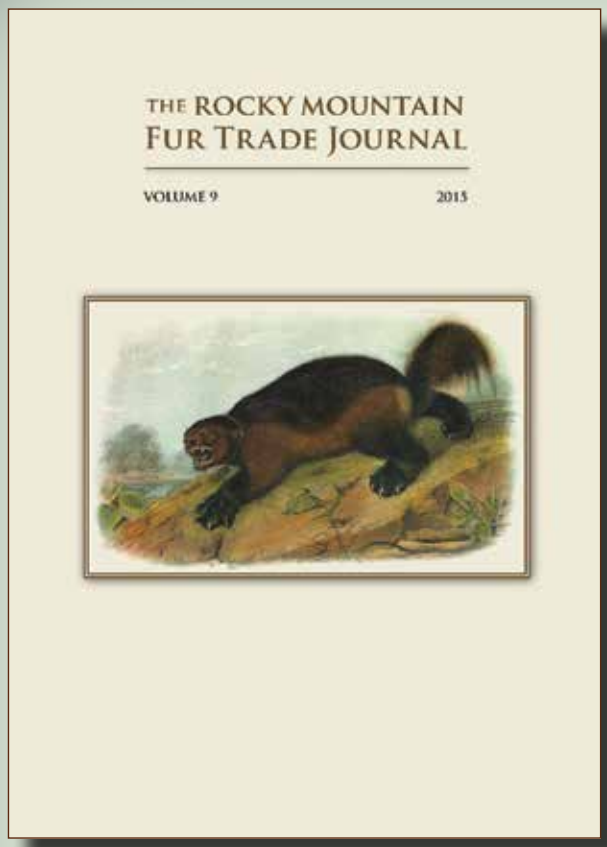
Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation May 2016 Volume 42, No. 2

Meriwether Lewis at Harpers Ferry
Edward S. Curtis on the Trail of Lewis and Clark
The Encounter at Travelers' Rest

Plus The Rhyme of the Great Navigator, Part 2



THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR TRADE JOURNAL

VOLUME 9 - 2015

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Questioning the identity of the person whose portrait Miller painted, the image of Joe Walker may not be him at all.

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"Principal Cascade of the Missouri" [Great Falls, Montana], *History of the expedition*, Vol. 1, Dublin 1817. Courtesy of Lewis & Clark College Watzek Library Special Collections and Archives

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Harpers Ferry from Maryland Heights. Courtesy Janice and Jerry Wilson

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Founder, We Proceeded On
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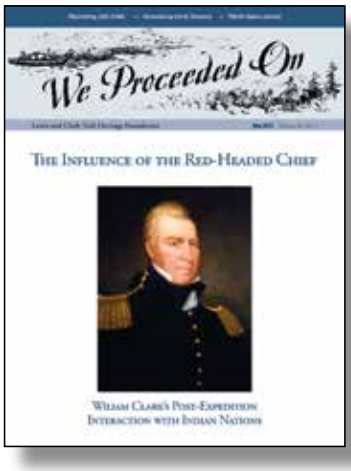

We Proceeded On

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A Message from the President

COURTESY, STEVE LEE

At left, Senator John Tester of Montana with Steve Lee.

I've just returned from Washington, DC, where I joined a team representing the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation at the annual "Hike the Hill" conference sponsored jointly by the American Hiking Association and the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS). Our foundation team consisted of Past President Margaret Gorski (also serving on the PNTS board), Vice President Philippa Newfield, Executive Director Lindy Hatcher (also serving on a PNTS committee), Phillip Gordon, and me. Our time was spent visiting staff from the Department of Interior, Department of Agriculture, ten U.S. Senate offices, and ten U.S. House of Representatives offices.

I very much enjoyed spreading the word about our great foundation and informing those with whom we met about what we do to support the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. Philippa and I both talked with Forest Service Chief Thomas Tidwell and let him know how important Forest Service access roads are to our trail. While not administered by the Forest Service, the Lewis and Clark Trail still cuts through eight national forests and one national grassland. In the congressional offices, we emphasized our organization's contribution of 57,000 volunteer hours valued at $1.3 million towards the trail in the last year. We called attention to the Bicentennial Trail Stewardship Endowment's grant program that awarded $270,000 over the past five years. We personally met with U.S. Representatives David Young of Iowa, Cathy McMorris Rodgers of Washington, and U.S. Senator Jon Tester of Montana, and I enjoyed mentioning specific grants in their areas. They appreciatively received us and listened to our message.

This illustrates the importance of our foundation programs and why I am announcing a campaign to build our education and research program through the Burroughs-Holland/Bicentennial Education Fund. Let's set a goal of adding $25,000 to this fund, which currently has a value close to $100,000 and currently produces an annual distribution of about $5,000. Our goal is to start awarding educational and research grants to chapters, researchers, and other interested organizations who share our mission in support of trails. While the trail stewardship fund is eighteen times larger than the education fund, our efforts this year will help build toward this lofty goal. Imagine having two well-funded programs, and what they would enable us to accomplish in our role as "Keepers of the Story, Stewards of the Trail."

Over the years the foundation has funded curriculum guides, activity books, and research by historians/scholars such as Thomas Danisi, Martin Plamondon, Melissa Darby, and Ron Craig. Recent grants have funded a Boy Scout project, the development of the Meriwether game, and last June our first two National History Day awards: "The Corps of Discovery" Junior and Senior awards. The foundation has committed to these student prizes for two more years. (For more information, go to www.nhd.org.)

The new guidelines for the Burroughs-Holland/Bicentennial Education fund reflect the goals of the two named donors. For example, we seek applications for educational programs, awards for children in school, and the development of educational materials reflecting the goals of the original Burroughs gift of $3,000 in 1991. In 2007, the foundation received the royalties and logo fees from bicentennial vendors. This gift from the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial is dedicated to Lewis and Clark educational programs. In 2014, the remaining funds from the Leandra Zim Holland Memorial Research Fund were combined with this fund. In honoring that donation, we seek research projects in archeology, mapping, and sociological studies in the areas of nutrition, native relations,

spiritual values, medicine, food history of the West, and spiritual values linking traditional Western systems with Native American values—all items of interest to the late author Leandra Holland.

Both namesakes of the fund were frequent attendees at Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation annual meetings. Both were authors. Raymond Darwin "Dar" Burroughs (1899–1976) was the editor of *The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* published in 1961, and was a contributor to *We Proceeded On.* After his death his daughter Margaret Norris reminded members of our foundation "of the enjoyment Dad got from belonging to the foundation, and from the many friendships he made." Leandra Holland wrote *Feasting and Fasting with Lewis and Clark: A Food and Social History of the Early 1800s.* Sadly, Holland passed away in 2003 just as the book was going to press. Leandra also contributed articles to *We Proceeded On* and presented several programs at annual meetings. Leandra's husband, Chuck Holland, served the foundation as treasurer for three years.

By contributing to the Burroughs-Holland/Bicentennial fund, your donation keeps on giving through the years. Each year, five percent of the fund's value is allocated to the grant program. The funds are invested in our endowment account and the appreciation of this account will result in even larger grant amounts in future years. And this continuous funding source will help people explore all the stories of the journey and the trail.

Please join me in making a contribution to this fund. An envelope is included in this issue and online contributions can be made through www.lewisandclark.org. This three-month campaign will be concluded at our annual meeting in Harpers Ferry in July. Your participation in furthering this important grant program for the Foundation is both needed and welcomed.

—Steve Lee
Clarkston, Washington

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Photograph of Bitterroots courtesy of Steve Lee

To the Editor,

With all due respect to one of America's greatest military heroes, is it possible that Meriwether Lewis could have suffered from bipolar disorder, also called manic-depressive illness? Lewis's irritable moodiness could be a sign that his mood problems may have been more than a difficult personality. Bipolar mania is characterized by up-and-down episodes of excessive euphoric energy with unrealistic capacities and bipolar depression with risky actions and thoughts of suicide.

Keith Jones
Mount Pleasant, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Clark:

I write to commend Jack Nisbet on his informative article "One of the Grateful Vegetables." Although not a botanist or someone with any trace of a science gene in my body, I found it an enjoyable read. His style added to my appreciation for nature's wonders and continued fascination with the Expedition's daily struggles. A great WPO article.

Sincerely,
Tom Jacobs
Flagstaff, Arizona

Correction

In the February 2016 issue of *We Proceeded On* (Vol. 42:1), the opening line of David L. Nicandri's article should read:

In his valedictory remarks to the audience at the Trail Heritage Foundation meeting in Bismarck in July 2013, James Ronda reminded the assembly that the great American expedition was not the central event of exploration in its time.

The editor apologizes for the error.

Attention Lewis and Clark Trail Stewards!

LEWIS & CLARK TRAIL STEWARDSHIP ENDOWMENT
A National Council of the Lewis & Clark Expedition Bicentennial Legacy Project

October 1 is the deadline for submitting a Bicentennial Trail Stewardship Endowment Grant request for the 2016 grant year.

See www.lewisandclark.org/grants for the application and guidelines.

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We Proceeded On

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Meriwether Lewis at Harpers Ferry

by Joseph D. Jeffrey

COURTESY JANICE AND JERRY WILSON

Harpers Ferry from Maryland Heights. The Point is at the junction of the Potomac, entering from right, and Shenandoah Rivers.

The early days of March 1803 marked the end of the two-year planning phase for Jefferson's western expedition of exploration. The planning activity had been carried out largely in the sanctity of President Jefferson's office.[1] Those days also began a four-month period during which Meriwether Lewis, as the first and yet sole member of the Corps of Discovery, constantly traversed the roads connecting Washington, Harpers Ferry, Lancaster, and Philadelphia assembling his supplies and taking cram courses that would qualify him to be the expedition's resident scientist. Curiously though, the progress of events at Harpers Ferry set the pace and dictated the timing of Lewis's travels during that period. It was on the Harpers Ferry Armory and

Harpers Ferry will be home to our annual meeting July 22-27, 2016. In anticipation, we have pulled this article from our archives, originally published in *We Proceeded On,* Volume 20, number 4 (November 1994), highlighting the role this historic site played in the Corps of Discovery's planning and execution. As noted in the article, at the time of its publication there was little signage or acknowledgement of Meriwether Lewis's association with Harpers Ferry. This has changed in the years since. The article is printed with minor editorial corrections.

Arsenal that Lewis relied for guns and hardware that would meet his unique requirements.

In 1803 the Harpers Ferry Armory was a new facility. In retrospect it could be considered the precursor for a two-hundred-year succession of government agencies that drew on the national talent available at the time and that performed outstanding services in their early years. In its ability to implement new designs and adapt them for production, the Harpers Ferry Armory was unique, exactly the combination laboratory, jobshop, and manufactory Lewis needed.

Today Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, is a small town, the lower part of which is a national historical park. The clean streets and handsomely restored buildings set on the point of land at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers in a rural mountainous setting, make it a visual delight for the casual sightseer as well as the Civil War buff. There the National Park Service has placed historical emphasis on the Civil War period . Yet fifty-six years before abolitionist John Brown's raid on the armory, Harpers Ferry played its significant part at the start of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Harpers Ferry—A Distinguished History

While Lewis was the first historic personage to do business with the Harpers Ferry Armory, he was not the first to have his name associated with the area. As far back as the time of the French and Indian War, George Washington, then an officer in the British colonial militia, was familiar with the upper Potomac River and the line of forts to Pittsburgh and beyond. Before the Revolution, Washington had also served as surveyor for Virginia's British governor, Lord Fairfax, and after the Revolution as president of the Patowmack (land development) Company.[2] Washington's familiarity with the area was later instrumental in establishing the Federal Armory and Arsenal at Harpers Ferry.

Unlike Washington, Thomas Jefferson did little traveling west of his Virginia estates (Monticello and Poplar Forest) or west of the Atlantic Coast centers of population. However, at the time he was elected a Virginia representative to the 1783 Continental Congress, he decided to take a westerly route to Philadelphia by descending the Shenandoah River through the village of Harpers Ferry.[3] On October 25 he climbed the steep hill above the town to a rocky outcrop, where, so impressed with the mountain and river view, he described the setting in his book *Notes on the State of Virginia.* Wrote Jefferson as he looked to the east:

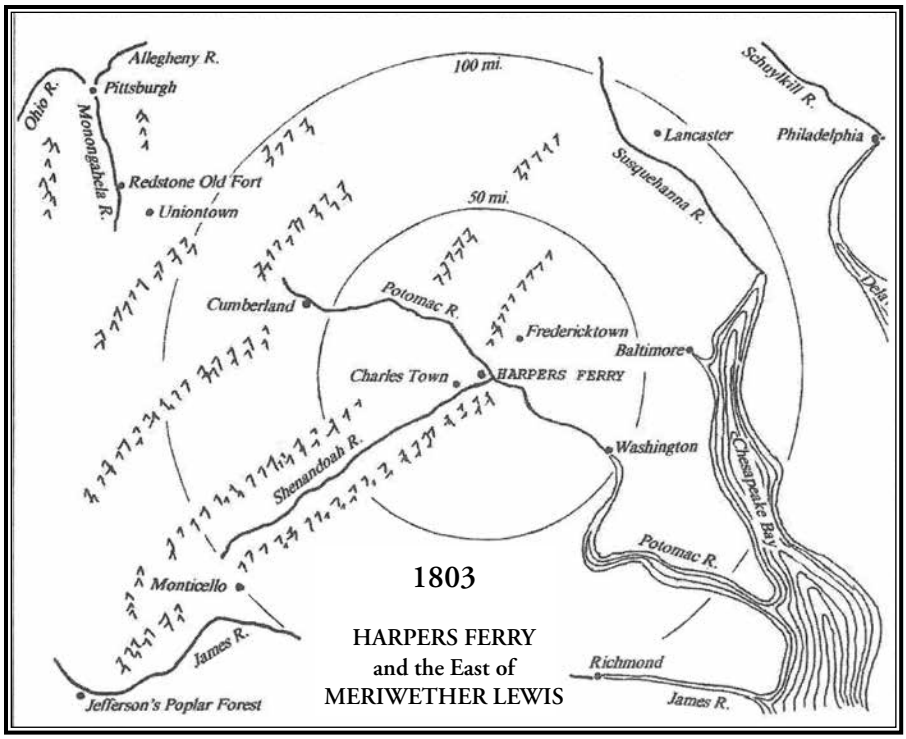
> On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain a hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patowmac in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea.—This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic.[4]

Long before Washington and Jefferson, the Harpers Ferry site was on the natural transportation corridor connecting the frontier villages of Fredericktown [Frederick, Maryland] and Charles Town [then Virginia, now West Virginia], and continuing on to the few settlements to the southwest in the Shenandoah Valley. In 1733 a trader, Peter Stephens, recognized the possibilities of the site. Noting that the Potomac River was the major travel impediment on the route, he set up a primitive ferry service.[5]

Fourteen years later millwright Robert Harper, alert to the water power possibilities of the rivers, bought out Stephens' ferry operation and took a deed on Stephens' squatter rights holdings. Harper proceeded to put his new holdings on a firm legal basis and in 1751 obtained a land patent from the Royal Governor and exclusive charter for the ferry concession from the Virginia General Assembly. In 1763 the town of "Shenandoah Falls at Mr. Harper's Ferry" was established by act of the Virginia General Assembly.[6] Harper's combined mill and ferry boat operation impressed land developer/surveyor George Washington with the larger possibilities of the site.

In its early days the site was referred to as Harper's Ferry. Today it is Harpers Ferry without the apostrophe.

In 1775 Robert Harper began construction of a stone house, but due to the wartime scarcity of labor it was not completed until 1782. Unfortunately Harper died in October of that year without ever living in the house, but the name stuck. From 1782 to 1803, the building functioned as the town's only tavern and served, among others, Thomas Jefferson and George Washington.[7] As an 1803 tavern it was certainly visited by Meriwether Lewis and, in keeping with the custom of the times, quite possibly housed Lewis during his stay.



In 1794 Congress passed legislation "for the erecting and repairing [translated to mean construction, equipping, and maintenance] of Arsenals and Magazines." The first of two national armories/arsenals was then planned for Springfield, Massachusetts. George Washington, now president, was given wide discretionary powers in executing the legislation and, not surprisingly, selected Harpers Ferry for the second site.

The U.S. government in 1796 purchased 118 acres from Harper's heirs for its new facility, referred to officially as the "United States Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry." Construction began in 1799.[8] The terms "armory" and "arsenal" seem to have been used somewhat interchangeably, although "armory" meant a manufacturing facility, and "arsenal" referred to a storage site for completed arms.

Although there was much criticism of his selected site because of its flood damage potential, Washington believed it to be ideal because of the available water power, access to raw materials, secure position, and proximity to the new capital. Washington's view prevailed.[9] It might be noted that for the sixty-three years the armory was in production, floods never shut it down. It took the ravages of Civil War to finally bring its demise; by that time it had, in any event, outlived its usefulness. After the Civil War, floods harassed the town and closed the last commercial mills in 1936.

By 1801 the Harpers Ferry Armory was producing its first weapons. The workmen were skilled artisans drawn from the Philadelphia area. Their specialty was individual piecework, but the armory was able to begin mass production of rifles shortly after Lewis's visit.

Lewis—Early Harpers Ferry Customer

Freed from the restrictive Washington atmosphere in March 1803, Lewis hit the ground running as he prepared for the western exploration. For four months his track was difficult to follow, as Jefferson discovered. One quick inspection of equipment available from the regular army supply depot, Schuylkill Arsenal at Philadelphia, convinced Lewis that hardware to meet his anticipated special needs (such as for guns, tomahawks, boat frame, and the like) was not available through normal military provisioning channels.

The new facility at Harpers Ferry with its talented work force was obviously the source of choice. Lewis

The Point and Large Arsenal, c. 1803. View to the east looking down the Potomac with the Shenandoah flowing in from the right. Maryland shore, left, with the ferry in midstream. The arsenal was built 1799-1800. Etching by Joseph Jeakes from the original painting by William Roberts.

COURTESY THE MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS: PRINT COLLECTION, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. "JUNCTION OF THE POTOMAC AND SHENANDOAH, VIRGINIA." NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY DIGITAL COLLECTIONS. ACCESSED MARCH 1, 2016. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47d9-7b55-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99

lost no time in getting his logistic supply line in order. Beginning on March 14, a succession of orders emanated from the War Department. The first, and of primary interest, was from Secretary of War Henry Dearborn himself, addressed to Joseph Perkins, superintendent of the Harper's Ferry Arsenal:

> 14th March 1803
>
> Sir:
>
> You will be pleased to make such arms & Iron work, as requested by the Bearer Captain Meriwether Lewis and to have them completed with the least possible delay. I am
>
> &c.
>
> H. Dearborn[10]

The secretary's order in hand, and now having a good idea where the various classes of equipment were to be obtained, Lewis's priority rested with specialty items that would require his design and approval. Accordingly, he hurried to Harpers Ferry where he arrived about March 16.

With a little imagination one can picture some of Harpers Ferry today as Lewis would have found it in 1803. ln addition to Jefferson Rock and Harper House, three other sites in the lower town reflect the Lewis era. On Potomac Street is a modest building with a sign in front claiming that it was built in 1799 to be the home of the armory superintendent. Now near the railway station, in 1803 it was across the street from the armory's then-main entrance. (All armory buildings have long since disappeared, their site now covered by an elevated railroad grade.) Since the house lies outside the park boundary, it has not been historically authenticated by the National Park Service. However, dedicated Lewis and Clark followers may well accept it for what it purports to be.

The second Lewis-related site is at the point of land (the "Point") where the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers converge. There is displayed a copy of an 1803 lithograph showing the large arsenal with the rivers beyond, surrounded by mountains, and with a ferry boat midstream from the Maryland shore as Lewis would have ridden it several times to and from Frederick[town].[11] Here, truly, is depicted the landscape as Lewis would have seen it, not too different from today's similar mountain and river vista.

The third site as seen today is the foundation of the large arsenal, now outlined in stone in the grass of a pleasant parklike setting. The large arsenal (so called to differentiate it from the later "small" arsenal) shown in the 1803 lithograph was a two-story building with attic, built in 1799-1800 and measuring 125 by 32 feet, used to store completed arms manufactured in the armory.[12]

Lewis's travels were now so unpredictable that it was difficult for Jefferson to keep his paternal eye on his protégé's progress. Indeed, as Jefferson somewhat petulantly suggested, he had heard nothing from Lewis for six weeks or so after March 7.[13] Of course, some portion of that six weeks may have been due to Jefferson's own absence from Washington while Lewis remained in the capital. It was Jefferson's yearly custom to take an early spring break for a month at Monticello, his home near Charlottesville, Virginia.[14] With that pattern, it is quite probable that Jefferson departed Washington on or shortly after March 7, eight days ahead of Lewis's March 15 departure.[15] In any event, Lewis was not keeping his mentor well advised as to his movements although, as a one-man task force, he was literally scheduling his activities on a day-to-day basis that stretched his intended one-week stay at Harpers Ferry to a month.

Finally, on April 20, Lewis wrote Jefferson to explain, if not his silence, at least his activity:

> My detention at Harper's Ferry was unavoidable for one month, a period much greater than could reasonably have been calculated on; my greatest difficulty was the frame of the canoe, which could not be completed without my personal attention to such portion of it as would enable the workmen to understand the design perfectly. …My Rifles, Tomahawks & knives are preparing at Harper's Ferry, and are already in a state of forwardness that leaves me little doubt of their being in readiness in due time.[16]

Lewis's letter went on further to explain that he was unwilling to risk the canoe's design on theoretical calculations alone. He, therefore, decided to conduct a "full experiment" after which "I was induced from the result of this [successful] experiment to direct the iron frame of the canoe to be completed." With a transportable weight of only 99 pounds and able to carry a load of 1,770 pounds, the canoe seemed to justify Lewis's optimism as to its potential. That the "iron canoe" failed of its purpose was not the fault of the armory's

COURTESY JANICE AND JERRY WILSON

A replica of Lewis's iron boat located in Harpers Ferry.

skill or of Lewis's great idea. Much later, when the time came to put the iron frame to practical use following the Great Falls portage, the natural resources of that local area, on which Lewis had planned to rely, simply did not provide the necessary waterproofing material for seams of the boat's elkskin covering.

Lewis departed Harpers Ferry April 18 for Lancaster and Philadelphia, confident that all was now firmly on track. Jefferson, not yet in receipt of Lewis's April 20 letter, wrote to him April 23 noting that two army officers had informed him (Jefferson) they had seen Lewis in Frederick about April 20 and that Lewis had been detained in Harpers Ferry until April 18.[17]

Jefferson's concerns about Lewis's whereabouts during this period of silence were also expressed in the president's letter to Lewis Harvie. Harvie had been selected to be Lewis's replacement as Jefferson's secretary. Jefferson apologized for not moving Harvie into the job earlier, but did not want it to appear that he was dissatisfied with Lewis's actions or in a hurry to replace him. Jefferson explained that he had anticipated Lewis's return to Washington and start on his Mississippi expedition [still carrying on the fiction of the purpose] some time earlier, but only two days earlier had learned that Lewis had been detained at Harpers Ferry a month instead of a week.[18]

The Transportation Challenge

On May 29 Lewis reported to the president his successful completion of preparation in Philadelphia and planned departure for Washington June 6 or 7.[19] Lewis's major chore now was to make arrangements for transport of his small mountain of stores from Philadelphia and Harpers Ferry to Pittsburgh, the embarkation point for the expedition's keelboat.

Transport of all military materials from the various supply centers to forts and outposts was under the control of area "military agents" of the War Department. For the middle Atlantic area, which included Philadelphia, Harpers Ferry, and Pittsburgh, the military agent was one William Linnard. Lewis called on Linnard in Philadelphia to state his requirements and then backed up his request with a letter dated June 10.[20] Lewis emphasized that the stores would weigh at least 3,500 pounds and that the road by "which from necessaty they must travel is by no means good." Accordingly, he recommended a five-horse team.

Last minute delays held Lewis in Philadelphia until June 17.[21] He then returned to Washington hoping everything would fall into place. Certainly his attention to detail had provided for every reasonably anticipated contingency. Lewis's last days in Washington were a

flurry of activity.[22] He had intended to visit his mother at Locust Hill (near Charlottesville), but so anxious was he to get started west, he could only write her that "circumstances have rendered this impossible."[23] As Lewis informed his mother, he was to depart Washington on July 4, 1803. Actually Lewis left the city, now for the last time, on July 5. His one-day delay was probably due to last minute details and a possible July 4th Independence Day-Louisiana Purchase celebration.[24]

Linnard started the transport wagon west from Philadelphia in timely fashion. Unfortunately, with bureaucratic inefficiency, he failed to verify the wagon's carrying capability. As Lewis later reported to Jefferson, the wagon passed Harpers Ferry June 28; however, "The waggoner determined that his team was not sufficiently strong to take the whole of the articles that had been prepared for me at this place [i.e. Harpers Ferry] and therefore took none of them."[25]

It is not clear when Lewis learned of the transportation breakdown at Harpers Ferry. But on July 5 he was in Fredericktown, thirty-five miles from Washington and twenty miles from Harpers Ferry seeking transport. There he "engaged a person with a light two horse-waggon who promised to set out with them this morning [i.e. July 8] for H. Ferry…."[26]

However, once again the promised transport failed at the appointed time. Lewis's intestinal fortitude must have been sorely tried. On that same day he engaged yet another person now scheduled to depart Harpers Ferry the morning of July 9. This time Lewis must have been sure of the driver, team, and wagon since he planned his own departure from Harpers Ferry a day ahead of the wagon.

Attesting to the high quality of work performed by the Harpers Ferry Armory, Lewis wrote the president, "Yesterday [July 7] I shot my guns and examined the several articles which had been manufactered for me at this place; they appear to be well executed."[27]

Lewis departed Harpers Ferry for the last time the afternoon of July 8, by "the rout of Charlestown, Frankfort, Uniontown [Pennsylvania] and Redstone old fort [now Brownsville, Pennsylvania]."[28] His direction was now irrevocably west. He reported to Jefferson his arrival in Pittsburgh July 15 with nothing happening on the trip "worthy of relation."[29] Lewis's final references to Harpers Ferry were made in a July 22 letter to Jefferson. "—the knives that were made at Harper's ferry will answer my purposes equally as well and perhaps better…The Waggon from Harper's ferry arrived today, bringing everything with which she was charged in good order."[30]

Lewis's Rifles and Equipment

We are concerned more with the circumstances of the Harpers Ferry acquisition than the details of the articles themselves. However, from Donald Jackson's *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*[31] and other references one may deduce what articles came from Harpers Ferry. One author in 1968 listed as probably acquired there:[32]

- 15 rifles
- 12 pipe tomahawks
- 18 tomahawks
- 36 pipe tomahawks "for Indian presents"
- 24 large knives
- 15 powder horns and pouches complete
- 15 pairs of bullet molds
- 15 wipers or gun worms
- 15 ball screws
- 15 gun slings
- Extra parts of locks, and tools and parts for replacing arms
- 40 fish giggs such as the Indians use with a single barb point
- Collapsible iron frame for a canoe
- l small grindstone

This listing, if not wholly accurate, is certainly representative of what Lewis obtained at Harpers Ferry. The rifles and rifle accessories, of course, were of primary importance.

Other than a brief note in the park's visitors brochure that arms produced here were used by Lewis and Clark, the only signage today at the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park referencing Lewis and Clark is a small card in the Master Armorer's House (c. 1858), alongside an 1803 rifle reading:

> U.S. Model 1803 Flintlock Rifle. The first rifles made at Harpers Ferry reflect the popular American design of the Pennsylvania and Kentucky rifles. Like the early muskets, craftsmen produced the various parts of this rifle by hand. Many historians believe that Lewis and Clark traveled west with these rifles during their Louisiana Territory expedition in 1803–1804.

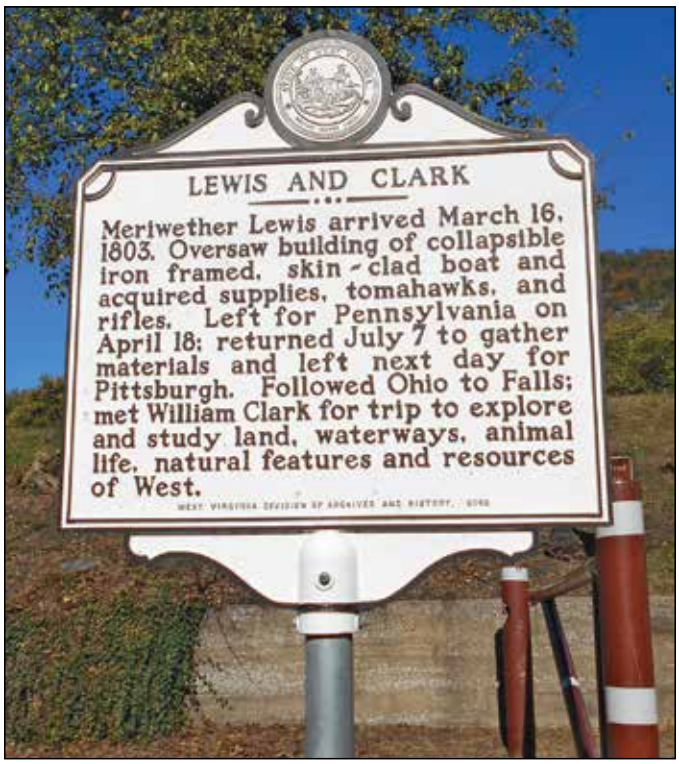
That the signage is in error as to the dates of the expedition makes it suspect, or at least unclear, also as to the type and model designations of the Lewis rifles. Biographer Richard Dillon gives some characteristics of the Lewis rifles and asserts that so efficient was the Lewis design that the Secretary of War ordered them (presumably meaning the U.S. Model 1803 noted in the NPS sign) into mass production with only one or two minor changes.[33]

A detailed analysis of the Lewis rifles is beyond the intended scope of this article. However, any person interested in the gun history and subsequent influence of the Lewis design might find helpful the references provided by the Harpers Ferry National Park historian's office cited in the endnote below.[34]

In Perspective

No expert's knowledge or indeed any knowledge of rifles is necessary to appreciate Harpers Ferry today. But one should be armed with foreknowledge to find the elusive 1803 tracks of Meriwether Lewis. So plan to climb the quarter-mile section of Appalachian Trail that leads up to the panoramic view at Jefferson Rock. Then stand below at "the Point" and compare the pictorial representation of the 1803 scene with today's mountain and river vista. Walk through Harper House, the oldest surviving building in the park, and see it in the mind's eye, not as presented in its later years, but as familiar to Lewis while engaged in conversation with townspeople and armory artisans over a friendly ale. Nearby, walk slowly by the reputed superintendent's home where Lewis, after presenting his impressive credentials and consistent with military niceties of the time, would certainly have been socially entertained of an evening as the not-yet-famous, but nevertheless illustrious representative of the United States president. Finally, view the stone foundation of the large arsenal and imagine Lewis at the door giving a final instruction for loading the supply wagon, eager to start west within the hour on his adventure.

In its very early days the Harpers Ferry Armory and Arsenal made a notable contribution to the success of the expedition. Backed by this history, Harpers Ferry is a significant site on the eastern Lewis and Clark Trail.



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Lewis and Clark interpretive sign.

Joseph D. Jeffrey is a retired naval officer and aviator. He is the former chief legal advisor in the Federal Aviation Administration, Office of Aircraft Safety Standards. He is a member of the National Lewis & Clark Trail Coordination Committee serving as state chairman of the Virginia, West Virginia, District of Columbia area.

Notes

1. William Seale, *The President's House,* 2 vols. (Washington: White House Historical Association and National Geographic Society, 1986), 1:95.

2. Dave Gilbert, *A Walker's Guide to Harpers Ferry* (Harpers Ferry: Harpers Ferry Historical Association, Third Edition, 1991), 10, 38.

3. Ibid., 41. *See also* Merrill D. Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation—A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 268.

4. William Peden, ed., *Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton Co., 1982, reprint of the 1785 original), 19.

5. Visitors brochure, *Harpers Ferry National Historical Park* (National Park Service, 1992).

6. Gilbert, *Walker's Guide,* 40.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., 38.

9. Ibid.

10. Dearborn to Perkins, March 14, 1803. In Donald Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,* 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:75-76.

11. A print from the original, shown at Monticello as part of Jefferson's 250th birthday celebration, is dated c. 1810. This is reproduced in Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, and Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1993), 190, 92. However, the NPS display copy is characterized as an 1803 print. See also Gilbert, *Walker's Guide,* at p. 26 for a reprint of the lithograph.

12. Gilbert, *Walker's Guide,* 27.

13. Jefferson to Lewis, April 23, 1803. Reported in Jackson, *Letters,* 43.

14. The pattern of Jefferson's annual spring break seems to have been established shortly after his first inaugural. He moved into the President's (White) House March 19, 1801, and shortly thereafter "was away for a month's rest at Monticello." *See* Seale, *The President's House,* 1:93. That it was a yearly event for Jefferson to go "to Monticello for his usual spring holiday," *see* Peterson, *Jefferson and The New Nation,* 804.

15. The two dates may be logically reconciled. Lewis's March 15 departure date was given in Treasury Secretary Gallatin's 14 March letter to Jefferson. *See* Jackson, *Letters,* 27. This same letter also notes Jefferson's absence from Washington at the time, saying in effect that nothing of importance in the Treasury Department would be done "till you return."

16. Lewis to Jefferson, April 20, 1803. Jackson, *Letters,* 38-40.

17. Jefferson to Lewis, April 23, 1803. Jackson, *Letters,* 43.

18. Jefferson to Harvie, April 22, 1803. Jackson. *Letters,* 41.

19. Lewis to Jefferson, May 29, 1803. Jackson, *Letters,* 51.

20. Lewis to William Linnard, June 10, 1803. Jackson, *Letters,* 53.

21. Richard Dillon, *Meriwether Lewis—A Biography* (New York: CowardMcCann, 1965), 46.

22. Lewis was receiving last minute instructions, some in written form (including the famous letter of general credit), from Jefferson almost to the moment of departure. See Jefferson to Lewis, July 4, 1803, Jackson, *Letters,* 105.

23. Lewis to Lucy Marks, July 2, 1803. Jackson, *Letters,* 100.

24. A footnote in Jackson, *Letters,* 106, gives the July 5 Lewis departure date. Jim Large notes that news of the Louisiana Purchase reached Washington on July 3, giving cause for a double celebration on the 4th—a celebration that might well have detained Lewis in Washington an extra day.

25. Lewis to Jefferson, July 8, 1803. Jackson, *Letters,* 106.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Lewis to Jefferson, July 15, 1803. Jackson, *Letters,* 110.

30. Lewis to Jefferson, July 22, 1803. Jackson, *Letters,* 111-12.

31. Jackson, *Letters,* 69-99.

32. Stuart E. Brown, Jr., *Guns of Harpers Ferry* (Berryville, Virginia: Virginia Book Co., 1968).

33. Dillon, *Meriwether Lewis,* 43.

34. Citations furnished by the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park historian's office that provide some details of the Lewis rifle design: David F. Butler, *United States Firearms, the First Century 1776-1875* (New York: Winchester Press, 1971), 74-77; Robert M. Reilly, *U.S. Martial Flintlocks* (Lincoln, Rhode Island: Andrew Mowbray, Inc., 1986), 125-26; Kirk Olson, *A Lewis* & *Clark Rifle?, American Rifleman* (May 1985), 23-25, 66-68; Brown, *Guns of Harpers Ferry*. [Editorial note, 2016: *See also* special issue of *We Proceeded On,* 32 (May 2006) on firearms; Jim Garry, *Weapons of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).

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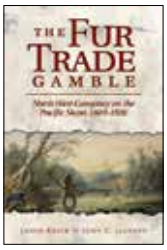

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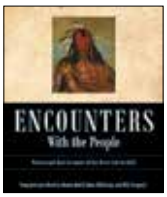

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Edward S. Curtis on the Trail of Lewis and Clark

by Robert E. Gatten, Jr.

Most of us remember Edward S. Curtis (1868-1952) for his iconic photographs of Native Americans. Curtis spent much of his time during a span of thirty years living with, gaining the trust of, and recording the traditions of American Indians. He, along with many others at the time, believed American Indians were a "vanishing race" who should be studied and documented for future generations.[1] Curtis and his team of assistants created a twenty-volume masterwork, *The North American Indian*, published between 1907 and 1930; the leather-bound books and their accompanying large portfolios contain over 5,000 pages of ethnographic descriptions and 2,200 photos of 81 tribes of Indians still living in their traditional ways.[2] Curtis scholar Mick Gidley has said the project "almost certainly constitutes the largest anthropological enterprise ever undertaken."[3]

During his research, Curtis visited several groups of Indians who, a century earlier, had encountered the Lewis and Clark Expedition.[4] Curtis was acutely aware of the records of the Corps of Discovery and included in *The North American Indian* many quotes from the edition of the Lewis and Clark journals edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites.[5]

Curtis's Photos of Nez Perce Indians

Curtis photographed a few Indians with ancestral connections to the journey of the Corps of Discovery, including Chief Joseph (Hinmahtooyahlakekt, or Thunder Rolling Down the Mountain) of the Nez Perce tribe. Joseph claimed to be the grandson of a chief of the Nimiipuu who had met with the expedition and who had urged the tribe to provide food to the starving explorers.[6]

Joseph—Nez Perce, 1903, by Edward S. Curtis. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 8: plate facing p. 24.

Lawyer—Nez Perce, 1905, by Edward S. Curtis. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 8: plate no. 264.

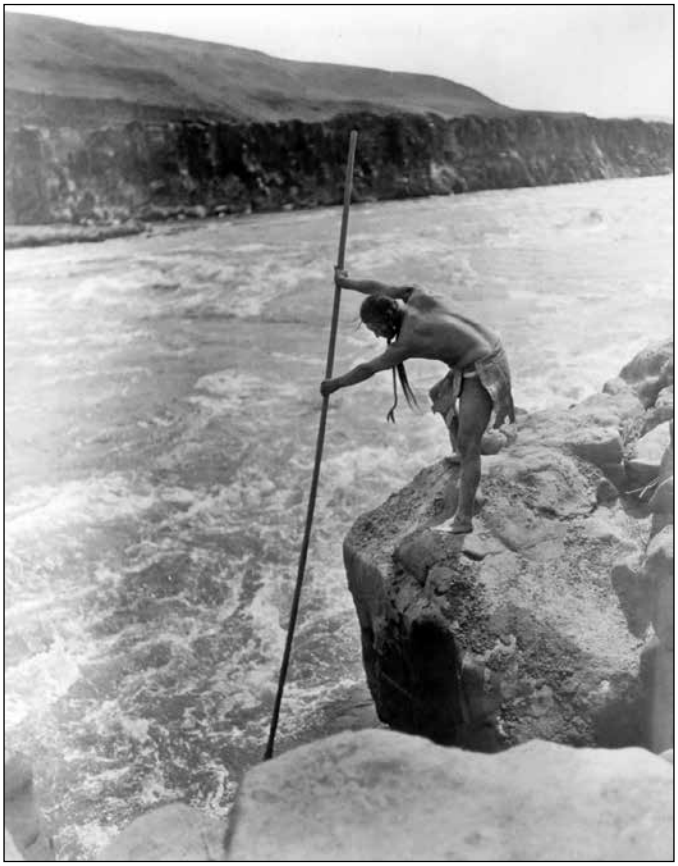
During the expedition, the members of the Corps of Discovery spent a great deal of time in the company of another Nez Perce known as Twisted Hair (Walammottinin, or Hair or Forelock Bunched and Tied).[7] In 1805, he traveled with the Expedition down the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia Rivers as far as The Dalles; Twisted Hair's band cared for the Expedition's horses during their absence downriver.[8] Twisted Hair was the father of Aleiya (later known as Chief Lawyer, Hallalhotsoot) who, as a boy of about nine years had seen Captain Clark and his advance party as they emerged from the mountains onto the Wieppe Prairie

and was most likely present when the expedition held their Grand Council with the Nimiipuu on May 12, 1806, on Commearp (Lawyer) Creek, just outside Kamiah, Idaho.[9] When Edward Curtis visited the Nez Perces in 1905, he photographed Chief Lawyer's son, James Lawyer. Note the peace medal he is wearing.

Curtis on the Columbia

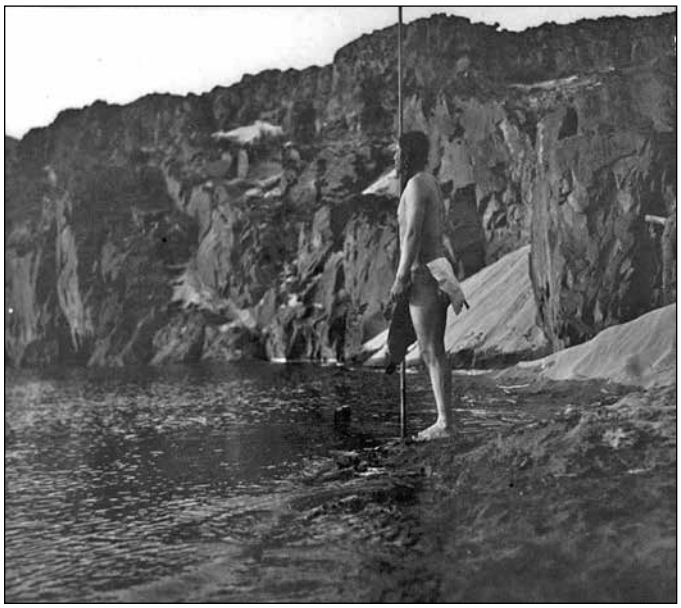
Curtis knew a great deal about the journey of the Corps of Discovery, and longed to repeat part of it. He wrote:

> In the autumn of 1805 the Lewis and Clark party, travel-worn, hungry, their clothes in rags, reached the Columbia River and in canoes followed its course to the Ocean. . . Through the Lewis and Clark Journals I had followed in my mind that greatest exploration on the Columbia River. I had long envisioned such a trip. I wanted to see and study the region from the water, as had the Lewis and Clark party more than a hundred years before; also to make a final check of ancient and present Indian village sites. I wanted to camp where they camped and approach the Pacific through the eyes of those intrepid explorers. Perhaps I would in a measure, experience something of their feeling of satisfaction and accomplishment.[10]



Fisherman-Wishham (sic), 1909, by Edward S. Curtis. Curtis, *The North American Indian,* 8: plate 274.

In 1910, Curtis got his wish. With four assistants he set out from Pasco, Washington, in a flat-bottomed boat, with a large canoe loaded with supplies. They landed and scouted old village sites and camped on shore. At Celilo Falls, they saw the Indians fishing for salmon and trading as they had done for thousands of years.[11]



Lewis and Clark's Landing Place at Nihhluidih, 1909, by Edward S. Curtis (at a Wishram village on the Washington shore of the Columbia at the Long Narrows, near The Dalles, Oregon). Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 8: plate facing p. 180.

Like Lewis and Clark, Curtis and his team had to portage their boats and supplies around the Falls. Curtis recalled:

> As we neared our goal, the Pacific, and summed up the existing native life from the Dalles to the Ocean, we were greatly impressed with the changes which had taken place [in] the one hundred years since the Lewis and Clark party visited here . . . We found that scores of populous villages and many sub-tribes had passed from existence. The Chinook tribes on the river, which were often spoken of by Lewis and Clark, were practically extinct with the exception of the Wishrams of the Dalles.[12]

Curtis wrote: "I was constantly driven by the need to obtain vital ethnological information from the old Indians of the tribes, who carried such facts in their heads. If I did not reach them in time, such valuable material would be completely lost to generations of Americans to follow."[13]

Curtis's twenty-volume masterwork of photographic and ethnographic records, *The North American Indian*, surely succeeded in preserving a huge volume

of extremely valuable ethnographic and visual information. Although Curtis was mistaken in believing Native Americans were a "vanishing race," in the centuries since European Americans first landed, the tribes retain only a vestige of their ancestral lands and have been vastly reduced in numbers, health, wealth, and influence. Nevertheless, they remain a vital part of America and its story.

Robert E. Gatten is Emeritus Professor of Biology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. He has been a member of the foundation for over thirty years, served as President 1994–96, and helped establish the Home Front and Carolina Chapters. He was one of three founders of the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. Since 2003, he has served as one of the historians on Lindblad Expeditions journey along the Columbia and Snake Rivers, with a focus on the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Notes:

Author's note: A wonderful 2001 film by Anne Makepeace, *Coming to Light: Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indians*, is available on the web. I am grateful to John Wilder for sparking my interest in Edward S. Curtis, John Vincler of the Morgan Library and Museum for assistance, Jessica Pigza and Meredith Mann of the Rare Books Division of the New York Public Library for making available original volumes of *The North American Indian*, Curtis scholar Mick Gidley for helpful advice, Gary Moulton for supplying materials from his definitive edition of the Lewis and Clark journals, and Linwood Laughy for stimulating discussions and helpful comments on this article.

1. Timothy Egan, *Short Nights of the Shadow Catcher: The Epic Life and Immortal Photographs of Edward Curtis* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012), 146-47.

2. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 20 vols., (Cambridge, MA: The University Press, 1907-1930). The entire contents of the 20 volumes and 20 portfolios are available online at The Library of Northwestern University (curtis.library.northwestern.edu).

3. Mick Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3.

4. The 13 groups of American Indians encountered by both Curtis and the Corps of Discovery are the Osage, Oto, Ponca, Teton Sioux, Arikara, Mandan, Hidatsa, Blackfeet (Piegan), Salish (Flathead), Nez Perces, Yakima, Cayuse, and Chinookans. This list was derived by comparing the names of the tribes visited by Curtis, as described in the 20 volumes of *The North American Indian*, and the lists of Eastern and Western Indians compiled by Lewis and Clark, and found in Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 3:447-50, 6: 489-92.

5. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, 8 vols. (New York: Dodd Mead, 1904-1905).

6. Chief Joseph said in an interview in 1903, "Long time ago, white man come to this country first time. My grandfather Chief Nez Perces Injuns that time. White man come across mountains. Nearly starve. Long time they eat horse, they eat dog, they eat root. White man pony all same bones. My grandfather tell his people: 'Be friends to white man. Give white man buffalo meat, fish. Take white man pony all same bones, give him fat pony.'" Charles N. Crewdson, "Chief Joseph's Story," in *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), (December 12, 1903), 12.

7. Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 5.

8. Allen V. Pinkham and Steven R. Evans, *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce: Strangers in the Land of the Nimiipuu,* (Washburn, ND: Dakota Institute Press, 2013), 59-96, 150.

9. J. F. Santee, "Lawyer of the Nez Perces," in *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1934), 37. Pinkham and Evans, *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce: Strangers in the Land of the Nimiipuu,* 146.

10. Edward S. Curtis, *Travelling the Route of Lewis and Clark – One Hundred Years Later,* University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, accession number 847-3, box number 2, folio number 24, undated (but most likely 1910), 1. Mick Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian Project in the Field,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 87-91. Gidley notes that Curtis' *Travelling the Route of Lewis and Clark—One Hundred Years Later* was taken from a memoir written by Curtis and used by his daughter Florence and her coauthor Victor Boesen while working on books about Curtis.

11. Curtis, *Travelling the Route of Lewis and Clark – One Hundred Years Later,* 2-3. Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian Project in the Field*, 87-91.

12. Curtis, *Travelling the Route of Lewis and Clark – One Hundred Years Later*, 9-10. The villages along the Greater Lower Columbia River Region described by the journalists of the Corps of Discovery were mostly occupied only seasonally (David V. Ellis, *Cultural Geography of the Lower Columbia,* in Robert T. Boyd, Kenneth M. Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, eds., *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013], 54-57. See also Yvonne Hajda, *Social and Political Organization*, in Boyd et al., *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia,* 151-53). Lewis and Clark's estimates of the population of the villages varied dramatically between 1805 and 1806 due to their seasonal occupation (Kenneth M. Ames and Elizabeth A. Sobel, *Houses and Households*, in Boyd et al., *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, 126-27. See also Robert T. Boyd, *Lower Chinookan Disease and Demography*, in Boyd et al., *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia,* 241-47). In his reflections (*Traveling the Route of Lewis and Clark – One Hundred Years Later*), Curtis does not specify in which season his party went down the Columbia.

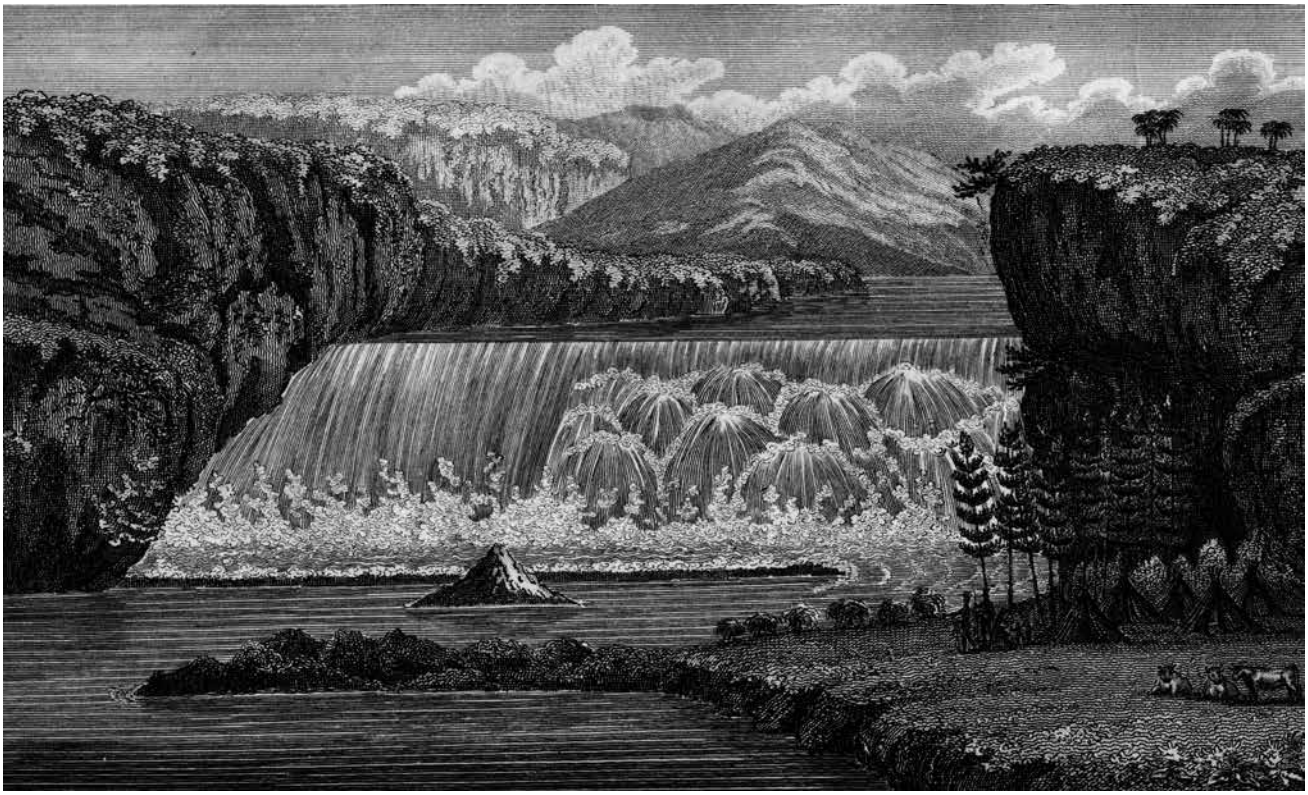
13. Curtis, *Travelling the Route of Lewis and Clark—One Hundred Years Later*, 4.

The Rhyme of the Great Navigator

The Literature of Captain Cook and its Influence on the Journals of Lewis and Clark

Part 2: The Grandest Sight

By David L. Nicandri



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"Principal Cascade of the Missouri" [Great Falls, Montana], *History of the expedition*, Vol. 1, Dublin 1817.

In part 1 of this essay (*We Proceeded On,* February 2016) I addressed the two explicit references to British Captain James Cook found in the journals of Lewis and Clark. The first and better known was Meriwether Lewis's famous inscription written on the occasion of the expedition's departure from Fort Mandan; a prideful allusion to his Missouri River "fleet" in juxtaposition to those of the "famed adventurers" Christopher Columbus and Cook.[1] The second centered on William Clark's correction of a mistake he thought Cook had made in describing a decorative element of Northwest Coast Indian canoes. On the surface an obscure episode, I argued that rather than pointing out a fault in Cook's power of observation, Clark inadvertently advertised his hidden reliance on Alexander Mackenzie. In that sense the canoe story provided

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Captain James Cook. An engraving from "Atlas of Captain Cooks' Third Voyage."

an important insight into how discovery texts often drew upon a larger literature without acknowledging sources. We continue that theme in this essay by discussing the literary context of the only passage from the journals of Lewis and Clark more quoted than the expedition's departure from Fort Mandan—Lewis's narrative reflection on his encounter with the sublime in the vicinity of the Great Falls of the Missouri in the late spring of 1805.

A more extensive text than the description of the departure from Fort Mandan, Lewis's Great Falls rhapsody is a literary classic, replete with colorful imagery and memorable turns of phrase describing the river's thunderous cataracts. The falls, which he reached on 13 June 1805 were, for Lewis, "the grandest sight I ever beheld." The "impetuous courant" broke "into a perfect white foam which assumes a thousand forms in a moment." He reveled in the billowing spray, rainbows, and other elements that added "not a little to the beauty of this majestically grand senery." Competently recording what he encountered, Lewis nevertheless felt compelled to deprecate his effort with this famous passage:

> after wrighting this imperfect discription I again viewed the falls and was so much disgusted with the imperfect idea which it conveyed of the scene that I determined to draw my pen across it and begin agin, but then reflected that I could not perhaps succeed better than pening the first impressions of the mind; I wished for the pencil of Salvator Rosa or the pen of Thompson [sic], that I might be enabled to give to the enlightened world some just idea of this truly magnifficent and sublimely grand object, which has from the commencement of time been concealed from the view of civilized man; but this was fruitless and vain.

The next day he walked to the upper falls and again stood in wonder at the water "dashing against the rocky bottom" creating "foaming billows of great hight." Like he had the day before, Lewis repeated his incantation for the presence of "a skillful painter" to record "the precise immage" of this "*pleasingly beautifull*" waterfall.[2]

There are many literary tropes commonly found in Enlightenment era exploratory accounts. Among the most common are: (1) the commander's expression of confident leadership that the men respond to cheerfully and without a hint of repining; (2) the productive response to fatigues and hardships modality; (3) cultural metamorphosis as represented by an exchange of garments or names; (4) disparate species of animals seemingly forming ad hoc alliances to either entertain or torment explorers with their antics or threatening demeanor, and perhaps most recognizably, (5) the example just recited—the imperfect description supposedly rendered in an amateurish or incomplete manner. Within this last—what might be called the trope of inexpressibility—there are several variants. The most favored by Alexander Mackenzie and Lewis was the suggestive hint of an impending difficulty, or in some instances a natural wonder, quickly followed by a textual slight-of-hand diverting the reader away from a detailed explanation that might otherwise be expected. Instead, readers were urged to employ their own faculties and imagine the scene or situation which was, the authors confidently presumed, "more readily conceived than expressed." In the present case the most noteworthy element is the specific invocation of Rosa and Thomson (the latter curiously misspelled by Lewis, but explained below). The exotic nature of these obscure references makes them stand out in sharp relief amidst the many lines of Lewis's rapturous gaze upon the Great Falls and contribute immensely to the liter-

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"Rocky Landscape with a Hunter and Soldiers," by Salvator Rosa.

ary prominence of his journal entry for 13 June 1805. The reference to Rosa and Thomson added much to the perception of Lewis as a man of the world, certainly the Enlightenment.

Rosa (1615-1673) was an Italian artist who, along with Claude Lorraine, was one of the progenitors of the Picturesque mode of painterly expression. This was not an empirical style in keeping with the Enlightenment's scientific outlook, and for that reason Rosa's baroque allegories were much admired by, and anticipated the form of, the nineteenth century Romantics. In this sense, Lewis is properly seen as a transitional figure in the evolution of cultural projection. Born late in the Enlightenment and educated to its tenets, his mood often reflected the passionate outlook of the ensuing Romantic age. By comparison to the parallel vein of maritime exploration, the emotionally detached and laconic James Cook stood in contrast to the moodiness of *The Bounty*'s William Bligh and Fletcher Christian.

James Thomson (1700-1748) was a well-known Scottish poet long since eclipsed in prominence by Robert Burns. Thomson seems to have been a favorite among educated young gentlemen, or, at least, it was fashionable to have presumed to read his poetry. He is best known for his paean to nature, *Seasons*, which appeared serially starting with "Winter" in 1726. The complete four-part set, including the finale "Autumn," was first published in 1730. We don't know whether Cook read Thomson, but two gentlemen travelling with the great navigator on his second voyage did: William Wales and George Forster. Wales (1734-1788), introduced in Part 1 of this essay as the mathematician and astronomer who was Coleridge's instructor, had observed the transit of Venus at Prince of Wales

Fort on Hudson Bay (while Cook, astronomer Charles Green, and naturalist Joseph Banks drew the assignment in Tahiti). The Board of Longitude appointed Wales to accompany Cook's second voyage in search of *Terra Australis*. Besides monitoring the chronometers and related navigational duties Wales taught the midshipmen, including George Vancouver, how to make proper astronomical observations.

Wales was thirty-seven when he left port with Cook, but George Forster (1754-1794) was a mere seventeen years of age when he signed on as assistant naturalist and illustrator, serving his father Johan Reinhold Forster who had taken over for Banks as the lead naturalist when the latter withdrew from the voyage. Both father and son published books in the immediate aftermath of Cook's second voyage which is probative. A close reading of the Cook record, including the works of Forster *pere et fils*, shows Lewis was clearly inspired to reference such exotic European figures as Rosa and Thomson by what he read there and his doing so provides an analogue to the clever and sometimes devious borrowings Lewis and Clark made from Mackenzie as discussed in part 1 of this essay.

Recalling Meriwether Lewis's tribute to the grandeur of the Great Falls of the Missouri, let us first consider Captain Cook's rare attempt at reaching for a description of the sublime. In February 1773 Cook terminated his first foray along the edge of the Antarctic ice sheet in the Indian Ocean's high latitudes. This was the end of the first southern summer of his second voyage. Having crossed the Antarctic Circle for the first time southeast of Cape Town earlier in the season, he considered making a second run across the line but ultimately determined against it, standing toward New Zealand for respite instead. His published account (issued after he had left on the third and final voyage) adapted language from his ship's log summarizing the ubiquity and danger associated with his encounters with great masses of field ice, or more memorably, tabular icebergs. The latter were often so immense that Cook and his compatriots frequently referred to them as ice islands, and the chunks they calved, tellingly, as ice rocks. Cook, no longer in the literary shadow of Banks, initially focused on the risks associated with navigating in and around the ice islands, but then he turned to their attributes. They were a supply of fresh water, but then in a burst of melodramatic prose he hailed "their very romantic appearance, greatly heightened by the foaming and dashing of the waves into curious holes and caverns which are formed in many of them; the whole exhibiting a view which at once filled the mind with admiration and horror, and can only be described by the hand of an able painter."[3]

Cook does not name Rosa here, but the mood, and the mode, had been set. Shortly thereafter, near the end of March 1773, the expedition made landfall at the southern tip of New Zealand. The expedition sailed into the fjord-like Dusky Bay, and after settling in Cook, the Forsters, and the expedition artist, William Hodges (1744-97) went in a small boat to observe the cataracts that poured into what they called "Cascade Cove." In his journal Cook says Hodges' field sketch (later made into an oil painting) "exhibits at one view a better discription of it than I can give, huge heaps of stones lies at the foot of this Cascade which have been brought by the force of the Stream from adjacent mountains."[4] This was an echo of Cook's ice island reflection, but the Forsters both devoted far more eloquence to the scene in their publications.

Young Forster's book, *A Voyage Round the World*, was published first, in 1777, because his father's account, *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World* (1778), was wrapped up in a dispute with the Admiralty over its relationship to Cook's forthcoming narrative. By preceding both Cook's and his father's publications, and describing what was contemporaneously saluted as the greatest discovery voyage of all time, George Forster's book became one of the most influential narratives in the history of exploration. Expounding upon the wonders of Dusky Bay as they first sailed into it, Forster writes: "The view of rude sceneries in the style of *Rosa*, of antediluvian forests which cloathed the rock, and of numerous rills of water, which every where rolled down the steep declivity, altogether conspired to complete our joy."[5]

As noted above, George Forster was among those who later took the short boat trip with Cook to Cascade Cove. His description of this sojourn, a text remarkably similar to Lewis's narrative of his Great Falls tableau, reads as follows:

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"Cascade Cove, Dusky Bay, New Zealand," by William Hodges.

We directed our course to the cove…which we had observed from afar a few days ago, and which had induced us to call this inlet Cascade Cove. This waterfall, at the distance of a mile and a half, seems to be but inconsiderable, on account of its great elevation; but after climbing about two hundred yards upwards, we obtained a full prospect of it, and found indeed a view of great beauty and grandeur before us. The first object which strikes the beholder, is a clear column of water, apparently eight [or] ten yards in circumference, which is projected with a great impetuosity from the perpendicular rock, at the height of one hundred yards. Nearly at the fourth part…of the same rock, which now acquires a little inclination, spreads on its broad back into a limpid sheet of about twenty-five yards in width. Here its surface is curled, and dashes upon every little eminence in its rapid descent, till it is collected in a fine bason about sixty yards in circuit, included on three sides…by huge masses of stone irregularly piled above each other. Between them the stream finds its way, and runs foaming with the greatest rapidity along the slope of the hill to sea. The whole neighbourhood of the cascade, to a distance of an hundred yards around, is filled with the stream or watery vapour formed by the violence of the fall. This mist however was so thick, that it penetrated our clothes in a few minutes, as effectively as a shower of rain would have done. We mounted on the highest stone before the bason, and looking down into it, were struck with the sight of a most beautiful rainbow of a perfectly circular form, which was produced by the meridian rays of the sun refracted in the vapour of the cascade. Beyond this circle the rest of the steam was tinged with the prismatic colours refracted in an inverted order…The noise of the cascade is so loud, and so repeatedly reverberated from the echoing rocks, that it drowns almost every other sound; the birds seemed to retire from it to a little distance, where the shrill notes of thrushes, the graver pipe of wattle-birds, and the enchanting melody of various creepers resounded on all sides, and completed the beauty of this wild and romantic spot. On turning round we beheld an extensive bay, strewed as it were with small islands, which are covered with lofty trees; beyond them on one side, the mountains rise majestic on the main land, capt with clouds and perpetual snow; and on the other, the immense ocean bounded our view. The grandeur of this scene was such, that the powers of description fall short of the force and beauty of nature, which could only be truly imitated by the pencil of Mr. Hodges, who went on this voyage with us; and whose performances do great credit and honour to his judgment and execution, as well as to the choice of his employers. Satisfied with the contemplation of this magnificent sight, we directed

> our attention next to the flowers which enlivened the ground, and the small birds which sung very cheerfully all around us.[6]

Cook scholars have long believed Reinhold Forster penned many passages in George's book, if not most of it. Regardless, whether prompted by his son's work or as originator in both publications, the elder Forster's ensuing discussion of the cascades in the fjord of Dusky Bay is also worth quoting:

> We observed, in the several inlets and arms forming this spacious bay, sometimes *cascades* rushing rapidly down, and falling from vast heights before they met with another rock. Some of these cascades with their neighbouring scenery, require the pencil and genius of a SALVATOR ROSA to do them justice: however the ingenious artist [Hodges], who went with us on this expedition has great merit, in having executed some of these romantic landscapes in a masterly manner.[7]

These passages from the Forsters surely represent what Lewis sought to emulate at the Great Falls, and in some particulars, reached. He assuredly did not copy the key phrases directly; for unlike Mackenzie there's no hint that Lewis and Clark carried with them any literature associated Cook. But it is equally clear that Lewis must have carried the Rosa trope in his memory, probably from the days of his study in Philadelphia in preparation of the expedition, having determined to save his knowledge of this literary stratagem for his own narrative.

And for this too there was precedent during Cook's second voyage, now recalling the journal of another well-read gentleman, William Wales, the astronomer aboard Cook's flagship. In response to the same sublimities that prompted the Forsters to invoke the memory of Rosa, Wales tapped into the mainstream of cultural history by invoking the poet James Thomson, the other figure in Lewis's cultural dyad central to his signature moment of inexpressibility at the Great Falls. Wales was sufficiently familiar with Thomson's *Seasons* that on viewing the same remarkable waterfall that affected the romantic sensibilities of all who saw it—Cook, Hodges, the Forsters—that he committed to his journal seventeen lines from Thomson's ode to "Summer," more or less verbatim. Wales changed a few tenses, and added a stray phrase or two, for which reason, as he wrote at the end of his transcription, "I dare not write *Thomson* at the bottom: I know I have injured him; but it could not be avoided."[8]

This, however, only proves that the educated traveler like Wales was expected to be familiar with Thomson, which a great many were. Wales's journal was never published, and thus Lewis could not have read the Thomson lines there. However, George Forster quoted from Thomson while explicating Cook's second long ice-edge foray southeast of New Zealand. Writing on Christmas Day 1773 in the high southern latitudes of the Pacific Ocean, Forster was mesmerized by the same kind of view that had previously awed Cook. An "immense number of icy masses" drifted about the ship which was "every moment in danger of being dashed to pieces." But here it was the "animal appetites" of the seamen not natural wonders that caused him to draw on Thomson's *Seasons*. Appalled at the drunken indulgences allowed by naval tradition on the Christmas holiday, Forster quoted from "Spring:"

> At last, extinct each social feeling, fell
> And joyless humanity pervades
> And petrifies the heart—

It is worthy of remark that in his book Forster misspelled the poet's name, citing "Thompson;" coincidentally or not, the same way Lewis spelled it in his journal.[9]

Also relevant in regard to Thomson, and much closer to Lewis's zone of activity, was William Beresford's account of the maritime fur trade conducted during Captain George Dixon's voyage, published in 1789. One of the few books written about the Northwest Coast prior to Lewis's departure from Philadelphia, it was likely on his reading list at the American Philosophical Society. In a passage written in late September of 1786, as Dixon's ship stood toward Nootka (notably referred to as a "long wished for port") a "most tempestuous storm of thunder and lightning came on." Indeed, the electrical storm was "so very fierce, that it blinded the people on deck for a considerable time." Beresford was one of those affected which prompted him to reflect "How often I have thought, that nothing in nature could equal the thunder storm so beautifully described by Thomson, in his Seasons: …the majesty of the whole still heightened by the roaring of the wind, the raging of the sea, and a more than common darkness, which overspread the surrounding atmosphere."[10]

Thus, as is true of so many aspects of Enlightenment era exploration, Lewis was not crafting his experiences, or more particularly the words describing them, *de novo*; instead, he was drawing on literary tradition. We may unassailably deduce which sections from Thomson's *Seasons* Lewis was recalling when he made his famous inscription about the Great Falls via the clue provided by William Wales describing the great cascade in Dusky Bay. This, from "Summer:"

> Thus up the Mount, in airy Vision rapt,
> I stray, regardless whither; till the Sound
> Of a near Fall of Water every sense
> Wakes…from the Charm of Thought: Swift, shrinking back,
> I check my Steps, and view the Broken Scene.
> Smooth to the shelving Brink a copious Flood
> Roles fair, and placid; where collected all,
> In one impetuous Torrent, down the Steep
> It thundering shoots, and shakes the Country round.
> At first, an Azure sheet, it rushes broad;
> Then, whitening by degrees, as prone it falls,
> And from the loud-resounding Rocks below
> Dash'd in a Cloud of Foam, it sends aloft
> A hoary mist, and forms a ceaseless Shower.
> Nor can the tortur'd Wave here find Repose:
> But, raging still amid shaggy Rocks,
> Now flushes o'er the scatter'd Fragments, now
> Aslant the hollow'd Channel rapid darts:
> And falling fast from gradual Steep to Steep,
> With wild infracted Course, and lessen'd Roar,
> It gains a safer Bed, and steals, at last,
> Along the Mazes of the quiet Vale."[11]

This poetry, as indicated by several kinetic words—impetuous, thundering, foaming, torrent, billowing mists—clearly seems to have run through Lewis' mind, even if he was, unlike Wales, not able to commit complete lines of Thomson's text to the page. Wales himself offered valuable insights as to why explorers felt compelled to embellish supposedly scientific reports with purplish passages. He wrote: "I have always thought the situation of a Traveller singularly hard. If he tells nothing that is uncommon he must be a stupid fellow to have gone so far, and brought home so little; and if he does, why…aya…He's a Traveller."[12]

The Great Falls of the Missouri is a grand place, but in my study of the expedition I have always wondered why Lewis chose that landscape encounter for his verbal spectacular when one considers that several ranges of the Rocky Mountains, the equally if not more interesting rapids and falls of The Dalles of the Columbia River Gorge, or even reaching the roaring Pacific Ocean, were yet to come. Wales offers an answer to that as well, observing that "young Travellers, like young Wits, and young Girls too for that matter, are apt to let their imaginations run riot, and ever think the first that offers a Phoenix; whereas could they but have patience, another infinitely its superior would present itself—Probatum est!"[13] This last phrase, in Latin, translates to "it has been proved."

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Notes:

1. Gary E. Moulton, ed. *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001) 4:9.

2. Ibid., 284-85, 290.

3. J. C. Beaglehole, ed. *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, vol. 2: *The Voyage of* Resolution *and* Adventure (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1961), 98; James Cook, *A Voyage towards the South pole and Round the World* (1777), Wikisource, http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/A_Voyage_Towards_the_South_pole_and_Around_the_World/Volume_I/Chapter_III&oldid=3798448 (accessed March 10, 2016).

4. Beaglehole, 2:119.

5. George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof, eds., (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Press, 2000), 1:xli-xlii, 79-80.

6. Ibid., 90-91.

7. Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World*, Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, Michael Dettelbach, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 51.

8. Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific in the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 141; Beaglehole, *Journals*, 2:782-83; 783 n. 1.

9. George Forster, *Voyage*, 1:290, 460 n. 4.

10. William Beresford, *A Voyage Round the World . . . to the North-west Coast of America . . . [by] Captains Portlock and Dixon* (London: Geo. Goulding, 1789), 78, 80.

11. *Thomson's* Seasons: *Critical Edition*, by Otto Zippel (Berlin: Mayer & Muller, 1908), lines 98-104.

12. Quoted in Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 138.

13. Beaglehole, *Journals*, 2:783.

Who Were They?

An examination of the encounter at Travelers' Rest, September 10, 1805

by Jack Puckett

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E. S. Paxson, *Lewis and Clark's Camp at Traveler's Rest, 1805*, oil on linen, 1914.

A careful reading of the Lewis and Clark Journals for September 10, 1805, raises a question: with which tribe were the three Native Americans encountered at Travelers' Rest camp associated? Were they of the Salish Nation, in whose territory the camp was located, or were they of the Nez Perce Nation as suggested by a number of authors writing about the expedition? Little information about the encounter is offered by the journals, its only mention being found in entries of September 10. So who were they?

On that day, while the corps camped at Travelers' Rest, John Colter encountered three Native Americans while hunting west of the camp. Lewis's journal stated, "this evening one of our hunters returned accompanyed by three men of the Flathead nation whom he had met in his excurtion up travelers rest creek…The indians were mounted on very fine horses, of which the Flatheads have a great abundance." Lewis reported that the Indians were in pursuit of two Shoshone Indians who had stolen twenty-three of their horses and they were

in a hurry to catch them. Lewis explained, "our guide could not speak the language of these people but soon engaged them in conversation by signs or jesticulation, the common language of all the Aborigines of North America."[1] Lewis continued, "the sun was now set, two of them departed after receiving a few small articles which we gave them, and the third remained, having agreed to continue with us as a guide and to introduce us to his relations whom he informed us were numerous and resided in the plain below the mountains on the Columbia river."

Clark's journal states, "one of the hunters, Colter, met with 3 (flatheads) Tushpaw Indians who were in pursuit of 2 Snake Indians that hade taken from ther Camps on the (Columbia) head of Kooskooske River 21 horses. Those Indians came with Colter to our Camp & informed by Signs of their misfortune & the rout to their villages &c. &c. One of them Concluded to return with us."[2]

Private Whitehouse and Sergeant Gass also called them Flatheads. Journal editors Nicholas Biddle[3] and Elliott Coues[4] referred to the natives as Tushepaw Flatheads.

Ralph S. Space, in his book *The Lolo Trail*, called the natives Nez Perce.[5]

In *Undaunted Courage* Stephen E. Ambrose refers to the Indians as Nez Perce.[6]

In his notes on the incident, editor of the journals Gary Moulton states, "the Indians were probably Nez Perce."[7]

In the recently published *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce,* Alan Pinkham and Steven R. Evans wrote, "These Indians were, in fact, Nez Perces, not Flatheads, which is evident in their descriptions of their home on the Kooskooske River, today's Clearwater River in Idaho."[8] They continued, "The man who at first agreed to guide the Expedition over the Bitterroot Mountains to his relatives, changed his mind the following day and continued after his brethren in pursuit of the Snake horse thieves. It is obvious that the journal keepers could not differentiate between the Salish, who spoke the Salish language, and the Nez Perces who spoke Sahaptin."

The expedition had had little exposure to the Salish Language, and none to the Nez Perce people. Their acquaintance with the Salish at the head of Clark's River (Bitterroot River) was of short duration, and neither the guide Toby nor Sacagawea could speak either language. Lewis stated in his rendition of the meeting with the three Indians, "our guide could not speak the language of these people but soon engaged them in conversation by signs or jesticulation."[9]

Josiah (Black Eagle) Pinkham, Nez Perce ethnographer, says the Nez Perce and Salish tribes have intermarried for many generations.[10] This information is reinforced by conversations with Salish elders, so it is logical the natives Colter met had relatives among both the Nez Perce and the Salish.

In trying to determine just who these natives were, it must be recognized Lewis and Clark did not know much about any of the tribes they encountered. They had met the Salish near the head of what they called Clark's River (today's Bitterroot River), on September 4, 1805, and called them Flathead-Tushepaws, not knowing that they were neither Flatheads nor Tushepaws, which means shaven heads in the Shoshone language. Clark also called them Eoote-lash-Schute[11] which means "down there" in the Salish Language. He also noted that "those people possess elegant horses."

Lewis, in his assessment of the Indians, remarked they "had very fine horses of which the Flatheads have a great abundance." At this point in the journey little was known about the Nez Perce and their horses.

The question arises as to why the Shoshone, who were accused of stealing the horses sought by the three Indians, would go all the way over the mountains, on a very difficult trail, to steal horses from the Nez Perce when the Salish had such an abundance? Nothing in the communication exchange between the explorers and the three Indians indicated there was more of their tribe in the vicinity. Why would three lone Nez Perce Indians be in the vicinity of Lolo Pass or the head of the Kooskooske River with a bunch of horses? They weren't there to fish. The Nez Perce people had much better fishing in their own territory much farther down the river. It is known that the Salish People fished the headwaters of the Kooskooske, and according to Clark had lately been over to the Kooskooske to do just that.[12]

Since the area around Travelers' Rest campsite was Salish territory, it stands to reason there was probably a Salish camp somewhere in the vicinity. On September 11, 1805, the explorers camped at a site seven miles west of Travelers' Rest. In his journal, Private Whitehouse states, "Came about 7 miles this evening and Camped on a smooth plain near the Creek where has lately been a large encampment of Indians."[13] Sgt. Ordway's journal contained a similar passage.[14] Perhaps this was the group from which the Shoshone Indians had stolen the horses.

There is some discrepancy in the various journals as to the exchange of dialog between Lewis and the three Indians. This is probably due to the fact that Toby, their guide, was not able to speak the Salish language. On September 5 a boy had served as interpreter. On September 10 sign language, as Lewis noted, was the method of communication.

None of the journals mention that the three Indians were dressed any differently than the Salish the explorers had previously met, nor was there any mention that these three Indians were other than what the explorers called them. At the September 4 meeting with the Salish, Clark described them as follows: "those Indians are well dressed with Skin Shirts & robes, they Stout & light complected more So than Common for Indians."[15] Wouldn't a change of attire or appearance have been mentioned by the observant Lewis, or one of the other journal writers?

There is no doubt one of the three Indians had relatives among the Nez Perce to the west of the Bitterrot Mountains, for intermarriage among tribes was a common practice and family ties were strong. The Indian who promised to guide the party and introduce them to his relatives who lived below the mountains on the Columbia River was probably from a mixed marriage between the Salish and Nez Perce. He would therefore have relations among the Nez Perce, would have visited them, and would know the territory. He could probably speak both the Salish and Nez Perce tongues, but there was no one in the expedition party who could speak either language. The Indian only referred to his relations living below the mountains on the Columbia River, not that he lived there. This same Indian, who had volunteered to guide the explorers to meet his relatives west of the mountains, left the party the next morning, probably to return to the Salish camp or continue in pursuit of the horse thieves. Doesn't this action indicate the Indian thought better about guiding the expedition over the mountains? If he was a Nez Perce wouldn't he have been anxious to go and tell the Nez Perce people the explorers were coming? There is no mention of that in the journals.

So who were they? Were they Nez Perce, as speculated by a number of authors, or were they Salish? This is a question that can't be answered with certainty from the journal descriptions, but it seems reasonable, from the information at hand, that they were of the Salish Nation.

Jack Puckett is a volunteer at Travelers' Rest State Park and a member of the Travelers' Rest Chapter. He has frequently contributed to We Proceeded On.

Notes

1. Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 5:197.

2. Moulton, ed., *Journals,* 5:197.

3. Nicholas Biddle, ed., *The Journals of the Expedition Under the Command of Capts. Lewis and Clark,* , 2:269-70

4. Elliott Coues, ed., *The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark*, 3 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1965; reprint of 1893 edition), 2:591-92.

5. Ralph S. Space, *The Lolo Trai* (Missoula Montana: Historic Montana, 2001), 12-13.

6. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 292

7. Moulton, ed., *Journals,* 3:198.

8. Alan V. Pinkham and Stephen R. Evans, *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce, Strangers in the Land of the Nimiipuu* (Washburn, N.D.: The Dakota Institute Press, 2013), 31.

9. Moulton, ed., *Journals,* 5:196.

10. Space, *Lolo Trail,* 13

11. Moulton, ed., *Journals,* 5:188.

12. Moulton, ed., *Journals,* 5:205.

13. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 11:310-11.

14. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:222.

15. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:187.

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"Capt. Wm. Clark - Map Maker"

A work by Robert Macfie Scriver

AUCTION

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- **Bronze** *metal*
- *Depicts William Clark of the Lewis & Clark Expedition setting up his surveying equipment*
- *Number 49/100*
- *Created 1986*
- *Cast at sculptor's Big Horn Foundry, MT*
- *Height 13"*
- *Base width 8"-10"*
- *Artist's works held by at least 12 museums*
- *Provenance verification*
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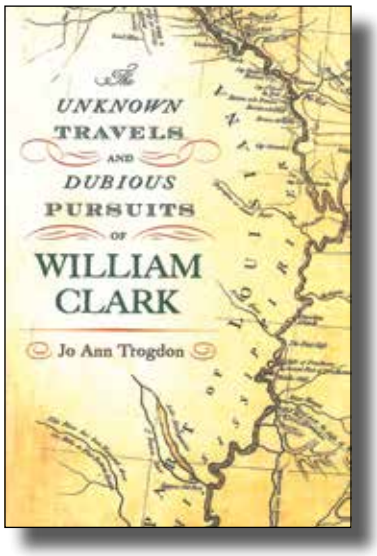

The Unknown Travels and Dubious Pursuits of William Clark

By Jo Ann Trogdon
Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2015. 456 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover, $36.95.
Reviewed by Jay H. Buckley

Approximately five years before William Clark joined Meriwether Lewis at Louisville, Kentucky, in mid-October 1803 to commence the Lewis and Clark Expedition tasked with exploring the Missouri River, Clark engaged in a commercial and intelligence-gathering venture down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

On March 8, 1798, Clark and several men boarded two flatboats loaded with tobacco, deer hides, beaver pelts, and other furs. They embarked from Louisville, Kentucky, and floated down the Ohio River; Clark's destination—the Spanish port at New Orleans. The twenty-seven-year-old Clark, recently retired from the military following the Northwest Indian War, hoped this voyage would net him a financial windfall, and perhaps curry the favor of men of influence and social standing to advance his career.

Clark carried with him a leather-trimmed journal to record his travels, jot down river mileage, note important geographical features, and calculate income and expenses. From Clark's death in 1838 until the 1920s, this 1798-1801 journal of his commercial venture on the Mississippi remained buried in the wombs of time. Since it resurfaced in the 1920s, the journal has been curated by the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Now, 217 years after Clark recorded his terse entries, Columbia, Missouri, resident Jo Ann Trogdon has brought Clark's journal back to life. Happening upon it during her research for her book, *St. Charles Borromeo: 200 Years of Faith*, Trogdon's knowledge of the Spanish archives enabled her to flesh out a plausible story of Clark's apparent involvement in one of the grandest and most scandalous plots to commit treason against the United States—the Spanish Conspiracy—wherein corrupt officials lined their pockets with Spanish silver by promising to separate Kentucky and the trans-Appalachian West from the United States.

Lewis and Clark aficionados and neophytes alike will be enthralled by this vivid tale of intrigue and deception wherein Clark found himself an unwitting pawn in James Wilkinson's game of international intrigue, knowingly assisting Spanish conspirators, spying in foreign territory, and smuggling Spanish silver dollars or pieces of eight into the United States.

While Clark is linked to the ringleaders of the conspiracy (James Wilkinson, Benjamin Sebastian, Samuel Montgomery Brown, Harry Innes, Thomas Power, Daniel Clark Jr. [no relation], etc.), the depth of his knowledge of the various plots and schemes as well as his actual involvement in the intrigue remains vague. Yet, Trogdon had provided enough points of contact to help readers connect the dots.

Zebulon Pike's career and legacy was tainted and his explorations unappreciated because of his association with Wilkinson. If Clark's personal business dealings with Wilkinson had been publicized, especially this speculative 1798 trading voyage to New Orleans, Clark's future may have been forever altered. Trogdon concedes that with all of Clark's espionage, "how much Clark may have known about the general's (Wilkinson's) desire to use such intelligence for devious or even treasonable purposes can only be conjectured" (135). Moreover, she adds, "we can assume that neither John (William's father) nor William Clark would have cooperated at all in the smuggling mission had they perceived Wilkinson's history of treachery, especially toward George Rogers Clark, but the fact that not even George himself could prove who had brought about his disgrace testifies to the stealth of Wilkinson" (160).

In the long run, Clark did not profit enough from this journey to forego the planter lifestyle and become an entrepreneur, but he did hone his skills in traveling rivers, taking observations, making maps, conducting foreign diplomacy, and reconnoitering foreign territory—all useful skills he employed on the Lewis and Clark expedition. And his growing interests in the fur trade enabled him to join Manuel Lisa as a director in the Missouri Fur Company after the expedition. Finally, Clark's leather-bound journal also gives us insight into what a younger, single Clark did in his spare time, from attending theatrical productions to playing billiards.

Trogdon has done her homework, expertly weaving Spanish and American sources with the narrative of Clark's journey while telling a compelling story full of political intrigues, fluctuating loyalties, dubious land grants, illicit smuggling of silver dollars,

bribing officials, encountering double agents, and evading pirates. Or, as Clark laconically recorded in his journal as he booked passage to leave New Orleans after his adventure, "Nothing extraordinary happened." Trogdon provides a splendid context of the swirling complexities and intrigues permeating Spanish Louisiana and New Orleans a few years before Jefferson's diplomats arranged for the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. Trogdon's work provides a more complex and human portrait of the famed explorer by revealing a thought-provoking glimpse into *The Unknown Travels and Dubious Pursuits of William Clark*.

Jay H. Buckley, Brigham Young University, is author of *William Clark: Indian Diplomat*

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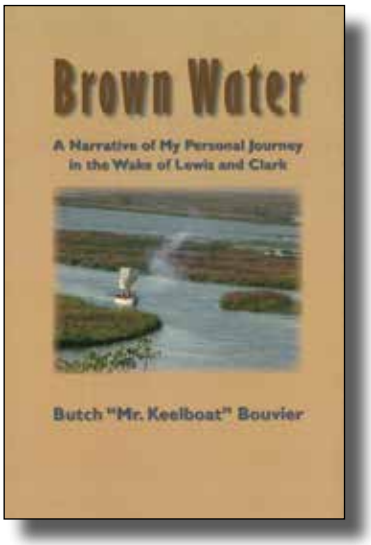


Brown Water: A Narrative of My Personal Journey in the Wake of Lewis and Clark

By Butch "Mr. Keelboat" Bouvier
Onawa, Iowa: Self-published, 2015. 186 pages, glossary, illustrations. Paperback, $23.95. (Books are available from Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Center, P.O. Box 785, Nebraska City, NE 68410)
Reviewed by John Fisher

"Mr. Keelboat" tells the reader he will cover some of the lost history and techniques developed by the brown-water rivermen who pioneered the inland waterway travel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America and he partly succeeds. Since 1985 he has built numerous full scale models of the Lewis and Clark Expedition boats, from dugouts to the pirogues, and what he is most famous for, the keelboat. He quite correctly points out that the largest expedition boat was never called a "keelboat" in the journals, but instead a "boat" or a "barge"—a significantly different watercraft.

In the opening section, "The Boats of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," he tells the reader he has researched and studied the available written material at great length and writes: "In order for a quote to be accurate, it must be a full and complete quote, taken in context. Otherwise, its true meaning is compromised." But a few paragraphs later he writes: "The men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition considered the Missouri too thick to drink but too thin to plow." That and similar quotes were used by others to later describe the Rio Grande, the Colorado, and the Platte, as well as the Missouri. Perhaps that is what the Lewis and Clark journalists thought, but they did not say it. The author should have used Clark's quote on June 21, 1804: "The water we Drink, of the Common water of the missourie at this time, contains half a Comn Wine Glass of ooze or mud to every pint." Mr. Bouvier has spent many thousands of hours building replicas, thousands of hours testing various hull designs, but frequently fails to spend a few minutes double checking the actual journal entries.

He offers the reader his evidence, based on solid research, experimentation, good ol' common sense, conclusions, and opinions; but he fails to provide the reader with citations and his bibliography totals just four books. Mr. Bouvier believes the pirogues were built out of wood planks, designed like what were then called bateaux. He reports that unnamed persons disagree with him on some points, fails to cite contrary evidence, and then asks the reader to judge the validity of his conclusions.

In 2012 this reviewer offered Mr. Bouvier a chance to review a manuscript discussing the definition of a "pirogue" and evidence the red and white pirogues of the Corps of Discovery were actually giant dugout canoes. That conclusion was discounted by both Mr. Bouvier and Mr. Verne Huser, author of *On the River with Lewis and Clark*. This reviewer's extensively documented, peer-reviewed article, edited by Dr. James Hanson, was

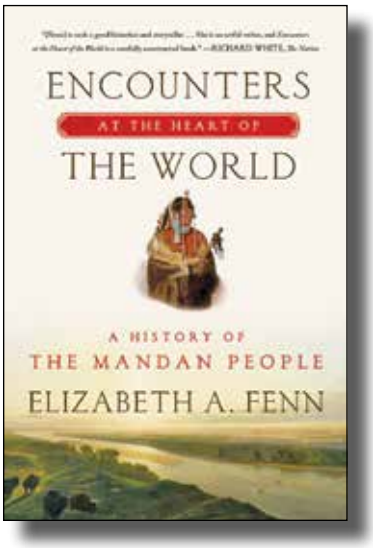
later published in the *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* (Fall 2012).

Today it is impossible to build a dugout replica like the original pirogues for lack of giant trees. Replica pirogues made by Mr. Bouvier and the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles (of which I am a member) instead use a construction and design more akin to the plank bateaux of the era. As a result of these replicas, virtually none of the artist renditions of the pirogues are accurate. One of the key pieces of evidence for dugout construction, "plugs of gauge," is misinterpreted by Mr. Bouvier as plugs to let out water. When the expedition pulled the white pirogue on shore below Great Falls on June 18 1805, Lewis wrote that they: "drove out the plugs in the gage holes of her bottom." These "gage holes" of a measured depth were made after the outer hull of dugouts were shaped so when the interior was carved the craftsman would stop at the correct hull thickness. A brief Internet search will show that gauge holes to measure the thickness of the hull were used over two thousand years ago, more recently by many different cultures, and the method is still used today.

Thanks to Captain Clark's excellent drawings, there is a lot of information about the construction of the barge (keelboat), except for the design of the bottom of the hull. Here Mr. Bouvier has done extensive research and testing using different models and full scale replicas, to prove his suspicion that the shape of the bottom of the original hull was flat or nearly so, not rounded. The handling and sailing characteristics of both hull shapes are very different and his extensive experience on the Missouri re-enacting the expedition over the years has further confirmed his suspicions.

Most of the book describes the dogged persistence of Mr. Bouvier in building his replicas and getting his crews to sites along the Missouri to let students and townsfolk experience the adventure of the Corps of Discovery. His journal entries along with those of his many friends give the reader a sense of the immense satisfaction that historical interpreters get sharing the Lewis and Clark story with tens of thousands of people every year. A few drawings and about 215 color photos record these experiences, though fewer and larger images might have been better. Instead of a scholarly discussion of the expedition watercraft, this is a great account of a persistent, stubborn, and generous man sharing the history of one of America's greatest adventures.

Since 2000 John Fisher has researched and documented much of the material culture of the expedition, and presented his historical interpretations to audiences across the country.



Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People.

By Elizabeth A. Fenn
New York: Published by Hill & Wang (Farrar, Straus and Giroux), 2015. 480 pages, illustrations, maps, notes, index. Paperback, $18.00.
Reviewed by Larry Epstein

For the Mandan, the confluence of the Heart and Missouri Rivers in North Dakota comprise the heart of the world, their ancestral homeland. For award-winning historian and author Elizabeth Fenn, chair of the History Department at the University of Colorado, Boulder, her encounters with the Mandans of North Dakota's Fort Berthold Reservation began with research into the effects of the smallpox epidemics on the tribes of the Great Plains. She followed this with a trip to the region the Mandans consider the very Heart of the Earth in 2002.

This compelling work of history and personal journey of discovery offers a unique and valuable account of a very important tribal partner of the Corps of Discovery. In doing so it combines the author's skills as an ethnologist, historian, and a fine writer and story teller.

Professor Fenn is able to pull together what she describes as "a mosaic" of oral history, early European journals and art, and the records of tribal members retained on winter count buffalo robes and in oral histories, as well as her own recent encounters to create a compelling and informative narrative.

Best known for her 2001 work, *Pox Americana: the Great Small Pox Epidemic of 1775-82,* Fenn very ably utilizes to great advantage her ability to comb scientific, medical, and ecological records. She combines these with the Tribal members' own "records" and the many journals of European visitors to great advantage. She ties her knowledge of the general effect of smallpox on the tribes of the Plains with the devastation of whooping cough, cholera, and the industrial world's own plague of steamboats whose voracious demand for wood disrupted the habitat of the bison on which the Mandans and their neighbors depended. The steamboats also brought the unintended cargo of

Norway rats who decimated a system of corn and food storage developed over many centuries by the Mandan for storing corn and other agricultural products so important for use in trade and day-to-day domestic survival.

This important and resilient Great Plains-Missouri River tribe's struggle to survive in the face of warring neighbors, starvation, and diseases and plagues visited upon them following their encounter with European explorers make for riveting story-telling. The description of their society, rituals, explorers, and their environment make this book a "must read" for those wanting to know more about this people who welcomed Captains Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery.

At about the time this author began her "journey of discovery" in North Dakota (2002), our own Dr. James Ronda delivered a keynote banquet speech at the Foundation annual meeting in Bismarck, North Dakota, to a group just returned from a day-long tour of Mandan villages that figure prominently in this book. In that memorable address, he admonished those interested in the history of this land to "get off the boats and on to the banks" of the Missouri and other rivers along the trail in order to learn more about the Native cultures that were so important to the success of the Corps' journey. Those who care to continue their own "journey of discovery" must include this Pulitzer Prize winner for History (2015) for very informing perusal and for inclusion in their personal Lewis and Clark library.

Larry Epstein is a past president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

LCTHF Board Visits the Wild, Wild West

STEVE LEE

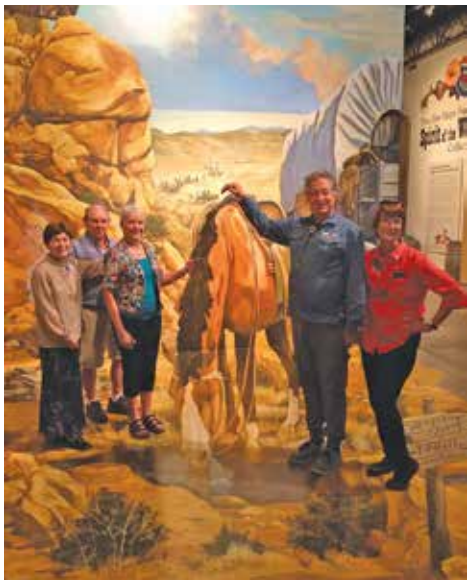
Board, spouses, and others at the docent-led museum tour.

LINDY HATCHER

Charles Fritz painting of Camp Fortunate.

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) board held its Spring Board Meeting at the Western Spirit: Scottsdale Museum of the West, in Scottsdale, Arizona, March 1-2, 2016. The board agenda also included a docent-led tour of the Charles Fritz collection and a reception for foundation members in the greater Phoenix area, as well as members of the Arizona and Old Spanish Trails. Board, staff, and reception attendees received complementary passes to the museum, thanks to the hospitality of event staff.

We selected this specific site because the museum is displaying the Lewis and Clark collection featuring many bronzes and art by Charles Fritz. The museum typically displays a variety of art, history, culture, and unique stories of the American West. The building is an architectural masterpiece with a state-of-the-art theatre, central garden, and a unique architectural design tailored to the dry climate of the Phoenix area. The building captures rain water and condensation from the air conditioning unit to water the beautifully landscaped center garden and grounds. For more information on the museum and exhibits, please visit http://scottsdalemuseumwest.org.



LINDY HATCHER

L to R: Philippa Newfield, John Toenyes, Barb Kubik, Steve Lee, and Margaret Gorski.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition did not include an artist. Two hundred years post Expedition, artist Charlie Fritz retraced the Expedition's route and used the Journals to aid him in capturing the epic journey through his historic, interpretive paintings. The Fritz collection is on loan from foundation member Tim Peterson, and has been at the museum since January 15, 2015. It will remain on display through October 31, 2016. The exhibit is indeed a must see for Lewis and Clark enthusiasts and lovers of Western art. If you are in the area, please drop by historic Scottsdale Old Town and see this visually stimulating collection of over one hundred paintings and thirty-five sculptures—all related to the epic journey of the Corps of Discovery.

Lindy Hatcher
LCTHF Executive Director
Great Falls, Montana

LINDY HATCHER

Sacagawea, Toussaint, and Jean Baptiste Charbonneau.

STEVE LEE

Charles Fritz painting of Clark carving his name at Pompeys Pillar.

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

by Jerry Wilson

COURTESY JANICE AND JERRY WILSON

Meriwether Lewis Museum

Throughout time Harpers Ferry has been visited by many important persons. In 1783 Thomas Jefferson saw its natural beauty, noting "The passage of the Patowmac through the Blue Ridge is perhaps one of the most stupendous scenes in Nature."

Two years later George Washington realized its economic potential when he explored the area. Knowing the need for the young United States to prosper he conceived of western expansion along the Potomac River, eventually reaching to the Ohio River Valley. In 1785 he founded the Potowmack Company to build skirting canals around the major falls of the Potomac, including House's Falls near Harpers Ferry. Washington's dream would evolve into the C & O Canal in 1828.

Harpers Ferry witnessed much Civil War history. In 1859 John Brown's Raid foreshadowed the conflict to come, and Robert E. Lee commanded troops to quell the incident. The Harpers Ferry area changed sides, Union to Confederate, Confederate to Union, etc., more than any other site during the war. Harpers Ferry was the location of the largest Union surrender in the war, and played a vital role in the nearby Battle of Antietam.

Following the war Storer College was founded high above Harpers Ferry on Camp Hill. Initially a one-room school intended to educate freedmen in self-reliance by learning trades, it evolved into a full-fledged degree-granting college open to all. The Niagara Movement (forerunner of the NAACP), under the leadership of W.E.B. DuBois, met at Storer College in the early twentieth century. The college closed in 1955.

However, as students of the Corps of Discovery, we have a special interest in connections to the expedition. In preparation for his western trek Captain Meriwether Lewis visited Harpers Ferry in 1803 to procure supplies of importance to help ensure survival of the expedition, including rifles, bullet molds, large knives, and many other items. And, of course, the construction of the collapsible iron frame boat. The difficulties in construction of the boat led to a delay in Lewis's departure.

Harpers Ferry is located at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers in the Blue Ridge Mountains. The over two-thousand-acre Harpers Ferry National Historical Park was established in 1944 and is administered by the National Park Service to preserve and protect the history of the town. Hiking trails abound on both the Maryland and West Virginia side of the park, including the Appalachian Trail.

The park will host the upcoming 48th Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Annual Meeting July 24-27, 2016, in cooperation with the The Harpers Ferry Historical Association. Contact Harpers Ferry National Historical Park at www.nps.gov/hafe, and the Harpers Ferry Historical Association at www.harpersferryhistory.org.

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