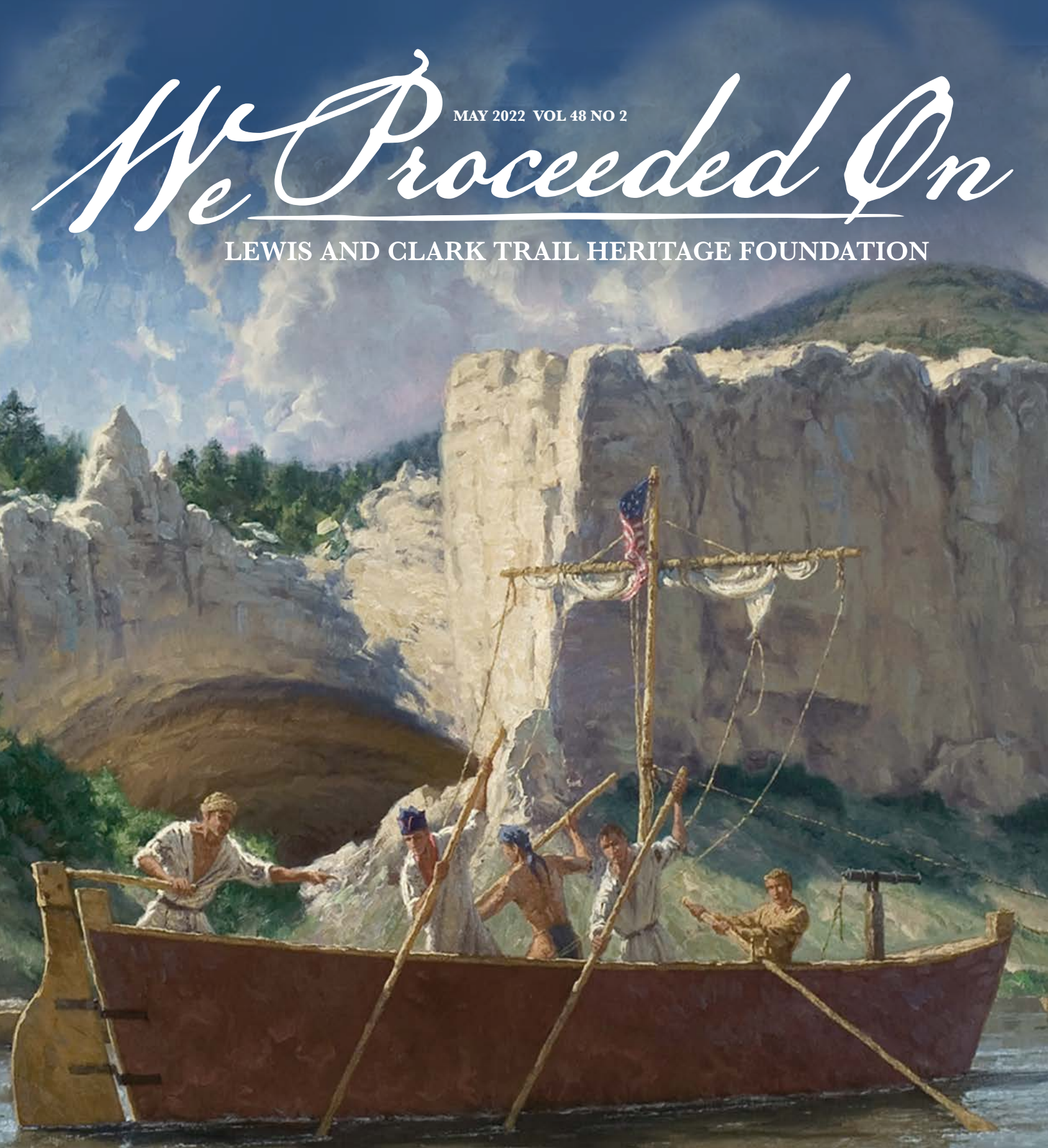
MAY 2022 VOL 48 NO 2

We Proceeded On

LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION



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- The Life and Achievement of Frederick Bates: Beyond Demonization
- Reviews

The Adventure or the Enlightenment?

Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis on September 23, 1806. Three days later Clark terminated his Expedition journal with the words, "a fine morning we commenced wrighting &c." Nobody is altogether sure what wrighting Clark had in mind – letters, probably, and perhaps a fair copy of the journals.

What we do know is that Meriwether Lewis never published his projected three-volume account of what he called "my late tour." His grand prospectus, published in April 1807, promised a narrative volume, followed by a volume on the geography of the West, thoughts on the fur trade, ethnographic materials on Native Americans, and "reflections on the subjects of civilizing, governing and maintaining a friendly intercourse with those nations." The third volume would be solely devoted to scientific subjects, together with twenty-three Native vocabularies, and dissertations on volcanic activity in the Louisiana Territory, the "muddiness of the Missouri," and the treelessness of the Great Plains.

After Lewis' death, his publisher informed Jefferson that "Govr. Lewis never furnished us with a line of the M.S. nor indeed could we ever hear any thing from him respecting it tho frequent applications to that effect were made to him." Some scholars (I among them) believe that the finest passages in the extant journals of Lewis were actually part of a draft of what would have been his first volume, but if that is so, he never forwarded any of that to the publisher in Philadelphia. We can only imagine Jefferson's chagrin when he received this letter in November 1809. Now what?

In 1807, Sergeant Patrick Gass was the first to publish an account of the Expedition with the help of a ghostwriter. Lewis dismissed the Gass account as "spurious," and warned the reading public that they should expect nothing but "merely a limited detail of our daily transactions" from books by lesser members of the Expedition. One unfortunate result of Lewis' haughty rebuke to Gass and Robert Frazier, who had also published a prospectus, is that Frazier's journal disappeared and has never resurfaced. Thus, we lost what certainly would have been a valuable addition to the Expedition record.

Lewis died on October 11, 1809, on the Natchez Trace. In his trunks were found "Sixteen Note books bound in red morocco with clasps," "One bundle of Misceleans. paprs," maps and charts, "Musterrolls," vouchers, a bundle of Expedition vocabularies, a memorandum book, "six note books unbound," and "One do. [i.e., bundle] Sketches for the President of the U. States." Not all of these documents have been identified, even by the great Donald Jackson, but it is generally believed that most of the Expedition's journals were in those trunks. The trunk containing Lewis' papers eventually found its way to Washington, D.C., where Clark took possession of it at Jefferson's request. If the trunks really contained charts and "Sketches," they seem to have been lost.

Jefferson met with William Clark at Monticello sometime in late November or early December 1809, and convinced (or instructed) him to travel to Philadelphia, learn what he could about the status of the publication project, and do whatever it took to see the journals through into print. This must have been a painful meeting. Jefferson did not know Clark well; he regarded the Expedition as Lewis' command and achievement. It is fascinating to note that the action item of the meeting was to get the journals published as soon as practicable, and apparently not to investigate the mysterious death of one man's protégé and the other's closest friend. Clark pursued the publication project with his usual thoroughness and reliability, but even so, the one-volume Biddle edition, entitled *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*, did not appear until some time in 1814.

On December 11, 1809, Jefferson wrote to Lewis' publisher C. and A. Conrad and Company to inform them that Clark "is himself now gone on to Washington, where the papers may be immediately expected, & he will proceed thence to Philadelphia to do whatever is necessary to the publication."

In January 1810, just three months after the death of his friend Lewis, Clark was able to write a memorandum on the status of the project. This was a list of things he needed to check on in Philadelphia and a partial list of what would be the contents of the publication he had in mind. The memo included notations on botanical data, calculations of latitude and longitude, engravings of animals and Native Americans, maps, vocabularies, and "Natural Phenomena." Clark noted that he wanted to "Get some one to write the scientific part & natural history" of the Expedition, and he wondered "If a man can be got to go to St. Louis with me to write the journal & price."

In Philadelphia, after a painstaking search for every individual Lewis had hired to work on the project – illustrators, scientists, mathematicians, engravers – Clark attempted to convince a young and ambitious man of letters, Nicholas Biddle (1786-1844), to come to St. Louis to write the book. Clark clearly understood that whoever edited the journals would have need for clarification on countless passages. It would be more convenient to have the ghostwriter

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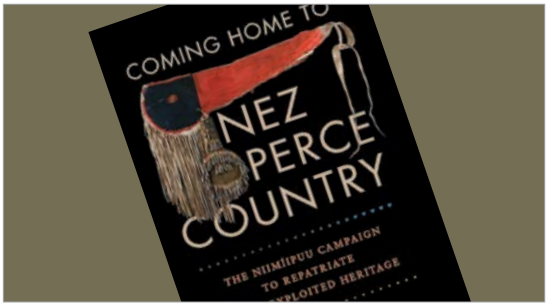

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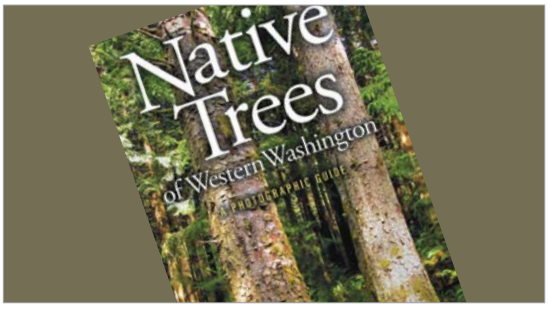

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We Proceeded On welcomes submissions of articles, proposals, inquiries, and letters. Writer's guidelines are available by request and can be found on our website, lewisandclark.org. Submissions should be sent to Clay S. Jenkinson (701-202-6751) at editor@lewisandclark.org.

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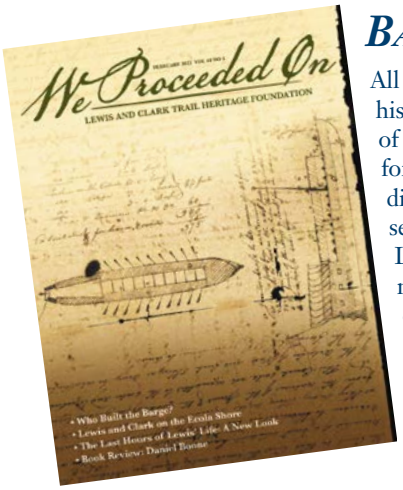

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As Keepers of the Story~Stewards of the Trail, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., provides national leadership in maintaining the integrity of the Trail and its story through stewardship, scholarship, education, partnership, and cultural inclusiveness.

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A Message from the President

LCTHF President Louis Ritten

Registration information is available on LCTHF's website lewisandclark.org and social media for our 54th Annual Meeting set to take place in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from August 7 to 10, 2022. We are thrilled at the prospect of coming together again in person. Without having been able to gather *en masse* for three long years, it will be wonderful to renew old friendships, make new ones, and enjoy learning about the Corps of Discovery on fresh ground for an annual meeting. I urge you to attend.

Plans are also in the works for the 2023 Annual Meeting to be held in Missoula, Montana, from June 27 to 30, 2023. Our friends at the Travelers' Rest Connection, under the leadership of Executive Director Molly Stockdale and assisted by several of our fellow LCTHF members, are cooking up a marvelous experience for our gathering there. As details firm up, look for further information in our publications and on our website and social media. Please consider making our 55th Annual Meeting in Missoula part of your 2023 travel plans.

When I assumed the presidency of LCTHF in October 2018, I vowed that it would be a full-time job for me. It turned out to be that and more, as I have volunteered virtually all of my waking hours over the last four years to working in some fashion for LCTHF. It has been a labor of love, however, because I find the Corps of Discovery to be endlessly fascinating in its myriad aspects and I am passionately interested in making LCTHF all it can be as we confront the challenges facing organizations like ours.

But I spent all this time and energy primarily on behalf of the absolutely wonderful people I have been fortunate enough to have met during my nearly twenty-five years now as an LCTHF member. Our meetings always remind me of this fact and serve to refresh my determination to increase the vitality of our foundation. May you experience that same feeling when you gather together in any venue with your fellow members.

I call upon you to join in the effort to strengthen our foundation and our cause. Our members are our best salespeople. Most of you are at least as passionate and knowledgeable as I am. Most of you share a closer connection to a location along the trail than I do. Many of you have been LCTHF members longer than I have. Each and every one of us has the capacity to be an ambassador for LCTHF in conveying to a new audience the importance of the Corps of Discovery in American history and of its legacy into the present day.

Historic preservationist William J. Murtagh has stated, "At its best, preservation engages the past in a conversation with the present over a mutual concern for the future." I firmly believe, with your active, good-faith participation, that LCTHF in all its manifestations can stimulate that same conversation with regard to the Lewis and Clark Expedition and its importance to us all.

When I have taken the occasional respite from LCTHF work, I have spent time researching the history of the modest, four-unit condo building in which my wife and I reside when in New Orleans. Other than the building's location in the city in which the formal transfer of the Louisiana Territory to the United States occurred in December 1803, I have yet to discover a specific connection to Lewis and Clark (not for lack of trying!). I have, however, been quite surprised at the broad reach and experiences the various residents of this building have had over its 130-year existence. While rooted in a particular physical space, the building, like the LCTHF, has been the home of people from throughout the country and from several foreign lands.

Residents through the years participated in a wide array of fraternal, religious, and civic organizations that once flourished, but of which a great many, sadly, have disappeared or fallen on hard times over the years. It was not for lack of passion or good intentions. Time simply passed them by and they did not make the adjustments necessary to remain relevant in a changing world. President Kennedy once made a cogent point: "Change is the law of life. Those who look only to the past or the present are certain to miss the future."

It could be said that much of the time and effort I have spent as president have been focused internally, in encouraging greater interaction among our chapters, in coalescing into larger regions, and in working more in concert with the national organization. The changes to our membership structure have also integrated members into both national and at least one region. This process is ongoing and shows promise thanks to many of you who can sense its benefits.

If, however, you are struggling with the changes, please bear in mind that they are in the service of creating a more modern and sustainable model that uses our precious resources of time, talent, and treasure more efficiently and effectively. We must evolve in order to accommodate societal, demographic, and technological changes, and position LCTHF to thrive into the future. Abraham Lincoln once wrote, "The best way to predict the future is to create it." Bystanders and recalcitrants may not like what changes will inevitably occur otherwise to LCTHF itself and to the Lewis and Clark story in the estimation of larger society if we do not actively shape our own future. Although the stage we are in today may not end up being the final result, we are on the right path, headed in the right direction. Hmmm…. Does this sound like some intrepid explorers we know so well?

I urge you to become engaged in the process of shaping our organizational future and in how Lewis and Clark are perceived today. Participate in chapter, regional, and national events. Volunteer for leadership and outreach positions. Develop projects that will further engage the public. Get involved!

One of the organizations unknown to me before my condo research, the International Order of the King's Daughters and Sons, has managed to navigate the vicissitudes of an uncertain future. Its motto, I believe, has great relevance to LCTHF: "Look up and not down. Look forward and not back. Look out and not in. And lend a hand." I look forward to the day, with your help, when these words can truly apply to the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation well into the future.

Let us proceed on together, up, forward, and out. ∎

Lou Ritten, President
Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

Continued from inside front cover

across town rather than across the country, and Clark probably wanted to maintain as much control as possible of the finished product. Biddle at first declined, perhaps because he was unwilling to relocate ("My occupations necessarily confine me to Phila."), but two weeks later, March 17, 1810, he agreed to undertake the project. Although Biddle wrote, "I think I can promise with some confidence that it shall be ready as soon as the publisher is prepared to print it," it was not until 1811 that the manuscript was ready to go to press. A year later he reported to Clark that the original publisher had gone broke. Biddle, who was embarking on a political and financial career that would later make him the last president of the Second Bank of the United States, enlisted the help of a man named Paul Allen to complete the project and see it through the press.

What Biddle and Allen eventually published was a competent narrative of the Expedition, based heavily on the journals, buttressed with several long lists of queries (dutifully answered by Clark) and the assistance of Expedition member George Shannon, whom Clark dispatched to Philadelphia to provide Biddle whatever information he might need to complete the project. It appeared with former President Jefferson's famous biographical sketch of Lewis ("of courage undaunted") eight years after the Expedition's return. All the scientific data of the Expedition were excised by Biddle, who (with Clark) expected Benjamin Smith Barton to handle that material in a related volume. Barton died in 1815 without having accomplished that extremely important task, thus costing Lewis his rightful high place in the annals of American natural science and marooning the published narrative as more an adventure tale than a full Enlightenment report.

It's not clear what Jefferson thought of the Biddle-Allen narrative. By now a long time had passed. He was no longer President. America's second war of national independence, the War of 1812, had intervened. By 1814 Jefferson's private world at Monticello was beginning to come apart, mostly because of his increasingly precarious financial situation. In the celebrated and voluminous correspondence between Jefferson and John Adams (1812-1826), the Expedition is mentioned only once and then only to contrast the direction of their route with that proposed by John Ledyard during the Paris years. Jefferson must have known that the Biddle "travel narrative," as Donald Jackson calls it, was a pretty weak substitute for Lewis' projected three volume report, and a pale (and provincial) shadow of the kind of multi-volume publishing project that generally followed English and European explorations, including those of Captain James Cook and, more recently, Alexander von Humboldt, who had visited Jefferson in the White House in 1805.

For most of the next century, *that* was Lewis and Clark.

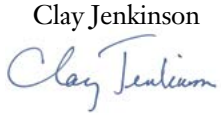
It wasn't until the Reuben Gold Thwaites' eight-volume *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* edition of 1905 that the public was able to read much of what the Expedition members actually wrote. A dozen years earlier, another editor, Elliott Coues, who also had access to the original journals, incorporated passages into his updated, scholarly edition of the Biddle-Allen *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark*. The first one-volume abridgement based on the original journal entries wasn't published until 1953, when the outstanding western historian, editor, and conservationist Bernard DeVoto, produced the most widely-read edition of the journals available until the University of Nebraska and Gary Moulton entered the picture in the 1980s.

In what Meriwether Lewis might have called "this chapter of accidents," we lost and we gained. It's a paradox at the center of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. We'd give anything to have those twenty-three Native American vocabularies, Lewis' thoughts on the treelessness of the prairies, his mature recounting of every important moment of the Expedition, his sense of destiny, his flights of epic prose, his anticipation of the westering movement of the nation. No one ever wished Lewis had written less.

And yet. Had he written his book(s), it is at least possible that the original journals would have been misplaced or discarded or buried in some subterranean vault somewhere, with the loss of their immediacy and wonderful rawness, including details that would surely have been suppressed for the sake of decorum. And, had he written his full account, with the literary formality to which he was sometimes susceptible, we might find the finished work less accessible, less delightful, and less of the fabulous adventure story we inherited. I confess that when I read the Penguin Nature Classics edition of the journals, excellently edited by Frank Bergon, I sometimes find the emphasis on natural history tedious, and longed for a lost tomahawk or another screw-up by Toussaint Charbonneau!

Enlightenment treatises can be tough sledding, but the epic of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as we have come to know it is one of the most compelling stories in American history.

Clay Jenkinson



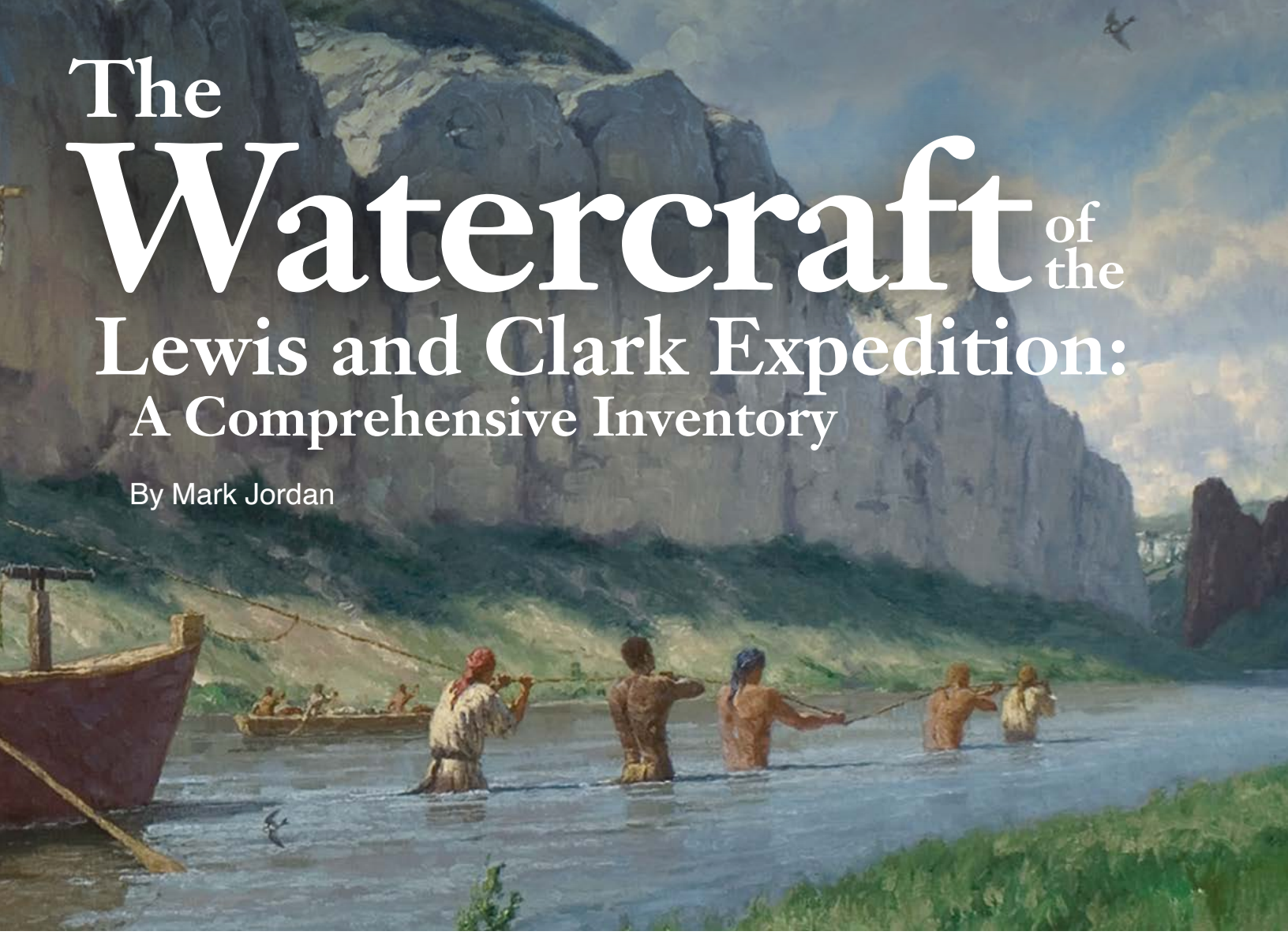
Towing and poling the red pirogue up the Missouri River under the White Cliffs. Painting courtesy of Charles Fritz and Tim Peterson.

Part One:
The Boats Used East of the Continental Divide

Boat Number 1.

The Iron Frame Boat – aka "The Experiment"

Meriwether Lewis first identified this watercraft in a letter to Thomas Jefferson dated April 20, 1803.[1] Lewis and Jefferson had worked jointly on developing a frame for a canoe-like boat that could be assembled in the field and finished out using materials similar to those used in assembling birch bark canoes, except that its outer covering would be skins. At the armory at Harper's Ferry, Lewis turned the design into the iron frame. The assembled frame would be thirty-six feet long. Lewis shipped the disassembled frame with other items obtained at Harper's Ferry to Pittsburgh. Since the river at Pittsburgh was quite low, he had these supplies sent overland to Wheeling (in what was then Virginia) where the iron frame would be loaded onto Boat Number 2 (the Expedition barge, discussed below) for transport to and up the Missouri River. Boat Number 2 off-loaded its cargo when it reached the winter camp of the Corps near the Mandan-Hidatsa villages in today's North Dakota. Boat Number 5 (the "white pirogue") transported the iron frame to the Lower Portage Camp, just below the Great Falls of the Missouri River in Montana.[2] From there, Lewis had the frame portaged to the Upper Portage Camp,[3] located upstream of where the Medicine (Sun) River entered the Missouri. Lewis, with Sergeant Patrick Gass, Joseph Field, and John Shields collected the materials to build out the frame – but not the ones Lewis had planned to use. (These materials did not exist on the Montana prairie.) A bit later Lewis brought in Robert Frazier and Joseph Whitehouse to stitch hides



The Watercraft of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: A Comprehensive Inventory

By Mark Jordan

together. George Drouillard joined the men to shave the skins. William Bratton was brought to try to produce "tar" (which would have been used as a seam sealer) by burning wood. They assembled the frame and its constituent parts over a seventeen-day period, finishing on July 9, 1805. The "Experiment," as it was dubbed, leaked so badly that it could not be used. The workmen could produce nothing that would seal the seams.[4] They disassembled the boat and buried the iron frame in a cache at the Upper Portage Camp, July 10, 1805. Lewis recovered the frame on the return journey, July 14, 1806.[5]

Boat Number 2.

The "Barge" or "Batteaux" or merely "the Boat" (And NOT the keelboat. See Sidebar: When is a "keeled boat" not a Keelboat?)

At an unknown point in time, Lewis contracted with a boat builder in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to build a barge. While no contract or job order listing the specifications has ever been discovered,[6] Lewis described wanting a "Keeled Boat light strong at least 60 feet in length her burthen equal to 8 Tons."[7] The finished boat was

> fifty-five feet in length, with an eight-foot beam, a thirty-two-foot mast [actually the boat left Pittsburgh with two masts – see below], a shallow draft, and a hold thirty-one feet long. At the stern was a cabin with a deck on top, and there was a ten-foot deck at the bow.[8]

The boat was completed on August 31, 1803 – most likely at Fort Fayette – at which time it was placed into the Ohio River, loaded, and the small crew embarked downstream.[9] From that point on each of the journal keepers labeled Lewis'

boat a barge, occasionally a batteaux, and often just a boat.

The barge left Pittsburgh with two masts. On September 6, 1803, Lewis recorded difficulties with two masts.

> got on pretty well to Steuwbenville which we past at 2 Oc. being 6 M. from encam[pment] **hoisted our fore sale** found great relief from it we run two miles in a few minutes when **the wind becoming so strong we were obliged to hall it in lest it should carry away the mast**, but the wind abating in some measure we again spread it; **a sudan squal broke the sprete [sprit] and had very nearly carried away the mast**, after which we firled an[d] secured it tho' the wind was so strong as to carry us pretty good speed by means of the arning and firled sails.— struck on a riffle about two miles below the town **hoisted our mainsail to assist in driving us over the riffle** the wind blew so heard as to break the spreat of it.[10] [Boldface added by author.]

Nor is this the only evidence of two masts. Two drawings, though quite tiny, made by Clark on November 25, 1803, when the boat was moored near Grand Tower on the Mississippi, show two masts (Figure A).[11]

On December 7, 1803, Clark recorded, "at 12oClock the wind was So violent as to take off one of the Mast's." The broken mast was not replaced, leaving Boat Number 2 with just one mast. Clark's drawing of January 21, 1804,[12] shows the barge with its single mast (Figure B).

On reaching Camp DuBois, Clark made significant alterations to Lewis' original design, producing the boat that

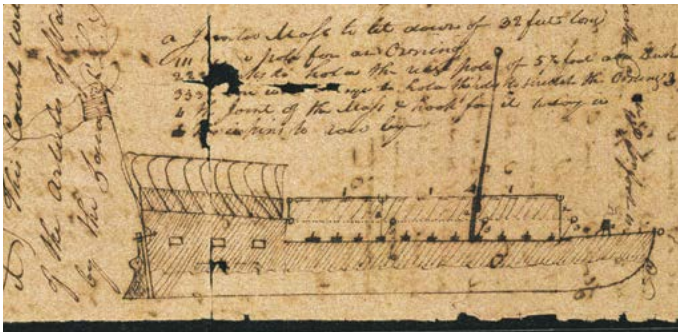


Figure B. Clark's drawing of the barge, January 21, 1804. Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book Library , Yale University.

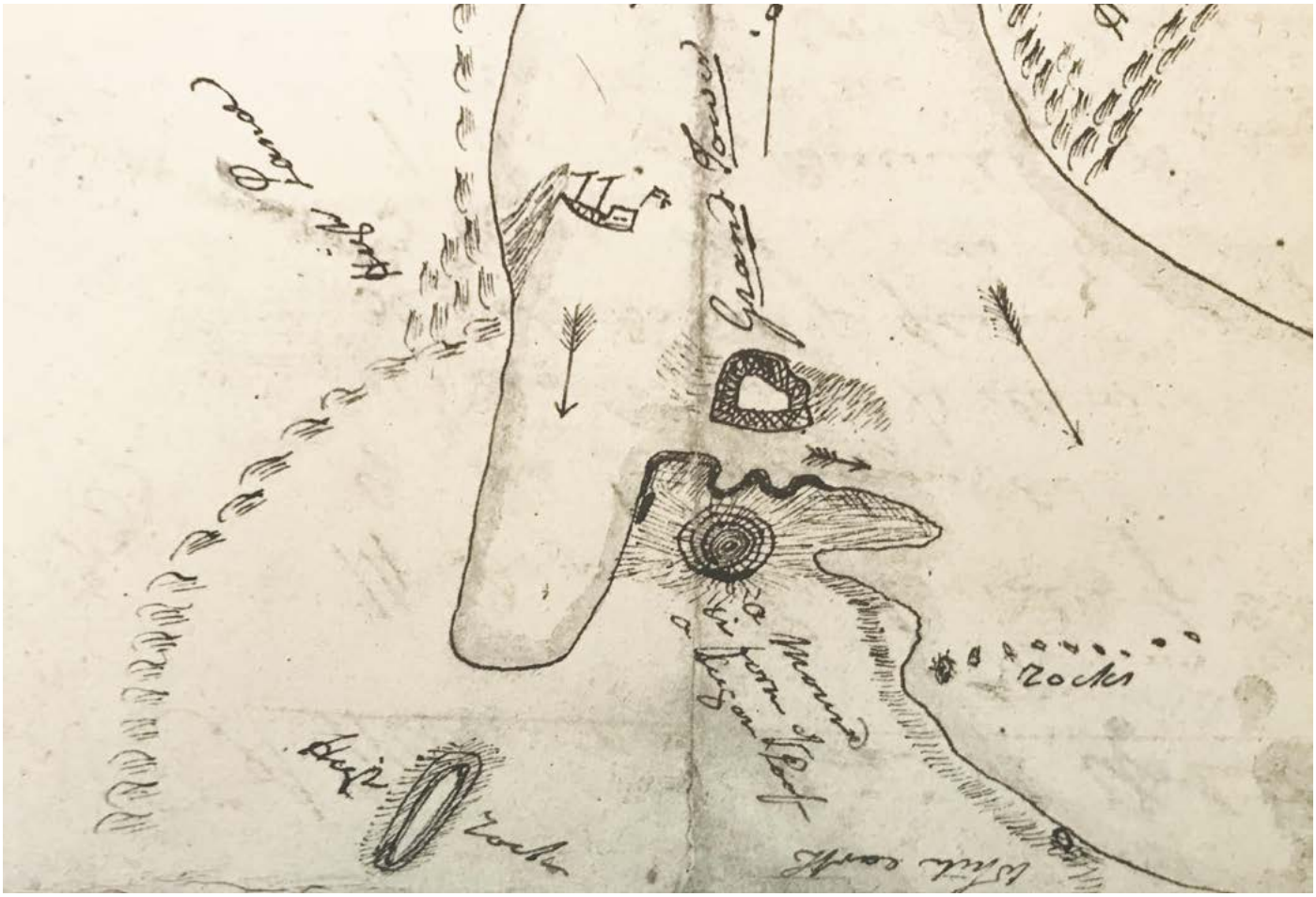


Figure A. Clark's sketch of the two-masted barge, November 25, 1803, as shown on map 3a, Atlas of the Lewis & Clark Expedition.

would ascend the Missouri to the Mandan-Hidatsa villages.

On May 14, 1804, the barge began its ascent of the Missouri, making the 1600-mile trip not without substantial difficulties. Among the problems were near capsizes, loss of its anchor, and a broken mast.[13] The barge reached the Mandan-Hidatsa villages in late October 1804 and was settled in place on November 13, when it was unloaded. Once the river iced over, the barge remained in place until attempts were made to remove it from the ice beginning on January 22, 1805.

In the spring of 1805, once freed from the ice, Lewis loaded the barge, scheduled to return to St. Louis under the command of Corporal Richard Warfington, with

> the letters and all the writings which was necessary to go back to the States also Some curious animals such as Goat Skins & horns, a barking Squirrell Some Mountain Rams horns a prarie hen & badgers Some birds cauled magpies & a nomber of other curious things too tedious to mention &.c.[14]

The barge left Fort Mandan for St. Louis on April 7, 1805.[15] It safely arrived in St. Louis on or about May 20.[16]

Boat Number 3.

The "Red" Pirogue? (See Sidebar: What is a Pirogue?)

Lewis left Pittsburgh with not only his fifty-five-foot boat, but with another watercraft.

> the Perogue was loaded as his been my practice since I left Pittsburgh, in order as much as posseble to lighten the boat.[17]

He had written to Jefferson that he intended to get a barge and a canoe ("a large light wooden canoe") at the same time and place.[18] Since Lewis used the term "pirogue" and "canoe" interchangeably, his Pittsburgh pirogue filled his need for that "light wooden canoe." In the September 4 journal entry, Lewis recorded that he

> found [the pirogue] had sprung a leek and had nearly filled; this accedent was truly distressing, as her load consisting of articles of hard-ware, intended as presents to the Indians got wet and I fear are much damaged; proceeded about three miles further.[19]

We learn later in the Expedition that the red pirogue did leak and had structural problems. Could this vessel have been the red pirogue? If this is the red pirogue, and I believe it is, it reached the Mandan-Hidatsa villages in late October of 1804, despite being injured so badly that Lewis had intended to send it back down the Missouri.[20] Out of necessity – the captains needed its load-carrying capacity – it joined the upstream complement of boats departing from Fort Mandan. Commencing on April 7, 1805, the red pirogue carried men, materials, equipment, and merchandise from Fort Mandan to the junction of the Missouri and Marias Rivers, where it was cached on June 10.

> we drew up the red perogue into the middle of a small Island at the entrance of Maria's river,[21] and secured and made her fast to the trees to prevent the high floods from carrying her off put my brand on several trees standing near her, and covered her with brush to shelter her from the effects of the sun.[22]

The red pirogue remained in this location until July 28, 1806, when the men with Lewis' return party reached the confluence of the Marias and Missouri rivers.

> having now nothing to detain us we passed over immediately to the island in the entrance of Maria's river to launch the red perogue, but found her so much decayed that it was impossible with the means we had to repare her and therefore mearly took the nails and other ironwork's about her which might be of service to us and left her.[23]

The decayed condition of the red pirogue would seem to be additional evidence that this was the imperfect pirogue obtained at Pittsburgh. The now-abandoned red pirogue had done yeoman service despite the numerous difficulties it had faced in its ascent of the river.

Boat Number 4.

The "White" Pirogue? (See Sidebar: What is a Pirogue?)

Lewis purchased a pirogue in Wheeling (at that time part of Virginia) on September 8, 1803.[24] My assumption that the first pirogue purchased was the red pirogue could make Boat Number 4 the "white pirogue." (See "What is a Pirogue?" for an alternative view.)

The Captains recorded precious little information about Boat Numbers 3 and 4. Boat Number 3 (the red pirogue) was slightly larger and longer than Boat Number 4 (the white pirogue), as the former had a crew of eight individuals (the French Canadian *engagés*) while the white pirogue had a crew of seven individuals.[25] There are no journal entries or peripheral documentation to indicate that any other

watercraft of this type was added to the Expedition, or that either of these boats was abandoned prior to reaching Camp DuBois. Like the red pirogue, the white pirogue reached the Mandan-Hidatsa villages in October 1804.

The white pirogue left Fort Mandan on April 7, 1805, as part of the upriver fleet of boats. It reached the Lower Portage Camp[26] just below the Great Falls of the Missouri River on June 16. It was then hidden with the cache that the men set up at that place.

> This morning I employed all hands in drawing the perogue on shore in a thick bunch of willow bushes some little distance below our camp; fastened her securely, drove out the plugs of the gage holes of her bottom and covered her with bushes and driftwood to shelter her from the sun.[27]

It would remain there until recovered on the return journey.

Boat Number 5.

A "Canoe"

On September 4, 1803, Lewis "purchased a canoe compleat with two paddles and two poles for which I gave 11$, found that my new purchase leaked so much that she was unsafe woithout some repairs."[29] The canoe was added to the fleet at Georgetown in western Beaver County, Pennsylvania. Lewis' journal entry for that day read: "set some of my hands to repareing the canoes." Here Lewis used the term "canoe" to refer to the two boats he used to accompany Boat Number 2: the Pittsburgh pirogue and the Georgetown canoe. (He would not obtain the second pirogue until four days later.) Lewis throughout the Expedition used the terms pirogue and canoe interchangeably for the same craft. This has led to some confusion as to the nature of Boat Numbers 3 and 4. Were they dugout canoes (such as the ones used on the Columbia, which Lewis frequently called pirogues), or were they planked (lapstrake) boats, with overlapping boards that created the hull? (See "What is a Pirogue?")

The fate of this boat is unclear. I believe that it continued to accompany the Corps to Camp DuBois where it was used to shuttle men to and from St. Louis. How did men such as Ordway, Floyd, and Shannon go from Camp DuBois to St. Louis and back, which required river crossing? No mention was made of acquiring another watercraft or of disposing of any of the watercraft that descended the Ohio. It would seem much easier to use a small canoe to transport a few men across the river rather than using the larger Boat Numbers 3 and 4. The pirogues (Boat Numbers 3 and 4) appeared to have been drydocked at Camp Wood, though if it were necessary to transport larger numbers of men or carry supplies across the Mississippi, one would probably have been used as transport.

Boat Numbers 6 to 11.

Dugout Canoes

On December 31, 1804, Sergeant John Ordway recorded: "three men went up to the 2nd village of mandans in order to look in that bottom for timber to make pearogues." Note that Ordway referred to what would become dugout canoes as "pirogues." Acceptable cottonwood trees were found five or six miles above Fort Mandan. No journalist recorded the length of the dugouts. They would have been shorter than the red and white pirogues. Going upstream, at least one of these canoes was paddled by two men, and one by three, which would give a relative indication of size.[30]

On February 27, 1805, Ordway wrote:

> 16 men Got their tools in order to make 4 perogues 4 men destined to make each perogue. the commanding officers mean to leave the Barge here in the Spring, and go on with 5 perogues one old one as they will be much better to Go from this place to the head of the Missouri.[31]

That five-boat fleet included the white pirogue and the four dugouts that were about to be built. By March 11, Clark had determined that he needed two more canoes.[32] The six canoes were finished March 23. Then Clark discovered that even these seven watercraft would not be adequate to carry the party and the supplies. As Sergeant Gass recorded:

> On the 27th we put one of the canoes into the water to ascertain what weight they would carry. We found they would not carry as much as was expected, and Captain Lewis agreed to take a large periogue along.[33]

Hence the leaky red pirogue was once again added to the fleet, to be cached at the Marias-Missouri confluence. These dugout canoes and the white pirogue were sailed, paddled, and towed to the Lower Portage Camp where the white pirogue was cached. At the Lower Portage Camp, the men would move the dugouts up Belt Creek and take them out of the water. From there they would be portaged to the Upper Portage Camp and then placed into the Missouri to continue upstream, accompanied by two more dugouts.

Boat Numbers 12 and 13.

Dugout Canoes

Following the failure of the iron frame boat, Lewis needed the carrying capacity of two more canoes. Clark proceeded upstream on the Missouri several miles where he found two trees that the party used to build two dugout canoes.[34] On July 14, according to Lewis:

> all hands that could work were employed about the canoes. which we completed and launched this evening. the one was 25 feet and the other 33 feet in length and about 3 feet wide.[35]

The Expedition ascended the Missouri in eight dugout canoes. Both pirogues had now been left behind. For a while they could be comfortably paddled. As the Missouri narrowed, and as it divided first into the Jefferson, then into the Beaverhead, the men would be poling or dragging the canoes with a tow line. This was excruciating labor. Eight dugout canoes reached the Forks of the Jefferson[36] on August 7. There Lewis wrote in his journal:

> our stores were now so much exhausted that we found we could proceed with one canoe less. we therefore drew out one of them into a thicket of brush and secured her in such manner that the water could not take her off should the river rise to the hight where she is.[37]

From the Big Hole River they would continue, with great difficulty, upstream with only seven of the dugout canoes. Clark reported that the men begged to abandon further ascent by boat.

When the seven remaining canoes reached the area now known as Camp Fortunate,[38] Lewis and Clark finally decided to end upstream river travel. The canoes were cached until July 1806. Lewis wrote:

> I also laid up the canoes this morning in a pond near the forks; sunk them in the water and weighted them down with stone, after taking out the plugs of the gage holes in their bottoms; hoping by his means to guard against both the effects of high water, and that of the fire which is frequently kindled in these plains by the natives.[39]

The Return Journey of the Dugout Canoes

These dugout canoes would remain cached until July 8, 1806, when Clark, returning with his contingent of twenty-one men, Sacagawea, and the baby, reached Camp Fortunate, from where they would travel downstream. Clark would only go as far as the Three Forks before bushwhacking his way to the Yellowstone River. Sergeant Ordway would then take charge of the canoes until he and his nine men reached the Upper Portage Camp. Ordway wrote:

> they raised the canoes to day found some tin and nails had been taken of them by the Savages we halled them out to Sun them we repaired our canoes. . . I go down with 9 more to take the canoes to the falls of the Missourie than to the forks of Marriah where I expect to join Capt. Lewis & his party.[40]

The next day Ordway added:

> one canoe which we thot of no account cut up for paddles and fire wood. then put the 6 canoes in the water, and put our baggage in them.[41]

The six canoes descended the Beaverhead to the Forks of the Jefferson in only three days. Clark uncovered the canoe that had been cached there and found that it was "quite safe." But he had no need for that canoe, nor did he need a sixth canoe in the flotilla. As he noted in his journal entry for July 12:

> this Morning I was detained untill 7 A M makeing Paddles and drawing the nails of the Canoe to be left at this place and the one we had before left here.[42]

Now the men with Clark paddled five canoes toward the Upper Portage Camp.[43] Ordway took charge of the canoe brigade with nine other paddlers, two men to a canoe.

At this point it is impossible to identify which of the six canoes made at Fort Mandan and the two canoes made above the Upper Portage camp were the ones that Clark chose to cut up. Going downstream on the Jefferson River, Clark or Lewis labelled canoes as "small," but that only meant that some of the canoes were longer than the others. There were probably three "longer" canoes.

After Clark and Ordway reached the Three Forks, the groups separated. Clark took the horses with his party, and headed eastward following the Gallatin River, ultimately reaching the Yellowstone River. (Discussed below.) Ordway took the five remaining canoes and arrived at the Upper Portage Camp on July 19. A distance that had taken thirty-five days to ascend in 1805 had taken only six days to descend in 1806.

At the Upper Portage Camp, the five canoes were hauled out of the river to dry. Using four horses, they managed to

move all five canoes over the prairie to the Lower Portage Camp. Though this portage had its difficulties, it was far easier than the portage in 1805.

The White Pirogue Joins the Downstream Journey

The white pirogue was recovered at Lower Portage Camp on the return journey by Sergeant John Ordway on July 26 and 27.[44] Ordway on July 27 recorded:

> about 12 we loaded and Set out with the white perogue and the 5 canoes. procd. on down the rapid water fast.[45]

The canoes picked up Lewis, Drouillard, and the Field brothers upstream of the junction of the Marias River. At the Marias, having inspected and then abandoned the unusable red pirogue, the group of men proceeded on down the river in the five canoes and the white pirogue. We get a relative idea of the size of the canoes by looking at Lewis' July 29, 1806, entry:

> I placed the two Fieldses and Colter and Collins in the two smallest canoes (on) with orderes to hunt.[46]

As they headed toward St. Louis, the hunters, either two or three, would be dispatched in the smaller canoes, so they probably did not exceed twenty-five or so feet in length. At this point the six watercraft would be carrying twenty-one men. Assuming the white pirogue caried six men, that would leave thirteen men padding the five canoes. With hunters paired off in two of the canoes, nine men would be paddling the other three canoes, another relative indication of size.

They met with Clark and his party on August 12 in northwestern North Dakota. Before we take these canoes and the pirogue to St. Louis, we will take a detour to look at several other watercraft used by men of the Expedition.

Boat Number 14.

For Several *Engagés*

On November 3, 1804, Clark made this entry in his journal: "Set the french who intend to return to build a pirogue."[47] This referred to several of the *engagés* who had taken the red pirogue up the Missouri River to the Mandan-Hidatsa villages. They were dismissed on arrival and were free to return whenever they might wish. Apparently, this "pirogue," actually a dugout canoe, conveyed Joseph Gravelines, Paul Primeau, Baptiste LaJeunesse, and two unidentified *engagés* to the Arikara villages. The canoe returned on November 14 with two of the *engagés*. We have no other mention of this canoe.

Boat Numbers 15 and 16.

Two Dugout Canoes

After Clark left Ordway with the five canoes at the Three Forks, he proceeded up the Gallatin River, over Bozeman Pass, then descended to the Yellowstone River. Clark at that point wished to canoe the Yellowstone River to its confluence with the Missouri, where he had planned to meet Lewis. As he proceeded along the Yellowstone, Clark looked for, but was unable to find, trees adequate to make two canoes. Although bison covered the countryside near the Yellowstone, Clark did not want to use bull boats, boats he had seen used by the Mandans, to travel the river. He wrote:

> the current of the Rochejhone is too rapid [NB: & not willing] to depend on Skinn canoes. [NB: which are not so easy managed & we did not know the river] no other alternetive for me but to proceed on down untill I can find a tree Sufficently large &c. to make a Canoe.[48]

On July 20, 1805, he finally located two cottonwood trees that he believed would serve the purpose.

> fell the two trees which I intended for the two Canoes. Those trees appeared tolerably Sound and will make Canoes of 28 feet in length and about 16 or 18 inches deep and from 16 to 24 inches wide.[49]

Clark had the two canoes bound together by lashing poles across the canoes to make a highly stable catamaran-like craft. On July 24, this "catacraft" set off down the Yellowstone. Clark sent Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor, George Shannon, Richard Windsor, and Hugh Hall with the horses on an overland mission to the Mandans and beyond. With Clark on the "catacraft" were York, John Shields, George Gibson, William Bratten, Francois Labiche, and the three Charbonneaus. The "catacraft" carried the nine passengers quite well, but after water rose over the gunwales, Clark tacked bison skins onto the canoes to repel that water.

Clark would continue down the Yellowstone in his "catacraft" with little difficulty. He would reach the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri on August 3, 1806. On August 8, he was surprised to see Sergeant Pryor, Shannon, Windsor, and Hall floating down the

Missouri. They had failed in their intention to journey by horse.

Boat Numbers 17 and 18.

Two Leather-Covered "Bull Boats"

On Pryor's second day out, having stopped for the night, he awoke to find that the horses entrusted to him had "disappeared." Unable to locate them, the four men then hoisted their gear on their backs and hiked to the Yellowstone River, intercepting it at Pompey's Pillar. Shannon shot bison and built two "bull boats," circular boats made using a substantial willow framework (Figure C).

The boats measured "7 feet 3 inches diamieter & 16 inchs deep 15 ribs or Cross Sticks in each."[50] Clark described the process:

> made in the following manner. Viz: 2 Sticks of 1¼ inch diameter is tied together So as to form a round hoop of the Size you wish the canoe, or as large as the Skin will allow to cover, two of those hoops are made one for the top or brim and the for the bottom the deabth you wish the Canoe, then Sticks of the Same Size are Crossed at right angles and fastened with a throng to each hoop and also where each Stick Crosses each other. then the Skin when green is drawn tight over this fraim and fastened with throngs to the brim or outer hoop So as to form a perfect bason.[51]

The four soldiers rode the bull boats down the Yellowstone to the Missouri, meeting with Clark on August 8 near today's Williston, North Dakota. One of the ironies of this episode is that Hugh Hall had asked Clark to allow him to ride with the horses, as he could not swim and would have been uncomfortable riding canoes down the Yellowstone. Given what Clark said about the Yellowstone (too rapid for bull boats) and the bull boats (not easily managed), one can only imagine the terror Hall experienced as the bull boats bounced and spun their way down the Yellowstone.

Clark continued to use the bison skin boats. Along the way:

> one of the Canoes of Buffalow Skin by accident got a hole pierced in her of about 6 inches diamuter. I derected two

Figure C. Mandan bull boat. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis.

> of the men to patch the Canoe with a piece of Elk skin over the hole, which they did and it proved all Sufficient, after which the Canoe did not leak one drop.[52]

On August 12, 1806, after proceeding on "to a large bottom on the N. E. Side above the head of Jins [NB: Qu: an] island,"[53] Clark stopped to wait for Shannon, who had left his tomahawk behind. Then Clark continued down the river, "having left the 2 leather Canoes on the bank." Shannon's skin boats, having served their purpose, were needed no more.

Boat Numbers 19 and 20.

Two More Leather-Skin Boats

Separating from Clark's party on July 3, 1806, Lewis, with Drouillard, the Field brothers, Sergeant Gass, Thompson, Werner, Frazier, Goodrich, and McNeal followed the Blackfoot River over the Continental Divide toward the Great Falls of the Missouri. They paralleled the Medicine (Sun) River to its junction with the Missouri, reaching it on July 11, 1806. The Upper Portage Camp lay on the opposite side of the river a few miles upstream.[54] Here, Lewis built two skin boats to cross to the Upper Portage Camp. Lewis described them as follows:

> I directed the hunters to kill some buffaloe as well for the benifit of their skins to enable us to pass the river as for their meat for the men I meant to leave at this place. . . .had the cow skined and some willows sticks collected to make canoes of the hides . . . I then set all hands to prepare (the) two canoes (in order to pass the river) the one we made after the mandan fassion with a single skin in the form of a bason[55] and the other we constructed of two skins on a plan of our own. we were unable to compleat our canoes this evening.[56]

They finished the canoes the following morning.

> We arrose early and resumed our operations in compleating our canoes which we completed by 10 A. M. . . . at 5 P. M. the wind abated and we transported our baggage and meat to the opposite shore in our canoes which we found answered even beyond our expectations.[57]

Lewis remained at the Upper Portage Camp for four days. On July 16, Lewis, with Joseph Field, took their baggage and using the larger of the two skin canoes rode the Missouri down to the Medicine (Sun) River.[58] Lewis would soon leave for his foray up the Marias River and to his lethal encounter with the Blackfeet. They abandoned the skin canoes.

Finishing the Journey Down the Missouri, 1806

When Lewis caught up to Clark on August 12, 1806, he was lying on his belly in the white pirogue to protect his very sore buttocks. The party now had one pirogue and seven canoes. Two days later they reached the Mandan-Hidatsa villages. Here, John Colter was allowed to leave the party to trap with Hancock and Dickson, two trappers they had met a few days before. And here, the Charbonneau family left the Expedition. The Corps of Discovery now numbered twenty-nine.

Clark, however, had convinced Mandan Chief Sheheke-shote, or Big White, to go to Washington to meet with Jefferson. Sheheke would only go if his wife and child could come and only if Rene Jusseaume, and his wife and children, could accompany him as translator. To better accommodate Sheheke and Jusseaume and their families, Clark

> derected two of the largest of the Canoes be fastened together with poles tied across them So as to make them Study for the purpose of Conveying the Indians and enterpreter and their families.[59]

Now there were two "catacrafts:" Clark's dugouts from the Yellowstone and two of the Camp Fortunate dugout canoes tied together. The "catacrafts" traveled with three solo canoes and the white pirogue. The journals give us only an inkling of how the members of the party were allocated among the boats. Guessing as to the distribution, the two "smaller" canoes generally carried two persons, occasionally three.[60] The "catacraft" assembled on the Yellowstone probably would have carried eight passengers and the one carrying Sheheke, Jusseaume, and their families carried ten.[61] The "larger" of the dugout canoes apparently carried five individuals. The pirogue would have taken the remaining eight passengers.[62]

The Expedition's watercraft quickly transited the Missouri, covering the 1600 miles in thirty-eight days. Along the way the smaller canoes were frequently sent out for hunting, two or three hunters in the canoe. Very little of note happened to the boats as they descended the Missouri. However, on September 20, because of eye problems, several of the men were unable to perform as paddlers. Clark recorded:

as three of the party was unabled to row from the State of their eyes we found it necessary to leave one of our Crafts and divide the men into the other Canoes, we left the two Canoes lashed together which I had made high up the River Rochejhone, those Canoes we Set a drift and a little after day light we Set out and proceeded on very well.[63]

Ordway recorded on the same day, "we had room for the men without them."[64] The eight passengers would have been redistributed. Three days later the full complement of thirty-six individuals arrived in St Louis in the remaining six boats. The indispensable white pirogue had made the trip up the Missouri to the Great Falls and then returned all the way to St. Louis. The other five boats consisted of two "small" canoes, one larger canoe, and two "larger" canoes that had been bound into the "catacraft" at the Mandan-Hidatsa villages and which transported Sheheke, Jusseaume, and their families. All five of those dugout canoes had been constructed either at Fort Mandan or just above the Upper Portage Camp. Unfortunately, we have no way of conclusively knowing where each of those five boats had been built. But we do know that five dugout canoes, along with the white pirogue, did reach St. Louis on September 23, 1806, having fulfilled their purpose admirably.

Part Two:
The Boats of the Pacific Watershed

From the time they abandoned the canoes at Camp Fortunate until they reached navigable rivers on the western side of the divide, the Expedition members used foot or horses to travel to where they could build canoes and descend the Columbia watershed. Clark's advanced party reached Weippe Prairie on September 19, 1805, where he learned from the Nez Perce about descending the nearby river, the Clearwater or Kooskooskee.

Boat Numbers 21 to 25.

The Clearwater River (Canoe Camp) Canoes

On September 26, 1805, Clark reported:

Set out early and proceeded on down the river to a bottom opposit the forks of the river on the South Side and formed a Camp…. I had the axes distributed and handled and men apotned. ready to commence building canoes on tomorrow, our axes are Small & badly Calculated to build Canoes of the large Pine.[65]

The men cut down five trees.[66] With the help of Nez Perce experts, they sped up the process of hollowing out the logs by burning them from inside and scraping out the charred wood.[67] They probably looked quite similar to the Nez Perce dugout canoe (Figure D).

Figure D. Nez Perce dugout canoe. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis.

Two of the canoes were launched on October 5. On October 7, the last of the five canoes were placed into the water and they set out downstream. Sergeant Gass described "four large ones; and one small one."[68] The Corps now consisted of the thirty-three individuals (counting one eight-month-old). One of the canoes, described as the small canoe, probably only carried three paddlers. We have no information about the size of the canoes, but each was long enough to carry eight passengers and equipment and baggage. They were probably longer than the canoes built at Fort Mandan, almost certainly longer than the two canoes (Boat Numbers 12 and 13) built above the Great Falls.

On the first several days the canoes either leaked or struck rocks and needed repairs. Occasionally a canoe that struck a rock would sink. Otherwise, the canoes performed admirably, although they were heavily laden and had little freeboard. Water frequently poured over the gunwales. A Native canoe paddled by two accommodating Nez Perce led them along the river, guiding them down some of the more serious rapids. The Snake and the Columbia rivers required that goods and sometimes canoes be portaged around rapids or falls. At some of the very challenging rapids, several of the better paddlers, led by Pierre Cruzatte, paddled the five empty canoes through the rapids virtually unscathed.

Boat Number 26.

The "Indian" Canoe (See Sidebar: Northwest Coastal Canoes)

On October 23, 1805, after a portage around Celilo Falls,[69] Lewis purchased a Native canoe which Clark described:

> I observed on the beach near the Indian Lodges two Canoes butifull of different Shape & Size to what we had Seen above wide in the midde and tapering to each end, on the bow curious figures were Cut on the wood &c. Capt. Lewis went up to the Lodges to See those Canoes and exchanged our Smallest Canoe for one of them by giveing a Hatchet & few trinkets to the owner who informed that he purchased it of a white man below for a horse, these Canoes are neeter made than any I have ever Seen and Calculated to ride the waves, and carry emence burthens, they are dug thin and are supported by cross pieces of about 1 inch diamuter tied with Strong bark thro' holes in the Sides.[70]

Leaving the smallest of the canoes built at Canoe Camp with these Natives, they gladly took to using the Native canoe. While the Corps was trapped in the "Dismal Nitch," Colter, Shannon, and Willard were able to paddle the small Native canoe through the Columbia's tempestuous waters around Point Ellice and arrive at Station Camp. A day later one of the larger canoes made it around the point and returned, and then the four canoes proceeded on calmer waters to Station Camp. The five canoes then returned upriver on November 25 and crossed to the south side of the Columbia on November 26. Unable to make significant progress, the small Native canoe, which at one point Lewis described as "so light that four men can carry her on their sholders a mile or more without resting; and will carry three men and from 12 to 15 hundred lbs,"[71] took Lewis and five other paddlers in search of a winter encampment. They located the site at which they would build Fort Clatsop. After Lewis reported back, the five canoes paddled through Young's Bay up what is now Lewis and Clark River. There, they docked the canoes for the winter, except when they used them for hunting excursions.

On January 11, the Native canoe disappeared because it was not secured against the flow of the tide. Disappointed at being unable to find the canoe they gave it up as lost. But on February 5:

> Late this evening one of the hunters fired his gun over the swamp of the Netul opposite to the fort and hooped. I sent sergt. Gass and a party of men over; the tide being in, they took advantage of a little creek which makes up in that direction nearly to the highlands, and in their way fortunately recovered our Indian Canoe, so long lost and much lamented.[72]

This canoe would be with the fleet they would use to ascend the Columbia in the Spring.

Loss of One of the Canoe Camp Canoes

In early March, John Shields, Reuben Field, and Frazier went out to hunt on a small creek on the opposite side of the Netul River. When they returned to the site where they had left the canoe, they were unable to find it. Apparently, the cord broke and it was carried off by the tide. Lewis sent men out to search for the boat but after three days gave up. With the loss of this canoe, they had only three of the large Canoe Camp canoes left, plus the Indian canoe they had received in exchange below the Falls.

Boat Number 27.

The Purchased Native Canoe

Sorely needing more canoes to replace the large Canoe Camp canoe that had been lost, the men looked to purchase several more. On March 17:

> Drewyer returned late this evening from the Cathlahmahs with … a canoe which he had purchased from those people. for this canoe he gave my uniform laced coat and nearly half a carrot of tobacco. it seems that nothing excep this coat would induce them to dispose of a canoe which in their mode of traffic is an article of the greatest val[u]e except a wife, with whom it is equal, and is generally given in exchange to the father for his daughter.[73]

This was a not surprisingly high value on an indispensable item for Natives who relied on canoes for river and ocean transport.

Boat Number 28.

The Stolen Native Canoe

While badly wanting an additional canoe, Expedition members could not get the Natives to sell at a price the captains were willing to pay. Lewis then engaged in one of those self-justifying outrages that pepper his attitudes toward the coastal Natives.

> we yet want another canoe, and as the Clatsops will not

sell us one at a price which we can afford to give we will take one from them in lue of the six Elk which they stole from us in the winter.[74]

Lewis apparently was too embarrassed to make any further note of the theft. Ordway recorded:

4 men went over to the prarie near the coast to take a canoe which belongd to the Clotsop Indians, as we are in want of it. in the evening they returned 2 of them by land and killd. an Elk. the others took the canoe near the fort and concealed it, as the chief of the Clotsops is now here.[75]

Although Lewis averred that these elk were "stolen," the Clatsops had previously paid for them with dogs. Lewis now had an additional canoe.

The Upriver Journey on the Columbia

On March 23, 1806, the Corps abandoned Fort Clatsop and started the upriver paddle (although Drouillard and the Field brothers had left the day before to do some hunting). They set out with six canoes – the three longer canoes built at Canoe Camp and the three smaller canoes: the one exchanged at the Falls on October 23, 1805, the one purchased by Drouillard, and the stolen Native canoe. (Drouillard and the Field brothers had taken one of the Native canoes.) As they worked their way up the river on the March 24, they got lost among the myriad islands dotting this portion of the Columbia:

not paying much attention we mistook our rout which an Indian perceiving pursued overtook us and put us in the wright channel. This Cathlahmah claimed the small canoe which we had taken from the Clatsops. however he consented very willingly to take an Elk's skin for it which I directed should be given him and he immediately returned.[76]

Here we have, I believe, an example of the captains' being bamboozled. It is highly unlikely that the canoe they had stolen belonged to this Native. The Clatsops must have discovered the theft and word spread among local tribes. This enterprising Native, seeing the lost Expedition members in a Native boat that matched the description he had picked up on the Native grapevine, guessed rightly that they had the stolen boat. He accepted only one elk skin for the canoe. Given the asking prices that the captains had earlier refused to pay, the Native relinquished "his" canoe for a surprisingly low price.

By April 1, Lewis realized he needed another small canoe, as the men had difficulty paddling the larger canoes upstream against the Columbia's mighty current. He

purchased a canoe from an Indian today for which I gave him six fathoms of wampum beads; he seemed satisfyed with his bargain and departed in another canoe but shortly after returned and canceled the bargain; took his canoe and returned the beads.[77]

Lewis would continue to look for canoes.

As they approached the rapids, they had to unload the canoes, portage the equipment and gear, and pull the canoes up the rapids using the tow line, of which they had only one. The line snapped when towing one of the small canoes, and the canoe rushed back down the river. Some Natives captured it and returned it to the men. On April 11, at the Falls of the Columbia, they had to tow or drag the canoes up the falls, although they carried one of the small canoes over the portage trail. On April 12, with only one of the large canoes left to move above the rapid:

at this place the current sets with great violence against a projecting rock. in hawling the perogue arround this point the bow unfortunately took the current at too great a distance from the rock, she turned her side to the stream and the utmost exertions of all the party were unable to resist the forse with which she was driven by the current, they were compelled to let loose the cord and of course both perogue and cord went a drift with the stream. the loss of this perogue will I fear compell us to purchase one or more canoes of the indians at an extravegant price.[78]

Now the Corps had only two of the large canoes built at Canoe Camp. They still have the three Native canoes.

Boat Numbers 29 and 30.

Two More Native Canoes

Owing to the loss of the large canoe, the cargo and crew had to travel in the remaining canoes. The canoes could not handle the extra loads. Clark remained with the large canoes (called by Lewis "perogues") while Lewis traveled with two of the small canoes. The third was being used by Drouillard and the Field brothers for hunting.

I soon obtained two small canoes from them for which I gave two robes and four elkskins. I also purchased four paddles.[79]

Lewis now had five small Native canoes, while Clark used the two remaining larger Canoe Camp canoes. That is, until they reached the Long Narrows[80] and were faced with the prospect of getting canoes around a water barrier much worse than when they had descended the previous fall. Lewis described the April 18, 1806, scene:

> here we found it necessary to unload the perogues and canoes and make a portage of 70 paces over a rock; we then drew our vessels up by a cord and the assistance of setingpoles. . . . the long narrows are much more formidable than they were when we decended them last fall there would be no possibility of passind either up or down them in any vessel. … we determined to make the portage to the head of the long narrows with our baggage and five small canoes. the 2 perogues we could take no further and therefore cut them up for fuel.[81]

The last of the Canoe Camp canoes (or "perogues" as Lewis wrote) were gone. Only the five small Native canoes remained. Ascending the river's powerful current became much more difficult. They wanted to proceed by land and sought to barter for horses to carry their loads. The five small canoes did not have much life left in them. On April 20, Lewis wrote, "I barted my Elksins old irons and 2 canoes for beads."[82] Ordway added this detail: "the Indians would not give us any thing worth mentioning for our canoes So we Split & burnt one of them this evening."[83] They continued to use the two remaining canoes for several days. Lewis lamented the need for horses. Finally, on April 24:

> the natives had tantalized us with an exchange of horses for our canoes in the first instance, but when they found that we had made our arrangements to travel by land they would give us nothing for them I determined to cut them in peices sooner than leave them on those terms, Drewyer struck one of the canoes and split of a small peice with his tommahawk, they discovered us determined on this subject and offered us several strands of beads.[84]

Lewis grudgingly accepted the paltry sum.

Let's tally this up. The Expedition had used ten different canoes on the Columbia: the four large ones (made at Canoe Camp) and the six small ones (one of which was made at Canoe Camp). But these will not be the last use of canoes on the western side of the Rockies.

Boat Number 31.

Disaster Near Camp Chopunnish

While among the Nez Perce, at the locale later known by the name Camp Chopunnish, the captains had the men build another canoe. On May 21, they

> set five men at work to make a canoe for the purpose of fishing and passing the river. the Indians have already promised us a horse for this canoe when we have no longer any uce for her.[85]

The men began work on the canoe on May 21. They used the Nez Perce method of burning the interior and they finished it in six days, at which time they placed the canoe into the river and floated it successfully. Four days later it sank when George Shannon and two others paddled it across a flooded Clearwater and capsized it. As Lewis described it:

> Shannon and Collins were permitted to pass the river in order to trade with the natives and lay in a store of roots and bread for themselves with their proporiton of the merchandize as the others had done; in landing on the opposite shore the canoe was driven broad side with the full forse of a very strong current against some standing trees and instantly filled with water and sunk. . . . I sent Sergt. Pryor and a party over with the indian canoe[86] in order to raise and secure ours but the debth of the water and the strength of the current baffled every effort. I fear that we have also lost our canoe.[87]

The canoe remained under the powerful current until June 8, when with the assistance of some Nez Perce it was pulled out of the river. It was left for the Nez Perce. Fortunately, another "indian canoe" (Number 49) allowed the men to continue to cross the river.

That completes the list of the watercraft that the Expedition bought, built, or otherwise secured for their use while they followed the rivers of the East or the West. However, those were not the only watercraft that they needed to complete their voyages.

Canoes Belonging to Natives Used One Time (Or Several Times) by the Corps

Often, Expedition members would paddle Native canoes, frequently only once, but on several occasions, they would use a handy canoe more than once for a very specific

purpose, mainly to cross from one side of a stream to the other. What follows are the instances when the Corps used those Native canoes.

Boat Number 32.

A Nez Perce Canoe

On September 22, 1805, Clark was performing reconnaissance of the rivers near the Nez Perce villages.

> I proceed on down the little river to about 1½ a mile & found the Chif in a Canoe Comeing to meet me. I got into his Canoe & Crossed over to his Camp on a Small Island at a rapid.[88]

This excursion enabled him to find Canoe Camp. Nez Perce canoes were simple dugouts, most certainly made of pine (Figure D).

Boat Number 33.

A Columbia River Canoe

On November 3, 1805, as they paddled down the Columbia toward the coast, when they stopped to camp:

> Capt Lewis borrowed a Small Canoe of those Indians & 4 men took her across to a Small lake in the Isld. Cap L. and 3 men Set out after night in this Canoe in Serch of the Swans, Brants Ducks &c. &c. which appeared in great numbers in the Lake, he Killed a Swan and Several Ducks which made our number of fowls this evening 3 Swan, 8 brant and 5 Ducks, on which we made a Sumptious Supper.[89]

Lewis with four hunters successfully gathered the quarry and returned to camp, returning the canoe to the generous Natives. This canoe, capable of holding five men, was probably in the range of Native Canoe Form 3, as described by Clark in his February 1 entry. (See Sidebar: Northwest Coastal Canoes.)

Boat Number 34.

A Chinook Canoe Near Station Camp

Once they had reached Station Camp, Clark with some of the men went to explore the Pacific Coast. On November 18, 1805, they reached a creek that required transport to get the men across. Near a small village they found a canoe capable of taking the entire party across.

> here we were Set across all in one Canoe by 2 Squars to each I gav a Small hook.[90]

Ten men accompanied Clark, so this canoe was of substantial size. It was probably the canoe identified by Clark as Native Canoe Form 3 in his February 1, 1806, descriptions, maybe thirty feet in length. Note that two women paddled it, a testament to the efficacy of Pacific Northwest canoes. Then the next day:

> Crossed in the Canoe we had left there & Encamped on the upper Side.[91]

The same canoe transported them on their return journey.

Boat Number 35.

Another Chinook Canoe Near Station Camp

Returning from the same excursion, on November 20, they needed to cross another creek.

> I proceeded on to the enterance of a Creek near a Cabin no person being at this cabin and 2 Canoes laying on the opposit Shore from us, I deturmined to have a raft made and Send a man over for a canoe, a Small raft was Soon made, and Reuben Fields Crossed and brought over a Canoe.[92]

They crossed successfully and returned to Station Camp. Most likely this would have been the second of the two canoes Clark identified, but possibly a shorter version of Native Canoe Form 3. It could be paddled by one man solo and could hold eleven individuals.

Boat Number 36.

A Canoe Near the Tillamook Encampment

After choosing their site for Fort Clatsop, Clark took several men in search of a place near the ocean to make salt. On December 9, as they wandered through the marshy and wet areas between the fort site and what has become Seaside, Oregon, they reached a stream that would require a canoe to cross.

> they had a Canoe hid in the Creek . . . , we crossed in this little Canoe just large enough to carry 3 men an their loads after Crossing 2 of the Indians took the Canoe on theire Sholders and Carried it across to the other Creek about ¼ of a mile, we Crossed the 2d Creek.[93]

They turned around on December 10.

> I then Set out on my return by the Same rout I had Come out accompanied by Cus-ka lah and his brother

> as far as the (Second) 3d Creek, for the purpose of Setting me across, from which place they returned.[94]

They used the same canoe.

Boat Number 37.

A Clatsop Canoe from Point Adams

Drouillard and Lepage had been hunting on the prairie area near Point Adams and had managed several kills. On January 24, they were fortunate enough to encounter the local Chief "Comowooll" [Coboway] and six of his tribesmen. The Natives offered Drouillard and Lepage a ride in their canoe.

> Drewyer and Baptiest La Paage returned this morning in a large Canoe with Comowooll and six Clatsops. they brought two deer and the flesh of three Elk & one Elk's skin, having given the flesh of one other Elk which they killed and three Elk's skins to the Indians as the price of their assistance in transporting the ballance of the meat to the Fort; these Elk and deer were killed near point Adams and the Indians carryed them on their backs about six miles, before the waves were sufficiently low to permit their being taken on board their canoes.[95]

The canoe carried ten men and the kills, proably a canoe of twenty-five to thirty feet in length, given the number of men and the load.

Boat Number 38.

A Clatsop Canoe Across the River

On February 19, Sergeant Ordway took six men to the Salt Makers Camp to return the salt to the fort. They arrived at the camp on February 20 and returned on February 21. En route, they reached the first of several rivers they would have to cross.

> took an Indian canoe and crossed the River and travelled verry hard. when we got half way Set in to Storming & rained verry hard & the wind blew So high that we could not cross the creek in a canoe and waided across and got to the Fort about half past 12 oClock.[96]

It is possible that this is the same canoe used by Clark on December 9 and 10, and it is likely the same river crossing.

Boat Numbers 39 and 40.

Clatsop Canoes Used to Collect a "Debt"

Lewis convinced the Clatsop that they had to supply the men with some dogs because the Natives had "stolen" elk that had been killed by Lewis' hunters. Apparently, no objection was raised and Chief "Comowooll" (Coboway) agreed to bring the dogs. Drouillard was transported on February 22 in one of the Clatsop canoes that had been brought to the fort by two men and two boys. Most likely this was Clark's Native Canoe Form 2, a craft of about twenty feet in length, although it is possible that a short version of Native Canoe Form 3 was used.

> in the evening they returned to their village and Drewyer accompanied them in their canoe in order to get the dogs which the Clatsops have agreed to give us in payment for the Elk they stole from us some weeks since.[97]

Drouillard returned on February 24.

> This evening we were visited by Comowooll the Clatsop Chief and 14 men women and Children of his nation. Drewyer came a pasinger in their Canoe, and brought with him two dogs.[98]

Drouillard must have returned in a much larger canoe, probably Clark's Native Canoe Form 3. The canoe was large enough to transport sixteen passengers plus two dogs.

Boat Number 41.

Borrowing a Cathlahmah Canoe

Pryor had gone to the Cathlahmahs to secure some foodstuffs, using the Corps' Native canoe (Boat Number 26). While there, his canoe broke free and drifted away. The Cathlamahs loaned Pryor a canoe. He returned to the fort in that canoe on March 11.

> Early this morning Sergt. Pryor arrived with a Small Canoe loaded with fish . . . The dogs of the Cathlahmah's had bitten the throng assunder which confined his canoe and she had gorn adrift. he borrowed a Canoe from the Indians in which he has returned. he found his canoe on the way and Secured her, untill we return the Indians their Canoe.[99]

Drouillard was sent to purchase a canoe from the Cathlamahs on March 15. On March 17

> Drewyer returned late this evening from the Cathlahmahs with our canoe which Sergt. Pryor had left some days since.[100]

Their Native canoe had been restored to them.

Boat Numbers 42 and 43.

Two Walla Walla Canoes from Yellepit

On their return up the Columbia, as they neared the mouth of the Walla Walla River, they encountered Yellepit, a chief whom they had promised to visit on the return journey. Anxious to cross the Columbia and head toward the mountains, they asked Yellepit to supply canoes.

> we requested the Cheif to furnish us with canoes to pass the river, but he insisted on our remaining with him this day at least, that he would be much pleased if we would conset to remain two or three, but he would not let us have canoes to leave him today.[101]

The impatient Lewis tried to induce Yellepit to give him the canoes by offering a lie: if Yellepit gave them the canoes for immediate use, the promised white man's goods would come that much sooner. Yellepit saw through the lie. Still, he agreed to provide the canoes the next day. Clark found a way to secure another canoe.

> I Saw a man who had his knee Contracted who had previously applyed to me for Some Medisene, that if he would fournish another Canoe I would give him Some Medisene. he readily Consented and went himself with his Canoe by means of which we passed our horses over the river.[102]

On April 29:

> This morning Yellept furnished us with two canoes and we began to transport our baggage over the river; we also sent a party of the men over to collect the horses.[103]

They set out overland toward the Snake River and the Nez Perce.

Boat Numbers 44 to 46.

Several Nez Perce Canoes

They reached the Snake River on May 4, 1806. The ever-helpful Nez Perce advised them to cross the Snake to the north side of the Clearwater.

> we determined to take the advice of the indians and immediately prepared to pass the river which with the assistance of three indian canoes we effected in the course of the evening.[104]

Sergeant Patrick Gass added this information:

> We therefore were occupied in crossing, during the remainder of the day, as we could raise but four small canoes from the natives at this place.[105]

Lewis (and Clark, copying Lewis) recorded that they used three canoes, Gass four. Given the length of time to effect the crossing, it was probably three. The canoes could probably handle only several passengers at a time.

Boat Number 47.

Nez Perce Canoe Used to Cross the Clearwater

After crossing the river to the north side of the Clearwater, they headed eastward. On May 7:

> we proceeded up the river 4 miles … here our guide recommended our passing the river. he informed us that the road was better on the South side and that game was more abundant also on that side .... we … accordingly unloaded our horses and prepared to pass the river which we effected by means of one canoe in the course of 4 hours.[106]

Almost certainly they crossed where there were no rapids, which Clark had mapped in detail on the Clearwater.[107]

Boat Number 48.

Nez Perce Canoe for Another River Crossing

By May 12 they had to make another river crossing.

> we informed the indians of our wish to pass the river and form a camp at some proper place to fish, hunt, and graize our horses untill the snows of the mountains would permit us to pass. they recommended a position a few miles distant from hence on the opposite side of the river, but informed us that there was no canoe at this place by means of which we could pass our baggage over the river, but promised to send a man early in the morning for one which they said would meet us at the river by noon the next day.[108]

Over the next two days, a Native canoe was supplied, and the men and baggage moved.[109]

Boat Number 49.

Nez Perce Canoe Near Camp Chopunnish Used to Reach Nez Perce Village

A Nez Perce village occupied land near Camp Choppunish, but it required a river crossing to reach. Men would be sent to the village to trade for food. The first instance of using this canoe occurred on May 19, 1806.

> directed them to proceed up on this Side of the river opposit to the Village and Cross in the Cano which we are informed is at that place.[110]

This canoe would be used several times for traffic between the camp and the village.

Rafts

In addition to the above watercraft, on several occasions the men made rafts for one-time crossings of rivers or creeks. A raft would be constructed of logs that are roped together with support logs running ninety degrees attached on the underneath. There are no descriptions in the journals of the process of making the rafts.

On The Marias River

On June 6, 1805, Lewis, with Drouillard, John Shields, Pierre Cruzatte, and Baptiste Lepage, built two rafts so they could descend the Marias, after having made an exploratory journey up the river.

> embarcked with our plunder and five Elk's skins on the rafts but were soon convinced that this mode of navigation was hazerdous particularly with those rafts they being too small and slender. we wet a part of our baggage and were near loosing one of our guns; I therefore determined to abandon the rafts.[111]

They had stopped on the north side, about 60 miles up from the Marias' junction with the Missouri.[112]

On the North Shore of the Columbia Above Station Camp

On November 20, 1805, Clark, while out with a party examining the area north of Station Camp and the coast, needed a raft to secure a canoe to enable the party to cross a creek.

> no person being at this cabin and 2 Canoes laying on the opposit Shore from us, I deturmined to have a raft made and Send a man over for a canoe, a Small raft was Soon made, and Reuben Fields Crossed and brought over a Canoe.[113]

This was probably the Chinook River near Haileys Bay.[114]

On the Way to and from the Salt Makers Camp

On December 8, 1805, Clark with a party headed south from the Fort Clatsop site toward the Salt Makers Camp. Crossing the marshy ground en route, they

> rafted the Creek, with much difficulty. this Creek we were obliged to raft, which is about 60 yards over and runs in a direction to Point Adams.[115]

Then, the next day:

> I proceeded down this Creek a Short distance and found that I was in a fork of the Creek, I then returned to [NB?: the] raft on which we had Crossed the day [NB?: before].[116]

This was probably the Skipanon River or one of its tributaries, in today's Clatsop County, Oregon.[117]

On the Way to the Salt Makers Camp

On January 5, 1806, Gass and Shannon were hiking to the Salt Makers Camp. They reached a creek that they had to cross. This is how Gass recorded the event:

> made a raft to cross the creek; but when it was tried we found it would carry only one person at a time; the man with me was therefore sent over first, who thought he could shove the raft across again; but when he attempted, it only went half-way: so that there was one of us on each side and the raft in the middle. I, however notwithstanding the cold, stript and swam to the raft, brought it over and then crossed on it in safety.[118]

This was probably Thompson Creek, which meets the Pacific in Clatsop County, just north of Seaside, Oregon.[119]

Crossing the Bitterroot River

July 3, 1806, Lewis, with Drouillard, Joseph and Ruben Field, Sergeant Gass, Frazier, Werner, Thompson, Goodrich, and McNeal, had just finished crossing the Bitterroots on the homeward-bound journey accompanied by Nez Perce guides. From Travelers' Rest, they moved north, following the Bitterroot River. They were heading for the "shortcut" to the Great Falls of the Missouri. About seven miles along their route:

> here the Indians recommended our passing the river which was rapid and 150 yds. wide.... as we had no other means of passing the river we busied ourselves collecting

dry timber for the purpose of constructing rafts; timber being scarce we found considerable difficulty in procuring as much as made three small rafts. we arrived at 11 A. M. and had our rafts completed by 3 P. M. when we dined and began to take over our baggage which we effected in the course of 3 hours the rafts being obliged to return several times. … I remained myself with two men who could scarcely swim untill the last; by this time the raft by passing so frequently had fallen a considerable distance down the river to a rapid and difficult part of it crouded with several small Islands and willow bars which were now overflown; with these men I set out on the raft and was soon hurried down with the current a mile and a half before we made shore, on our approach to the shore the raft sunk and I was drawn off the raft by a bush and swam on shore the two men remained on the raft and fortunately effected a landing at some little distance below.[120]

They successfully crossed to the eastern side where, turning eastward to follow the Blackfoot River,[121] they would make the overland trek to the Great Falls and the Upper Portage Camp. From here, as we have already noted, they would cross the Missouri in skin boats and then descend the Missouri in the white pirogue and the dugout canoes built on the ascent of the rivers.

Conclusion

As can be seen from the above list, the Lewis and Clark Expedition used over fifty watercrafts to fulfill their mission. Some were used to accomplish only short-term goals while others were used for substantial portions of their excursion. In all but a couple of cases, the crafts performed remarkably well, and in times of difficulty, the skilled members of the Corps enabled them to continue to be used in spite of their imperfections. An admirable testament to the men. And to their watercraft.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to thank John Fisher who has assembled much information about the barge, the use of the term "keelboat," the pirogues, and their design and use and who graciously shared that information with the author.

Mark Jordan has been a canoeing and kayaking aficionado for almost fifty years. He has canoed extensively in the United States, and across Canada, all the way to Hudson Bay. He has canoed and kayaked in Central and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and Antarctica. His love of canoeing brought him to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, which he has studied for the last forty years. He teaches and lectures on the Expedition and in 2020 received the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation's Meritorious Achievement Award for his teaching and lecturing.

Extended Sidebar:

The following pages are an extended sidebar that further explains and illustrates watercraft that have been noted in the previous text. ☛

Note:
Notes for Jordan's watercraft article follow the Extended Sidebar.

When is a "keeled boat" not a Keelboat?

As noted, Lewis described wanting a 60-foot-long *keeled* boat. To state the obvious, the presence of a keel on a boat does not make that boat a keelboat, as most boats have keels. A keel, generally, is defined as "the chief structural member of a boat or ship that extends longitudinally along the center of its bottom and that often projects from the bottom." The Cambridge Dictionary describes a keel as "the long piece of wood or metal along the bottom of a boat that forms part of its structure and helps to keep the boat in balance in the water." Virtually every boat needs a keel. It should come as no surprise that Lewis wanted a "keeled" boat. It also should come as no surprise that Lewis' boat should not be called a "keelboat," given the extensive evidence that demonstrates that it was not such a vessel.

Gary Moulton, editor of the University of Nebraska Press edition of the journals, made this observation about Lewis' boat:

> It is not likely that this boat was a traditional Mississippi/Missouri River keelboat. As Clark's drawings show, it was basically a galley, little resembling the classic keelboat of the 'Western Waters.' It does strongly resemble a Spanish river galley of the 1790s. . . . This seems to have been a standard type of vessel for use on inland waters, especially for . . . military purposes.[1]

William K. Brunot observed:

> The…vessel that was used by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their exploring expedition…, generally called a "keelboat," should more accurately be called a barge, or military galley….[2]

David Purdy, in his article, "Lewis & Clark's Boat: Barging West," wrote (after describing traditional keelboats):

> It does not appear, however, that Lewis and Clark's boat could fairly be described as a keelboat.[3]

Purdy adds:

> Given what evidence is available, it seems probable that Lewis and Clark's boat was a barge. Barges were common at the time and used for purposes similar to those of Lewis and Clark's expedition. Thomas Rodney, who saw the boat at Wheeling on September 8, 1803, termed it a barge,[4] as did Pierre Chouteau, manager of a prominent fur trade company in St. Louis, when it arrived in that city in May 1804.[5]

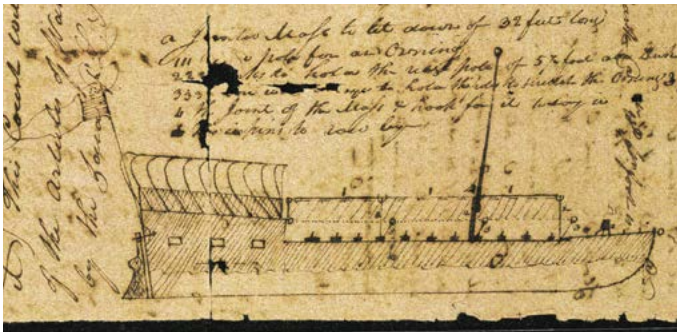


Figure A. Clark's drawing of the barge, January 21, 1804. Image courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book Library, Yale University.

I surmise from the context of what Lewis wrote, and what Clark drew (Figure A), that Lewis wanted a boat with a keel length of sixty feet. The length of the boat ("a keeled boat . . . at least 60 feet in length") would be determined by its keel. Neither Lewis, nor Clark, nor Ordway, nor Gass, nor Whitehouse ever referred to the large boat which they were moving up the Missouri and which would ultimately return down the Missouri to St. Louis as a "keelboat." The five journalists knew "keelboats" because they described seeing keelboats on several different occasions. For example, see Clark, May 18, 1804: "Two **Keel Boats** arrive from Kentucky to day loaded with whiskey Hats;"[6] Ordway, September 16, 1806: "about noon we met a **keel Boat** and 2 canoes;"[7] Gass, September 17, 1806: "About two in the afternoon we met a large **keel-boat**, commanded by a Captain M'Clanen loaded with merchandize"[8] [Boldface added by author]. The fact that they never referred to the Expedition's large cargo boat as a "keelboat" should be virtually definitive.

The use of the term "keelboat" in its current iteration had to be derived from the Nicholas Biddle material. In the opening page of the Biddle narrative, Biddle wrote:

> The party was to embark on board of three boats; the first was a keel boat fifty-five feet long, drawing three feet water, carrying one large squaresail and twenty-two oars . . . .[9]

All subsequent references in the Lewis and Clark literature to "keelboat" can only stem from this one sentence. Biddle never referred to this boat as a "keelboat" anywhere else in his narrative. He used the terminology employed by the journalists. Biddle's sentence apparently came from notes of his conversations with Clark. The relevant note states: "The party on Starting from Wood river had one large Keel boat of about 55 Keel decked."[10] Here the implication is even stronger that Clark's – and Lewis' – use of the term "keel" referred to the length of the boat's keel, not that it was a "keelboat." It seems to me likely, almost certain, Clark had said "keeled" and Biddle heard "keel," particularly because Clark repeated the almost identical sounding "keel" a second or two later. From what we have of the historical record, "keeled" would have been the term Clark would have used. It was the term Lewis used. Why would Clark use "keel boat" in the first instance and "keel" in the second? Would it not sound more reasonable to assume that Clark said, "The party on Starting from Wood river had one large Keeled boat of about 55 Keel decked"? Biddle's note makes little sense as written, and much more sense amended as I have posited it.

Popular usage of the term "keelboat" for the Expedition's barge began in the twentieth century. According to research done by John Fisher, the term keelboat does not appear until Bernard DeVoto created his abridgement of the journals in the 1950s. Following DeVoto, the word began to appear with regularity. It has stuck, despite clear scholarship from Dr. Moulton and others that demonstrates that this boat was not a "keelboat" as that term was understood in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

It is time to drop the term "keelboat" from Lewis and Clark Expedition usage. The boat Lewis purchased in Pittsburgh should more properly be called a barge.

What is a Pirogue?

There has been little analysis of the provenance of the two "pirogues." WPO has only two articles that discuss either pirogue.[11] Scant documentary evidence is available that provides a full picture of the red or white pirogue. What little documentation we have indicates that a "pirogue" was picked up in Pittsburgh on or about August 31, 1803; and one was picked up in Wheeling, September 8, 1803. (I use the quotation marks around the word "pirogue" because of the controversy surrounding the nature of the craft.) There is no other reference to the acquisition of any "pirogue;" and only one other reference to the acquisition of a "canoe." Clark drew a sketch of the white pirogue from a top-down perspective (Figure B).

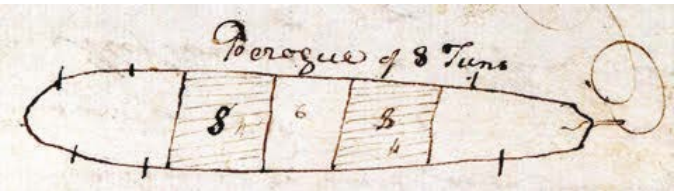


Figure B. Clark's drawing of the white pirogue. Field Notes, ca. April 12, 1804.

We have no other descriptions of either pirogue except for its color and presence of sails. We also know how many oarsmen propelled the two boats. As for possible acquisition sites other than Pittsburgh or Wheeling, the only clue appears in a letter from Henry Dearborn to Amos Stoddard and Russell Bissell at Fort Kaskaskia, essentially ordering them to provide a "boat" to Lewis.

> You will be pleased to furnish one Sergeant & Eight good Men who understanding rowing a boat to go with Capt. Lewis as far up the River as they can go & return with certainty before the Ice will obstruct the passage of the river. They should be furnished with the best boat at the Post. [12]

If Lewis did get a pirogue at Fort Kaskaskia, it would have been delivered early December 1803. Some writers assume that the white pirogue was delivered in response to the Dearborn letter, without offering any documentary evidence to support the delivery.[13] Others, such as Verne Huser, assume that the two pirogues were obtained as outlined in the main article.[14] I believe that when Lewis reached Fort Kaskaskia, he had two fully functioning pirogues and that he did not need to take delivery of a pirogue at the fort, even if Bissell or Stoddard had been willing to comply with the order.

As to the design of the pirogues, there seem to be two schools – that the pirogues were planked boats, also called lapstrake, and that the pirogues were dugout canoes. We get no help from any of the journalists, as they use the term canoe and pirogue interchangeably. Often a longer dugout canoe gets called a pirogue, a shorter boat a canoe. Lewis frequently referred to any dugout canoes as pirogues, as did the other journalists. So, when he picked up his "pirogues" at Pittsburgh and Wheeling, it is possible that they were long dugout canoes.

The journals provide a key clue. Clark made a drawing of the white pirogue (Figure B). Let us compare Clark's drawing to the models that appear on the Discovering Lewis & Clark website lewis-clark.org, which mirror most of the replicas built for reenactment (Figures C and D).

Figure C. Red pirogue model. Courtesy Discover Lewis & Clark.

Figure D. White pirogue model. Courtesy Discover Lewis & Clark.

Verne Huser, a proponent of the planked pirogues, states "The expedition's pirogues were almost certainly made of planking, not hollowed out logs."[15] But the problem with the replicas, and the models, and probably the Huser statement, which seems to be based upon the replicas and not upon any fact-based criteria, is that they in no way resemble what Clark drew. These "pirogues" are not even close to what Clark drew. Each seems to represent what someone thought the boats should have looked like. The text for the models on the Discovering Lewis & Clark website says: "Clark left us only a rough sketch of one of them, *evidently drawn in haste*, possibly to illustrate some point he was trying to make with the men in command of the two pirogues about how, and how much, they were to be loaded" [Italics added by author]. Other than wishful thinking, from where does this idea that they were drawn in haste stem? Where is Clark not precise or schematic in his drawing? Compare that drawing to the drawing of the barge, made at nearly the same time. See Figure A under the "keeled boat" Sidebar. Compare the drawings of the canoes that he made on the West Coast. For example, see the image (Figure E) in *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition* (7:58).

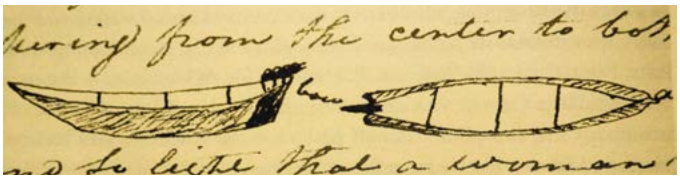


Figure E. Clark's drawing of small Northwest coastal canoe. Moulton 7:58

Clark drew two views of a Native canoe, which show sharp lines at bow and stern and an ovoid shape to the canoe. Clearly, he had the skill to draw a precise shape, and these actually appear to be made in haste. Since the drawing of the white pirogue was made sometime around April 12, 1804, while they were still resident in Camp DuBois – a month before their departure – there is no reason to conclude that the drawing of the white pirogue was made in haste. But even if it were "drawn in haste," could Clark have been so sloppy as to misconfigure the pirogue so that it bears little resemblance to Figures C and D which have sharp or pointed bow and stern and are ovoid in shape? Clark's drawing has a rounded bow and is far wider in the bow than the stern. The widest part of the replica models is at the boats' center. Unlike the replicas or models, the pirogue of the drawing tapers to the stern from the bow. There is no widening midship. Clearly, there is no correlation between Clark's drawing and the models.

The same article on the Discovering Lewis & Clark

website claims that Lewis

> used perogue in both senses – to denote either a large, open, built-up boat made from planks and frames, which was powered by oars; or a long, narrow canoe that was 'dug out,' or carved, from a tree trunk, and was propelled with paddles.

The website contains no citation to support that statement, again demonstrating that the wish is father to the thought. I found nothing in the journals or other of Lewis' correspondence to confirm that he used the term to apply to boats made from planks and frames.

I see no reason not to take Clark's drawing as an accurate representation of the white pirogue. This shape seems more consistent with that of a dugout, which would follow the natural shape of the log being hollowed out (that is, wide at the base and tapering upward). We need to evaluate the models and any so-called full-sized replicas in the light of what Clark actually drew. They are radically different. In the absence of anything more definitive from Clark or Lewis, the replicas are wrong.

The Discovering Lewis & Clark website notes that, "Clark wrote in his 'Remarks' for February 23, 1805, at Fort Mandan, that the men 'got the poplar perogue out of the ice,' which may be interpreted as confirmation that the white pirogue was the one acquired at Fort Kaskaskia." Nothing is cited to support this rather bizarre *non sequitur*. Dugout canoes of substantial length have been made of tulip poplar. These trees had grown to over ninety feet in length and had diameters from four to six feet. The tulip poplar's range stretched along the Ohio River, would thus have been available for constructing large dugouts anywhere along the river, and was a popular building material on the Ohio, particularly for dugout canoes.

What has been assumed regarding both pirogues should be re-evaluated considering only available facts. It is quite likely they were dugouts. ∎

Notes (cited in "a 'keeled boat'" and "Pirogue")

1. Gary Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1983-2001), 2:66, n. 7.

2. William K. Brunot, "The Building of the Lewis and Clark Boat in Pittsburgh," *Western Pennsylvania History* 92:4 (Winter 2009-10): 25; Reprinted in *We Proceeded On*, 48:1 (February 2022): 6-19.

3. David Purdy, "Lewis & Clark's Boat: Barging West," *Western Pennsylvania History* 92:4 (Winter 2009-10): 44.

4. Citing Dwight Smith and Ray Swick, *A Journey Through the West – Thomas Rodney's 1803 Journal from Delaware to the Mississippi Territory* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997), 50.

5. Citing Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783-1854, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978)*, 1:242, Document 150. "The barge of Capn. Lewis arrived the day before yesterday."

6. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:237-38.

7. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:363.

8. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 10:279.

9. Nicholas Biddle, ed., *The Journals of the Expedition Under the Command of Capts. Lewis and Clark* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1962), 1.

10. Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 2:534.

11. Gary Moulton, "A Note on the White Pirogue," *We Proceeded On* 12:2 (May 1986): 22; Verne Huser, "On the Rivers with Lewis and Clark," *We Proceeded On* 29:2 (May 2003): 18-19.

12. See Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 1:103-4.

13. In an article (originally a speech made at the LCTHF's 1976 Annual Meeting) that does not appear in the WPO Index, Robert Saindon assumed that the boat was delivered by either Bissell or Stoddard and that it was the white pirogue. "The White Pirogue of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," *WPO Publication No. 1* (August 1976): 15-22. Others repeat this.

14. Huser, "On the Rivers with Lewis and Clark," *We Proceeded On* 29:2 (May 2003): 18.

15. Huser, "On the Rivers with Lewis and Clark," *We Proceeded On* 29:2 (May 2003): 18.

Northwest Coastal Canoes

Both Lewis and Clark recorded their amazement at the canoes built by Natives they described as "savages." On February 1, 1806, both made nearly identical journal entries. Clark, however, lists five canoe designs while Lewis lists only four. I will follow Clark in identifying each type of canoe. All quoted material comes from Clark's journal entry of February 1, 1806 (Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:267) unless otherwise noted. The drawings are from 6:264, 266, 268, 269, and 271.

> The Canoes of the nativs inhabitting the lower part of the Columbia River from the Long narrows down make their canoes remarkably neat light and well addapted for rideing high waves. I have Seen the nativs near the Coast rideing waves in these Canoes in Safty and appearantly without Concern when I Should it impossible for any vessel of the Same Size to have lived or kept above water a minute.

The entry then describes the building process. Canoes were generally built of cedar, but sometimes of "fir," using the trunk of only one tree. The timber was hollowed out,

steamed, and bent into shape. The general shape can be seen in Clark's drawings of the canoes.

Clark then gave a thorough description of the canoes.

> I have observed five forms of Canoes only in use among the nativs below the Grend Cataract of this river.

Native Canoe Form One

Native Canoe Form One. Moulton 6:268.

> this is the Smallest Size about 15 feet long, and Calculated for one two men mearly to cross creeks, take over Short portages to navagate the ponds and Still water, and is mostly in use amongst the Clatsops and Chinnooks.

It does not appear that Lewis, Clark, or the other men used or were transported in this model of canoe. This canoe was probably a simplified but more elegant version of the dugouts used above the Falls.

Native Canoe Form Two

Native Canoe Form Two. Moulton 6:269.

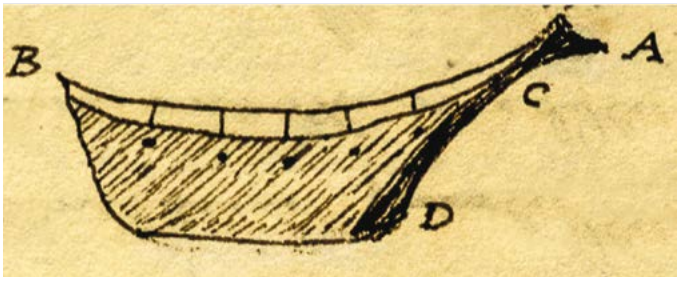
The next canoe is somewhat longer.

> this is the next Smallest and from 16 to 20 feet long and calculated for two or 3 persons and are most common among the *Wah-ki-a-cums* and *Cath-lah-mahs* among the marshy Islands, near their villages.

It seems possible that one or more of these canoes transported Expedition men. A twenty-foot canoe would reasonably hold three persons, some equipment, and whatever meat the hunters might have collected.

A canoe capable of holding three or more men would almost certainly fall into Clark's next category. The drawings of this and the next two Native Canoe Forms are almost certainly foreshortened.

Native Canoe Form Three



Native Canoe Form Three. Moulton 6:269.

> those are from 20 to 40 feet in length and from 2½ to 3½ feet in the beam and about 2 feet deep; this Canoe is common to all the nations below the grand Rapids.

Native Canoe Form Three. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis.

This description covers a wide range of canoe and canoe types, as there are major differences between a twenty-foot canoe and a forty-foot canoe. These would have been the canoes that readily crossed the bay into the "Dismal Nitch," whose seaworthiness Clark so admiringly described.

> the Indians left us and Crossed the river which is about 5 miles wide through the highest Sees I ever Saw a Small vestle ride, their Canoe is Small, maney times they were out of Sight before the were 2 miles off Certain it is they are the best canoe navigators I ever Saw." November 11, 1805 (Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:40)

I believe that the canoe Lewis acquired just below Celilo Falls on the descent of the Columbia on October 23, 1805, was a shorter version of this "form of Canoe." The men called this one the "short" canoe, having exchanged it for the short

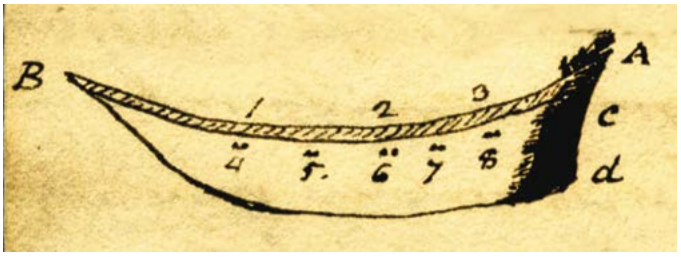
dugout built at Canoe Camp on the Clearwater. (That "short" Canoe Camp canoe was paddled by only two or three men.) Three paddlers took this Native canoe around Point Ellice in their search for a place on the north shore.

After they had moved to the south shore in search of winter quarters, Lewis and five other men took this Native canoe and paddled it in search of what became Fort Clatsop.

> Capt Lewis and 5 men Set out in our Small Indian canoe (which is made in the Indian fashion Calculated ride the waves) down the South Side of the river to the place the Indians informed us by Signs that numbers of Elk were to be found near the river—The Swells and waves being too high for us to proceed down in our large Canoes, in Safty—. Clark, November 29, 1805 (Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:93)

That would have put six men in the canoe, and it almost certainly would have been longer than twenty feet but probably shorter than thirty.

Native Canoe Form Four



Native Canoe Form Four. Moulton 6:269.

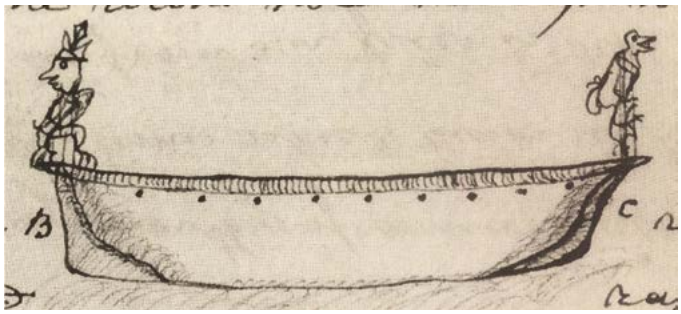
As Clark identified

> This is the most common form of the Canoes in use among the indians from the Chil-luck-kit-te-quaw inclusive to the ocian and is commonly from about 30 to 35 feet long, and will carry from 10 to 12 persons.

Native Canoe Form Four. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis.

This was the form of canoe that probably transported the hunters from Point Adams back to Fort Clatsop (Boat Number 37) and Drouillard from the Native camp at Point Adams back to the fort (Boat Number 40).

Native Canoe Form Five



Native Canoe Form Five. Moulton 6:266.

The next canoe identified by Clark – unfortunately has less specificity.

> This form of a canoe we did not meet with untill we reached tide water or below the Grand Rapids. from thence down it is common to all the nations but more particularly the *Kil a mox* and others of the Coast. these are the largest Canoes, I measured one at the Kilamox villag S S W of us which was [*blank*] feet long [*blank*] feet wide and [*blank*] feet deep, and they are most Commonly about that Size.

Native Canoe FormFive. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis.

For whatever reason Clark did not fill in the blanks, perhaps because he recorded the length of these canoes earlier in the journal entry.

> Some of the large Canoes are upwards of 50 feet long and will Carry from 8 to 12 thousand lbs. or from 20 to 30 persons.

A beautiful example of a long canoe of this type can be seen in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. (See photograph page 30.) Perhaps the men

would have loved to have traveled in one of these, but they never got the opportunity – or at least never recorded it.

Native Canoe Form Five , sixty-three feet in length, at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Photograph courtesy of Mark Jordan.

Clark identified one other canoe frequently used by Native women.

> Capt C. saw a great number of small canoes lying scattered on the bank. these small canoes are employed by the women in collecting wappetoe;… those canoes are from 10 to 14 feet in length, from 18 to 23 inches in width near the middle tapering or becoming narrower towards either extremity and 9 inches deep… they are so light that a woman can draw them over land or take them with ease through the swamps in any direction, and are sufficient to carry a single person and several bushells of roots. Lewis, April 6, 1806 (Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:79-80)

Northwest coast women's small canoe as described by Lewis (Moulton 7:779-80). Photograph by Edward S. Curtis.

Given the small size, it is unlikely that the men used one of these canoes.

The men were impressed by these canoes, as many journal entries attest.

> a number of the Savages followed us Some distance with their canoes I must give these Savages as well as those on the coast the praise of makeing the neatest and handsomest lightest best formed canoes I ever Saw & are the best hands to work them. Ordway, March 30, 1806 (Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:283)
>
> The natives of this country ought to have the credit of making the finest canoes, perhaps in the world, both as to service and beauty; and are no less expert in working them when made. Gass, March 30, 1806 (Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 10:203-4)

> I have seen the natives near the coast riding waves in these canoes with safety and apparently without concern where I should have thought it impossible for any vessel of the same size to lived a minute. Lewis, February 1, 1806 (Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:262)

Paddling any one of these canoes would have been far more effective than paddling the dugouts they had made at Canoe Camp. It is easy to understand, when the Native canoe they obtained at the Falls went missing, why they expressed such strong disappointment. What is difficult to understand, however, is that, given their much-repeated need for canoes, why they did not attempt to learn from the Native craftsmen and make their own. Clark recorded:

> They have but fiew axes among them, and the only tool usially employd in forming the Canoe, carveing &c is a chiseel formed of an old file about an inch of 1½ inchs broad, this chissel has Sometimes a large block of wood for a handle; they grasp the chissel just below he block with the right hand holding the top of the block, and strikes backwards against the wood with the edge of the Chissel. a person would Suppose that forming a large Canoe with an enstriment like this was the work of several years; but those people make them in a fiew weeks.

A few weeks! Given that many of the men did little at the Fort except make moccasins or prepare to leave, what could they not have performed with their much more effective tools. It appears to be one of the many strange condescensions in which Lewis and Clark engaged when considering what Native populations could accomplish. Given their perceptions of these canoes and how much more efficient they were than the Canoe Camp dugouts, it stretches reason to understand any lack of attempt to copy these vessels themselves. ∎

Notes (cited in the main text)

1. Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:37-40.

2. Gary Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1983-2001), vol. 1, *Atlas of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, map 61.

3. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 61.

4. Bark canoes were sealed with pine tree pitch, but no pine trees grew anywhere near the Upper Portage Camp.

5. For a full description of Lewis' development and assembly of the Experiment see Mark W. Jordan, "Meriwether Lewis's Ingenious Iron Boat," *We Proceeded On* 29:2 (May 2003): 25-35.

6. Lewis wrote to Thomas Jefferson to inform him that

> I have also written to Dr. Dickson, at Nashville, and requested him to contract in my behalf with some confidential boat-builder at that place, to prepare a boat for me as soon as possible, and to purchase a large light wooden canoe; for this purpose I enclosed the Dr. 50 dollars, which sum I did not conceive equal by any means to the purchase of the two vessels, but supposed it sufficient for the purpose of the canoe, and to answer also as a small advance to the boat-builder: *a description of these vessels was given*. [Emphasis added.]

See Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 1:38. While it appears Lewis originally intended to have the boat built in Nashville, his lack of success in contracting for a boat in Nashville prompted his finding a builder in Pittsburgh.

7. Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 1:73.

8. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:66, n. 7.

9. William K. Brunot, "The Building of the Lewis and Clark Boat in Pittsburgh," *Western Pennsylvania History* 92:4 (Winter 2009-10):37. Reprinted in *We Proceeded On*, 48:1 (February 2022): 6-19.

10. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:73.

11. Moulton, *Atlas*, maps 3a and 3b.

12. Moulton, ed. *Journals*, 2:162.

13. See "Adventures of the Expedition Barge, 1804-05," *We Proceeded On* 48:1 (February 2022): 5 for a list of some of the difficulties.

14. Ordway, April 7, 1805. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:126.

15. "Having on this day at 4 P.M. completed every arrangement necessary for our departure, we dismissed the barge and crew with orders to return without loss of time to S. Louis." Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:7.

16. See Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 1:242: "The barge of Capn. Lewis arrived the day before yesterday."

17. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:70. The boat began its association with the Expedition in Pittsburgh.

18. See Note 6.

19. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:71.

20. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 3:19: "before we landed the French rund a Snag thro: their Perogue, and like to have Sunk, we had her on loaded, from an examonation found that this Perogue was unfit for Service, & Deturmined to Send her back by the Party intended to Send back and take their Perogue." The "French" pirogue was the red pirogue.

21. This cache located in Chouteau County, Montana, between the Marias and the Missouri, was about a mile upriver from the camp of June 3-12, 1805. See Moulton, *Atlas*, maps 42, 53, 61.

22. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:275.

23. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:138.

24. Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 1:122. Lewis in a letter from Wheeling to President Jefferson: "I have been compelled to purchase a perogue at this place in order to transport the baggage which was sent by land from Pittsburgh, and also to lighten the boat as much as possible."

25. See Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:214-15.

26. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 61.

27. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:305.

28. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:71.

29. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:107.

30. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 11:167: "Leaving 2 Pettyaugers behind, to waite for the five men that had went for the buffalo meat." Whitehouse referred to the dugout canoes as pettyaugers. We get a sense of the size of a cottonwood canoe with Boat Numbers 12 and 13.

31. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:118.

32. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 3:312.

33. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 10:74-75. This would be another indication of the relative size of these dugout canoes.

34. This camp, where Clark remained until July 15 making canoes, is in Cascade County, Montana, on the north side of the Missouri River, just southeast of Antelope Butte and a few miles east of the present-day town of Ulm. It is misplaced on Moulton, *Atlas*, map 61. Clark's route by land is shown by a dotted line on the *Atlas* maps. See Moulton, *Atlas*, map 54.

35. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:379-80. These were made from cottonwood trees as were the Fort Mandan canoes. These measurements probably reflect the relative sizes of the canoes built at Fort Mandan.

36. To the west is Big Hole (the party's Wisdom) River and to the east, the Beaverhead River, which they continued to call the Jefferson. See Moulton, *Atlas*, maps 65 and 66.

37. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:55.

38. "Camp Fortunate" in Beaverhead County, Montana, lies just below the forks of the Beaverhead. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 66.

39. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:148.

40. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:333-34.

41. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:334.

42. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:177.

43. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:179. Clark, July 13, 1806: "after dinner the 6 Canoes …Set out." But that is an error by Clark.

44. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:341.

45. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:341.

46. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:140.

47. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 3:226-27.

48. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:190.

49. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:209.

50. As described to Clark, who made the record. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:284.

51. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:284.

52. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:290. One wonders if this is a slighting reference to Lewis' failure to have the skins on the "Experiment" adequately seam sealed.

53. Moulton, *Atlas*, maps 34 and 47.

54. This camp was on the east bank of the Missouri, in Cascade County, Montana, somewhat below the old White Bear Islands camp and south of the city of Great Falls. The area, but not the camp, appears on Moulton, *Atlas*, maps 42, 54, 61.

55. A bull boat similar to the two that Shannon had built on the Yellowstone.

56. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:106. Unfortunately, Lewis left no clues as to the appearance of this second leather-skin boat.

57. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:106-7.

58. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:111.

59. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:305. This would have been the same process Clark used to join the canoes made on the Yellowstone River.

60. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:322. Clark, August 25, 1806: "I derected Shields Collins Shannon and the two fieldses to proceed on in the two small Canoes to the Ponia Island and hunt on that Island untill we came on." Three men occupied one of the canoes, two the other.

61. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:332. Clark, August 31, 1806: "Soon after the 2 Canoes in which Sergt. Pryor and the indians go in broke loose with wiser and Willard in them and were blown quite across the river to the N E. Shore where fortunately they arived Safe." Here Clark refers to the two canoes that were lashed together carrying Sheheke and his family (three individuals) and Jusseaume and his family (four individuals). With Pryor, Weiser, and Willard that would make ten passengers in that "catacraft." The other "catacraft" had carried eight individuals down the Yellowstone River.

62. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:352. Clark, September 7, 1806: "I derected Sergt. Ordway with 4 men to Continue untill Meridian and if those men did

not arive by that hour to proceed on." This probably was the larger of the dugout canoes. In that case, the white pirogue was probably carrying eight.

63. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:366.

64. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:365.

65. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:234.

66. The "Canoe Camp" is about five miles west of Orofino, in Clearwater County, Idaho, on the south bank of the Clearwater River and opposite the mouth of the North Fork Clearwater. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 71.

67. Joseph Whitehouse, October 1, 1805: "we continued working at the canoes built fires on Several of the canoes to burn them out found that they burned verry well." Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 11:336. They learned this process from the Natives, although at least some of them might have seen it done in the East.

68. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 10:151.

69. Near Wishram, Klickitat County, Washington, and Celilo, Wasco County, Oregon. Clark drew a detailed sketch map of the area. Moulton, *Atlas*, maps 77 and 78.

70. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:328.

71. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:198-99.

72. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:278.

73. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:426.

74. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:426.

75. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:278. March 18, 1806.

76. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:10.

77. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:50.

78. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:111.

79. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:115. Obtained evidently on the south side of the Columbia, in Hood River County, Oregon, but not marked on Moulton, *Atlas*, map 78 and 79.

80. Above the Long Narrows of The Dalles in Klickitat County, Washington, in the vicinity of Horsethief Lake State Park and the camp of October 24, 1805. See Moulton, *Atlas*, map 78.

81. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:136-37.

82. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:146.

83. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:295.

84. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:163.

85. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:275.

86. This was almost certainly Boat Number 49.

87. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:308. While Lewis referred only to Shannon and Collins in this quote, Lewis also recorded that John Potts had accompanied them.

88. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:229.

89. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:13.

90. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:65.

91. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:68.

92. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:72.

93. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:118.

94. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:121.

95. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:232-33; 234-35.

96. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:273.

97. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:336.

98. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:346.

99. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:402-3.

100. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:426.

101. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:178.

102. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:180.

103. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:181.

104. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:206.

105. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 10:221.

106. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:220.

107. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 72.

108. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:249.

109. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:252-55.

110. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 7:272.

111. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:260-61.

112. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 61.

113. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:72.

114. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 91. The map shows a dotted line, probably the route and the place of the river crossing.

115. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:116.

116. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:118.

117. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 84. No route is shown on map. As identified in Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:117, n. 2. The river was crossed in each direction on successive days.

118. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 10:187.

119. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 84. No route is shown on map. As identified in Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 10:186, n. 6.

120. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:83-85.

121. Moulton, *Atlas*, map 101. As identified in Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:86, n. 2.

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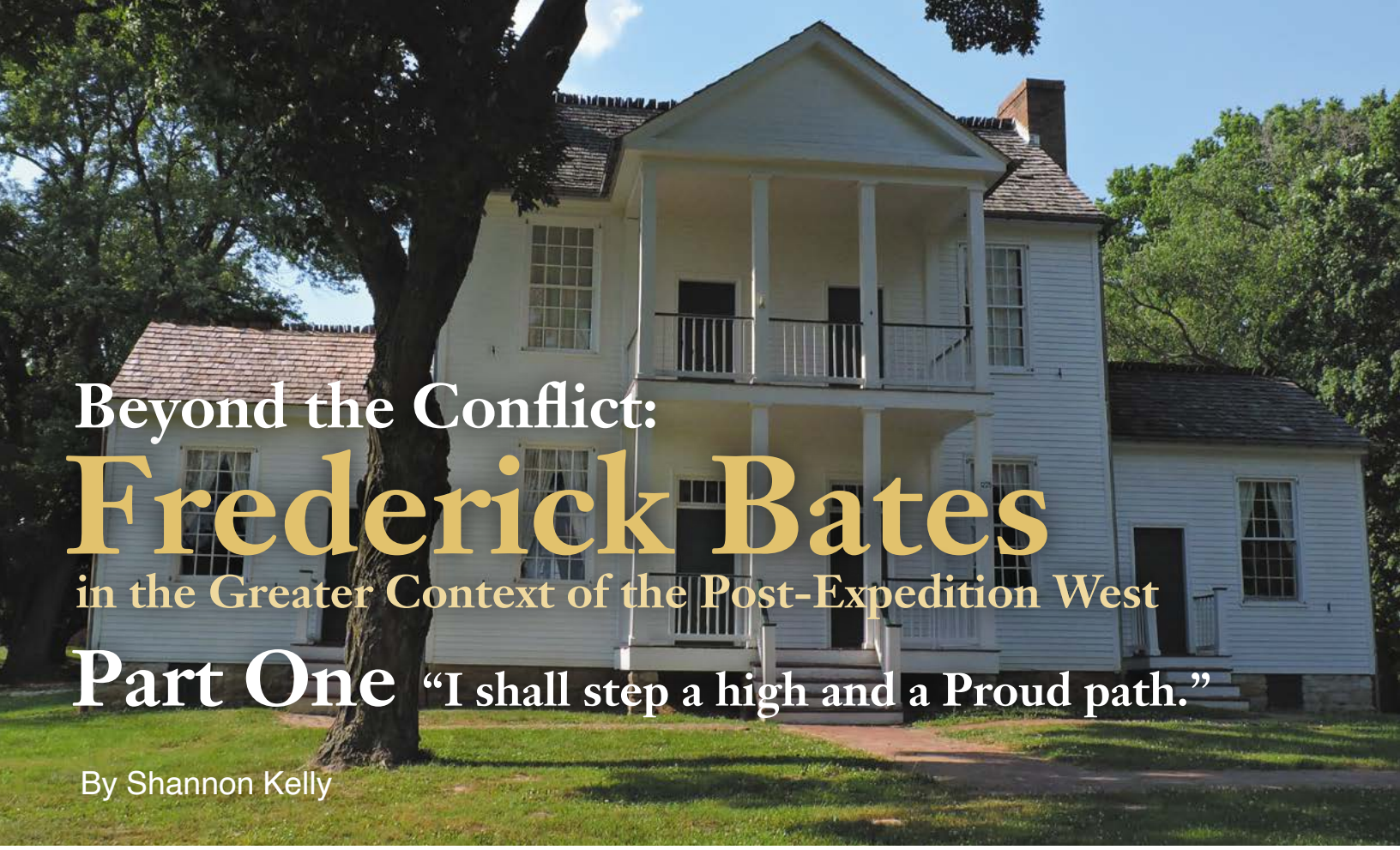
Photograph of Trapper Peak, Bitterroot Mountains, Montana, courtesy of Steve Lee.



Beyond the Conflict:
Frederick Bates
in the Greater Context of the Post-Expedition West
Part One "I shall step a high and a Proud path."

By Shannon Kelly

Frederick Bates developed his Thornhill property near St. Charles, Missouri, into a prosperous peach grove anchored around a Federal-style home. It took Bates most of his life to achieve that stability. Photograph courtesy of Shannon Kelly.

Frederick Bates, territorial secretary during Meriwether Lewis' short-lived governorship of the Louisiana Territory, is often remembered by expeditionary historians and enthusiasts as Lewis' political rival. Working with Governor Lewis would certainly have been difficult for those who had different political views and aspirations. The same was true regarding Bates. Both were intelligent men with strong convictions. They constantly clashed during their duties. Much has been written on the topic. More people may know Bates for that than any of his other pursuits. However, Bates enjoyed a rise to power that survived long after his early problems with Lewis and which surpassed his superior's brief political foray. Bates became active in Louisiana territorial politics and eventually in Missouri territorial and state governance. He was elected Missouri's second state governor while also finding himself at odds with William Clark. Bates deserves to be recognized beyond his conflict with Meriwether Lewis for his influence on the American development of the Louisiana Purchase lands in the context of the post-Expedition West alongside Clark and others.

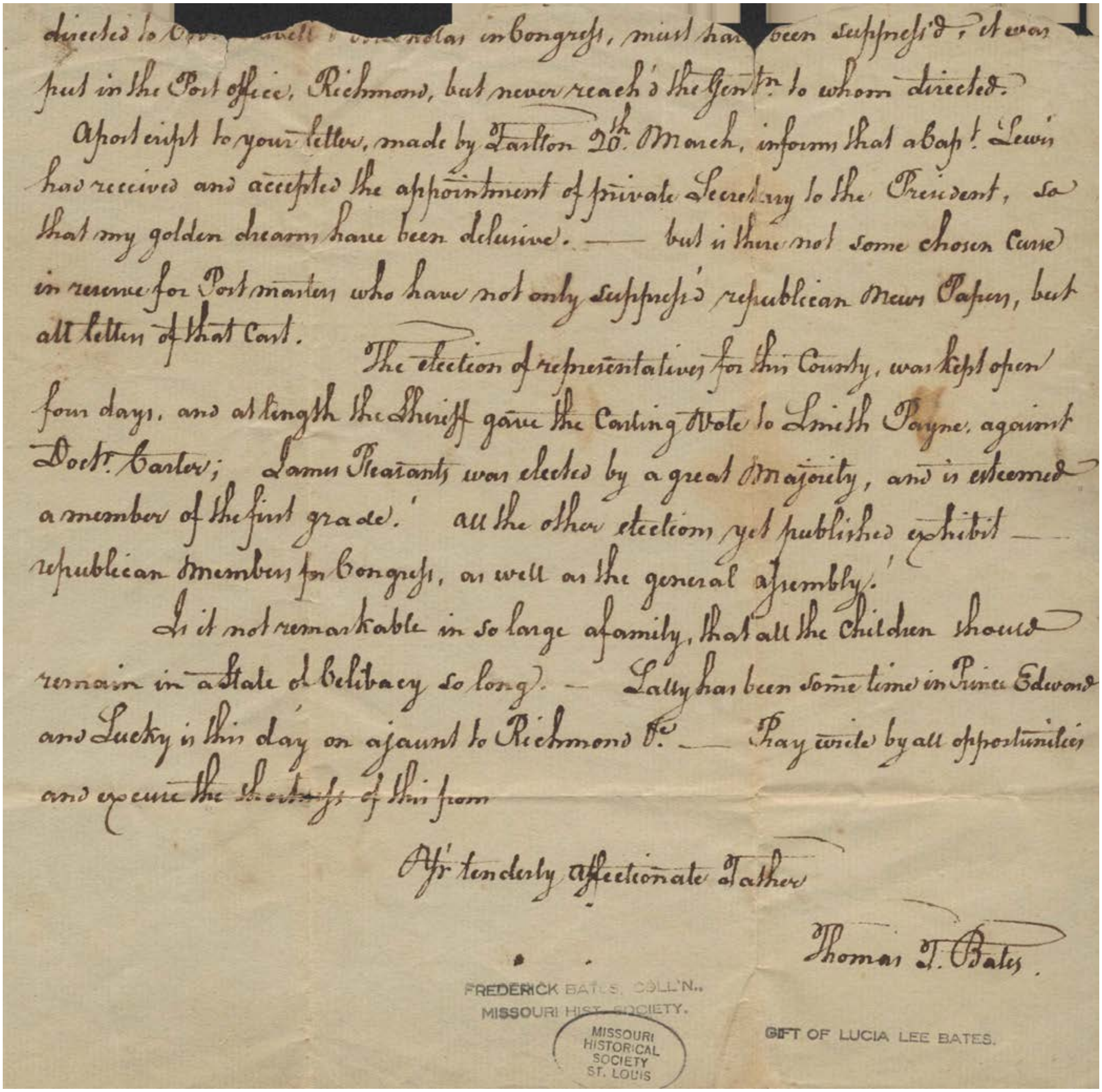
Frederick Bates ca. 1819, artist unknown.

Frederick Bates was a Virginian like the celebrated duo

First Missouri State Capitol State Historic Site, St. Charles, Missouri. Photograph courtesy of Shannon Kelly.

by whose fame he found himself frequently eclipsed. Born on June 23, 1777, to Thomas Fleming Bates and Caroline Matilda Woodson Bates, his early years resembled those of many of his generation. The Bates family belonged to the planter gentry, residing on a plantation situated along the James River near Belmont in Goochland County, northwest of Richmond, Virginia. Goochland County bordered Albemarle County to the east. Neighboring peers included Randolphs and Jeffersons. The family's Quaker religious beliefs were important to them. However, they partook of behaviors typically condemned by the Society of Friends, including owning slaves. Most Quakers in the North had come to condemn the practice of slavery and the Society of Friends officially prohibited it in 1776. Nonetheless, fellow Friends in Virginia ignored the ruling. This is fairly consistent among Southern Quakers. John Pleasants III, a prominent and wealthy Quaker planter in nearby Henrico County, profited from the labor performed by his slaves. His views evolved and he freed them shortly before his death in 1771. His son Robert Pleasants would become a leading Virginia abolitionist.[1] Dolley Madison, born a Quaker, spent her first marriage with fellow Quaker John Todd who happened to be slave owner. Frederick's own mother, Caroline Woodson Bates, detested slavery despite profiting materially from the practice. Southern Quakers who owned slaves considered themselves to be more humane slave owners, a claim their more numerous northern brethren saw as hypocritical.

The family also compromised on pacifism. Frederick's father, Thomas, believed the cause of the American Revolution important enough to set aside values of nonviolence. He fought in the Virginia Militia and according to family records was present at the Battle of Yorktown.[2] Southern Quakers managed a balancing act in the Revolutionary War and later during the War of 1812, trying to live their values without being branded unpatriotic or treasonous. The Bates family suffered financially because of the Revolutionary War. Monetary and material investment in the patriot cause and wartime depravations by marauding British soldiers on homes and farmland were not hardships unique to the Bates family but they were painful nonetheless. The family was not left with much beyond the house and some land on the family's cherished estate near Belmont. Frederick grew up in genteel poverty in a stratified society, surrounded at home by an ever-growing number of siblings. He was one of seven sons and five daughters – a total of twelve children. Frederick's parents made certain he and his brothers could study under tutors at home, and he studied hard as a boy. Thomas Bates expected his sons to pursue excellence. Surviving correspondence from the sisters and their mother shows they were fairly well educated with opinions of their own. Middle- and upper-tier gentry provided their daughters with at least a basic education. Quakers took this to the next level. They already placed a high value on literacy but they also had relatively progressive views of gender roles for the time period.



directed to [redacted]elas in Congress, must hav[redacted] been suppress'd; it was put in the Post office, Richmond, but never reach'd the Gent^n. to whom directed.

A postscript to your letter, made by Tarlton 20th. March, informs that Capt. Lewis had received and accepted the appointment of private Secretary to the President, so that my golden dreams have been delusive. — but is there not some chosen Curse in reserve for Postmasters who have not only suppress'd republican News Papers, but all letters of that Cast.

The election of representatives for this County, was kept open four days, and at length the Sheriff gave the Casting Vote to Smith Payne, against Doct^r. Carter; James Pleasants was elected by a great Majority, and is esteemed a member of the first grade. all the other elections yet published exhibit republican Members for Congress, as well as the general assembly.

Is it not remarkable in so large a family, that all the Children should remain in a State of Celibacy so long? — Sally has been some time in Prince Edward and Lucky is this day on a jaunt to Richmond &c. — Pray write by all opportunities and excuse the shortness of this from

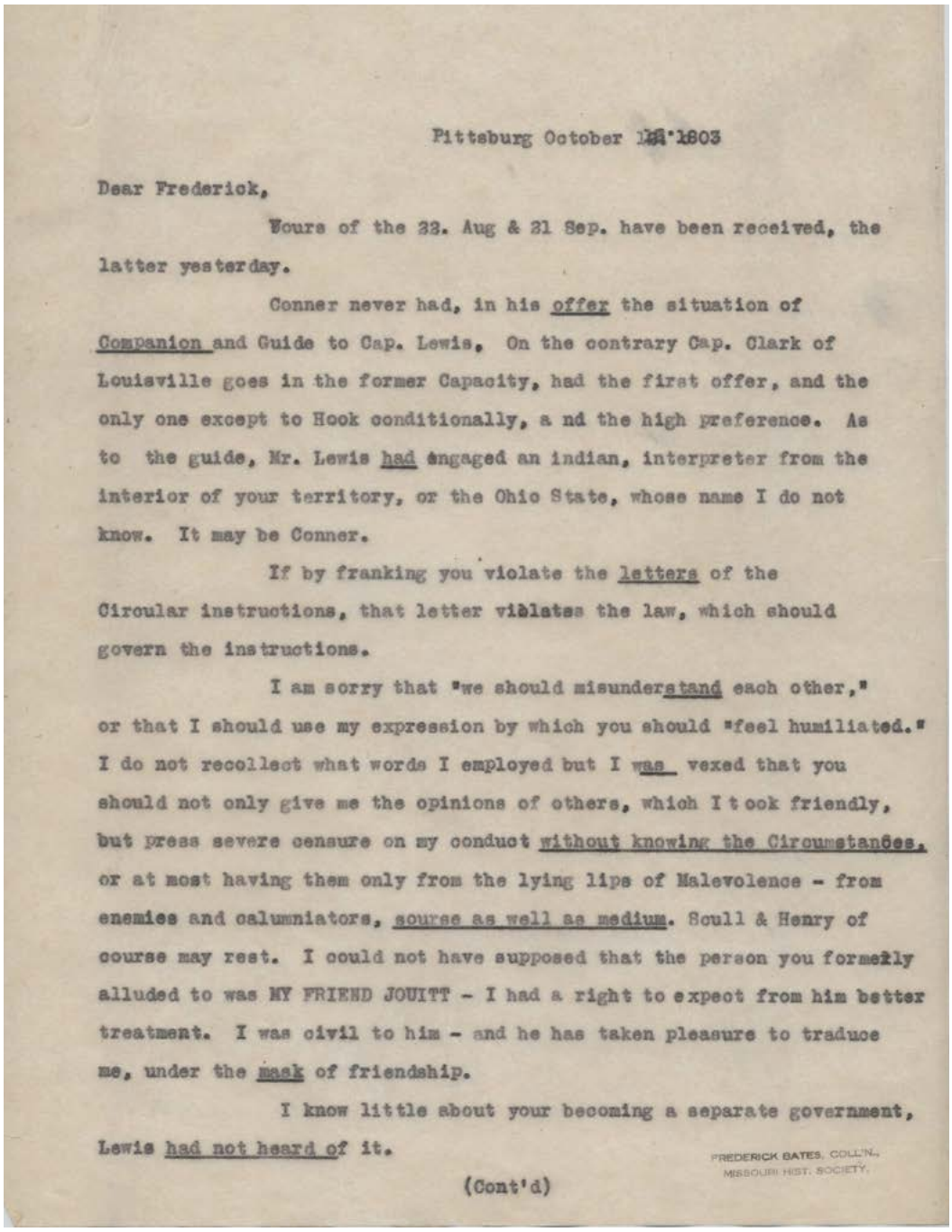
Yr tenderly affectionate Father

Thomas F. Bates.

1801 Letter from Thomas Fleming Bates to his son Frederick Bates after receiving the news that Meriwether Lewis had been appointed Jefferson's secretary instead of one of the Bates brothers. Much has been made of this event's sparking a future rivalry between Frederick Bates and Lewis but nothing said by anyone at the time survives. Courtesy Missouri Historical Society.

Frederick grew into a high strung, self-conscious young man. Unlike their social peers who went to college to prepare for careers like law, the older Bates sons had to take more common routes. Instead of enrolling at William and Mary, sixteen year-old Frederick entered law by apprenticing with a court clerk in Goochland County around 1793. This option gave young men actual courtroom experience along with an income, a route typical for those who could not afford to attend a college or university. Many law apprentices like young Frederick had to be financially self-reliant. At twenty-one he moved to the Northwest Territory to work for the territorial courts, making the long journey from Virginia alone on horseback. Bates looked young for his age. One innkeeper along the way thought he was a

runaway child until Bates explained his situation by showing his pistols as well as his government commission, proving that he was indeed an adult and a gentleman. Records show he worked as a law clerk while also dabbling in business. He gained civilian employment with the U.S. Army's Quartermaster Department for the region. In this same era his brother Tarleton served in the Army with a friend named Meriwether Lewis in Pennsylvania and the Great Lakes region. Lewis received several mentions in correspondence between the Bates brothers. It appears the two young soldiers visited Frederick in Detroit at least once.[3] Letters between the two brothers from the period include references to women and unrequited love as well as news of Napoleon in Europe, literature, politics, and dreams. Tarleton's letters also provide information on Lewis' movements within the Army at the time. Correspondence among all of the Bates siblings over the years kept each other up to date on family and friends. More than a couple letters also hint at long-held arguments between siblings.[4]



Pittsburg October 1[illegible]1803

Dear Frederick,

Yours of the 23. Aug & 21 Sep. have been received, the latter yesterday.

Conner never had, in his offer the situation of Companion and Guide to Cap. Lewis, On the contrary Cap. Clark of Louisville goes in the former Capacity, had the first offer, and the only one except to Hook conditionally, a nd the high preference. As to the guide, Mr. Lewis had engaged an indian, interpreter from the interior of your territory, or the Ohio State, whose name I do not know. It may be Conner.

If by franking you violate the letters of the Circular instructions, that letter violates the law, which should govern the instructions.

I am sorry that "we should misunderstand each other," or that I should use my expression by which you should "feel humiliated." I do not recollect what words I employed but I was vexed that you should not only give me the opinions of others, which I took friendly, but press severe censure on my conduct without knowing the Circumstances, or at most having them only from the lying lips of Malevolence - from enemies and calumniators, source as well as medium. Scull & Henry of course may rest. I could not have supposed that the person you formerly alluded to was MY FRIEND JOUITT - I had a right to expect from him better treatment. I was civil to him - and he has taken pleasure to traduce me, under the mask of friendship.

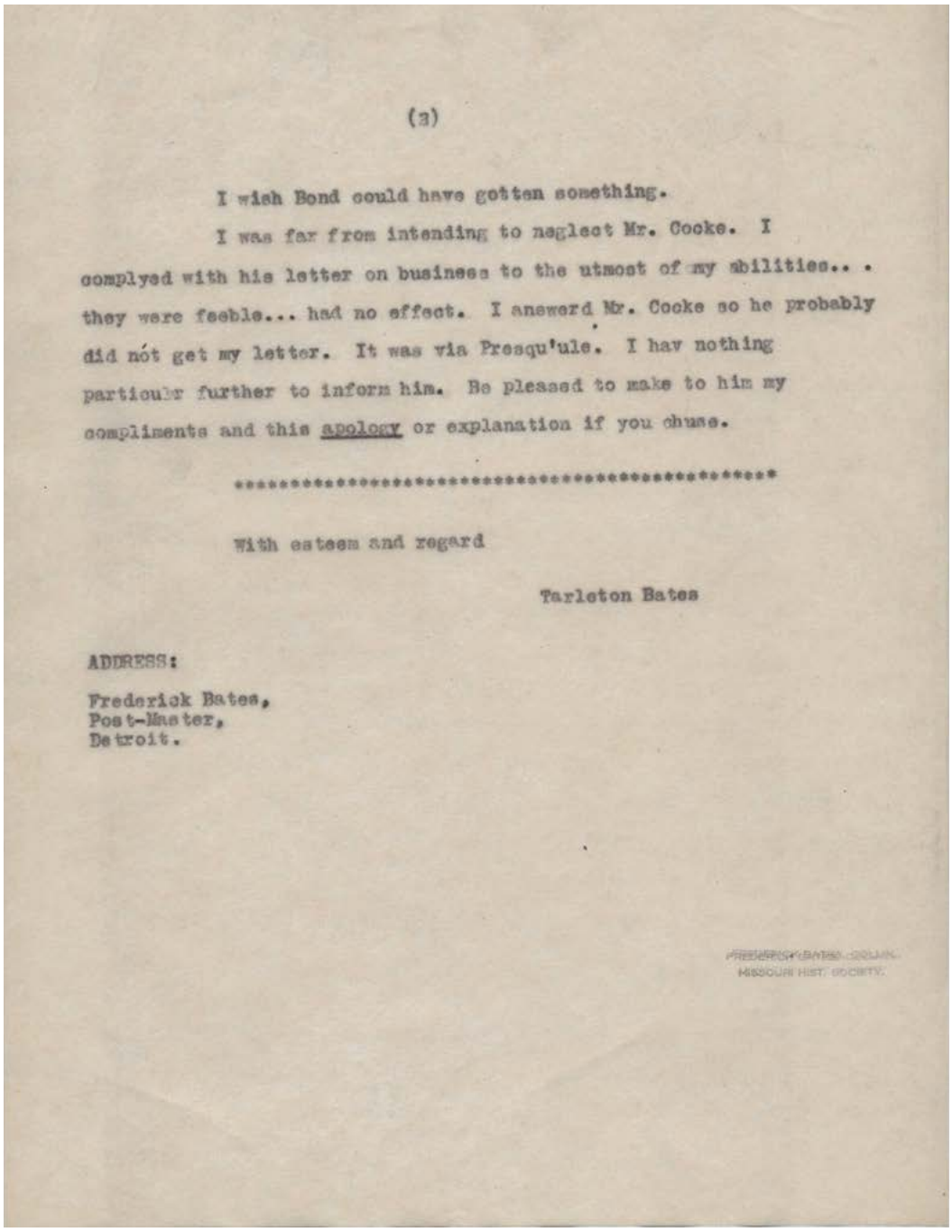
I know little about your becoming a separate government, Lewis had not heard of it.

(Cont'd)

FREDERICK BATES, COLL'N., MISSOURI HIST. SOCIETY.

October 1803 Letter from Tarleton Bates, older brother and confidant of Frederick and friend of Meriwether Lewis, to Frederick presents early observations on the Expedition's formation and an indication of William Clark's acceptance of Lewis' invitation to join him on the journey. Courtesy Missouri Historical Society.

Frederick and Tarleton's father Thomas continued to experience financial troubles. On February 25, 1798, Tarleton wrote Frederick from Pittsburgh to inform him their brother Fleming back in Virginia had sent him letters detailing the family situation: "Several mortgages and debts have been discovered recently. All his debts may exceed his assets. Alas for our sisters!"[5] Frederick valued communications with his sister Sally, who was a favorite sibling of his. He was aware of the difficulties she endured at home in Virginia while he made a new life for himself, among which would have been the lack of a dowry for attracting a respectable husband: "I have not very scrupulously observed my promise to write you. Seldom can I muster the resolve to write when I despair of an answer. I know you have lived through wretched moments. I hope when I see you again we will have happiness.



(3)

I wish Bond could have gotten something.

I was far from intending to neglect Mr. Cooke. I complyed with his letter on business to the utmost of my abilities.. . they were feeble... had no effect. I aneword Mr. Cooke so he probably did nót get my letter. It was via Presqu'ule. I hav nothing particular further to inform him. Be pleased to make to him my compliments and this apology or explanation if you chuse.

****

With esteem and regard

Tarleton Bates

ADDRESS:

Frederick Bates,
Post-Master,
Detroit.

Continuation of 1803 letter from Tarleton Bates to his brother Frederick. Courtesy Missouri Historical Society.

Please be our mother's friend and comfort."[6] In a New Year's Day 1799 letter to her he averred, "I do not often get beastly drunk, and often restrain my conduct."[7]

During Frederick Bates' time in the Old Northwest he fostered relationships with prominent military officers and territorial officials, enabling him to become in turn a deputy postmaster, an associate and then territorial supreme-court judge, and eventually a territorial secretary (today a lieutenant governor). He familiarized himself with the country and its people. Importantly, he could speak French, the language of many inhabitants of the Northwest Territory.[8] His written impressions of French colonial society in the 1790s contain the same mixture of admiration and disdain as does his later correspondence. An anecdote in a letter to Sally reflects that but also hints at his awkwardness with women outside the family: "On public occasions, at the Balls, the French Girls, will not be acquainted with you. Altho' they may understand English, they will speak to you in French. I cannot attribute it to modesty for I have known their conduct intirely incompatible, with that useless incumbrance. Upon the whole I think favorably of them: Those in good circumstances are remarkably neat, both in their persons & houses. Their original organization is certainly different from other people. A country rustic who sells Potatoes has all the happy confidence, easy motions, and politeness of expression, which in other countries, distinguish the Gents. from the common."[9]

In business Bates built an honest but tough reputation. His loans came with high interest rates and expectation of prompt repayment. His political career was a lifelong evolution. Bates seems initially to have had Federalist leanings. However, he was willing to identify as a Democratic-Republican when it was beneficial to his political career. It also appears his political views shifted during the late 1790s as he came to prefer

less government involvement in affairs. The guiding influence of his older brother Tarleton, a staunch Democratic-Republican, is clear in letters between them. Federalist favoritism for the financial elite may also have put him off. That ability to adapt would serve him well. When Thomas Jefferson won the 1801 presidential election, Thomas, the Bates family patriarch, hoped one of his sons would become private secretary to the new president. Such an appointment would have been ideal for the nearly twenty-four year-old Frederick's burgeoning career or even for Tarleton. Instead, Jefferson selected Meriwether Lewis, who was serving near Detroit. The letter containing the President's job offer was delivered to Lewis by none other than Tarleton Bates. Some Lewis biographers have suggested this was an early source of Frederick Bates' bitterness toward Lewis. Judging by Bates' later behavior toward Lewis and his tendency to hold grudges, it would not have been surprising. However, Bates himself never referred to the event.[10]

Leaving Army employment in 1802 Bates became Detroit's postmaster. After Ohio became a state in 1803, another portion of the Northwest Territory became part of Indiana Territory. In 1804 the Detroit Land Office hired Bates as a receiver of monies and land commissioner. With an increase in financial stability and capital he studied law on the side and opened his own mercantile business. His ability to be a pragmatic intellectual in the frontier Old Northwest opened doors for career advancement.

Frederick received extraordinary news from Tarleton in 1803 about his brother's old Army friend. Penned October 13, 1803, in Pittsburgh, Tarleton reported "Conner never had it in his offer the situation of Companion and Guide to Cap. Lewis."

> Cap. Clark of Louisville goes in the former capacity, had the first offer and the only one, except to Hook conditionally. As to the guide, Mr. Lewis had engaged an Indian interpreter from your territory, it may be Conner…I know little of your becoming a separate government; Lewis had not heard of it…[11]

Captain Lewis, appointed by the President to lead a military expedition of exploration, selected William Clark to be his co-leader. Tarleton Bates mentioned Lieutenant Moses

Frederick Bates' home office at Thornhill. During Bates' governorship his younger brother Edward would complain to him that he spent too much time working from home while Missourians expected to see him at the capital in St. Charles more often. Photograph courtesy of Shannon Kelly.

Hooke as the Army officer to whom Lewis presented a conditional offer in case Clark were to decline his invitation. Hooke, Tarleton Bates, and Lewis knew about each other when they served in the Army's First Infantry together. Hooke, having missed this chance at fame, assisted Lewis in delivering supplies to Wheeling. Four years later, Hooke, by then promoted to captain, served as an officer in General James Wilkinson's operation to capture and arrest the disgraced former Vice President Aaron Burr. It appears Frederick was the first to inform Tarleton and Lewis of Ohio's statehood. While Lewis and Clark explored the West, Bates continued his quest for financial stability and political clout by working for promotion and appealing for recognition. In September 1803 he wrote his oldest brother Charles Fleming Bates, "We have reason to hope that our corner in Indian [Indiana] Territory will be made a separate territorial government in the next session for Congress. I am desirous of the office of Secretary. Perhaps you have some influence to exert for me. You may know a member of Congress who would tell the Government I deserve this advancement. You know my politics are staunch and my talents abundant."[12]

In 1805, Bates' portion of the former Northwest Territory became Michigan Territory. Little did he know officials in Washington were aware of his abundant talents and connections. On March 2, 1805, Secretary of State James Madison wrote Bates, "The President of the United States being desirous of availing the public of your services as a Judge of the Territory of Michigan, I have the pleasure to inclose your Commission."[13] On May 28, 1805, Frederick Bates responded enthusiastically thanking him and the Jefferson administration for his appointment:

> I had yesterday the honor of receiving your letter of [blank] day of [blank] covering a commission as Judge of Michigan territory, and am greatly flattered by the high confidence which the President, with consent of senate has been pleased to repose in me. Permit me to thank you personally for the obliging terms, in which you have chosen to make this communication.[14]

Bates ended his response with a promise to do his best in spite of his own self-doubts:

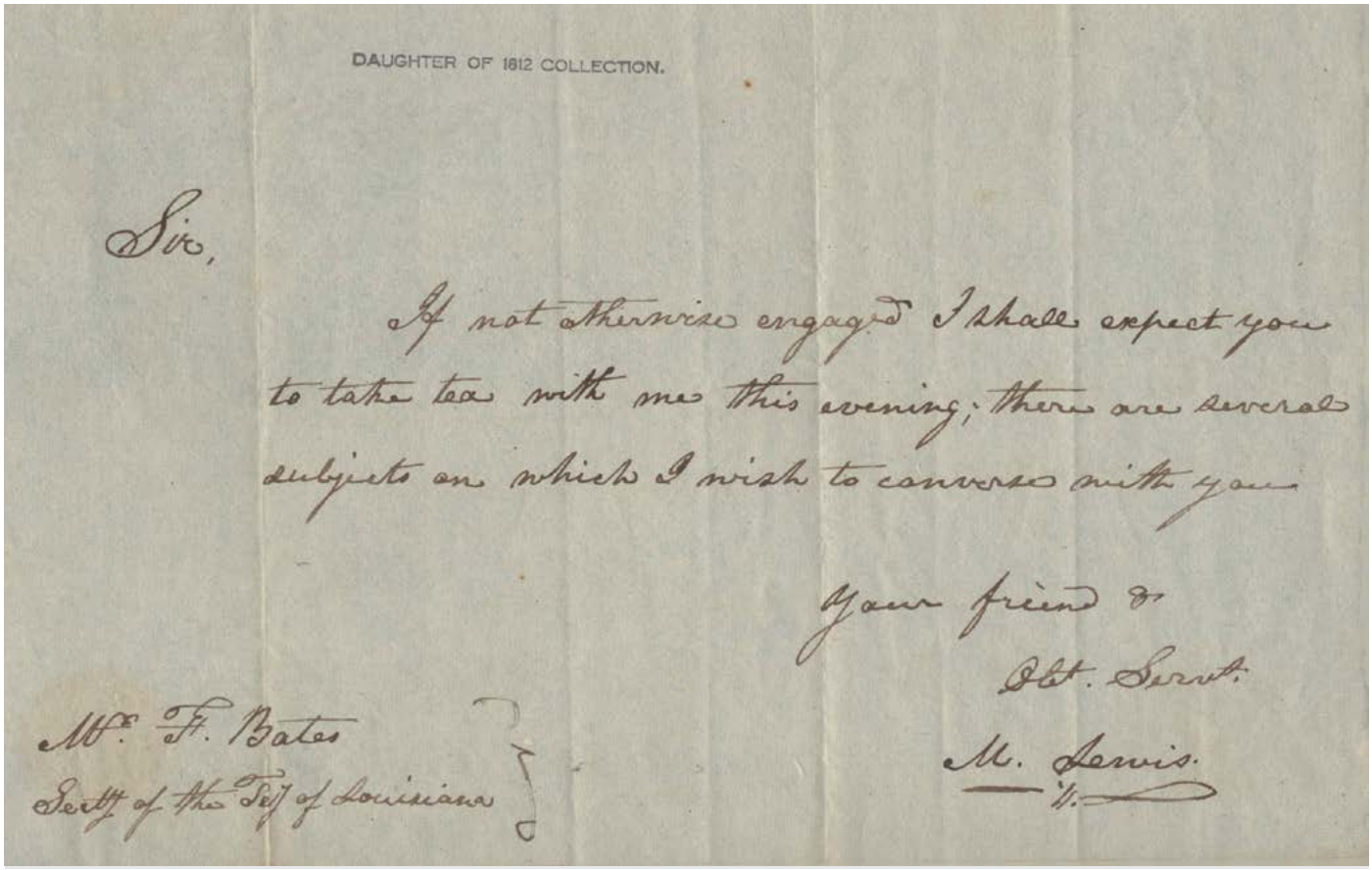
> I fear that my abilities have been too favorably estimated, yet I entreat you to be persuaded, that for my many & serious deficiencies, I will endeavour, in some degree to compensate, by an unwearied study of my duties, and a cautious circumspection in their discharge.[15]

He forged ties with Michigan territorial governor William Hull and his daughter Anne. During those years Bates lived far from his family. The slow-moving mail was his lifeline to loved ones. Surviving correspondence reflects a dysfunctional family with a loving mother, stressed but proud father, and a large messy network of siblings who sometimes kept confidence with one another and at other times quarreled. Frederick's best relationships during his time in Michigan were with Tarleton and Sally, whereas those with Richard and Fleming tended to be more difficult; the younger generation of Bates siblings, like Edward, were still children. Letters carried news of marriages and accomplishments, births, deaths, and updates on the family's miserable financial situation. The cruelest blows began in the summer of 1805 when he learned that his father had died at sixty-three and a lightning strike had killed Sally.[16] In early 1806 he received more terrible news. Tarleton had always been politically outspoken and prided himself on his Democratic-Republican values much like his friend Lewis. Tarleton's involvement in a feud between a Republican paper he contributed to, *The Tree of Liberty*, and a Federalist publication, *The Commonwealth*, resulted in a duel between and the Federalist Thomas Stewart and Tarleton on January 8, 1806, over alleged insults regarding both men's honor. After Democratic-Republican successes across Pennsylvania in the 1805 elections, *The Commonwealth* called Tarleton Bates and fellow *The Tree of Liberty* writer Henry Baldwin "two of the most abandoned political miscreants that ever disgraced a State." Tarleton responded by finding *The Commonwealth* writer Ephraim Pentland responsible and attacking him with a whip in public. Matters escalated considerably, unleashing a chain of events that resulted in Stewart's issuing his challenge. Dueling had been illegal in the state since 1794 but middle- and upper-class men still considered it their prerogative. Tarleton Bates was killed at age twenty-eight in Pennsylvania's last duel. Walter Forward, the other man involved on Tarleton's behalf, wrote Frederick directly.[17]

Affairs in Michigan Territory challenged Bates as well. A fire that began in a barn destroyed much of Detroit in June 1805. Governor Hull and Bates' fellow judge Augustus Woodward drafted designs to rebuild a planned Detroit in the aftermath.[18] Bates' mercantile business failed. Bates and Anne Hull appear to have at least carried on a mutual flirtation that garnered the attention of friends but nothing approached a proposal. Little did he know the 1806 return of the Expedition co-led

by his late brother Tarleton's friend would hold ramifications for him.[19] In late 1806 Bates departed for Washington, D.C., and Virginia, traveling through Pittsburgh before arriving in Washington in December. This was his first journey home in years.[20] Interestingly, he happened to be present at a banquet held in Lewis and Clark's honor in Washington on January 14, 1807. This event featured celebrated poet Joel Barlow, known for works including his 1787 epic poem *The Vision of Columbus*. At the banquet Barlow read his new creation, called *The Columbiad*, honoring Meriwether Lewis. One of the lines even suggested the Columbia River be renamed in Lewis' honor. Bates would later complain jealously to his brother in 1809 that Lewis "had been spoiled by the elegant praises of Mitchell [Samuel Mitchill] and Barlow…"[21] Interestingly, among the books later found in Bates' Thornhill library was a copy of *The Vision of Columbus* with Bates' signature in the front. Its sequel is absent.[22]

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were rewarded with land grants and political appointments, Lewis as governor of Louisiana Territory and Clark as territorial militia brigadier general and Indian agent for Louisiana. Jefferson also expected Lewis to write a narrative of the Expedition's travels and discoveries, a task that today seems daunting, while holding the office of governor of a territory in disarray. Lewis and Clark were to work together again but not with the same structure. Frederick Bates was appointed the territory's secretary and recorder of land titles as well as to the Board of Land Commissioners. All three positions would today be considered a conflict of interest but in this period people who had adequate qualifications were hard to find in the western territories. According to an 1809 letter from Bates to his brother Richard, in early 1807 Lewis wrote him with friendly reassurances and to express his optimism for their future administrative team. An undated letter from Lewis to Bates, likely from some point in 1807, shows he invited his new territorial secretary to tea while they were both still in Washington, D.C., or Virginia. The short note reads, "Sir, If not otherwise engaged I shall expect you to take tea with me this evening; there are several subjects on which I wish to converse with you."[23] Lewis signed his short invitation in a style rare for him: "Your friend & Obt. Servt., M. Lewis."[24] *Your friend.* Extraordinary recognition from a man who habitually signed himself "your obedient



April 7, 1807 Letter from Meriwether Lewis to Fredrick Bates while both men were still in Virginia. Lewis expressed enthusiasm for working together. Despite signing the note "Your friend," Lewis' trust in Bates would soon be lost forever. Courtesy Missouri Historical Society..

servant" in full or abbreviated form and reserved "friend" for a select few recipients. Initial correspondence and meetings between Lewis and Bates went well enough to give both men confidence in their new arrangement.

Lewis spent 1807 and early 1808 delaying his departure to St. Louis; there were social calls, political appointments, searches for publishers and illustrators, and courtship. Clark courted young Julia Hancock of Fincastle, Virginia, and after becoming engaged went to work in St. Louis for a few months in 1807. They were married in January 1808. Raised in wealth, Julia at fifteen was already better educated than most men of her time. Meanwhile, Frederick Bates had already relocated to the territorial capital of St. Louis, familiarized himself with his new home, and took up his duties. Many American officials, Jefferson included, believed that because of the French Creoles' lack of experience with democracy they were not entirely prepared for full self-governance. Bates concurred. The French-speaking residents' experiences with colonial governments of France and Spain connected them via dictatorial governors to distant absolute monarchies tied to the Roman Catholic Church. They were unfamiliar with such concepts as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly which white Americans already valued greatly. In December 1807 Frederick wrote Richard, "Do not imagine that I speak with the prejudice of those People. But I must say that Justice and liberty are words which they do not understand. You who have been bred up in Republican Habits will be surprized at this. Yet it is a mournful fact, that they do not comprehend the import of the words. The very name of *liberty* deranges their intellects, and it appears absolutely impossible for them to form accurate conceptions of the rights which Justice creates on the one hand, and obligations which it imposes on the other."[25] Bates was dismayed by their preconditioned willingness to accept abuses from leaders that a good American could only shudder at as brutish medieval relics. "If their Commandant spurned them from his presence; deprived them of half their Estate or ordered them to the black Hole, they received the doom as the dispensation of Heaven, and met their fate with all that resignation with which they are accustomed to submit indifferently to sickness and health, to rain and sunshine."[26] The nation's leaders believed these former subjects needed to learn how to be citizens with guidance from newcomers arrived from east of the Mississippi River. Many branded French Creoles as lazy and slovenly, ignoring the complex economic culture working across ethnic lines.

Similarly, officials like Bates believed that people accustomed to the French and Spanish legal codes and property customs were ill prepared for the United States' legal system rooted in publicly accessible written statues and English common law. Such people were allegedly accustomed to being subjects who "had no rights and that they were absolutely dependent, in all things, on the will and pleasure of the governor."[27] The goal, as he explained to Lewis, was to wean the territory's residents from the habits of appeasing autocratic territorial rulers – bribery and corruption – and usher them into "the empire of laws" appropriate to the ideal Democratic-Republic empire of liberty.[28] Lewis agreed and during his short tenure as governor had the Upper Louisiana's laws printed in English as well as French to be distributed throughout the territory. Good ideas are not always transformed into practice, however. None of the new American judges spoke Spanish and few spoke French. Bates stood out with bilingual ability and legal knowledge. He was among the few American officials involved in solving land disputes who could understand both parties and the roots of what understanding either had of the law.[29]

Mandan leader Sheheke-Shote and his family were also living in the vicinity awaiting their return to their earth-lodge village, Mitutanka, hundreds of miles up the Missouri River. In the summer of 1807 a government-funded flotilla led by Expedition veteran and now Ensign Nathaniel Pryor had intended to return the diplomat and his family home but a violent encounter with the Arikara turned it back. Non-fatal casualties included Expedition members George Gibson and George Shannon.[30] Gibson suffered a mild flesh wound but Shannon received a severe leg wound. By the time the retreating party reached St. Louis gangrene had set in and Dr. Bernard G. Farrar had no option but to amputate Shannon's leg above the knee.[31] Early in his correspondence with Clark, Bates confessed he was relatively ignorant of Indian affairs and he hardly knew what to do about Sheheke. By December 1807 Sheheke, tired of living in dilapidated accommodations at Fort Bellefontaine, wished to move his family to St. Louis until they could go home. Bates complained to Clark that Sheheke considered himself the "'Brother' and not the 'Son' of the President: That this is the residence of Gov Lewis and yourself – and is reminded, that while you were here, he was not sent among the 'Little chiefs' at the Camp."[32] Sheheke made it clear he trusted Lewis and Clark more than other officials. Bates' litany of complaints regarding Sheheke's sense of dignity would have reached Clark around his wedding in

January 1808. Bates followed Clark's directions for the care of Shannon and Gibson. He wrote Dennis Fitzhugh, Clark's brother-in-law, that he was instructed to draw money not just for the Indian affairs budget but also "in favor of Shannon for $300" and "in favor of Gibson for $200."[33] Bates admitted to Clark in December 1807 that Shannon's circumstances warranted making financial advances ahead of final official decisions. "It has been impossible to avoid, making some *advances* prior to the final adjustment of several of the accounts: particularly to the unfortunate Shannon, whose life was, for a time despaired of but who is now, since the amputation of his leg, on the recovery."[34] By the time the newlywed Clark and Julia arrived in St. Louis in June 1808 Shannon was well enough to leave the hospital with a partial wooden leg, earning him the lifelong nickname of "Peg-Leg Shannon."

Lewis attempted to govern from Ivy, Virginia, and occasionally Philadelphia for as long as possible. In April 1807 Bates wrote Lewis updates on affairs in the territory. The letters, dated April 5 and 7, 1807, bear mail stamps for "Washington City" dated May 25.[35] The lengthy and perilous mail delivery between St. Louis and the Virginia Piedmont created friction between the two men just as it would between countless western officials and federal administrators. In a November 7, 1807, letter to Lewis, Bates wondered if Secretary of War Henry Dearborn did not have time or concern enough to read or answer his messages and thus turned to Lewis for support.[36] As the territory's secretary, Bates took on many of Lewis's gubernatorial responsibilities, and became exasperated by his superior's absence. Mahlon Dickerson, future U.S. senator, governor of New Jersey, and Navy secretary, was a close friend of Lewis' and a prominent Philadelphia lawyer and intellectual at the time. He had turned down a federal posting in Orleans Territory in 1805. His journal mentions several outings with Lewis to plays, scientific demonstrations, meetings with young women, and other social events. During summer 1807 they and other friends were often out until nearly midnight. Dickerson described a brawl he and Lewis witnessed that resulted in the slashing of a man's face with a knife.[37] News from the East of Lewis' apparent lack of urgency added fuel to the fire. Army contractor George Wallace wrote to Bates from Indiana in December 1807, "What is the matter with yr. Governor? He is rather backward (I suspect) in pressing his suit with a handsome Vergn girl—that keeps him—he gave me a hint last spring of his intentions when at Phild."[38] Lewis' attempted courtship of Letitia Breckinridge of Fincastle proved unsuccessful, and she married Robert Gamble, a cousin of Bates' sister Caroline's husband. On January 16, 1808, Bates wrote Lewis, "Amidst the disappointments which your absence occasions, no one feels the want of your superintending presence so much as I do. Altho' my best judgements have been continually exercised for the discharge of the arduous duties of government, yet I feel that 'I am no atlas for so great a weight' and that it will be impossible for Your Proxy to diffuse the general satisfaction which the People of this country expect from yourself."[39]

Ten days later, Bates informed Lewis of the status of some Expedition veterans' land warrants. Congress adopted a resolution on January 2, 1807, to reward each of the Expedition's enlisted men and select civilians like George Drouillard with 320 acres of land west of the Mississippi River. For those whose plans lay not in land ownership but in the fur trade, they were happy to sell their warrants to buyers eager to purchase them. The territorial secretary was one of these. "Several of your followers to the Pacific Ocean have, for valuable considerations transferred the Land Warrants to which they became entitled by an Act of the last Session [of Congress]. The accompanying transcripts will shew the interest which Messrs. Riddick & McNair have acquired in the warrants of Drulzard [Drouillard], Collins & Whitehouse. I have lately purchased of McNair his moiety of these warrants and take the liberty of requesting that they may be retained in your hands until a suitable opportunity presents, of delivering them to Mr. Riddick & myself. Genl. Clark would have given them up last summer but as the power of atto. Was to yrself he did not conceive himself justified in acting under it. Yr. attention to these matters will confer on me a particular favor."[40] Bates also delivered an overlooked service to a group of Expedition veterans. Patrick Gass, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Joseph and Reuben Field, John B. Thompson, and Alexander Willard petitioned Congress requesting their land grants be rewarded to them in a timely manner and in proximity to their homes. "Many of your Petitioners are poor & earnestly solicit that whatever price their country may set upon their toilsome & perilous services may not be withheld from them…Your petitioners would beg leave to represent, that many of them have married since their return & are generally residents of the Territory of Louisiana or Indiana—where they have settled themselves; not doubting, but that it would be found equally expedient to lay off their lands within limits of one of the

said Territories, as within the boundaries of any more distant Country." Frederick Bates penned and submitted their petition. These men still enjoyed camaraderie after their return and their effort to resolve this issue shines a light on the enlisted men's post-Expedition struggles. Bates must have believed their cause to have merit for him to write their petition. Its outcome is unknown. Not all of the men who sold their land entered the fur trade. Some, like Joseph Whitehouse, did so to settle debts. If Congress failed to fulfill their "Petition to the Senate and House," then some may have had to sell their new property because their tracts were located too far away to be useful. Many of these men were uneducated and poor, making them prime targets for preying land speculators.[41]

As secretary and acting governor Frederick Bates contended with malcontents, including men associated with Aaron Burr, whose conduct bordered on treason. One such individual was John Smith T, born in 1770 in Virginia and raised in Georgia before returning to Virginia to attend the College of William and Mary. After graduation Smith moved to Tennessee and added a "T" to the end of his name to distinguish him from the countless other John Smiths. Educated but rough, he was known to carry up to four pistols on him. Appointed judge of the Upper Louisiana Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, a commissioner of rates and levies, and a lieutenant colonel in the territorial militia, Smith T arrived in Louisiana during Spanish occupation and swore loyalty to the Spain. He purchased property as well as saltpeter and lead mines near Ste. Genevieve and became a political and economic rival of Moses Austin, father of Stephen Austin.

After the U.S. purchased Louisiana in 1803 Smith T continued to find fortune. Initially Major Amos Stoddard served as acting governor but in 1805 General James Wilkinson was appointed governor. Aaron Burr's brother-in-law Dr. Joseph Browne became territorial secretary. Both Wilkinson and Browne were friendly to Smith T's political and commercial aims and appointed him to positions in the territory's courts and militia. His charming manner won him friends even as his participation in corruption scored him enemies.[42] He was entrenched in the territorial government while also being a known Burr Conspiracy participant. Lewis, Bates, and Jefferson agreed that Smith T needed to be removed.[43] Predictably, Smith T did not take Bates' note of dismissal lightly. Officials in Ste. Genevieve protested; militia officers who were friends of Smith T's like Captain William H. Ashley tendered their resignations.[44] Smith T. himself smarted over his removal for years. He never regained his political foothold but he did remain a prosperous land owner and mine operator and an influence among some of the territory's Anglo-American malcontents.

Governor Lewis finally arrived in St. Louis on March 8, 1808. His younger brother Reuben Lewis had arrived with "his carriage &c. &c." on February 25 according to Bates in a letter to Richard.[45] This late arrival did little to relieve Bates' growing alienation. Within three days Lewis was away to Fort Bellefontaine to review fortifications, meet with the officers, and voice his support to the families there.[46] Four days after Lewis made it to town, Bates wrote to Joseph Charless, the Irish-American printer encouraged by Lewis to begin St. Louis' newspaper. The secretary inquired about the publication battle among Lewis, Patrick Gass, and Robert Frazier. He asked Charless to obtain copies of newspapers from three "western papers" that featured the prospectus for Frazier's journal. "The interest which I take in the compromise of these misunderstandings which have arisen from that Prospectus, urge me to trouble you with the request. If the Publication of Gov. Lewis on the subject of Gass's & Frazier's Journal can be procured, you would confer an additional favor by transmitting it. For these friendly offices I beg you to command me in return."[47]An avid reader who had recently helped one of these men petition Congress, Bates may have had a genuine interest in Gass and Frazer's books. This likely coincided with an early dislike of Lewis.

Lewis assisted in preparations for William and Julia Clark, and by June Lewis was swamped with gubernatorial

"As secretary and acting governor Frederick Bates contended with malcontents, including men associated with Aaron Burr, whose conduct bordered on treason."

responsibilities. Writing Clark, who was almost there, on June 1, 1808, Lewis vented, "My dear friend, I am so much engaged at this moment I hope will pardon my not writing you further by Ensign Pryor at this moment—he will give you a discription of my present situation and my anxiety to see you—my love to the ladies [Julia Clark and Ann Anderson]." Already his "present situation" was more than he bargained for.[48] Lewis spent his first few months in St. Louis living with the Clarks and Clark's niece Ann "Nancy" Anderson. Also residing in the small home were the Clarks' enslaved workers, including York. The house was crowded, especially once Julia was pregnant. Ann grew tired of the French frontier settlement and returned home to Kentucky. If Clark had any undocumented hopes of matching his niece with the hopelessly single Lewis, they came to naught. Lewis moved into his own quarters rented from Pierre Chouteau but still ate meals with the Clarks. George Sibley, appointed by President Jefferson to manage the fur trade at the newly established Fort Osage, stopped in St. Louis on July 31, 1808, to deliver papers to Clark from the Secretary of War. Sibley noted in his journal he "Dined with General Clark at table met Governor Lewis."[49]

Lewis gave Bates the responsibility of writing the Articles of Agreement between the governor and the superintendent of Indian affairs to engage Expedition veteran and blacksmith Alexander Willard's services for the Sauk or Sac nation. Lewis spelled out the ramifications for Willard as well as expectations for Willard's government pay and transportation, supplies, a structure for a shop near the tribe's village, and an assistant for him. Willard had come a long way from being the Expedition's private who fell asleep on guard duty, dropped a gun in the Missouri River, and lost horses. He had matured into a reliable young man and an able blacksmith and gunsmith during the journey. His former commander remained a benefactor, as both Lewis and Clark did for a number of Expedition veterans.[50] Lewis and George Shannon examined lead mines together. The St. Louis district was full of potential for lead and saltpeter mining and land deeds from three different government regimes. In a March 17 letter to Lewis Bates discussed Bates' activity in clarifying the original French and Spanish land titles in relation to lead and saltpeter mines.

> Sir,
>
> I have the honor [page torn] enclose for your information, certain of lead mines, which [page torn] I've made, by order of the President, to persons in the district of Ste. Genevieve.
>
> I am very respectfully Your Excellency's obed't. servant,
> Frederick Bates.[51]

Bates rented a home from Pierre Chouteau as he steadily accumulated land in the area. He purchased land that had been awarded to Corps of Discovery veterans, buying from at least George Drouillard, John Collins, and Joseph Whitehouse.[52] Initially, he hired tenant farmers to cultivate his land but in 1812 he purchased a family of three African-American slaves for $900, Sam, Polly, and their child Juno.[53] It is not clear whether his choice to own but a small number enslaved people and a family was reflective of his Southern-style Quaker upbringing. Business savvy, he also began to cultivate 900 acres of peach orchards and maple trees on his property near the present-day suburb of Chesterfield, both of which generated a steady income. Bates eventually developed that tract into his estate, Thornhill.[54]

Bates' annoyance with much of the local French-Creole population contrasted with the close friendship and respect Governor Lewis and General Clark held for their Francophone neighbors, a relationship established in 1803. Lewis and Clark certainly had Anglo-centric biases toward their neighbors. When Lewis met Cape Girardeau founder Louis Lorimier and his family at a horse race on November 23, 1803, he viewed the rowdy crowd as somewhat depraved. He also disparaged the Roman Catholic Church's influence in the area. Lewis made inroads nonetheless. In that same November 23 journal entry he described Lorimier's daughter in glowing language. Lewis and Clark's links with the polished Chouteaus and other influential community members played an integral part in acquiring information and adequate diplomatic presents for the Expedition. Bates could never achieve his two rivals' community connections. As Bates admitted in a letter to James M. Moss of Kentucky, "I have ever condemned in others a clannish attachment, but I declare to God that I cannot divest myself of the belief that everything which bears the Virginia stamp is somewhat better than all other things."[55]

Bates' written correspondence with his brothers included complaints about Lewis. As early as March 24, 1808, he wrote Richard, "Affairs look somewhat squally since the arrival of Gov Lewis. Might and extraordinary efforts are making to restore to office some of those worthless men, whom I thought it my duty to remove."[56] Lewis' habits were, according to Bates "altogether military,"[57] and he remarked Lewis would have done better to have remained in the Army.

In addition to being "spoiled" by celebrity status, Bates later claimed to Richard that Lewis had been "…overwhelmed by so many flattering caresses of the high and mighty that like an overgrown baby, he began to think that everybody about the House must regulate their conduct by his caprices."[58] The change in presidential administration halfway through Lewis' governorship was surely a rude awakening for Lewis. No documentation by Lewis regarding thoughts on Frederick Bates survives. This lack creates a frustrating gap in the written record. Whether Lewis penned complaints about Bates that later disappeared or were deliberately destroyed, or was too prudent to write anything down, his point of view is absent from the documented historical record.

Lewis was not alone in his romantic frustration. Bates and Anne Hull had apparently never entered a formal courtship but they still corresponded. On May 12, 1807, Anne wrote Bates from Detroit, "I had determined not to write you until you convinced me my letters gave you pleasure." Anne begins with well wishes from friends in Detroit but takes an interesting turn. "Some say you have married, please describe her... My dear friend, find some reason to return. No situation of living would be unpleasant to me were I but with you."[59]

Naturally Frederick's sister Anna was curious. "Tell me about Nancy - Hull? If you do not marry her I hope you will not choose one of these high spirited fillies. Some mildness is necessary in female character, but not servility."[60] Her brother replied despondently, "You inquire after X X X X. O she has forsaken me! My hopes there are forever blasted. She wrote me two letters; the first was very cold, and the latter closed the correspondence. A friend from D—t wrote me several months ago that she was about to be married to another."[61] In the summer of 1808, around the same time Lewis learned from William Preston of Letitia Breckenridge's marriage to Robert Gamble, Bates received word that Anne had married Captain Harris Hampdon Hickman.[62] One of many friends breaking the bad news from Detroit was Bates' young friend Anthony Ernest, who a few months later enquired, "Are you sure her present husband loves her? If not, how miserable for her and how you would regret not having married her. My mother told me once she appeared to hate the man."[63] Bates' response, tinged with regret, placed some blame upon himself: "In truth I never loved her as perhaps I ought, and her attachment to me was of the temperate kind, by no means allied to madness, a simple esteem, it did not come up to my ideas of the passion, nor absorb as I should require every other consideration."[64] Bates desired a marriage based on love to a lady from the appropriate social class. He realized his own expectations were unclear to him and perhaps unrealistic. In any case, Bates and Lewis were both romantically frustrated. They were also very similar: self-conscious, proud, high-strung, introverted intellectuals who did not suffer fools nor easily forgive those who crossed them. Their personalities' similarities and differences did not make for a compatible working relationship.

The women of St. Louis did not meet Bates' expectations for class, education, and temperament. A February 1808 letter from his sister Caroline Matilda repeated the sentiments Bates had voiced to their brother Richard in one of his letters home. "I can see very well that the ladies of Louisiana are far from what you would want. Some Virginians, Mrs. Anthony, might serve to civilize them. Women who look upon themselves as a piece of furniture are my utter aversion, too contemptible to go under the denomination of a woman."[65] Lewis failed to marry after arriving in St. Louis in 1808. Issues that were repulsive to a Virginia social equal like Bates were likely so for Lewis as well. If Caroline's word can be relied on, Bates' expectations of a wife applied to her mind as well as her connections and appearance.

> *"Bates and Lewis were both romantically frustrated. They were also very similar: self-conscious, proud, high-strung, introverted intellectuals who did not suffer fools nor easily forgive those who crossed them."*

Lewis and Bates disagreed on how to manage Indian affairs and relationships in the French-Creole community. It does not appear Lewis spoke French but he was frequently viewed as a better friend to the French-speaking residents than Bates. The U.S. first subdivided Louisiana Territory in into five districts matching their old Spanish ones in 1804: St. Louis, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. Governor and General Wilkinson established Arkansas,

previously part of the New Madrid section, as its own district in 1806. While serving as acting governor, Secretary Bates abolished the Arkansas District. Inhabitants of that area were in for yet another turn of events when in July 1808 Governor Lewis sent Bates down to the district government seat at Arkansas Post to deliver two blank justice of the peace commissions and to help disentangle lingering confusion regarding the transition from Spanish property and criminal law to American constitutional law.[66] Clark was away to the west overseeing the construction of Fort Osage. Bates felt his labors bordered on fruitless: "…for the most part so entirely unacquainted with every kind of business, except that of the chase, it is not all to be wondered at that affairs requiring method, order and an observance of legal forms, should be totally unintelligible to them." Bates granted commissions to Benjamin Fooy and Captain George Armistead.[67] In the meantime Lewis reinstated the Arkansas District in August 1808. As demonstrated on the Expedition, Lewis as well as Clark appreciated the effectiveness of properly delegated command. Lewis apparently felt this to be a responsible plan for Arkansas. This was easily also a game of political quid pro quo.[68]

Bates resented what he considered Lewis' distrust of him and the way he entrusted Clark with duties that belonged under Bates' jurisdiction, not unlike the way Jefferson all but ignored his politically embarrassing Vice President Aaron Burr during his first presidential term. Like much of the task of governing Upper Louisiana, the duties of Bates, Clark, and even Lewis were hardly clear cut by territorial law. Bates, whose vision differed from that of the other two men, often found Lewis and Clark teaming up against him. His preference for private management of western lands rather than federal supervision was not shared by the other two. Before long Lewis and Bates were barely on speaking terms, only communicating if work or business absolutely required it. The two men frequently signed off as witnesses on the other's land sales and deed transfers. Lewis, Clark, and Bates are commonly listed on their own contracts as well as on paperwork for Alexander McNair and for Chouteau family members. They were among the few literate, educated, English-speaking men of influence in the area. Rivals or not, they were essential to each other. Both men were proud Freemasons and helped establish the first Masonic Lodge in St. Louis. When the new lodge voted on their executive mason, the members elected Meriwether Lewis over Frederick Bates.

Moses Austin told Bates that malcontents aimed to "create a breach between the Gov. and Secretary which, is said and impressed on the minds of the people has already taken place, and that Gov. Lewis has expressed his dissatisfaction of the secretary's conduct… my confidence in the correct views of Gov. Lewis are such that until I am convinced by seeing Smith clothed with the ensigns of his office, I will not believe him reinstated in the confidence of the Governor, altho proclaimed by a thousand tongues." Austin believed Smith T and his allies were trying to exacerbate conflict between officials like Lewis and Bates in the public's eye to stir up unrest and bring people to his cause.[69] Much of that conflict did not require help from Smith T or his cronies. During one confrontation a frustrated Lewis, according to Bates, "told me to take my own cours." Bates wrote that he responded, "'I shall, Sir,' said I, 'and shall come, in future to the Executive Office when I have business at it.'"[70] Bates constituted a major source of disturbance and stress for Lewis. Based on his own letters Bates was fully aware of this and used it to emotionally corner Lewis; that individuals immediately leveled partial blame for Lewis' death on "the barbarous conduct of the secretary" demonstrates the public nature of that dynamic.

The most dramatic incident took place at a ball in early 1809. According to Bates, he was sitting at a table with local gentleman playing cards and talking. Lewis approached, pulled a chair up, and attempted to engage in casual conversation with Bates and the others. Bates snubbed him and moved to the other side of the room. It was difficult to ignore this dramatic display of discord between the territory's two highest-ranking officials. Lewis, infuriated and humiliated, sought out Clark, ready to issue Bates a challenge to a duel, but Clark refused to support anything leading to violence. Bates regretted nothing. "He knew my resolutions not to speak to him except on business and he ought not to have thrust himself in my way." When Clark approached him a few days later in an attempt to smooth matters over, Bates replied, "…The Governor has told me to take my own course and I shall step a high and a Proud path…you come to me…as *my* friend, but I cannot separate you from Governor Lewis—You have trodden the *Ups* & the *Downs* of life with him and it appears to me that these proposals are made solely for *his* convenience."[71]

Fortunately for all parties involved, no duel resulted. Lewis, an excellent marksman, could easily have killed Bates. Dueling among U.S. territorial officials was not unusual in the early Republic. The older French inhabitants of St. Louis and Upper Louisiana would not have been unfamiliar with strife between officials either. Many would have remembered the

time that the Spanish Lieutenant Governor Francisco Xavier Cruzat made a public scene over the location of his pew in the St. Louis church after Christmas mass in 1776 and his disagreements with local Catholic Church leaders.[72]

As correspondence from Lewis, Clark, and Bates reveal, governing the land and people of the Louisiana Purchase was challenging and stressful. Battling factions and language and cultural barriers, compounded by a distant and seemingly detached federal government, brewed an alienating atmosphere. These frustrations could easily lead colleagues down the road to enmity. That following spring on April 15, 1809, Frederick Bates wrote to Richard:

> I have spoken my wrongs with an extreme freedom to the Governor.—It *was* my intention to have appealed to *his* superiors and *mine*; but the altercation was brought about by a circumstance which aroused my indignation, and the overflowings of a heated resentment, burst the barriers which Prudence and Principle had prescribed. We now understand each other much better. We differ in everything; but we will be honest and frank in our intercourse. I lament the unpopularity of the Governor; but he has brought it on himself by harsh and mistaken measures. He is inflexible in error, and the irresistible Fiat of the People, has, I am fearful, already sealed his condemnation. Burn this, and do not speak of it.[73]

Unfortunately for Bates and his legacy, this was not the last letter Richard failed to destroy.

Bates also wrote James Abbot on July 25, 1809, "Our Gov. Lewis, with the best intentions in the world, is, I am fearful, losing ground. His late preparations for Indian War have not been popular. *He acted for the best.* But it is the fate of great men to be judged by the results of their measures."[74] Lewis and Bates managed to come to a truce just before the governor departed on his ill-fated trip east.[75] Because Lewis had already left, when William Clark became a Master Mason in September 1809, it was Frederick Bates who signed the certificate as acting Worshipful Master instead of Clark's closest friend, and the Lodge's Worshipful Master, Meriwether Lewis.[76]

Reports that something was not right with Lewis reached Bates as early as September 28, 1809. James Howe wrote Bates an alarming letter from Nashville:

> I arrived here two days ago en route to Maryland. Yesterday Army Major Stoddard arrived from Fort Adams. Near Chickasaw Bluffs he was informed that Gov. Lewis had arrived there in a state of mental derangement and had made attempts to end his life, which the informant prevented, and that Capt. Russell, the commanding officer at the Bluffs took Lewis in, and had to keep a strict watch on him and had his boat unloaded. I hope this account is exaggerated but fear there too much truth in it.[77]

In less than two weeks Governor Lewis was dead. Frederick Bates learned of Governor Lewis's death around the same time as the rest of St. Louis did. His reaction in his November 9 letter to his brother Richard was far from a tribute.

"You have heard no doubt, of the premature and tragical death of Gov. Lewis. Indeed I had no personal regard for him and a great deal of political contempt."

"You have heard no doubt, of the premature and tragical death of Gov. Lewis. Indeed I had no personal regard for him and a great deal of political contempt. Yet I cannot but lament, that after all his toils and dangers he should die in such a manner… Those who stand high, have many winds to shake them And if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces…"[78] Frederick had no intention his letter would survive beyond Richard's reading. Bates might have enjoyed a better reputation if his family had adhered to his wishes for discretion but instead historians have a fascinating portrait of the man as he was.

Lewis was not long in his lonely grave along the Natchez Trace before some level of blame was aimed at Bates for the late governor's mental unraveling. While conspiracy and murder theorists have suspected Bates of being behind an assassination plot, there is no evidence any of the two men's contemporaries held such suspicions; such a claim would have quickly been voiced. Instead critics claimed Bates had harassed Lewis enough to combine with other stressors in pushing him to the brink – and over. In that same

November 9 letter to his brother, Bates wrote:

> On the arrival of this unhappy news and before we heard of his death, an Honble. Gentleman of this place, a Colleague of mine at the Land-Board, commenced a regular and systematic traduction of my character. He asserted in several respectable companies that the mental derangement of the Governor ought not to be imputed to his political miscarriges; but rather to the barbarous conduct of the Secretary. That Mr. Bates had been determined to tear down Gov. Lewis, at all events with the hope of supplanting him in the Executive Office with a great deal of scandal equally false and malicious. The persons who listened most attentively to these accusations, happened to be my very intimate friends Judge Coburn and Doct. Farrar."[79]

Bates told his brother he spent twenty-four hours deliberating how to react to critics like Clement C. Penrose. Penrose had a wife and family so Bates vowed if any challenge were to be issued it would have to come from Penrose. The day after he heard "these slanders," Bates approached Penrose after a Board Commissioners meeting. Bates had, according to his letter to Richard,

> charged him with the falsehoods which he had propagated in concise and angry terms. He denied them and explained 'I have said that you were the enemy of Gov Lewis and would willingly be the Governor yourself.' 'You have gone farther than this Sir' said I 'and I will prove it upon you. *I will not submit to your malicious impertinence Mr. Penrose—I will chastise you for it—two years past, you have been in the habit of gossiping your scandals with respect to me, and I pledge my word of Honor, that if you ever again bark at my heels, I will spurn you like a Puppy from my Path.*'[80]

Penrose and Bates continued to argue so Bates had Major Alexander McNair deliver a letter to Penrose "expressive of my hearty and everlasting Contempt for him. His reply to the Major was, that he would have me indicted for an Assault."[81]

Bates did not share the sentiments of Lewis' November 2 *Missouri Gazette* obituary, which praised the late governor for his accomplishments, "his native affability, suavity of manners, and gentleness of disposition" along with his reliability as a friend, brother, and son.[82] Frederick's sister Anna also reacted to Lewis' death differently than her brother. "We heard of the death of Meriwether Lewis about three or—four weeks since. He was a particular friend of our brother Tarleton's. Poor unhappy man, how wretched he must have been—and I lament his death on your account, thinking it might involve you in difficulties."[83] Frederick's defense to Richard in the aftermath of Lewis' suicide can easily be applied to his entire career: "I had thought that my habits were pacific; yet I have had acrimonious differences with almost every person with whom I have been associated in public business. I have called myself to a very rigid account on this head, and before God, I cannot acknowledge that I have been blamable in any one instance. My passions blind me I suppose."[84]

> *"Frederick Bates and Meriwether Lewis were too similar for their own good."*

Frederick Bates and Meriwether Lewis were too similar for their own good. Lewis had been excellent friends with ornithologist Alexander Wilson, whom a contemporary said was remarkably like Lewis. Bates, however, shared traits with Lewis that were not suited for interaction with him. Most of these were both men's less pleasant attributes: stubborn, headstrong, moody, dramatic, obsessive, vindictive when riled, and reluctant to back down. Both men's emotional spectrums ranged from meekness to intense aggression and both were smarting from romantic frustration. During the Expedition the men had awe and respect for Lewis; his and Clark's leadership model became legend. Bates, however, had nothing but contempt for him. Clark's calm, confident demeanor likely kept Lewis and Bates' interpersonal drama from escalating further than it already had. The short relationship between Bates and Lewis highlighted Bates' capacity for jealousy, irritability, undermining others, and being difficult to work with. Inversely, this interval with Lewis may have planted the seeds that sprouted later in his career: unlike Lewis, Bates was cut out to be a politician.

William Clark's response to Lewis's death took an expectedly more mournful tone in his famous letter to his brother Jonathan: "I fear O! I fear the waight of his mind has over come him…" Clark turned down offers to take his late friend's place as governor of Upper Louisiana Territory. He had seen what his friend experienced as well as with whom he had to deal. A January 12, 1810, letter written by William Clark in Washington, D.C., to his brother Jonathan in Kentucky verified as much: "I have not the good wishes of the anl. [animal?] who I treat like a puppy_ as he is."[85] ∎

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Notes

1. Renee M. Savits, processor, "Pleasants family Papers, 1745-1898," Accession Number 41008, 2004. Robert Alonzo Brock Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

2. William S. Bryan and Robert Rose, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri*, *with Numerous Sketches*, *Anecdotes*, *Adventures*, *etc.*, *Relating to Early Days in Missouri* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1876/2018); Title U.S. Veterans Gravesites, ca.1775-2006, National Cemetery Administration Publisher, Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2006; Name: Thomas Bates, Gender: Male, Military Date: July 5, 1778, Military Place: Virginia, USA, State or Army Served: Virginia Regiment, Regiment Rank: Private, Source Information Ancestry.com; U.S. Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783 [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2007; Original data: Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M246, 138 rolls); War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93; National Archives, Washington, D.C., SAR Application: Charles Woodson Bates, Missouri U.S., Sons of the American Revolution Membership Applications, 1889-1970, Volume: 149; SAR Membership.

3. Thomas Maitland Marshall, ed., *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1926); Ruth Colter Frick, "Conflict: Frederick Bates and Meriwether Lewis," *We Proceeded On* 19:3 (August 1993): 20.

4. Tarleton Bates to Frederick Bates, 26 March 1798, and Tarleton Bates to Frederick Bates, 25 April 1798, Bates Family Papers, Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis, Missouri. Topics of argument among the numerous Bates brothers ranged from money to personality differences. Frederick at one point wrote Tarleton about a nightmare in which he faced Richard in a duel. Dream contents were a major theme in Frederick's letters. He also wrote Tarleton about a dream in which a storm came off Lake Michigan and swallowed him up. Dr. Benjamin Rush himself frequently recorded his dreams and believed they held deeper meaning on a psychological and perhaps spiritual level. He even referenced a dream in which he effected the reconciliation between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.

5. Tarleton Bates to Frederick Bates, 25 February 1804, BFP, MHSA.

6. Frederick Bates to Sally Bates, 12 September 1798, BFP, MHSA.

7. Frederick Bates to Sally Bates, 1 January 1799, BFP, MHSA.

8. Frick, "Conflict," *We Proceeded On*, 19:3 (August 1993): 20.

9. Frederick Bates to Sally Bates 5 May 1799, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:45-48.

10. Frick, "Conflict," *We Proceeded On* 19:3 (August 1993): 20.

11. Tarleton Bates to Frederick Bates, 19 October 1803, BFP, MHSA.

12. Frederick Bates to Charles Fleming Bates, 26 September 1803, BFP, MHSA.

13. James Madison to Frederick Bates, 2 March 1805, in a clerk's hand, signed by JM, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:63.

14. "To James Madison from Frederick Bates (Abstract), 28 May 1805," *Founders Online*, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/02-09-02-0459. [Original source: Mary A. Hackett, J.C.A. Stagg, Mary Parke Johnson, Anne Mandeville Colony, Angela Kreider, Katherine E. Harbury, eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, *1 February 1805-30 June 1805*, Secretary of State Series, vol. 9 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 411.]

15. Hackett, et. al., eds., *Papers*, 9:411 .

16. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 4 September 1805, BFP, MHSA.

17. Walter Forward to Frederick Bates, 4 February 1806, MHS; T.L. Rodgers, "The Last Duel in Pennsylvania," http://journals.psu.edu › wph › article › download; Michael Franchioni, "The Next Page: When political debate really was deadly serious," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 21, 2006. https://www.post-gazette.com/opinion/Op- Ed/2006/10/22/The-Next-Page-When-political-debate-really-was-deadly-serious/stories/200610220220.

18. "Timeline of Detroit: Early American Detroit," Detroit Historical Society. Detroithistorical.org/learn/timeline-detroit/early-american-detroit-1787-1820.

19. Frick, "Conflict," *We Proceeded On* 19:3 (August 1993): 21.

20. Frederick Bates to A.B. Woodward, 3 December 1806, and William Hull to Frederick Bates, 7 December 1806, BFP, MHSA.

21. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 9 November 1809, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:108-12; Thomas Danisi, "Preserving the Legacy of Meriwether Lewis: The Letters of Samuel Latham Mitchill," *We Proceeded On* 36:1 (2009): 8, 10-11.

22. Thornhill Estate Collection, Faust Park, St. Louis County. Bates brought a number of books with him to St. Louis in 1807 and would continue to accumulate books for himself and his eventual family throughout his life.

23. Meriwether Lewis to Frederick Bates, Undated 1807, BFP, MHSA.

24. Meriwether Lewis to Frederick Bates, Undated 1807, BFP, MHSA.

25. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 17 December 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:242-43.

26. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 17 December 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:242.

27. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 17 December 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:238.

28. Frederick Bates to Meriwether Lewis, 28 April 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:107.

29. John B.C. Lucas to unidentified recipient, 24 March 1806, John B.C. Lucas Collection, MHSA; Hugh G. Cleland, "John B.C. Lucas, Physiocrat on the Frontier," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 36:1 (Spring 1953): 87.

30. Frederick Bates to Dennis Fitzhugh, 16 December 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:237.

31. B.J Farrar, 11 September 1816, Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, *with Related Documents: 1783-1854*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 2:620.

32. Frederick Bates to William Clark, December 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:247-48.

33. Frederick Bates to Dennis Fitzhugh, 16 December 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:237.

34. Frederick Bates to William Clark, December 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:247-48.

35. Frederick Bates to Meriwether Lewis, 5 April 1807, and Frederick Bates to Meriwether Lewis, 7 April 1807, BFP, MHSA.

36. Frederick Bates to Meriwether Lewis, 7 November 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:228.

37. Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 2:684. "—Vogdes had a fracas with Duane this evg. Duane cut him under the eye." Duane may have been William J. Duane, son of William Duane. Both Duanes were Irish immigrants who ran the pro-Jefferson newspaper *Aurora* of Philadelphia. William J. Duane had been involved with the production of medals for President Jefferson, including the iconic Peace Medals distributed by Lewis and Clark. Vogdes' identity could not be ascertained. The cause of the two men's "fracas" is not specified.

38. George Wallace to Frederick Bates, 2 December 1807, BFP, MHSA.

39. Frederick Bates to Meriwether Lewis, 16 January 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:265. York received neither a land warrant nor any form of compensation for his labors. Nor did Sacagawea.

40. Frederick Bates to Meriwether Lewis, 26 January 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:266.

41. Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 2:378-79.

42. Dick Steward, *Frontier Swashbuckler: The Life and Legend of John Smith T* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 28-32.

43. Frederick Bates to Thomas Jefferson, 6 May 1807, Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Louisiana-Missouri 1803-1814* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1949), 14:121.

44. Frederick Bates to William H. Ashley, 13 June 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life*

and Papers, 1:141; Valle Higginbotham, *John Smith T: Missouri Pioneer.* (Potosi, MO: Independent Journal, 1968), 15; Steward, *Frontier Swashbuckler*, 85.

45. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 26 February 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:304.

46. Frederic Bates to Timothy Kibby, 22 March 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:314.

47. Frederick Bates to Joseph Charless, 12 March 1808, Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 2:440-41.

48. Meriwether Lewis to William Clark, 1 June 1808, MHSA.

49. George Sibley Journal, 31 July 1808, Jeffrey E. Smith, ed., *Seeking a Newer World: The Fort Osage Journals and Letters of George Sibley 1808-1811* (St. Charles, MO: Lindenwood University Press, 2003), 71-72.

50. Meriwether Lewis to Frederick Bates, 16 March 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:310.

51. Frederick Bates to Meriwether Lewis, 17 March 1808, BFP, MHSA.

52. Frederick Bates to Meriwether Lewis, 16 January 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:265.

53. 1812 June 6 Ratification and confirmation by Samuel Hammond, St. Louis, of act of James T. Hall selling and delivering to Frederick Bates three negro slaves, Sam, Polly and Juno their child, for $900. Signed by S. Hammond, witnessed by A. McNair. Hammond's signature attested to by McNair before M.F. Leduc, Justice of the Peace. Recordation on June 26 1812 noted by M.F. Leduc, Recorder. BFP, MHSA.

54. "Thornhill: Home of Missouri's Second Governor," St. Louis County.

55. Marion M. Davis, *Bates Boys on the Western Waters* (Asheville, NC: Inland Press, 1960), 121, https://journals.psu.edu/wph/article/view/2299.

56. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 24 March 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:315-17.

57. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 9 November 1809, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:108-12.

58. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 9 November 1809, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:108-12.

59. Anne Hull to Frederick Bates, 12 May 1807, BFP, MHSA.

60. Anna Bates to Frederick Bates, 1 March 1808, BFP, MHSA.

61. Davis, *Bates Boys*, 111.

62. Anthony Ernest to Frederick Bates, 24 June 1808, and G. Hoffman to Frederick Bates, 23 July 1808, BFP, MHSA.

63. Anthony Ernest to Frederick Bates, 22 September 1808, BFP, MHSA.

64. Davis, *Bates Boys*, 117.

65. Caroline Matilda Bates to Frederick Bates, 28 February 1808, BFP, MHSA.

66. To the Land Commissioners, 15 August, 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:8, 12-13; Lynn Foster, "Courts and Lawyers on the Arkansas Frontier: The First Years of American Justice," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 62:3 (2003): 296. Accessed August 12, 2021. doi:10.2307/40024267.

67. Foster, "Courts and Lawyers," 296.

68. Proclamation, 1 January 1806, *Territorial Papers* 13:540; Proclamation, 7 July 1807, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 1:152-53; Proclamation, 20 August 1808, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:15-16; Foster, "Courts and Lawyers," 290-96.

69. Moses Austin to Frederick Bates, 27 March 1808, Eugene Barker, ed., *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1919: The Austin Papers* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), 1:1:151-52.

70. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 9 November 1809, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:108-12.

71. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 9 November 1809, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:108-12.

72. Father Bernard de Limpach to Unidentified Person, 30 June 1777, John Francis McDermott Collection, Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville Lovejoy Library AGI, PPC, Leg. 190; William E. Foley, *The Genesis of Missouri: From Wilderness Outpost to Statehood* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 103, 314.

73. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 15 April 1809, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:64.

74. Frederick Bates to James Abbott, 25 July 1809, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:75.

75. Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, 9 November 1809, Marshall, ed., *Life and Papers*, 2:108-12.

76. Masonic Certificate of William Clark, Master Mason, St. Louis Lodge, Signed Frederick Bates, Thomas Riddick, and John Coons, 18 September 1809, MHSA, http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/225241.

77. James Howe to Frederick Bates, 28 September 1809, BFP, MHSA.

78. James Howe to Frederick Bates, 28 September 1809, BFP, MHSA.

79. James Howe to Frederick Bates, 28 September 1809, BFP, MHSA.

80. James Howe to Frederick Bates, 28 September 1809, BFP, MHSA.

81. James Howe to Frederick Bates, 28 September 1809, BFP, MHSA.

82. Obituary of Meriwether Lewis, *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, 2 November 1809, MHSA.

83. Anna "Nancy" Bates to Frederick Bates, 6 December 1809, BFP, MHSA.

84. Anna "Nancy" Bates to Frederick Bates, 6 December 1809, BFP, MHSA.

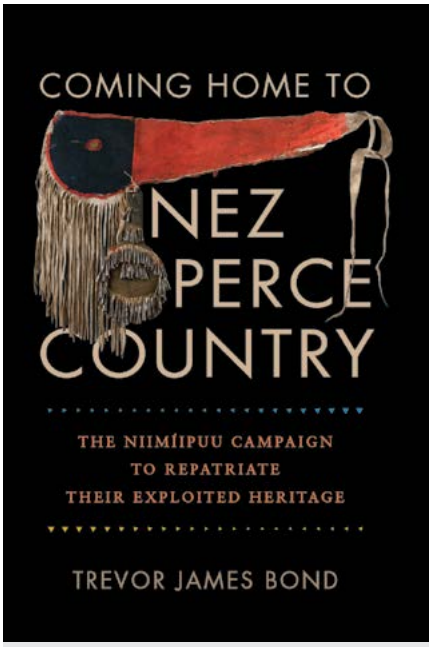
85. William Clark to Jonathan Clark, 10 January 1810, James J. Holmberg, ed., *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 233-35.

Reviews

Coming Home to Nez Perce Country: The Niimiipuu Campaign to Repatriate Their Exploited Heritage

By Trevor James Bond
Washington State University Press,
2021, 206 pages, $24.95 Paperback

Reviewed by Philippa Newfield



Very early on in *Coming Home to Nez Perce Country: The Niimiipuu Campaign to Repatriate Their Exploited Heritage*, author Trevor James Bond makes a crucial point about archival material: what is saved over time varies greatly and, more importantly, what is saved determines the history of the objects, episodes, people, or ownership described therein. In the case of the Spaulding-Allen Collection of artifacts created by the Nez Perce, the archival material established the provenance of the collection and thus its unique and almost inestimable value as the oldest documented assemblage of Nez Perce material culture representing the lifeways of the Nez Perce who lived in the area of present-day northcentral Idaho in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The key piece of documentation that established the all-important provenance and, in turn, the cultural and monetary value of the collection was the letter dated April 27, 1846, from Missionary Henry Spaulding in present-day Idaho to his friend Dudley Allen in Ohio that accompanied the artifacts collected at Allen's request. How that collection made its way back from Ohio to Nez Perce Country is the heart of this compelling story of Nez Perce perseverance in the face of great challenges and the help they received from the National Park Service (NPS) and individuals around the country.

In telling that story Dr. Bond, associate dean for digital initiatives and special collections and co-director of the Center for Digital Scholarship and Curation at the Washington State University, has drawn upon a wealth of primary sources both archival and from his extensive interviews with NPS personnel including Frank Walker, Kevin Peters, an enrolled member of the Nez Perce Tribe, and Sue Buchel, former curator of the collection, and Nez Perce tribal leaders among them Alan Slickpoo Sr., Josiah Pinkham, Samuel Penny, and Nakia Williamson-Cloud. Indeed a unique aspect of the narrative is the degree to which Dr. Bond quotes his Nez Perce informants, albeit somewhat repetitiously. As Nicole Tonkovich, professor emerita of literature at the University of California San Diego, is quoted as saying on the book's back cover, "A plethora of primary sources … bring Native voices and epistemologies to bear on practices that until recently depended on histories written by white missionaries, curators, and scholars."

The arc of the circle that the artifacts traced in their departure from and ultimate return to the Nez Perce is neither smooth nor graceful although there is much that was inspiring. To reach Ohio the artifacts sent by Spaulding traveled down the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia to a sailing ship that took them 'round the Horn to Boston and then overland to Allen's mansion in Kinsman, Ohio, where he displayed his "Indian curiosities." Allen left the collection to his son Dudley Allen who then donated them to Oberlin College where they were accessioned as "1 lot of Indian clothing, trinkets, etc." (53). The artifacts having become separated from the letter, the association between the Allen gift and Spaulding the collector was lost for almost thirty years until 1929 when Robert Fletcher, assistant professor of history, realized the connection and united in one display case the "majority" of "articles of Indian manufacture mentioned in the letter," thus reestablishing the provenance of the collection. In 1942 Oberlin officials transferred the Spaulding-Allen Collection to the Ohio Historical Society (OHS) as a "loan for an indefinite period" (58) but did not cede ownership of the collection to the OHS. The collection was "rediscovered" in 1976 by Bill Holm, director of the Burke Museum at the University of Washington, who learned of the collection while in England and arranged to visit. Holm advised the OHS Museum curators that the collection was "terribly important and very valuable" (61).

Meanwhile, Congress had passed a bill in 1965 establishing the Nez Perce National Historical Park (NEPE) near

Spaulding's mission in Lapwai, Idaho. In seeking material to exhibit at park headquarters, NEPE Superintendent Jack Williams, perhaps after seeing references to it in Clifford Drury's biography of Spaulding (1936), contacted Oberlin College about the Spaulding-Allen Collection in 1969. Mark Papworth of Oberlin's Department of Sociology and Anthropology replied that he could not find any Nez Perce artifacts or reference to them but said Williams would be welcome to them if and when he did find the collection. No information was forthcoming, however, until 1978 when Brad Baker, collections technician in the OHS Department of Archaeology, contacted Roderick Sprague, a Plateau-culture expert at the University of Idaho, about the Spaulding-Allen Collection to solicit his help in determining the rarity of the collection. It was Sprague who likely alerted NEPE officials and the Nez Perce to the collection's location as he worked closely with them.

Steve Shawley, curator at NEPE, visited OHS to see the Spaulding-Allen Collection and reported back to park staff that OHS would lend the collection "providing that ownership in the collection may be established with the Ohio Historical Society" (66) which was then still on "permanent loan" from Oberlin. To accomplish this, Mary Potter Otto, head of the OHS Department of Archaeology, sent Oberlin College President Emil Daneberg a Deed of Gift in 1978 and stated "we are extremely grateful for this donation" (66). President Daneberg signed over to the OHS twenty-two items from the collection. In so doing, the collection's "provenance was disturbed, and it was far from its source of creation and far removed from the expertise of the descents [*sic*] who originally fashioned the objects and the curators knowledgeable about Plateau material culture" (67).

Russell Dickenson, regional director of the NPS, wrote to OHS Director Thomas Smith in 1979 to request permanent assignment, gift, or loan of the collection to NEPE rather than the one-year loan policy established by the OHS Board of Trustees. Regardless, in 1980 the OHS stipulated one-year loans with an indefinite number of renewals, insurance to be carried by the NPS, an appraisal of the collection every five years, and identification of the OHS as the collection owner and sent most of the collection except the cradleboard to Idaho. Before exhibition, the NPS sent the artifacts to the Harpers Ferry Center for conservation at a cost of $12,000 and purchased climate-controlled cases and custom exhibit mounts for the objects. Appraisal of the collection by the OHS before the loan had valued the artifacts at $52,700. In 1985, the Spaulding-Allen Collection was appraised at $104,850 which reflected the enhanced market for these significant examples of Native American material culture with excellent provenance.

The next event in this saga occurred after the artifacts had been at NEPE for twelve years. The OHS requested a recall of the Spaulding-Allen Collection in 1992 prompted by the need to better document its ownership and, more significantly, "their growing realization of the importance of the collection and its value" (82). What may have tipped the OHS off was the 1988 letter from Robin Wright, a curator at the Burke Museum, to the OHS requesting the loan of the cradleboard and woman's dress from the Sprague-Allen Collection for a planned Washington State Centennial exhibit in which she wrote that "the dress and cradle from your collection are among the earliest and best documented Nez Perce pieces I have seen in the more than 30 museums I have visited in preparation for this exhibit" (83). The Burke Museum's request, in Sue Buchel's estimation, was "the beginning of this whole real acknowledgement on the part of Ohio that they had something significant," demonstrating to the OHS that the Spaulding-Allen Collection "had a new value that they hadn't recognized before" (84).

The Burke Museum request was granted. Sue Buchel drove the dress to Seattle to meet OHS Collection Manager Bill Baker who had hand carried the cradleboard. Her description of the reuniting of dress and cradle was, for those who know her, pure Sue Buchel: "And as we're [both] opening our packages…I all of a sudden had to step away. There was like a whoosh of air coming out of both packages….And was kind of swirling around. And I felt this immediate sense of joy, reuniting, just happiness…. That cradleboard was made by the same woman who made this dress. They belong together" (83).

What followed from the OHS's recall of the loan were acrimonious exchanges between the OHS and Frank Walker, superintendent of NEPE, who recorded each phone call in meticulous detail and recalled many years later that he felt the OHS cared little about what the loss of the artifacts would mean to the Nez Perce people. The OHS leadership made a site visit to NEPE and, as a result, agreed to extend the loan for another year as the NPS considered the options for repatriating the Spaulding-Allen Collection permanently to Nez Perce Country

with ownership by the Nez Perce rather than the NPS. The Nez Perce, at their Tribal General Council Meeting, formed a committee to develop a plan to finance the purchase and signed a memorandum of understanding with the NPS to work together on acquiring the Spaulding-Allen Collection and ensuring its long-term care.

In 1994 Nez Perce committee members traveled with NPS representatives to meet with OHS officials and discuss the future of the collection. No agreement was reached. The OHS recalled the collection as of December 1995 but then wrote to the NPS in March 1995 that they would consider an appropriate offer to purchase the Spaulding-Allen Collection but only after securing a new appraisal that would inform any negotiation regarding purchase. In 1993 Paul Raczka had judged the total replacement value of the items on loan at NEPE to be $583,100. Raczka noted that "the most significant factor in the valuation of this collection is the provenance which is exceptional for Native American material. All of the items were collected…from a specific, identified, location, and by an identified collector" (93).

The Nez Perce and their NPS allies were now justly concerned that, if the collection returned to Ohio, the OHS would sell the items on the open market to the highest bidders. According to Nez Perce Cultural Resource Specialist Josiah Pinkham, this "collection embodies the earliest and greatest centralization of ethnographic objects for the Nez Perce people. You don't have a collection of this size, this age, anywhere else in the world. And that was huge for the Nez Perce to be faced with the potential loss of that collection, that meaning, that connection to our ancestors" (96). As stated in corroboration by Nakia Williamson-Cloud, Nez Perce artist and director of the Nez Perce Tribe Culture Resource Program, "We want these things to be here, they reflect another way of living, another way of life. These objects are important for our generation and future generations" (99).

In the ensuing negotiations for the Spaulding-Allen Collection the OHS ignored requests from the Nez Perce Tribe and would communicate only with the NPS. The OHS leaders maintained that it was their fiduciary responsibility, given the monetary value of the collection, to ensure that ownership should only be transferred upon appropriate consideration offered in exchange or else they "would be remiss in our responsibility to the people of Ohio who support us financially" (100). On January 3,1996, NPS and the Nez Perce agreed to purchase the collection for the most recently appraised value plus $25,000 for the cradleboard, a total of $608,100. The OHS agreed to extend the loan of the artifacts to NPS until June 30, 1996, at which time payment was due in full.

With only six months to raise the money, the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee went into high gear. In addition to garnering publicity from stories in newspapers across the country, they hired community development consultant Tom Hudson who viewed the fund raising as a "quest" that would engage all Americans and established a website, the Nez Perce Heritage Quest Alliance, to track the campaign's progress. The degree to which all Americans responded – from school children and seniors to major corporations and foundations – matched in generosity the commitment of the Nez Perce to save their heritage by bringing the Spaulding-Allen Collection home. Among the many creative fund-raising ideas were inviting people to sponsor individual items in the collection, each of which had its own web page, and asking schools to contribute $57.90, Spaulding's estimate of the value of the collection in his letter to Allen. And in the process Americans learned about Nez Perce history and culture and came to appreciate the connection between today's Nez Perce Tribe and their nineteenth-century forebears. As tribal historian Allen Slickpoo Sr. observed, "Our people saved the Lewis and Clark expedition. It is fitting that 200 years later all Americans have the opportunity to honor this act" (127).

After an extremely busy and fraught six months, the full amount was raised through more than two thousand donations from the U.S. and around the world. The Spaulding-Allen Collection did come home, and the irony was appreciated that, while Spaulding is not remembered for good in Nez Perce oral tradition, these precious objects would not have been preserved had Spaulding not traded for them (he wrote that his Nez Perce partners in trade were canny negotiators) and sent them with the accompanying letter at the request of his friend Dudley Allen. A further irony is that it was the letter establishing the collection's provenance that also established not only the age but the value – and the price to the Nez Perce – of the collection. What had a monetary value to the OHS was priceless to the Nez Perce. As Williamson-Cloud concluded, "I guess we're always asking ourselves what are we doing and are we doing the right thing…. I think we

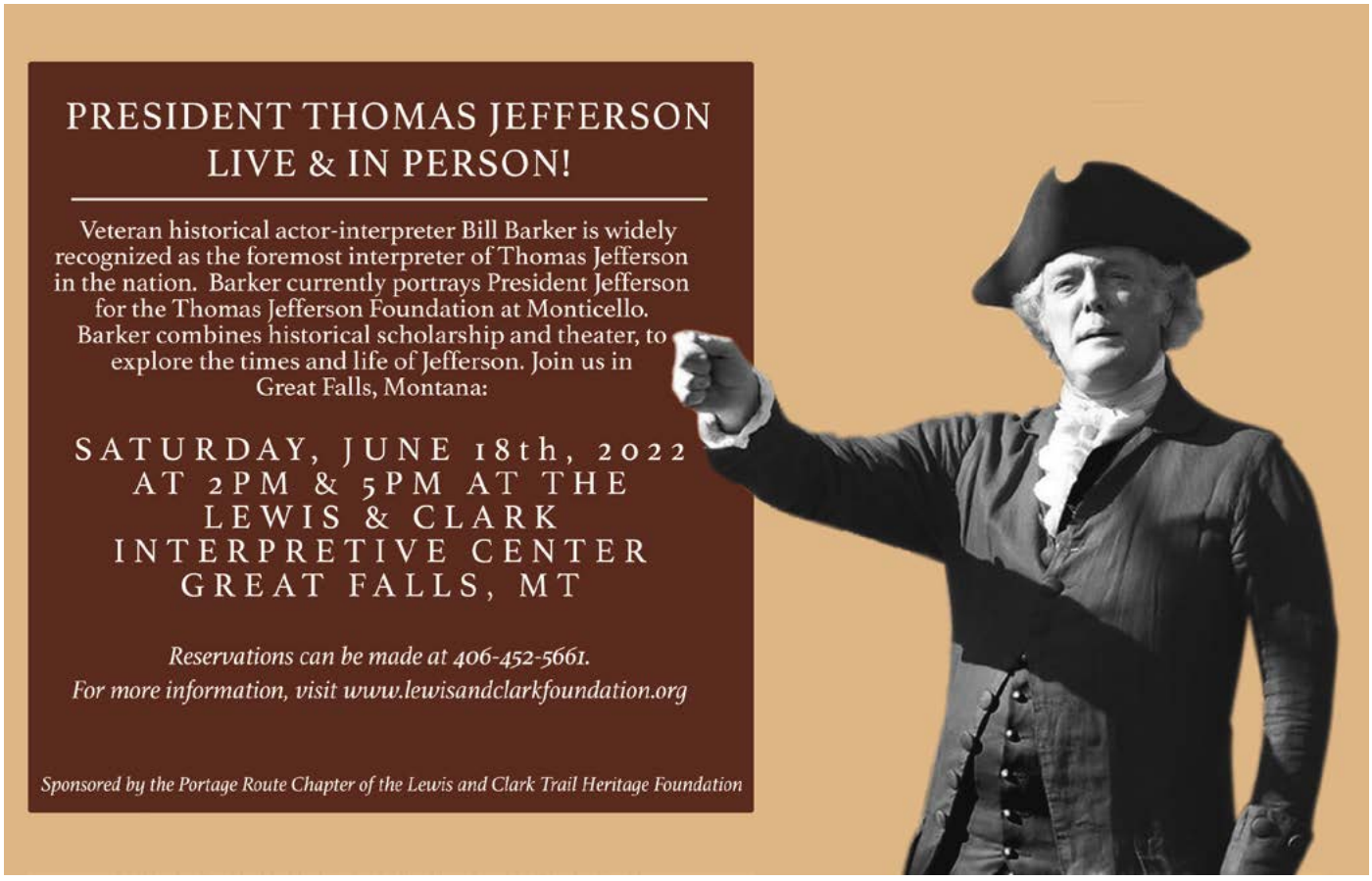
can walk away and say what was done and what was accomplished was a good thing for us. Not only for us but again, for this land and for the people that now live here" (141).

The saga of the journey of the artifacts from Idaho to Ohio and then back again to Idaho – permanently – is remarkable. It is surprising then that the painstaking work of an academician for an academic press is marred by distracting mistakes of grammar and word usage among them decedents for descendants, precedence for precedent, descents for ancestors, and resiliently for resiliency. These would be easy to correct in the next edition as this volume is an important case study in the ongoing movement to repatriate Native American remains and cultural artifacts to their rightful owners.

There is also a coda to the events meticulously documented by Dr. Bond that occurred after publication. On June 25, 2021, the Nez Perce Tribe celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the return of the artifacts of the Spaulding-Allen Collection and renamed the collection "Wetxuuwiitin" which means "returned home after a period of captivity." Ohio History Connection (formerly OHS) Executive Director and CEO Burt Logan said the invitation to join the festivities "was a painful reminder of the shameful mistreatment and marginalization of American Indians…. Our leadership, including myself and current staff and Board, was not aware of the Wetxuuwiitin Collection and its purchase by the Nez Perce Tribe until I received the kind invitation."

On November 23, 2021, Burt Logan again visited the Nez Perce Reservation to return the $608,100 the tribe had paid to purchase the collection. In accepting the check, Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee Chairman Samuel Penny said, "These healing steps – bringing the items home, providing a fitting name and now reimbursement – give our people hope and build on that connection that's been missing for far too long." ∎

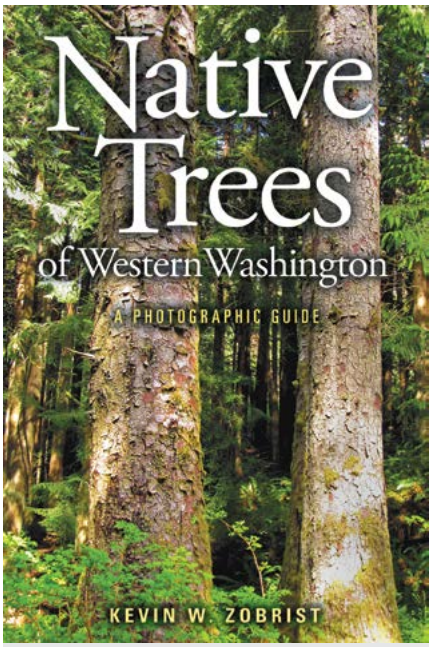
Philippa Newfield is the immediate past president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and serves as co-editor of the LCTHF's The Orderly Report *and president of the LCTHF's Southwest Region. She and her husband Phillip Gordon have traveled the Lewis and Clark Trail between Camp River Dubois and the Pacific and look forward now to starting at the beginning in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.*



Native Trees of Western Washington: A Photographic Guide

By Kevin W. Zobrist
Washington State University Press, 2014, Illustrations, 160 pages, $18.95 Paperback

Reviewed by Gary Lentz



Captain Meriwether Lewis and the Corps of Discovery entered what is now Washington State on October 10, 1805. Just out of the Rocky Mountains after an exhausting journey and heading west, they had left their horses with the Nez Perce (Nimiipuu) and built canoes out of Ponderosa pine trees growing along the Clearwater River or "*Kooskooskee*" as they called it. Only a short distance from there, it must have come as something of a surprise to find that the area along the Snake and the Mid-Columbia rivers was essentially "*level, rich and beautiful, but without timber,*" as Sergeant Patrick Gass described it (October 16, 1805). But as they headed further west down the Columbia, they discovered more and more forested areas. A few of the tree species they observed were similar to those they had seen in the "*Stony Mountains*" of Montana and Idaho but many were new to them. The local Natives pointed out ones they used for lodges, food preparation, tools, baskets, clothing, and food. Gass, a carpenter as well as a soldier, noticed grand fir trees that would make excellent dwellings for the winter months and Captain William Clark admired the Indians' canoes made from durable and lighter-weight cedar wood.

Twenty years after the Corps of Discovery returned to the United States another botanist found himself in the part of the Oregon Country that would become the future Washington State. David Douglas had traveled nearly nine months by sea from England to the mouth of the Columbia River, arriving there in April of 1825. He began identifying plants immediately as he traded in his sea legs for more stable land ones. He also questioned the local Natives and discovered their names and uses for the local plants and even occasionally referred to the journals of "*Lewis and Clarke*" for insight and information about the local flora. Douglas was careful about describing the trees he found and just as scrupulous in collecting seeds, leaves, twigs, and even roots to be shipped back to England for propagation and study.

Both Captain Meriwether Lewis and David Douglas had advantages over those of us who are modern explorers of the past. Lewis had obtained botanical training in Philadelphia before heading west and could identify some of the species and noted their uses by the Natives. Douglas had training and experience he gained from botanical scholars in Scotland. Both explorers had books to assist with identification of their discoveries. To them the native trees of the Western Washington were not only potential additions to the arboretums of the United States and Great Britain but would also have uses as lumber, fuel, food, furniture, houses, ship building, and hundreds of other applications. It was important to identify them accurately and describe them for others who had never seen them and it remains so to this day. The observations of these early explorers are often referenced by modern researchers to provide information about how our forests and native species have fared over time and with human interaction. Kevin W. Zobrist also makes note of what Lewis and Clark and David Douglas mentioned about them. This enables readers of his *Native Trees of Western Washington: A Photographic Guide* to identify the tree species and also provides interesting commentary and insights about the importance of these species to humans both past and present.

As is often the case today, both lifelong residents and newcomers to our Pacific Northwest forests either take the magnificent trees of Washington State for granted or are overwhelmed by their size, grand appearance, and even their economic value. They often leave the identification of the trees to someone else. For anyone who reads the journals of early explorers, an accurate, easy to use, and durable field guide would be a handy adjunct to the period journals. *Native Trees of Western Washington* is ideally suited for just that purpose.

Having been involved in living history demonstrations for over forty years, I often have to re-create items

for use in those presentations. If I read in a journal that Captain Clark carved his name in an alder tree and I want to re-create it, I need to be sure I'm using an alder. Or perhaps if Captain Lewis wrote that he branded another kind of tree while determining the furthest western extent of their journey, I want to select the correct type of tree. I've made fishing nets using the dogbane, vine maple, and noble fir as they were described by David Douglas. Axe handles, pack saddles, and even the forts themselves were made from specific types of wood. Some of these trees are difficult to identify accurately even for botanists. In earlier field guides to trees the sketches were black and white and so were the photographs. Often there were only one or two low-resolution pictures of a tree with its foliage in place. But many times, when you go exploring, the trees have dropped their foliage, become dormant, or are fruitless. One of the most helpful features of Mr. Zobrist's book is that it has colorful photographs of the trees, their foliage, bark, roots, and other useful identifying characteristics at various times of the annual cycle of the species. There are up-to-date range maps to assist in determining the location of where the species can be found. If you are a back-packer, you will be interested to know the book weighs only twelve ounces, fits into a side pocket on many packs for easy accessibility, and has a water-resistant cover as well. If you've spent time in western Washington forests you know how handy that can be.

I first encountered the forests of Washington State when I was billeted to a lifeboat station on the Olympic Peninsula half a century ago. Having grown up in the eastern forests of Pennsylvania I was at a loss to know a Douglas fir from a western hemlock. On my days off I would hike the trails and try to learn which trees were which. There were very few good field guides and my training in botany was very limited. Trying to key out some of the huge trees was difficult. Eventually I was able to learn about them with the help of some loggers, Quilleute Natives, and the occasional forest ranger or park ranger. Why was it important? I liked alder smoked salmon and you need red alder for the job. There are several types of alder and birch that grow along marshes and rivers including Sitka alder. But it is the red alder that does the best job of smoking fish. I also enjoy dyeing cloth with native trees and I want to know which species provide the best colors and if they are protected from collecting. And I enjoy tanning and smoking hides for use as leather clothing made from deer hides. It's important to know which species of willow or cottonwood produce the best colors. We have only one oak tree native to Washington State. David Douglas assigned its Latin name of *Quercus garryana* in honor of a friend of his who was a deputy governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Its acorns are a food source for many wild animals; its wood is useful for some tool handles; and its firewood is long lasting, making it ideal for cooking over an open fire. The clear pictures in *Native Trees of Western Washington* make identification easy and accurate. In addition, there are interesting details about the traditional uses for the trees, cultural information on how the local Natives used them, and scientific data that are a good reference if you have property in western Washington and are considering planting a certain species of native tree on it.

While hiking in the back country of our three large national parks in western Washington I still encounter a specimen or two I don't recognize. Mr. Zobrist's book will come in handy. Not only will you know what you have found but perhaps the land managers of that area will want to know also. A few of the species you might identify, such as the Sitka alder or golden chinkapin, are very rare. A small isolated colony might provide just the seeds or saplings needed to re-establish it in its former range. Identifying and reporting it might be a critical action that will ensure the survival of a species.

And, when the sunlight finally fades away and your campfire is safely put to rest, you can snuggle into your sleeping bag, turn on your lantern, and enjoy learning more about the trees outside your tent before you drift off to sleep beneath them. ∎

Gary Lentz is a retired Washington State park ranger. He served for twenty-five years on the Washington Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee and as president of the LCTHF's Washington State Chapter, now part of the Northwest Region, during 2005-2006. Gary also authored an article for WPO on the medicines of Lewis and Clark and has portrayed Sergeant Patrick Gass for over forty years, having been born only three miles from where the sergeant was born but 177 years later. He also portrays David Douglas for Fort Walla Walla and provides tours as a docent there.

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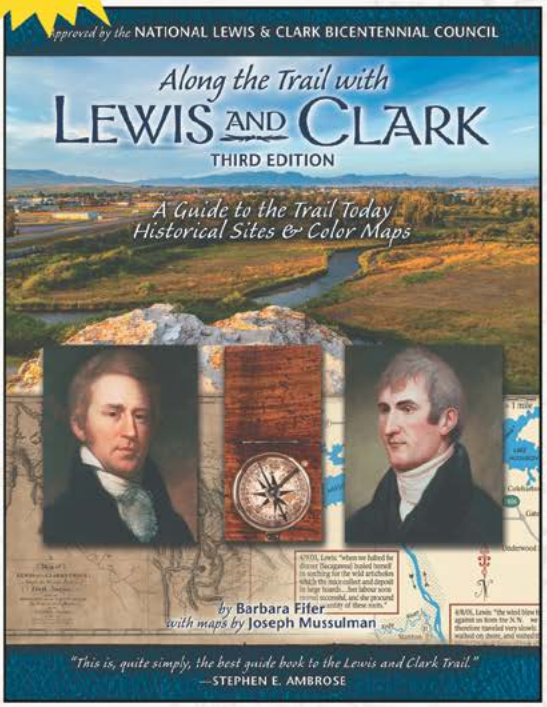

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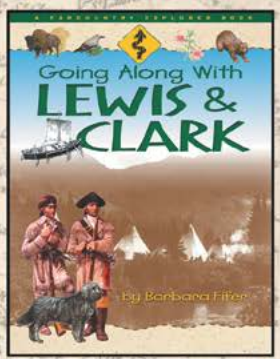

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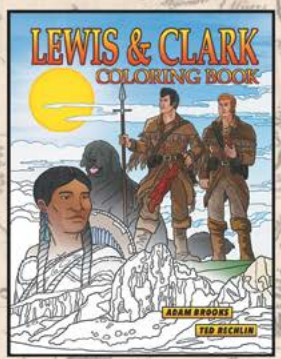

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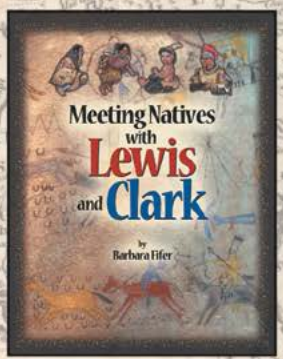

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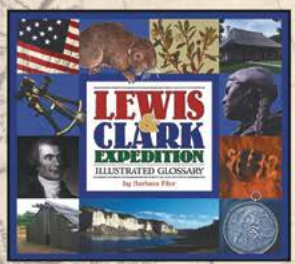

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