that only exhuming Meriwether Lewis's body for a DNA test could prove parenthood.[6]

So strong is the presumption of heterosexuality where American national heroes are concerned that historians have been baffled to explain Lewis's prolonged bachelorhood. Donald Jackson writes, "Lewis's search for a wife was dogged and inexplicably futile."[7] Howard I. Kushner is equally puzzled: "As a young man, Lewis was constantly in search of the ideal woman, falling in and out of love quickly and often. In each instance *he discovered a reason or created a situation that made impossible the continuation or culmination of the romantic relationship*."[8] [Emphasis added.] "There could be many reasons why Lewis did not marry," Rochonne Abrams suggests. "In that day there was a shortage of women, but one doubts if that would have affected so eligible a bachelor — he had family, wealth, position."[9] Stephen Ambrose speculates about Lewis's sexual conduct, but then decides that the nature of the explorer's intimate relations with women "is almost unknown, and unknowable."[10] John Bakeless, no doubt unwit-

CHARLES FRITZ STUDIO

"Low Light at the Three Forks —July 28, 1805," by Charles Fritz.

tingly, perhaps comes closest to uncovering the reason for Lewis's lifelong bachelorhood: "The truth is that Meriwether Lewis was no ladies' man, and—moody, solitary fellow that he was, more in love with wilderness adventure than with anything else—would probably have made a very bad husband for any of the conventionally elegant young ladies of his class and period."[11]

Moody and solitary Lewis certainly was. When he moved into the unfinished President's House (now called the White House) to assume the position of personal secretary to Thomas Jefferson, he declined to take one of the many bedrooms on the second floor, but installed himself instead in the East Room, where he could maintain his privacy. Lewis and the president lived alone in the huge mansion "like two mice in a church," as Jefferson described it.[12] In offering Lewis the position of personal secretary, Jefferson had invited him to become part of the president's "family," but Lewis (who had lost his father at an early age and who carried on a life-long struggle to separate himself from his domineering mother) had decidedly mixed feelings about families, and preferred to keep his distance.

As his months in the President's House passed, Lewis became ever more withdrawn and secretive. He was subject to black spells of clinical depression that he could not shake. "While he lived with me in Washington," Jefferson later wrote, "I observed at times sensible depressions of mind."[13] Jefferson attributed them to

heredity, and particularly singled out Lewis's father as a possible source of the instability. This is the sole surviving reference to William Lewis's mental health, but as a neighbor in Albemarle County, Jefferson would have been in a position to observe the elder Lewis's behavior closely and to hear speculative reports from many of the man's associates. Meriwether Lewis's depressions concerned Jefferson, but they did not alarm him. "I estimated their course by what I had seen in the family," he wrote. What Jefferson may have seen in William Lewis was that vigorous physical activity and mental challenges drew him back to an active engagement with the outside world. Early on in his planning Jefferson had considered Meriwether Lewis as a possible leader for the Corps of Discovery, but perhaps by 1803 he also saw the expedition as a way of drawing Lewis out of his spiraling depressions. The journey of exploration would at the very least get Lewis out of Washington, a place that had afforded him little happiness.

When Lewis's new assignment was announced, a rumor began to buzz around the Capital that Jefferson was exiling Lewis to the wilderness because of some grave misconduct that had been uncovered. The president, in explaining to Lewis Harvie why he had delayed offering Harvie the newly-vacant position of personal secretary, wrote that he was reluctant to show haste in replacing Meriwether because he wanted "to counteract…a malignant & unfounded report that I was parting with him from dissatisfaction, a thing impossible either from his conduct or my dispositions towards him."[14] Jefferson declined to specify what the malignant rumor was, but he was concerned enough about public perception to delay the appointment until Lewis was well-started on his new assignment.

Once confirmed as leader of the Corps of Discovery, Meriwether Lewis wrote to William Clark offering him a co-captaincy, a letter that has been called "one of the most famous invitations to greatness the nation's archives can provide."[15] The warm offer and its eager acceptance reveal an intense mutual regard, and yet little is known about the basis for their intimacy. Historians are able to document only six months of friendship prior to the expedition, a brief period in 1795-96 during which Clark was Lewis's superior officer when they both served under "Mad" Anthony Wayne. Despite their very brief acquaintance, the two men had quickly developed a close, affectionate, and lasting rapport.

Biographer Stephen Ambrose was at a loss when pressed by a curious reader to explain the unusually rapid bonding between the two young men (one of whom was a reclusive, moody loner): "Study the letters that they exchange, after having not been in contact so far as we know for almost a decade, and then Lewis writes out of the blue to Clark and makes this extraordinary offer to join him on one of the great explorations of all time as a co-commander, and read between the lines and read Clark's reply. . . . Now how did that happen in a six month period together? I don't know, of course, I tried desperately to find even one anecdote and couldn't."[16] In his biography of Meriwether Lewis, Ambrose addresses this puzzlement but is unable to find a satisfactory answer. "How this closeness came about cannot be known in any detail," he writes, "but that it clearly was there long before the expedition cannot be doubted."[17]

This closeness led Lewis to insist that Clark be appointed as co-captain of the Corps of Discovery, and when the Secretary of War summarily refused to allow such an unorthodox command structure, Lewis decided to lie to the enlisted men and to present Clark as his exact equal in rank. Lewis's fight to establish a co-captaincy goes to the heart of an issue that dominated the later years of his life. Lewis was obsessed—the term is not overstated—with defining his relationship to Clark. In a society that held back from discussing male-male intimacy, there was no way of labeling this *thing* that had so intensely developed between them during the brief six months they had served together. His relationship with Clark was the culmination for Lewis of years of isolation, yearning, and frustration. So important was this intense friendship that he felt a deep need to give it a name and a context—and to have the world in some way acknowledge its validity. This drive for definition and affirmation motivated Lewis for the rest of his life, and it provides an answer to one of the enduring mysteries surrounding the Corps of Discovery.

The expedition undertaken by Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery was first and foremost a scientific one. Certainly, Jefferson wanted to enhance America's hold on the newly-purchased Louisiana Ter-

ritory, and he was particularly interested in learning if it would be commercially feasible to navigate up the Missouri and down the Columbia, but his interests also included the zoological, botanical, astronomical, and ethnographic. While the act of reaching the Pacific Coast overland would be important politically and psychologically for the nation, the information gathered along the way was equally important to the president. For this reason, Jefferson placed a primary emphasis on journal-keeping, going so far as to describe the expedition (only slightly disingenuously) as "purely literary."

Lewis, Clark, and as many of the men as were willing and able, were to keep detailed journals describing their experiences, and those journals were to be copied and recopied along the way. "Your observations are to be taken with great pains & accuracy," Jefferson instructed him, "to be entered distinctly & intelligibly for others as well as yourself… Several copies of these as well as of your other notes should be made at leisure times, & put into the care of the most trust-worthy of your attendants, to guard, by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed."[18] Given this direct order from the Commander in Chief, historians have been puzzled that Meriwether Lewis apparently kept *no* daily journal for the first segment of the journey (from St. Charles to the Mandan Villages), a silence of nearly eleven months. "That gap is particularly bewildering," writes Gary Moulton, most recent editor of the expedition records, "because we would expect Lewis to be more conscientious at the outset of the expedition, especially in light of Jefferson's explicit instructions about the keeping of multiple journals."[19]

Several theories have been advanced to explain the absence: that Lewis routinely delegated the task of journal-keeping to Clark for the first leg of the journey, or that Lewis experienced a long bout of depression that made writing impossible, or that Lewis kept a journal that was damaged or lost along the way, or that the journal was misplaced *after* the expedition returned. Moulton suggests that the gap might be part of "a larger pattern of negligence," noting that there are other long stretches for which we have no entries from Lewis. Stephen Ambrose disagrees: "I am convinced that there once existed—and still may—an important body of Lewis journal entries." But he concludes finally, "There is no explanation for the gaps."[20]

And so the puzzlement has continued over the decades with theories of loss, negligence, and disobedience of direct orders endlessly debated but never resolved. There is one explanation, however, which apparently has never been considered. Might it be that Lewis's first journal was purposely, but secretly, destroyed? This explanation answers both those who insist that Lewis *must* have kept a journal, and those who point out that there is no contemporary reference to a lost volume. The reasons for its destruction were of such a sensitive nature that it was necessary for the captains to remain silent about the act, and to obscure all evidence that the journal (or journals) ever existed—something the captains did with such success that historians are still debating what exactly happened.

What could have motivated them to destroy a part of the official expedition record? I would argue that the answer lies in Meriwether Lewis's passionate attachment to William Clark. Perhaps Lewis was so infatuated with Clark, so amazed at the turn of events that had resulted in this intimate partnership, that he found it difficult to be discreet in his journal entries. The journals were never meant for unedited publication, and their contents would not be seen by the public without major revision, so Lewis may have felt there was little need for self-censorship. The journal entries need not have been (and most likely *would not* have been) explicitly sexual, but cumulatively they may have revealed more about the nature of Lewis and Clark's emotional attachment than Clark felt comfortable acknowledging.

Once installed in the winter camp at Fort Mandan, Clark would have been at leisure to read over Lewis's journal entries and he may then have told Lewis of his discomfort. Lewis may have agreed to make a fair copy of his journal which eliminated the offending passages, but then have been unable to complete the transcription. Perhaps the entire volume was at that point consigned to the flames, and the decision was made to rely on Clark's journal (and those of the enlisted men) as a record of the first leg of the expedition.

Granted, such an act of deliberate destruction would be extreme—almost treasonous—but the gap in coverage does in fact exist, and all *other* explanations for that gap put forth over the last two hundred years have proved to be in some way unsatisfactory. *Fully cognizant that I have sketched here a tenuous chain of*

suppositions, I would assert that there is a considerable body of circumstantial evidence that points to a secret agreement between the two men to cover up the details of their relationship.

First it should be noted that the destruction of Lewis's early journal entries would not mean a significant loss of information. The route from St. Louis to the Mandan Villages was well-traveled and well-documented. The Corps encountered several fur traders along the way who were able to fill them in on the terrain, the Indian tribes and the history of the surrounding lands. Lewis's primary contribution to scientific knowledge was the careful recording of distances and latitudes, and some detailed notes about weather, flora and fauna. These were maintained in separate volumes (now known as Codices O, R and Q) and were preserved. Much of Lewis's daily journal entries would merely repeat what Clark or the other men said in their journals (and since Clark was at this point keeping preliminary field notes which he would then transcribe into his official journal a day or so later, his information was already being recorded in duplicate). While Lewis's journal was important enough to merit some mention if it had been accidentally lost, it would not have been a totally unconscionable act to destroy the volume if it proved too compromising. Little unique scientific information would have been sacrificed, and much benefit would have been gained by healing what was possibly a significant rift between the two men.

There is archival evidence to support my conjecture. William Clark wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson to accompany the scientific data sent back from Fort Mandan. Since the intention had always been to send Lewis's journal to Jefferson at this point in the journey, some explanation was required for sending Clark's instead. A draft of the letter survives in unmistakable handwriting, and demonstrates that Lewis was hovering nearby, making sure that the proper spin was placed on the awkward circumstance.

Clark began by writing, "As Capt. Lewis has not Leasure to Send," he then changed it to read, "As Capt. Lewis has not Leasure to write a correct Coppy journal of our proceedings &c." Here Lewis stepped in, took the pen from Clark's hand, crossed out the opening phrase and substituted, "It being the wish of Capt. Lewis I take the liberty." The substitution removed the only indication that Lewis had once planned to make a corrected copy of his journal to send back to the president—and indicates that such a journal *did* once exist. Clark then continued, "by the request of Captain Lewis to send you." This also was crossed out, and Clark wrote, "to send you for your own perusal, the notes which I have taken in the form of a journal in their original state. You will readily perceive in reading over those notes, that many parts are incorrect,"—Clark here wrote "principally" and then struck it out—"owing to the variety information recived at different times," and Clark stopped, perhaps mortified by the idea that the erudite Jefferson would be reading his poor grammar and worse spelling.

Lewis took over the pen from him in mid-sentence and continued writing as though he were Clark himself, "I most sincerely wish that leasure had permited me to offer them in a more correct form. Receive I pray you my unfained acknoledgements for your friendly recollection of me in your letters to my friend and companion Capt. Lewis, and be assured of the sincere regard with which I have the honor to be Your most Obt. & Humble Servt."[21] The alternations in handwriting may reveal a contretemps between the two men, with Clark uncomfortable about lying to the president, and Lewis eager to show him that it was possible to mask the facts while still telling the literal truth.

What might have been the nature of the journal entries that the men chose to hide? Though most of the record keeping in the surviving journals is routine and didactic, there are also interspersed comments and vignettes that are of a very different tone. In an unexpurgated passage that somehow survived subsequent censorship, Lewis at one point provides a graphic allusion to homosexual activity. His jocular description of interpreter Toussaint Charbonneau's creation of boudin sausage out of a buffalo's intestine presents a homoerotic scene that is jarringly out of place in the otherwise staid narrative.

Lewis describes the burly Charbonneau manipulating the long suety tube of buffalo intestine: "About 6 feet of the lower extremity of the large gut of the Buffaloe is the first mosel that the cook makes loves to, this he holds fast at one end and with the right hand, while with the forefinger and thumb of the left he gently

compresses it, and discharges what he says *is not good to eat*…" Charbonneau next kneads together a mixture of ground muscle, meat, and kidney suet seasoned with pepper and salt. "[T]hus far advanced, our skillfull opporater C—o seizes his recepticle…and tying it fast at one end turns it inwards and begins now with repeated evolutions of the hand and arm, and a brisk motion of the finger and thumb to put in what he says is *bon pour manger*; thus by stuffing and compressing he soon distends the recepticle to the utmost limmits of it's power of expansion."[22] The unmistakable allusion to mutual masturbation (a man stroking and more specifically "making love to" a distended sausage) is so explicit and so detailed in its imagery that it may provide an example of the type of revelatory writing that may have discomfited Clark and led to the destruction of the first volume.

Lewis's earliest surviving journal entries are filled with ribald descriptions of animal sexuality and mating habits that read almost like temporary flights of mania, surprising eruptions in an otherwise sober scientific journal. But from the point where the expedition reaches the Rockies, Lewis seems to have experienced a spiritual deepening and an emotional maturing. Gone are the flippant sexual allusions, replaced by long philosophical passages of great lyric beauty. But also for the first time we begin to find darker notes here and there in Lewis's journal, the first hints that his chronic depression was beginning to reassert itself. His journal entry for August 26, 1805, breaks off in mid-sentence, with no succeeding pages. Scattered entries have survived only as loose sheets, and nothing is known about the fate of the rest of this journal.

Not until 1 January 1806, four months later, do Lewis's journal entries again appear with regularity. When they begin again Lewis acknowledges the arrival of the New Year, but says nothing about a resolution to become a better journal-keeper. Indeed there is no reference of any kind to his having missed an entire *four months*' worth of entries. His silence on the matter as well as the existence of a few random sheets of loose pages are strongly suggestive that another of the journals had been destroyed—perhaps for the same reason as the first.

William Clark's feelings are more difficult to trace through the journals than those of Lewis's, since Clark tended to be less introspective, and perhaps less candid, when he picked up his pen. But at the same time he was prone to doodle and to jot random words in his journals, and these provide tantalizing hints of what was going on in his mind. At Camp Dubois (before heading out on the expedition) he copied into his journal an entire paragraph verbatim from a reference source that Moulton's editorial staff at the University of Nebraska Press were unable to identify, but which should be cited as *A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*.[23] The entry Clark copied describes the workings of the senses. His reasons for choosing that particular definition are obscure, but it appears that he was looking up words at random rather than reading the dictionary from beginning to end, as "senses" is defined on page 2919 of the fourth volume of the set. Aware that Meriwether Lewis had the benefit of a better basic education, and knowing that Jefferson had in addition sent Lewis to Philadelphia for a crash course in applied science, perhaps William Clark was hoping to catch up by browsing in one of the few reference books at hand.

We know that Clark was researching one particular topic in this science text: human sexuality. On the same page of his journal on which he copied out the definition of the word "senses" he also jotted down the single word "Puberty" (it appears upside down at the top of the page).[24] The *Dictionary*'s definition of puberty would be of particular interest to any man about to head into a wilderness in which white women would be few, and male-male sexuality would be a constant opportunity:

> PUBERTY, *pubertas*, among civilians &c. the age wherein a person is capable of procreation, or begetting children. Boys arrive at puberty at fourteen, and girls at twelve: eighteen years of age is accounted full puberty. The natural state of mankind, after puberty, says M. Buffon, is that of marriage, wherein they may make use of the new faculties they have obtained, by arriving at puberty; a state which will become painful, and may even sometimes be fatal, if celibacy be obstinately persisted in. The too long continuance of the seminal liquor in the vessels, formed to contain it, may produce disorders in either sex, or at least irritations so violent, that the united force of reason and religion will scarcely be sufficient to enable him to resist those impetuous passions, which render man like the beasts, who are furi-

ous and head-strong, when they feel the force of these impressions.[25]

If William Clark accepted what he read in this dictionary, he would believe that abstinence is unnatural, that celibacy is dangerous to a man's health (even "fatal"), and can provoke a violent reaction that cannot be controlled by either the powers of higher reason or religious scruples. Thus, excused by science for ungovernable passions triggered by a retention of seminal fluid, a man who would (naturally) prefer heterosexual relations might assume he had a special dispensation if no woman was available. The definition goes on to paint a dreary picture of what awaits a libidinous man in his marriage bed. "An opposite constitution of body is infinitely more common amongst women; the greatest part of them are naturally cold, or more or less tranquil under this passion…"[26]

The scattered jottings and doodles in Clark's journal continued throughout the journey. At Fort Clatsop on the Pacific Coast, in what appears to be almost a type of literary Tourette Syndrome, Clark scrawled the random words "Prostitution Carnally Sensuality Lustful Sensual" across one of the pages.[27] What did this sexual litany mean to him? "The exact purpose is unclear," writes Moulton, "but Clark was presumably thinking about the behavior of the Chinook and Clatsop women and the men of the party."[28] Clark certainly held a negative view of his men's sexual activity but he usually referred to it with wry humor, as something regrettable though unavoidable. The presence of the bawdy list in his official journal is odd and intriguing.

The deepening emotional connection between Lewis and Clark may be traced in a very objective, even quantifiable way by noting how they refer to one another in their respective journals. In one of the early journal entries before the commencement of the expedition Lewis writes, "[W]e made soome soup for my friend Capt. Clark who has been much indisposed since the 16th inst."[29] Here the designation of "my friend" might be expected, both from a literary standpoint (he is in a sense introducing Clark to the journal's reader) and from an emotional one (his friend is sick and he is worried about him). In succeeding references—and there are several hundred, in the weather diary, the natural history logs, and in his surviving journals—he almost always refers to his partner simply as "Capt. Clark" or "Capt. C." (just as Clark refers to him as "Capt. Lewis," "Capt. L," "Capt Lew" and even "C.L." in his own journals). During the second summer of the trip, however, Clark was once again ill, and Lewis wrote in his journal, "My friend Capt. Clark was very sick all last night but feels himself somwhat better this morning since his medicine has opperated." Again, concern for Clark's health drew them close.

For the next six months Clark is only "Capt Clark" or "Capt C" in the journal, but during their stay at Fort Clatsop and on the return journey eastward, Lewis uses the possessive designation "my friend" with greater and greater frequency. In describing their efforts to make salt from sea water, Lewis notes, "my friend Capt. Clark declares it to be a mear matter of indifference with him whether he uses [salt] or not." The responsibility for directing the canoes around a stretch of rapids "was by mutual consent confided to my friend Capt. C.…" The Indians they encounter "never ceased to extol the virtues of our medecines and the skill of my friend Capt C. as a phisician." A river which the captains had named the Flathead River on their way westward was renamed Clark's River as they passed it on the return journey. "I have thus named it in honour of my worthy friend and fellow traveller Capt. Clark." When they gather in council with a group of Indians "the Chief met my friend Capt. C. who was in front…"[30] It is as though with every step closer to home Lewis felt a growing need to reassert his bond with Clark.

In early July 1806 the party split up to explore separate routes, agreeing to reassemble at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Lewis and Clark would separate for the longest period since their journey began. "I took leave of my worthy friend and companion Capt. Clark and the party that accompanyed him," Lewis wrote in his journal. "I could not avoid feeling much concerned on this occasion although I hoped this seperation was only momentary."[31] On August 11, while hunting on the banks of the river, Lewis was accidentally shot by Pierre Cruzatte, one of the French *engagés*. The bullet entered Lewis's left upper thigh or buttock and exited, scraping a deep gash. The wound was not life-threatening, but Lewis found it impossible to continue his journal keeping. "[A]s wrighting in my present situation is extreemly painfull to me I shall desist untill I recover

and leave to my frind Capt. C. the continuation of our journal."[32]

Here, more than two years into the expedition and after literally hundreds of journal entries, Lewis is *still* explaining who Clark is. But explaining to whom, and for what purpose? The journals would be read by only a few people in preparation for publication, so the insistent designation of "my friend" would appear to be completely superfluous. I would argue that for Lewis the identification of Clark as his "friend and companion"—repeated again and again and again in the journals—was an attempt to label their relationship, a dogged effort to assert (if only to himself) the special nature of their connection.

The inevitable question must be asked: was this intense emotional bond expressed sexually, and if it was, did they keep that information from the other men on the expedition? We may never know whether their intimacy included a physical component, but for most of the journey and for the period at Fort Clatsop the two captains shared private sleeping accommodations, and certainly had the opportunity for sexual relations without the knowledge of their men. If Clark's assertions (repeated in private contexts in which he had no reason to dissemble) are true that he and Lewis did not engage in sexual relations with Native American women (though the other men in the Corps very definitely did), we must otherwise assume that Lewis and Clark remained celibate for a period of over two years.

The corps was certainly thrown together for most of the journey, but it would be wrong to assume that the social divide between the officers and the men necessarily broke down in the course of their two-year odyssey. Anyone who has read the Lewis and Clark journals in their entirety needs reminding that there were over thirty men (and one woman and one child) in the party. Only a handful of names appear with any regularity in the journals; the others fade into the background, and it is easy to forget the actual size of the entourage. It is clear that for the captains most of the members of the corps were just "the men," strong bodies to help with the task of transporting the expedition to the Pacific and back. To a perhaps surprising extent Lewis and Clark were able to maintain the customary military separation that discourages fraternization or social intimacy between officers and enlisted men.

A few things *are* documented about sleeping arrangements. At Fort Mandan, and again at Fort Clatsop, Lewis and Clark lived in their own separate hut within the barricades. At least for a brief time while on the trail they shared a tent with their primary hunter, George Drouillard, and with Charbonneau, Sacagawea and their baby son, but at other times the two captains insisted on a tent of their own. Accommodations within the captains' tent were evidently close. At one point Clark complains, "[O]ur Covering was so indefferent that Capt Lewis and my self was wet in our bed all the latter part of the night."[33]

We also know that Lewis and Clark did not always remain in their tent (or "leather lodge") in the evenings, because of an incident that happened on May 29, 1805. Clark describes the confused tumult that occurred that night:

> In the last night we were alarmed by a Buffalow which Swam from the opposit Shore landed opposit the Perogue in which Capt Lewis & my self were in he Crossed the perogue, and went with great force up to the fire where Several men were Sleeping and was 18 inches of their heads, when one man Sitting up allarmed him and he turned his course along the range of men as they lay, passing between 4 fires and within a fiew Inches of Some of the mens heads as they lay imediately in a direction to our lodge about which Several men were lying. our Dog flew out & he changed his course & passed without doeing more damage than bend a rifle & brakeing hir Stock and injureying one of the blunder busts in the perogue as he passed through.[34]

For once Clark is here much more candid than Lewis. In Lewis's version of the events he omits any mention that he and his friend were together in the boat that night, saying only that the buffalo "coming along side of the white perogue, climbed over it to land, he then alarmed ran up the bank in full speed directly towards the fires." He even indicates that he and Clark were *not* in the boat, but were in their tent instead, saying that when the rampaging buffalo "came near the tent, my dog saved us by causing him to change his course a second time, which he did by turning a little to the right."[35]

Sergeant John Ordway's account of the incident does little to clarify who was sleeping where:

> [I]n the course of last night we were alarmed by a Buffalow Swimming across from the opposite Shore & landed opposite the white perogue in which our Captains Stay. he crossed the perogue, & went with great forse up the bank to the fire where the men were Sleeping & was within 18 inches of their heads when one man Setting up alarmed him and he turned his course along the range of men as they lay, passing between 4 fires & within a fiew Inches of Several mens heads, it was Supposed if he had trod on a man it would have killed him dead. the dog flew at him which turned him from running against the lodge, w[h]ere the officers lay.[36]

Because of the ambiguous tense of the verbs "stay" and "lay" (were staying? usually lay?), it is unclear what Ordway is saying about the location of the captains on this evening, but it is clear that Lewis and Clark had a separate tent or lodge assigned to them, and that the majority of the men slept outside around campfires, some of them immediately outside the officers' tent. It is also clear that Lewis and Clark were in the habit of spending a significant amount of time alone together in the white pirogue down by the water after the other men had gone to sleep. What were they doing there? Perhaps only plotting the next day's course. But that explanation does not account for the discrepancy in the two officers' stories. On this dramatic and memorable night, a night whose excitement they individually recorded in their journals soon after the events transpired, Lewis says that they were in danger of being killed in their tent while Clark says that they were in the pirogue down by the river. Clearly, one of the captains is not being truthful about where they were sleeping. It should be noted that the pirogue was a large craft capable of holding six men and a heavy load of supplies. It would certainly be of sufficient size to allow two men to engage quietly in the most common male-male sexual practices of the period: mutual masturbation and frottage.

There is even some evidence that Lewis and Clark were somewhat open about their sexuality with at least one member of the Corps of Discovery. The captains were on very close terms with George Drouillard, who had been hired as an interpreter. Even at the encampment at Camp Dubois (before the actual commencement of the expedition) Clark referred to Drouillard in his journal as "George," a familiarity unique in the thousands of pages of journal keeping over the next two and half years. Drouillard was the son of a French-Canadian father and a Shawnee mother, and his knowledge of Indian sign language proved invaluable. He was also the best hunter in the Corps, and on many occasions his skill alone put food in their stomachs. The captains both had the utmost respect for Drouillard (whose name is mangled as "Drewyer" throughout the journals), and he was accorded special privileges, including (as mentioned above) sharing a tent with them for part of the journey.

On 3 August 1804 Clark scribbled in his field journal a note about an exchange he and Lewis had with George Drouillard: "we had Some rough Convasation G. Dr. — about boys." The other members of the Corps of Discovery are consistently referred to as men, not boys, so the reference here is almost certainly to the younger French *engagés* who accompanied the expedition as far as the Mandan villages. The rough conversation (coarse, vulgar, indelicate language—a meaning traced back by the *Oxford English Dictionary* to 1750) that Lewis and Clark shared with Droulliard was most likely bawdy observations concerning these young men. Clark records the exchange with Droulliard only as a cryptic note in his field guide; when he copied the day's events from the field notebook into the official journal he thought better of it and omitted any mention of the crude conversation. (He did not hesitate, however, to write openly on numerous occasions about the heterosexual antics of his men, or to express his distaste for the uninhibited sexuality of Chinook and Clatsop women.)

In the months immediately after their return to "civilization" Lewis and Clark were drawn into a whirlwind of balls and parades given in their honor. They were also drawn apart. Clark returned to Fincastle, Virginia; Lewis to Albemarle County. At a banquet given in his honor at the Stone Tavern in Charlottesville, Lewis effusively evoked his absent partner, assuring the assembled gentlemen that the success of the mission was "equally due to my dear and interesting friend capt. Clark."[37]

Meanwhile Clark was in Fincastle, courting Julia Hancock. The young girl who had been only twelve years old when they left on the expedition was now of marriageable age. Clark proposed, was accepted, and

wrote jokingly to Lewis as if the courtship had been a calculated military campaign instead of a tender romance. "I have made an attacked most vigorously," he assured his friend, "we have come to terms, and a delivery is to be made first of January… I shall return at that time eagerly to be in possession of what I have never yet experienced."

Meriwether Lewis had evidently hinted that he, too, had someone in mind for marriage. "My F[riend?]," Clark wrote to him, "your choice is one I highly approve, but should the thing not take to your wish I have discovered a most lovly girl Butiful rich possessing those accomplishments which is calculated to make a man hapy—inferior to you—but to few others…"[38] Clark was ready to move on to the next stage of his life, and he hoped Lewis could make the transition also. Just about any woman would serve the purpose.

Lewis visited Philadelphia to begin preparation for the publication of the expedition journal, but after leaving Philadelphia he simply drops off the map. There is no record of where he was or what he did for the next eight months. Stephen Ambrose refers to this as the "lost period" of Lewis's life.

In January 1808 William Clark married Julia Hancock at her father's home in Fincastle, Virginia. It is not known whether Meriwether Lewis was in attendance. Lewis resurfaces in St. Louis the following spring, where he had taken up his duties as Governor of the Louisiana Territory. He wrote eagerly to William Clark to congratulate him on his marriage, and to describe the house he had already rented for the three of them to share. The letter is playful and jocular—almost manic in its enthusiasm. Lewis was over the moon at the prospect of having Clark once again as a daily companion. Yet despite his excitement and his bubbling anticipation, Lewis must on some level have suspected that the *ménage à trois* was doomed to failure. He added a coda to his plan: "[S]hould we find on experiment that we have not sufficient room in this house, I can obtain an Office somewhere in the Neighborhood and still consider myself your mesmate."[39]

Again Lewis tried to find some acceptable term to describe their relationship. The good, solid military term "messmate" harkened back to their days in the Army together, and by avoiding any reference to home, hearth or family it effectively erased Julia Hancock Clark from the picture. Julia however would not allow herself to be erased. She quickly saw that Lewis was a rival for Clark's attention, and she insisted that her husband make a choice. She was expecting their first child and her nesting instinct was strong, so (in Stephen Ambrose's blunt assessment) "she kicked Lewis out of the house."[40] William Clark's affection for Meriwether Lewis never wavered, but with marriage his priorities had changed and he knew his wife should come first. For Meriwether Lewis, his expulsion from William Clark's new household was the beginning of a rapid, relentless disintegration.

[Part two of the article will continue in the next issue of *We Proceeded On.*]

William Benemann is the author of A Year of Mud and Gold: San Francisco in Letters and Diaries, 1849-1850 *(U of Nebraska Press, 1999),* Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships *(Harrington Park Press, 2006), and* Men In Eden: William Drummond Stewart and Same-sex Desire in the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade *(U of Nebraska Press, 2012). He is the Archivist for the School of Law, and Adjunct Curator of the Sexuality and Gender Collection at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.*

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William Clark, June 27, 1804

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Saturday, August 1

- All day meeting of the Board of Directors
- Registration begins
- Pre-meeting tours/options
- Evening Welcome Reception

Sunday, August 2

- Registration continues
- Chapter Officer, member meetings
- Afternoon Program: ½-day Tour: *Fort Osage to Lewis & Clark Point*
- Evening Program: Enjoy a BBQ dinner, music and Program at Kaw Point, at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers and site of expedition's 3-day stay in June, 1804

Monday, August 3

- Wellness Walk
- Past Presidents' Breakfast
- Welcome and Business Meeting
- Morning Program: "The Osage Nation and the Missouri River," with Michael Dickey of Arrow Rock State Park
- Awards Luncheon; Fife & Drum Corps; President Harry Truman on "President Jefferson and Awards"
- Afternoon Programs: "Missouri River Now" by John Larandeau of US Army Corps of Engineers; visits to *Steamboat Arabia* riverboat sinking and reclamation museum
- Evening Programs: author Jim Harlan "Atlas on Lewis and Clark in Missouri"; "Meriwether" and other Exploration Games by Josh DeBonis

Tuesday, August 4

- Wellness Walk
- Full day tour: *Trail north to St. Joseph, Missouri*
- Dinner on your own; enjoy Kansas City entertainment and live music

Wednesday, August 5

- Wellness Walk
- Morning Program: Jay Buckley on "Portage des Sioux Treaties in 1815"; Bud Clark on "My Great-great-great Grandfather as Indian Diplomat"
- Luncheon program: Haskell American Indian dancers
- Afternoon Programs: Jerry Garrett on Bellefontaine Cemetery; American Indian speakers on "Treaties"; expedition descendants panel discussion; "Osage Nation Speaker Vann Bighorse"; "Invited: Kaw Nation Speaker"
- Closing Dinner: Gerard Baker on "The American Indian Perspective on Treaties"; music, pioneer dancing demonstrations and simple participation
- Invitation to the 2016 meeting in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

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The Threat on Kaw Point

Redoubt at the Kansas River

by Dan C.D. Sturdevant

> "we then form'd a temporary breast work with pickets, to defend ourselves against the Indians, fearing that they might make an attack on us..."[1]

On June 26, 1804, Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery arrived at Kaw Point[2] at the confluence of the Kansas River and Missouri River in present-day Kansas City, Kansas. The next day the men built a "redoubt," a long, temporary barricade of trees and bushes, six feet high, for their defense. As Whitehouse explained, "The Captains were inform'd by one of the Canadians who were with us, and who had traded up that River, that 300 Warriors lives at a Village up the said River, about 50 Leagues…"[3]

The Corps of Discovery was a military expedition and decisions by the captains as to general military defense would be expected, so why did the captains order the building of a redoubt at this location?

St. Louis being a hotbed of knowledge, speculation, and gossip, the co-captains would have been seeking and listening to all kinds of information prior to May 1804 as they prepared to start up the Missouri River. The stories they heard ranged from evaluations of potential trade to harrowing dangers that might be encountered.

Several events survive in writing to inform us what Meriwether Lewis may have learned, one story coming from the trading party of Perrin du Lac with the Kansa Indians in 1802. Perrin du Lac reported: "The Kanses [Indians] are tall, handsome, vigorous and brave. They are active and good hunters… Among the questions which this people put to me was the following: 'Are the people of your country slaves to their wives like the [other] Whites with whom we trade?' Being fearful of losing my credit if I did not appear superior to the other Whites, I replied that they loved their wives without being their slaves; and that they [the white men] abandoned them [the white women] when they were deficient in their duty." [4]

The Kansa Indians lived at least seventy-five miles west of the confluence of the Missouri and Kansas Rivers in 1802, near present-day Manhattan, Kansas. Though Perrin du Lac and his group had traded successfully with the Kansa Indians, du Lac and his party experienced trouble on the return journey at the confluence of the Kansas with the Missouri River: "We saw a party of the Sioux approaching; we therefore immediately reimbarked… We had hardly gained the opposite shore when we were saluted with a discharge of musquetry; but night coming on, the savages abandoned their pursuit…"[5]

So Captain Clark would write in May 1804 regarding planning for: "oppisition from roving parties of Bad Indians which it is probable may be on the R[iver]."[6]

Clark's description of "Bad Indians" ignored the fact that the Indians in question might simply be defending their homeland, charging a river toll (possibly by seizing a portion of the Euro-American traders' goods), and/or responding to past degradations.

Kaw Point

As the Kansas River, commonly called the "Kaw," flows into the Missouri River, the north bank on the Kaw comes to a point of land meeting the west bank of the Missouri. The accompanying photograph displays a view looking north with the point of land in the middle separating the Missouri River on the right side from the Kaw River towards the left. The water flows from left to right in this image. (Since this photo, Kaw

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.

A view to the northwest of Kaw Point at the juncture of the Kansas (left) and Missouri (right) Rivers.

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

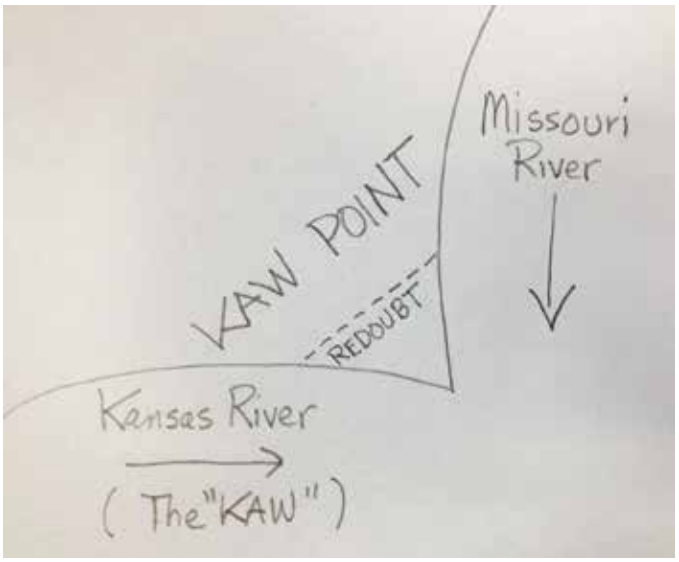
A 2005 rough construct of the redoubt looking southeast. The redoubt probably had leaves/camouflage. A minor flood washed away this construct in 2008.

Point has been developed into a fine park "Lewis and Clark Park at Kaw Point.") The Kaw is roughly 100 yards wide in this photograph, the Missouri roughly 225 yards wide; Captain Clark reported in June 1804 the width of each river being at least double the 2002 widths, at 230 and 500 yards, respectively.

In the figure on the next page, the author's dotted line estimates where the redoubt may have been erected across Kaw Point in June 1804. The men would have stood behind the redoubt facing inland, with their backs to the Rivers.

The Redoubt in the Journals

Writings from expedition members on June 27, 1804, include Captain Clark: "Complet[ed] a strong redoubt or brest work from one river to the other, of logs and



Kaw Point redoubt. Author sketch.

bushes six feet high";[7] and John Ordway: "All the party out early this morning cutting the Timber off a cross [across] the point and made a Hadge [hedge] a cross [across] of the timber and bushes to answer as defense and made room for Cap to take obser [observations of the stars]."[8]

The length of the Kaw Point redoubt is unknown, but fifty yards may be a good guess.[9] Note also that Lewis needed some trees cleared so he could make latitude and longitude studies.

The convergence of major waterways made the Kaw Point area open to conflict at any time. The Kansa, the Sioux, the Iowa, the Osage, and other tribes might have been in the area for any number of reasons: to scout/defend their territory, to trade, to war on other Native Americans, to contest any Euro-Americans, etc.

Recorded Conflicts in the Kaw Point Area

Surviving writings establish Euro-American/Indian fights on the lower Missouri and the Kaw Point area around this time. Some selected events, other than du Lac in 1802 cited above:

1. Iowa/Euro-Americans. In 1795 after successfully trading with the Kansa Indians, Benito and Quenache de Rouin, in two boats with at least another two men, came east, down the Kaw toward the confluence of the Kaw and the Missouri. The Rouin group was attacked by 160 Iowa Indians, the Iowas continuing their war with the Kansa and in the process chancing upon the Rouin party. The Iowas pillaged the canoes, beat the men and caused "the greatest misery in the world."[10]
2. Kansa/Euro-Americans. In October 1805 an American party, charged with returning an Arikara chief to his nation upriver on the Missouri, was forced to "retreat to St. Louis"[11] without returning the chief. The American force had come upon "a Body of Canzes [Kansa] Indians, about twenty leagues below the mouth of the River of that name…" Not satisfied with turning back the party, "This body of Canzes after their first, very rude and unfriendly interview…marched up the River and took Post at a difficult and narrow pass, where they decoyed two American hunters on shore who were descending the River, one of whom they killed, and the other after shooting an Indian made his escape, but unfortunately fell in with our Camp in the night, and not answering the challenge was fired upon and mortally wounded—"[12] by the American camp sentry.
3. Kansa/Euro-Americans. North of Kaw Point on September 14, 1806, Captain Clark wrote: "this being the part of the Missouri the Kanzas nation resort to at this Season of the year for the purpose of robbing the pirogues…for the Smallest insult we Shall fire on them… we met three large [Euro-American] boats bound [upriver] to the Yanktons and Mahars…those young men received us with great friendship…those men were much affraid of meeting with the Kanzas [Indians]."[13]

The corps's precautions proved unnecessary. The expedition had no contact with Native Americans during the three-night stay at Kaw Point in June 1804. "This [Kansa] nation is now out in the plains hunting the Buffalow."[14]

What did occur at Kansas River of a military nature involved Americans punishing Americans. The captains enforced solemn duties on their men, especially sentries who should be on the watch for a night attack. Sentry John Collins drank on the job and a June 29 court martial charge asserted against Collins: "getting drunk on his post this morning out of whiskey put under his Charge as a Sentinal and for Suffering Hugh Hall to draw whiskey out of the Said Barrel intended for the [whole expedition] party…" Collins's penalty

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Music at Kaw Point, looking southeast. Author Dan Sturdevant at the microphone with Downtown Kansas City in the background.

was "100 lashes on his bear Back."[15] Collins's fellow inebriate, Hugh Hall, received fifty lashes for unauthorized drinking.

The expedition was safe during the days at Kaw Point in late June 1804.[16] The redoubt as a defense seemed to fade in favor of camping on islands in the Missouri River as the expedition proceeded. The captains and the men went upstream a little wiser on June 29, 1804, and human beings can be noted for their streaks of intelligence.

Kaw Point is the location of the Sunday night event/barbeque dinner/program for the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation's 2015 convention. (August 2, 2015, located on Fairfax Trafficway in Kansas City, Kansas.)

Dan Sturdevant is a lawyer and is a recent President of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. He regularly entertains as a singer-pianist. He lives in Kansas City, Missouri with his wife Mary Lee and their cat, Fawn.

Notes

1. Gary E. Moulton, ed. *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 11:32. (Whitehouse).

2. "The explorers and early mapmakers called the tribe and the river Cans, Causa, Kansa, Kances, Kanza, Konza, Quans, etc. Eventually the stream was named the Kansas River, though it is commonly called the Kaw." Floyd Benjamin Streeter, *The Kaw, The Heart of a Nation* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941), 4.

3. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 11:32 (Whitehouse).

4. *Before Lewis and Clark, 1785-1804*, A. P. Nasatir, ed., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 708.

5. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark,* 711.

6. Ernest S. Osgood, ed., *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1964), 21.

7. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:325. (Clark).

8. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:17 (Ordway)

9. Space enough for: 1. "tents" pitched for about 45 men; 2. about 4 campfires; 3. repairing one or more canoes.

10. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark,* 316. Spanish lieutenant governor Trudeau's letter to one Valle, 1795.

11. William E. Unrau, *The Kansas Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 82.

12. Governor Wilkinson to the Secretary of War, December 10, 1805, Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Volume XIII, The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1948), 298.

13. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:360. (Clark).

14. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:327. (Clark).

15. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:329. (Clark).

16. The Lewis and Clark Historic Park at Kaw Point, at One Fairfax Trafficway in Kansas City, Kansas, immediately off of I-70. See www.LewisAndClarkKC.org.

Lewis and Clark, and Arden

Mrs. Johnson and the Student Corps of Discovery

Richard D. Scheuerman

"The only criterion of pedagogy is freedom, the only method—experience."

—Leo Tolstoy

"I can imagine a middle school science teacher…, working on a lecture about the sun, explaining not only the sun but also the history of the discoveries that made it possible… Students will create their own links and use multimedia elements in their homework. Teachers will keep a cumulative record of a student's work, which can be reviewed at any time and shared with other instructors… The highway will alter the focus of education from the institution to the individual. The ultimate goal will be changed from getting a diploma to enjoying lifelong learning."

—Bill Gates, *The Road Ahead*

Rehearsals had gone on all Wednesday morning. Our middle school premier of "The Star Brothers," based on an unpublished Columbia Plateau tribal myth, was going to open on Thursday afternoon for our rural eastern Washington communities of Endicott and St. John. The program was but a part of our year-long curriculum based on "Journeys of Discovery," this year focused on Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery. Rehearsal groups entered Hardy Gymnasium according to schedule and each dutifully showcased motion and music. Everyone had a part and was expected to do their best.

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Arden Johnson sketch of her happy school

Amidst the gleeful hubbub of early adolescents coming and going, girls plastering up decorations and guys moving stage sets, Arden Johnson stands at the three-point line of the basketball court, clad in signature white smock. While one group sings an original composition about life in the cloud world, she happily shows two seventh graders how several letters are to be cut from sheets of yellow construction paper, her masking tape bracelet at the ready. Suddenly in the middle of the song we all hear her commander's voice stop all sound and action: "That's supposed to be 'ram-ble'! All I heard was 'mumble.' If I can't understand you how on earth is Grandma Mollie going to hear you on tomorrow?! This place is going to be filled and they all want to hear YOU. You're the stars of the show so sound like it!"

Seconds later her voice modulates from stern instruction to joyous laughter and she sings out loudly and slowly, "They *ram-bled* across the stars," then looks aside at three of us staff standing helplessly within

earshot and whispers in a vaudeville soliloquy, "Oh, do I know *rambling*." Then back to the task at hand, she tosses the paper off to the girls, and shouts to everyone, "Enunciate! Sing to that last person in that last row. Your mom and dad might come late and have to sit back by the scoreboard. Sing out! And back row boys: concert position! No slouching back there or (more laughing) you'll look like me in ten years!" The boys jump to attention and smile back at our beloved Mrs. Johnson.

The Corps of Discovery

Amidst the chaos of new school construction in the mid-1990s, an idea was born. Our middle school faculty had been having a series of discussions on curriculum improvement, in part due to what we considered "curriculum fragmentation." It sounds like a disease, and has, in fact, attacked schools in epidemic proportions by dividing the day into separate periods for all subjects in ways that foster little relation to the other—a clear violation of Alfred North Whitehead's warning to teachers, "You must not divide the seamless cloak of learning." Students marched from language arts to math, from social studies to science, and the learning connections between subjects was lost. Most folks don't fret about these things, but our teachers agreed there must be a better way to do things for the kids' sake. So we launched a search for an ideal theme that we might sew back into our cloak of studies. After hearing a presentation by teachers from Chimacum School District on Washington's Olympic Peninsula, we embraced an idea that we thought was incredibly novel, and soon found that educators had been using it since the days of Herodotus in ancient Greece. *Discovery!* We could develop a series of thematic units around great "journeys of discovery." The experiences of lifelong exemplars of learning, explorers and adventurers whose work encompassed many disciplines—men and women like Marco Polo, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery, and James Cook—would serve as springboards to cross-disciplinary teaching. To promote reading skills we would use their original letters and journals as our "textbooks" and authentically extend from their dizzying array of observations to all the content areas—science, literature, history, mathematics, and of course, art.

I will never forget my first visit with Arden Johnson in her exceedingly cluttered classroom one afternoon that spring about our prospects for such an endeavor. As we considered the faculty's ideas she began to affect her wonderful way of expressing enthusiasm—knees together, eyebrows raised, open-mouth smile, and as if to sanction final approval, her tight staccato clapping, and, "Yes! Yes!" I had seen that look before and often thought it meant, "It's about time you guys caught on to what I've been doing all these years!" But of course she was too kind and self-deprecating to ever say such a thing. "Sacajawea and 'the boys,'" as she called them, would be the first of our "Journeys of Discovery."

Educationist Jerome Bruner has written, "The object of learning is to gain understanding in a context of connectivity. Strive for this ideal, be it in fifth grade or graduate school." Arden probably wrote him a letter about that back in the '50s. With what I thought reasonable caution, I suggested using the following year to develop these units. All our middle schoolers would use this curriculum, and development would take time and planning. But, "No way!" Arden said. "In the first place, the kindergarten is signing on for this coming September, and why would we deprive a whole group of older kids next year of such an experience? Just get the readings compiled and we'll plan the lessons as we go. *And listen to the kids, they'll tell us what they want to know."*

Being somewhat "old school," I began to feel dread in the pit of my stomach. But there was no turning back. Visiting with Arden about this was like striking a match to gunpowder. But the resulting explosion was incredibly exhilarating and one that none of us who worked with her will ever forget. She shamed us into meeting once a week in the wee hours of Thursday morning for at least a couple of years to organize the coming weeks. I said, "Arden, we have no money to compensate teachers for all this extra time." "Oh, we don't need money," she responded on this and many other occasions, "we just need passion. I'll get us all there." And she did, along with so much more. She overcame her lifelong fear of flying and headed down to NASA's Ames Research Center in California and elsewhere to teach space art and learn about all the

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

"Star Brothers" presentation at Endicott School.

constellations that The Corps of Discovery journalists described.

John Dewey in a Smock

For over three decades Arden Johnson created a magical realm of learning for scores of students. With energy that belied her age, she directed the long "Star Brothers" rehearsal while pacing across the gym floor with students coming and going as she checked out lighting angles, cut out more letters, listened for proper voice projection, and wrote any urgent needs on ripped sheets of paper that she pinned to her clothes. At the end of many days she was a regular Polly Patchwork.

Calling Mrs. Johnson a "master teacher," a high accolade in our profession, is too shallow a tribute, akin to calling Wendell Berry a nice writer. Arden Johnson was a pedagogical force of nature, a vigorous defender and engenderer of all that is innocent and wonderful in young people. She was the embodiment of author Madeline L'Engle's indomitable Mrs. Who and Mrs. Whatsit who fly through *A Wrinkle in Time* in jolly abandon to help children throughout the universe. And her power to inspire imaginations for creating and learning and being was every bit as dramatic and consequential. Arden Johnson was a life-changer whose work at school day by day, year after year, was a sacred endeavor to uplift children—and anyone else who would listen. Her commitment rose above the din of the commonplace and manifold challenges to their well-being that so tragically characterize our world today.

Arden shined with love and affection for those she called "the great unwashed masses," and passionately taught the subjects she knew they could encounter together through learning in its most expansive forms. Teachers and parents everywhere seek to love and learn, but Arden's special capacities for both created waves of powerful influence that moved all who cared to benefit from the experience. "John Dewey in a smock" is how senior professor of doctoral studies at Seattle Pacific University Arthur Ellis characterized Arden to audiences throughout the region. He visited her middle level art and primary classes many times to see her in action.

Dr. Ellis once said that you could go see the most purposeful interdisciplinary and fine arts instruction either at Endicott-St. John Schools or at Harvard University. "John Dewey in a smock," indeed! Others sometimes laughed when they heard that, but Dr. Ellis wasn't smiling when he said it. Arden intimately knew the works of Dewey and Maria Montessori and Alfred North Whitehead because she cared about

doing what was best for children—the long hours and sweat of excellence. Arden's effusive demeanor and abiding kindness concealed to newcomers the mind of a prodigious thinker. She read every issue of *The New Yorker* from cover to cover (before having her kids cut them into a thousand pieces for collages), professional journals like *The Art Instructor,* and anything else that might offer insight into how better to know and teach.

The Great Wild Turkey Caper

As we prepared to embark on our "Journeys of Discovery" curriculum with its focus on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, I bought copies of a small paperback version of "the boys'" 1804-1806 journals for our teachers, aides, and school cooks so they could get some idea over summer of what we would be doing with the kids in the coming fall. Little did we know that Arden read somewhere the explorers original journals were bound in Morocco leather. She decided all students should have leather-bound, three-ring binder journals in which they could record their own daily experiences for the year's expedition lessons. She found a source somewhere in Idaho and traipsed there in summer to get miles of brown leather and buckskin. The school year opened with all the middle schoolers cutting and sewing leather covers for their notebooks. Then Arden was inspired to turn the covers into stunning expressions of natural art. What better media than nature's bounty? So she had our school secretary put peculiar announcements in the morning bulletin. Who could forget them: "Students, teachers, Romans, countrymen—send me your animal bones, porcupine quills, pressed leaves, and anything else you think might wonderfully adorn our Journeys binders. Just pile them in the big box I have by the door in the art room."

Arden's "troops" responded enthusiastically, but this also raised a moral dilemma. Arden was a pacifist who would not brook harm to any living thing, let alone children. When a parent informed her that hunting season was fast approaching and that he could shoot a few pheasants and wild turkeys to meet the need, Arden briefly hesitated before declining the offer out of principle. Yet she continued to burn with envy at the prospect of iridescent feathers and scaly feet, not to mention what else might be carcass-salvageable. "Those turkeys must weigh twenty pounds," she was heard to utter wistfully in a faculty meeting.

Passing through the lunchroom one day she overheard a student remark that an enormous wild turkey had met its demise at Matlock Bridge after being smacked by a car. Feathers, feet, and worse were all there for the taking. Some of us noticed her eyebrows rise, but really didn't give it another thought until the next morning when piles of turkey stuff were strewn all about the art room—along with a peculiar aroma. There was Arden as busy with those kids as if she were Michelangelo and his apprentices working on a piece of Cararra marble. More announcements in the bulletin followed, and the mangled remains of more critters arrived, some hardly yet in rigor, thus earning her and a colleague the title "Road Kill Queens."

There was no stopping the wondrous infection that now spread to our classes from what Arden had long been doing on her own (an infection that has subsequently spread to teachers in other countries, I might add). We went on archaeological digs—not the simulated ones, but real ones guided by faculty from Eastern Washington University; fieldtrips through stubble fields to reach some magical forest on Union Flat where we had environmental science lessons and more art projects; and little and big kids on annual expeditions with horses like the Corps of Discovery might have done. Of course midday rations were limited to crackers and fish. (Arden was a stickler for authenticity.) With help from local actors she staged

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.

Arden preparing for the National ASCD Education Conference in New Orleans.

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Endicott-St. John Middle School students' Lewis and Clark Snake River field trip near Lyons Ferry, Washington.

an original production based on the Star Brothers myth of the region's Native Peoples. Of course we had to consult tribal elders whose families had safeguarded these remarkable stories since time immemorial, and they joined us as members of our Corps of Discovery "adjunct faculty."

Through it all our students wrote and presented, calculated and drew, and learned and reflected. "Learn all you can," Jefferson had told Meriwether Lewis in his original instructions, and Arden used this challenge to inspire us all—and others across the country. Here are the concluding lines from one of her watercolor lesson plans presented to an audience at the National ASCD Education Conference in New Orleans: "The early explorers did not always have the advantage we do of special papers, paints, etc. How did they accomplish their drawings from life in nature? They identified new species of plants and animals. Do you think this is still possible? What beautiful things did they CREATE? They saw magnificent scenery. What did they CREATE? In their journals we see drawings and commentary on the land. What kind of art did the native peoples of these places CREATE? Think about artists and their approach to life. HAVE YOU REALLY TRIED TO SEE THINGS FROM A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW? THIS IS AN ADVENTURE! DON'T BE AFRAID!"

Some might speculate that giving kids such free rein in their choice of projects and journal writing might keep them from achieving expected learning goals; after all they had state tests to take. But when students took the required exams at the end of the term, the grade averages went up from the previous year for every class that participated (and the same was true for our companion classes over on the coast). Arden Johnson insisted we give students an opportunity to anonymously respond in writing to the whole experience of metaphorically traveling down the Ohio and up the Missouri, and over Plains and Rockies to the Pacific for the entire school year. Did they find the experience boring and a waste of time? We asked, and did we get answers! I remember that Amy's seemed to sum it up: "Dear Teachers, I just want you to know that I think I learned more this past year than I have in my whole

life." Arden quietly read through the stack of comments and then we asked what she thought. "Next year Marco Polo across Asia!" she exclaimed. And so we did.

If It Flies…

How could you confine the dynamic realms of such unbounded childlike wonder and prodigious intellect in the name of reductionist "school reform"? Well, of course we were district employees of a public institution, so the order came down for new approaches with "essential academic learnings," WASLs (Washington Assessment of Student Learning), and reporting pupil progress. To be sure, there are appropriate reasons why our schools have needed progressive change. But there should be special mandates for persons like Arden to operate unimpeded. Expecting her to teach from a list of educational objectives would have been like telling Monet to paint by number. The duty fell to me as school principal to get Arden "on board" with the new initiatives. We were to start with the science curriculum, so at a faculty meeting and in subsequent bulletin announcements I asked our teachers at each grade to write down the sequence of their science objectives and units.

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.

Richard Scheuerman working with students on mask making.

Everyone complied within a week or two, but nothing from Arden. When I encountered her rushing down the hall, she would say something like, "Hey, babe" (her inimitable way of addressing some adults), "I've been meaning to talk to you about that science stuff." Then she'd disappear like a pixie among the kids. Finally I received her pledge to supply me with the necessary paperwork as soon as she could get around to it.

From all that had been transpiring in Arden's classes, anyone could see that higher priorities had been reigning. This went on who knows how long until I told her I really needed to finish this. She gave me that wonderful raised eye-brow, a smiling "Hmpf" in resignation, subtly telling me that I wasn't going to forget this. Well, at the end of the day I had a paper in my box on the kindergarten science curriculum featuring the incredible display of font shapes and sizes that Arden delighted in using to illustrate her points. It read:

> If it flies through the window we catch it in a net. Then we VERY CAREFULLY look at it and count the wings and legs. If it crawls along the floor we put it in a jar with holes and get a magnifying glass and study its shape and color. If we find pretty rocks or worms out on the playground we bring them inside and examine them, too. We draw pictures of these things and talk about their names. Then we put them back outside and hope they will be safe. ☺

Of course she was describing the scientific method at a kindergartener's level, and her approach for this and most everything else she did was at once elegant and effective. Long afterward I happened upon a line from Emerson that suggests her special insight: "If a child happens to show what he knows about a plant, or bird, or rock, …hush all the class and encourage him to tell it so all may hear. Then you will have made your school-room like the world." I marvel today at numbers of artists, musicians, and scientists who have gone from her classroom into the world and made such a difference as dependable friends, conscientious parents, and informed citizens. Many heard their first symphony, made clay sculpture, and identified "extrusive igneous rocks" (a favorite phrase of hers) in her downstairs kindergarten room.

Stars of the Show

Henry James has famously written, "A teacher touches eternity." I have known no finer example of such touching than Arden Johnson, and eternity implies an impact beyond one's own knowing and experience. Arden passed away in 2007, but I witnessed this broader aspect of her influence in the summer of 2014 at our annual Seattle Pacific University workshop on the "Journeys" approach to learning. I shared a little about Arden's life and the Lewis and Clark curriculum. In accordance with Arden's encouragement to us years ago, I routinely have the workshop's teacher candidates and teachers compose reflective journal responses every week (though we do it online now—a change I think Arden would have embraced). Here are a couple of lines from what one of the participants wrote: "I was very deeply affected by what you shared yesterday. I couldn't sleep for pondering the connections Mrs. Johnson made to so many, and now ultimately to me. I aspire to be like her in some small way and now want to teach like never before. I want to touch lives like she did… She is still teaching students like me how to live our lives to the fullest. The connections are still strong, the mission grandly accomplished."

One of Arden's favorite authors, Henry David Thoreau, likened the vast capacities of the human mind and wonder to galaxies of stars clustered across the night sky. Arden's favorite constellation was a swirl of children beaming under any circumstance. And what appeared at our school early that Friday following the "Star Brothers" performance was no less remarkable. I thought I was the first in the building that next morning, but not so. Under a wide banner titled "Stars of the Show," dozens upon dozens of construction paper stars appeared across the entry windows in a vast joyous arc, no two alike, dazzling gold and red glitter surrounding the name of each child who had been there, written in Arden's unmistakable hand.

Richard Scheuerman is Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at Seattle Pacific University. At the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation annual meeting in Richland this past summer, Dr. Scheuerman presented a paper based on the teaching curriculum described in this article. The "Journeys of Discovery" curricula developed by Dr. Sheuerman and Dr. Arthur Ellis received the Washington Governor's Award for Excellence in Teaching from the Washington State Historical Society in 2001.

Meriwether Lewis and William Bartram

Did they ever meet?

By Tom Dillon

If you're seeking Meriwether Lewis in Philadelphia, the usual place to visit is the American Philosophical Society Museum (and library across the street) in Independence National Historical Park. The museum has copies of the agreement with botanist Andre Michaux for exploration of the West—one of the forerunners of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The document is signed by George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, one of the few documents signed by all four men, since Washington was not a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

GRACE MAUNEY

The Bartram home and gardens.

The Philosophical Society had originally been created by Benjamin Franklin and botanist John Bartram in 1743—Bartram had proposed as early as 1737 a gathering of "ingenious and Curious men" for "study of natural secrets arts and syences." Thomas Jefferson was president of the society for seventeen years, starting in 1797, and he called his nomination for the job "the most flattering incident of my life." He is being featured in three exhibits over the next three years at the APS.[1]

Stephan Salisbury of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* wrote of them, "Together the three exhibitions, almost entirely drawn from the APS's own holdings, will cover Jefferson's entire career, touching on many of his political, scientific, and personal interests, including the Louisiana Purchase, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and his intense involvement with American Indian languages."

When I visited the APS in 2013, a couple of pages from the Lewis and Clark journals were on exhibit in the lobby of the library, including a drawing of part of the Columbia River. That little bit of the journals was said to be stitched together so well that it is still holding up after more than two hundred years. The actual plant pressings are at the Academy of Natural Sciences on the south side of Logan Square downtown, but do not expect to get to see them. I asked, with someone from the APS running interference, but it did not work. "We generally make them available only to researchers," said a pleasant spokeswoman.

GRACE MAUNEY.

A Franklinia tree, with John Bartram's stone house behind. Photograph taken in the spring, prior to the blooming of the tree.

You may have better luck connecting with Lewis at a place he may or may not have visited: John Bartram's eighteenth century farm and garden, the oldest still-functioning botanical garden in the United States. Bartram was the royal botanist to the King of England, though his offspring were all loyal Americans, and he—along with his son, William—personified the early botanist-explorer. Both traveled the American Southeast in the eighteenth century, and it was William who named *Franklinia*, a flowering shrub/tree discovered in Georgia. The name honors Benjamin Franklin, their friend.

The shrub no longer exists in the wild—at least, it has not been found again. But the Bartrams found and cultivated it, and you can purchase the plant today from Bartram's Garden or from other gardens practicing historical cultivation. It is quite a thing to have such a piece of history growing in your yard, though fair warning—*Franklinia* is not the easiest plant to keep in the prime of health. It is subject to root-rot and does not tolerate either drought or excessive moisture. It also needs strongly acidic soil to survive in a garden, much like rhododendron and mountain laurel.

Most people know William Bartram because of his *Travels,* the 1791 book he authored about his journeys through the Southeast in the years 1773–1776.[2] While the book attracted only modest attention in the United States, it was a runaway success in Europe where it introduced many people to the natural history of the Americas. One of those people was Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who latched onto Bartram's descriptions of Florida's limestone hydrology and recreated it in the poem "Kubla Khan." That reads, in part, "where Alph the sacred river ran through caverns measureless to man, down to a sunless sea."

The question Lewis and Clark devotees always ask at Bartram's Garden is, of course, whether Meriwether Lewis visited during his time in Philadelphia, where Jefferson had sent him to bone up on natural science. It stands to reason that he would have—some of Lewis's teachers in Philadelphia were good friends of the Bartrams, notably Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, who was professor of natural history at the University of Pennsylvania. Indeed, William Bartram's nephew James Howell Bartram was living with Barton at the time of Lewis's visit. William Bartram had done some thirty illustrations for Barton's *Elements of Botany* in part to pay for his nephew's medical

GRACE MAUNEY.

The "Bartram boxes" that were used to ship plants, etc.

education. (Lewis carried that book during the trip to the West.)

Also, the garden was a popular place in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries despite the difficulty of reaching it at that time.[3] Andrea Wulf, in her 2011 book, "Founding Gardeners,"[4] tells the story of a visit to the garden by some of the legislators at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 that might possibly have influenced the convention's eventual adoption, several days later, of the United States Constitution.

As to whether Lewis visited the garden, there is no real proof. "A simple answer based on available documents would be we don't know that Meriwether Lewis ever visited Bartram's Garden," commented Joel Fry, curator at Bartram's Garden and an authority on both John and William Bartram. "But on the other hand, it is extremely likely that he did, for a number of reasons."

Besides the connection with Benjamin Smith Barton, Lewis met William Hamilton of the Woodlands, a neighbor of the Bartrams and a friend of William Bartram. "Hamilton had a very extensive private garden and collected botanic species from around the world" Fry said. "Hamilton got promises from Lewis for plants and seeds from the West, and the first plant and seed specimens Lewis sent to Philadelphia in Spring 1804 from St. Louis, including the Osage Orange, first went to the Woodlands." There were other collections of western seeds later on.

And whether Lewis had met William Bartram and visited his garden or not, it is documented that some of the plants Lewis and Clark collected were growing in Bartram's Garden not long after the return of the Corps of Discovery, certainly by 1812, but perhaps as early as 1807.

In particular, Fry cites the snowberry, *Symphoricarpos albus var. laevigatus,* collected by Lewis "beyond the rocky mountains, August 1805" and introduced to London after the War of 1812 in a catalog from Robert Carr of Bartram's Garden. "It was published with an illustration in the nurseryman Conrad Loddiges's *Botanical Cabinet* in 1817 as a new garden plant," Fry said. "Loddiges' account said snowberry was 'now cultivated in several gardens near Philadelphia from seeds collected by the late governor Lewis.'"

William Bartram only got as far west as the Mississippi River in his travels, and indeed never traveled much in later life (he had poor vision, the result of an unknown illness that struck him on the Gulf Coast). He was, however, always well known and often considered for expeditions. Bartram's cousin Humphry Marshall promoted a western trip for Bartram in 1785 that didn't happen—probably just as well. Bartram broke his leg falling out of a cypress tree a year later while gathering seeds, and was still walking with a pronounced limp during the 1787 Constitutional Convention. Jefferson considered Bartram for a trip up the Red River as late as 1806, when Bartram was in his sixties.

William Bartram died on July 22, 1823, at the family home, and was buried somewhere near there, though his final resting place was not recorded and remains unknown. It's fair to say, however, that the great monuments to his life are his travels, his many discoveries, and the new views of nature that he gave us.

Tom Dillon is a retired newspaper features editor and long-time worker on the Appalachian Trail, North Carolina Mountains-to-Sea Trail, and others. He dates his involvement with the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation to the Bicentennial years, when annual meetings of the Outdoor Writers Association of America followed the trail across the country. Tom and his wife, Grace Mauney, live in Winston-Salem, N.C.

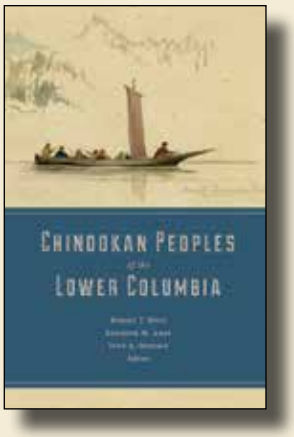
Notes

1. The three Thomas Jefferson exhibits at the American Philosophical Society are "Jefferson, Philadelphia and the Founding of a Nation," running through Dec. 28, 2014; "Jefferson, Science, and Exploration," scheduled in 2015; and "Jefferson, Native America, and the West,"" set for 2016. More information is available at www.bartramsgarden.org or at www.apsmuseum.org.

2. William Bartram, *Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Moscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws* (Philadelphia: James & Johnson, 1791).

3. Reaching the garden is easier today: take the Trolley 36 from City Hall or the 30th Street Amtrak Station to 54th Street.)

4. Andrea Wulf, *Founding Gardeners: The Revolutionary Generation, Nature, and the Shaping of the American Nation* (New York: Random House, 2011).



Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames, Tony A. Johnson, editors. *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013). 448 pp., 38 illus., 6 maps; bibliography, index. $50.00

Reading this book was difficult, not because of the topic or style, but because I've many Chinookan friends. As I would read a few paragraphs I'd stop and start thinking about what a few words in a paragraph meant. Minutes later, lost in thought I'd look down again at the words and return to the text. I would hope that my Lewis and Clark friends would do the same.

During the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition a vast new literature appeared. Lectures drilled down deep into the expedition. Every facet of the corps' trek west and back was covered, including diet, medicine, weapons, boats, natural history records, music, ethnicity, and a myriad of other topics on the interior story of the expedition. I live at the mouth of the Columbia River where it was not unusual to hear the phrase "Where are the Chinook?" or "What about the Chinook?" Despite events organized and attended by Chinook and/or their tribal leaders, the National Park Service, and the *Ocian in View* lecture series, a feeling person would still recognize something missing. For those of you Lewis and Clark aficionados, *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia* offers more than a glimpse into the exterior world that the Corps entered in the fall of 1805.

Chinookan Peoples contains sixteen chapters in two large sections. Part I is the "Chinookan World" and Part II is "After Euro-American Contact." Boyd's preface contains the words "Expect the unexpected," and these are good words for the readers wishing to expand their knowledge of the Chinookan world. Johnson follows with an introduction to the "Chinook People Today." It is a revealing discussion that gives evidence of frustration built up over generations. Certainly the last decade and more have been very difficult with respect to the Chinook pursuit of federal recognition. Understanding the context of the present is difficult, and it might well be that this period may not be fully understood for another fifty years. The Chinook might well be at a crossroads in the context of "tribe making," and this book may represent a pivotal point in their history. In that sense, starting at "today" is as important to the Chinook as starting at the beginning.

The chapters are authored by a variety of scholars. Chapter one begins with the two-hundred-mile descent of the Columbia's plunge from the plateau, that descent being both physical and across tens of millennia. Sobel *et al.* merges this changing environment with the archeological evidence of the development of Pacific Northwest native cultures. This segues to Ellis's chapter two on the cultural geography, and the complex interaction between people and their land. Gahr addresses the non-fishing subsistence and production in chapter three. Though I am acquainted with the Chinookan First Salmon ceremony, I was entranced by the concept of First Roots and First Fruits. Though chapter four begins with the iconic status of salmonids, Butler and Martin also examine sturgeon, eulachon, lamprey and comment species including minnows, suckers, flounder, perch, and herring.

This resource wealth might indicate a basis for a Lower Columbia trade and exchange system, though Hajda and Sobel point out in chapter five that the presence of durable goods through the archeological record bias the record to the survival of glass beads and obsidian and other surviving dentalia, jade, olivella shells, and forms of jade. The authors use the historic era trade period to gain understanding of Chinookan exchange and trade practices.

I found chapter six on "Houses and Households" by Ames and Sobel, and chapter seven on "Social and Political Organization" by Hajda fascinating. I read these chapters over and over. This offers the chance for the reader to relate to what a home means to Chinook and how that home connects to

the Chinookan community. I recommend starting with these two chapters.

Chapter eight on oral literature will carry special meaning for the reader that reflects on the stories of parents and how we remember them. Seaburg recounts the origins of the entire Chinookan oral literature from three individuals. In the many Chinookan events that I've attended over the last decade I attest to the wonderful continuation of story telling and a story's deep meaning to the speaker and the listener. This chapter connects to Boyd's presentation of chapter nine on ceremonialism, then to Johnson and Isaac on "Lower Columbia River Art" in chapter ten.

Part II opens with chapter eleven, "After Euro–American Contact." Boyd begins by discussing the challenges facing the Chinook living in the Lower Columbia. While the Chinook were recognized by early explorers as being healthy, the authors point out that contrary to the popular myth of easy living, life was not always easy for the people and seasonality played a huge role in food availability. The Chinook would suffer privation due to the seasonal decline of fish and/or edible plants. They suffered aliments no different than you or I (poor diet, aches and pains, etc.), and sought traditional treatments in sweats, teas, and/or a Shaman curing ceremony. The advent of post-contact disease decimated the Chinookan peoples. Boyd recounts the series of epidemics and demonstrates not only the numeric decline but the consequences in the abandonment of whole villages, the result of which left the Chinookan at a fraction of their earlier population as they confronted an era of pioneer settlement. Boyd concludes that it is only at the dawn of the twenty–first century that the descendants of Lower Chinook and Portland Chinook have rebounded from contact–era losses. I was reminded of the forever loss of oral stories, traditions, and ceremony.

Chapter twelve focuses on the encounters between the Chinook and Euro-Americans, principally through trade. It is ironic that the Chinook reveal themselves carefully as master traders—they effectively control the movement and type of trade goods for three decades. But in the end they are subsumed by the increasing international trade pressure until they become controlled by trade and reduced to a subservient service industry.

I was drawn to the potential of chapter thirteen on language, as it is the defining element of the Chinookan people, yet the complexity of the chinuk wawa language and presentation requires very careful study. The reader will find themselves attempting to sound words that are as foreign to the palate as to defy pronunciation. I was fortunate in having heard one of the authors (Johnson) pronounce such words at the many First Salmon Ceremonies to which I've been and so have a sense of the sound of the language. An online study guide would certainly be of help here.

Fisher and Jette recount the tortuous history of the Chinook struggle for federal recognition. Chapter fourteen drives home the consequences of a century-and-a-half of poorly implemented federal policy and law that sent the Chinook into the mill of "tribe making." One might argue those similar economic forces that drove the Chinook out of trade nearly two hundred years ago continues to exert enormous influence to keep them at bay. Yet the Chinook have maintained and grown their cultural presence, such that the lines between kin, band, tribe, nation, and a people are nearly immutable.

Chapter fifteen briefly discusses the Chinook people of the Grand Ronde and it is important for the reader to refer back to the tribal map to understand that the Lower Columbia Chinookan Peoples are composed of ten tribes. Though this chapter focuses on the Chinookan members of the Grand Ronde, I wanted to read more about the tribes not discussed in greater detail.

The history of the anthropological reading list presented by Suttles and Lang in chapter sixteen is a reminder of the steady and continuing advancement of research and writings on the Chinookan people. I would hope that continues to reflect Chinookan scholarship.

When the Corps of Discovery entered the Lower Columbia, they encountered the most peopled geography of their transcontinental journey. This is a living landscape and the home of the Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia.

James R. Sayce
Washington State
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Liaison, Lewis and Clark
National Historic Park

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center, Great Falls, Montana

Located on the northeast edge of Great Falls, Montana, on a bluff overlooking the Missouri River, the Lewis and Clark NHT Interpretive Center is a unit of Lewis and Clark National Forest and encompasses the Interpretive Center itself, 27 acres of natural landscape, and 3.2 miles of trails. The site is adjacent to the portage route followed by members of the Lewis and Clark expedition during June of 1805 and July of 1806 to pass a series of waterfalls and rapids along the Missouri River.

The Great Portage of 1805 is remembered as one of the greatest challenges the Corps of Discovery had to overcome on their journey to the Pacific coast, consuming thirty-three days. Native American leaders had informed Lewis of three obvious landmarks that would confirm that he was traveling the Missouri River on the correct path to the Rocky Mountains—a great waterfall, a prominent eagle's nest at the head of the waterfall, and the mouth of a river just beyond the head of the falls. At this point the Missouri descends over 500 feet in elevation in a twelve-mile stretch. The corps was forced to leave the river and portage around the obstacles.

The Interpretive Center commemorates this pivotal episode in the journey with a series of exhibits, highlighted by a dramatic life-size diorama of the portage. Our larger exhibits expand on the story. Although much of our exhibit space details events within the boundaries of the modern state of Montana, the exhibits detail the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition beginning to end.

In addition to the story of the people of the Corps of Discovery, the Interpretive Center also tells the story of the people they encountered. The stories of the Native peoples encountered by Lewis and Clark often get overlooked in popular histories. Our site attempts to correct the situation through exhibits on the major Indian nations the Expedition encountered.

Special attractions

A multimedia theater with two different orientation films daily, along with interpretive programming from staff, enhance the visitor's experience.

The Interpretive Center also houses the National Headquarters, as well as the National Library and Archives for the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. The library and archives are open on weekdays and by appointment.

Adjacent to the Interpretive Center is Giant Springs Heritage State Park. This Montana state park includes Giant Springs, one of the largest freshwater springs in North America, the Roe River, at 201 feet the "shortest river in the world," and a state fish hatchery. The park is open daily.

The Interpretive Center hosts a number of special events every year, including the annual *Lewis and Clark Festival*, normally held on the third weekend in June. During the summer months, the Interpretive Center offers weekly evening interpretive programs in our *Riverside Voices* series focusing on early American history, Native American culture and the Lewis and Clark story. During the winter months, the Center partners with the Central Montana Astronomy Society for a series of *Star Party* events when visitors can come out to our darkened parking area, view the night sky through the CMAS telescopes, and learn more about astronomy.

Contact Information:

4201 Giant Springs Road
Great Falls, MT 59405
(406) 727-8733
www.fs.usda.gov/main/lcnf/learning

Information and photos provided by Jeff LaRock, Interim Center Manager