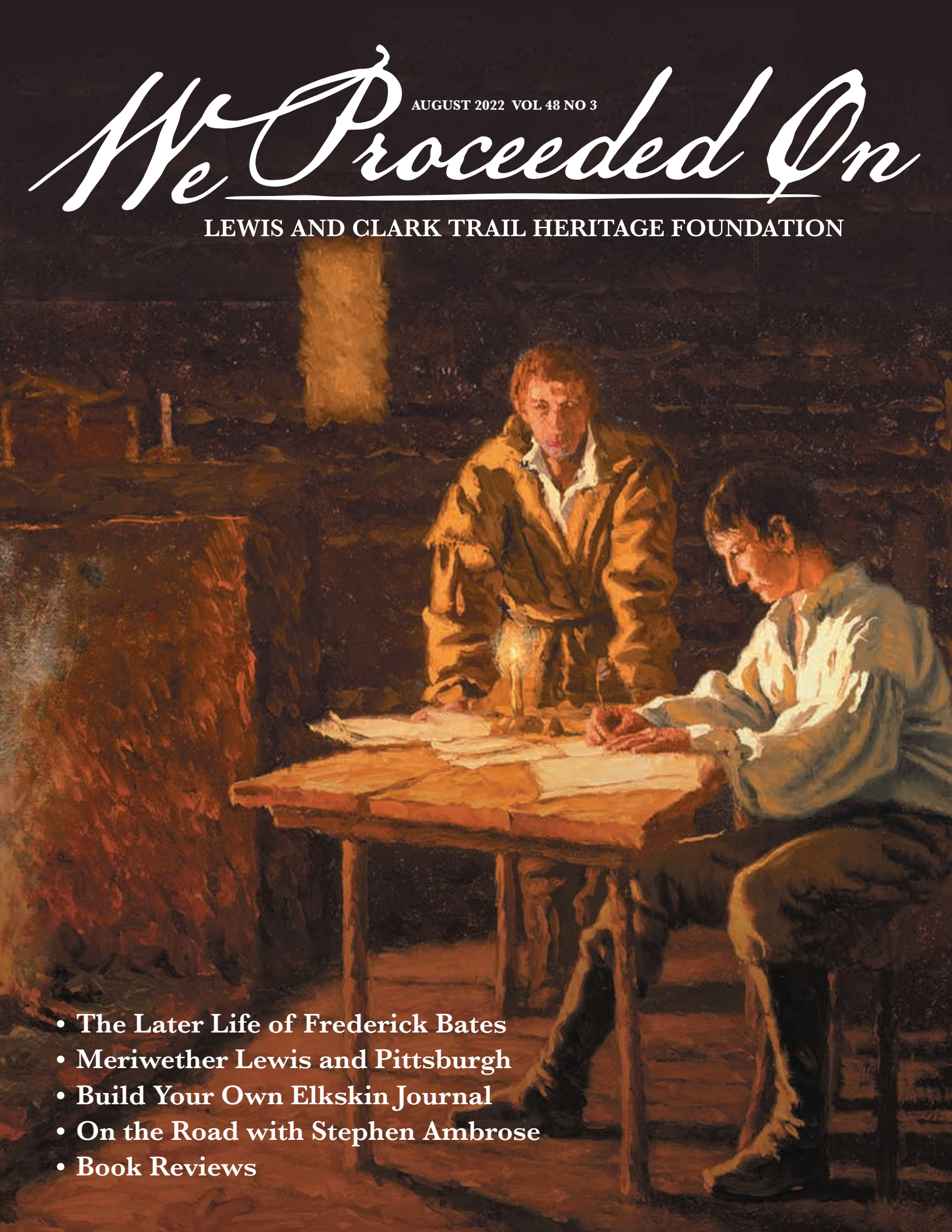
AUGUST 2022 VOL 48 NO 3

We Proceeded On

LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION



- The Later Life of Frederick Bates
- Meriwether Lewis and Pittsburgh
- Build Your Own Elkskin Journal
- On the Road with Stephen Ambrose
- Book Reviews

Just Who Is Buried On the Wind River Reservation Near Lander?

Driving from Salida, Colorado, to Cody, Wyoming, I realized that I was within range of the grave of Sacajawea on the Wind River Indian Reservation near Lander, Wyoming. I was in a bit of a hurry, but how many times in a life do you get close to a little visited Lewis and Clark memorial: the Fight Site at Two Medicine Creek near Glacier National Park; Grinder's Stand on the Natchez Trace where Meriwether Lewis spent the last night of his life; the grave of Jean Baptiste Charbonneau in far southeastern Oregon; or Reunion Bay near New Town, North Dakota, where all the strands of the Expedition were re-united on August 12, 1806?

I had never been to this Sacajawea grave before, though I had driven the splendid road (WY 789) between Lander and Thermopolis, Wyoming, a dozen or more times. After the usual small difficulties, I found the cemetery west of Fort Washakie. It was about 7 p.m. on a perfect Great Plains day – approximately 75 degrees, a soothing breeze, a giant blue sky with high wispy thin clouds. I had seen photographs of the grave marker before, but first I tiptoed up through the dry grass of an acre of graves, mostly Native, to a statue of a young beautiful woman leaning into the future. It had to be her.

A forty-something white couple was studying the signage, holding a video camera. It soon became clear that the woman was intending to record a video for her "podcast." I said, "You know that she is also buried in another place, don't you?" "Yeah, we heard something about that," the man said. I said, "The other site is on the North Dakota-South Dakota border, at the confluence of the Missouri and the Grand Rivers." They listened politely but I could tell that my commentary was unhelpful, even annoying.

Finally, I said, "Is this the actual grave?" I was pretty sure it wasn't, but the woman solemnly informed me that this was exactly where she was buried, right under our feet. Saw it on the internet. I took some photographs of the memorial, from every angle, including the signage, and sat for a few minutes thinking about the rich tangled maze of the Sacagawea story. The fact is we don't know for certain where she is buried. We don't know for certain where or when she was born. And though we know some of the things she did in the course of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and a few of the things that happened to her along the way, we still don't know quite how to characterize her contributions to its success. And we still don't know quite how to define her role, official or unofficial, between November 4, 1804, and August 18, 1806.

Sacagawea is "a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma."

Sacajawea gravesite on the Wind River Indian Reservation in Lander, Wyoming. Photograph by Clay Jenkinson.

All that we actually know about Sacajawea/Sacagawea/Sakakawea/Janey would not fill a passport book. She gave birth to what Lewis called "a fine boy" at or near Fort Mandan on February 11, 1805. She got very sick near the Great Falls of the Missouri; Lewis thought she might die. She gave William Clark two dozen weasels' tails for Christmas 1805 at Fort Clatsop. She insisted on seeing

Continued on page 5

In this Issue:

Bates' home Thornhill p. 6.

Meriwether Lewis' Pittsburgh p. 21.

Replica of an elkskin journal p. 32.

Stalder at Ambrose's monument p. 45.

Covers

Front cover:
"Keeping the Journals, Fort Clatsop." Painting by Charles Fritz. Image courtesy of Charles Fritz and Tim Peterson.

Back cover:
The grave of Sacajawea (?) near Lander, Wyoming, at sunset. Wind River Indian Reservation.
Photograph by Clay Jenkinson.

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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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

This will be my final President's Message since my term will be completed at the end of September. It has been my great privilege to serve as president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation for the past four years. I would like to thank the Board of Directors for the faith and confidence they placed in me. I hope I have met, or perhaps even exceeded, their expectations. We have been fortunate to have enjoyed warm collegiality among the members of the Board during this time. Despite some difficult matters with which we had to deal, virtually all our votes were unanimous. When we did have differences of opinion, there were no rancorous disagreements or personal animosity on display, and all members supported approved Board decisions no matter their own personal preferences. I have enjoyed working with each and every one of our (your!) Board members. I firmly believe we made a great team. Please join me in thanking them for their service.

While all Board members were diligent and helpful, I would be remiss if I did not single out for special thanks a few people with whom I worked. Yvonne Kean of the Kansas City area, has been a trusted confidant and advisor throughout my tenure. Her knowledge, experience, and willingness to face facts and tell the unvarnished truth have been greatly appreciated. She traveled once to Great Falls to help staff the office and twice accompanied me on long road trips to visit several chapters throughout the country. Her sacrifice of time and personal funds to make these journeys in service to LCTHF were above and beyond the call of duty. Thank you for everything, Yvonne.

San Franciscan Philippa Newfield, who proceeded me as LCTHF president and was the immediate past president through the past four years, is one of the most effective and productive people it has ever been my pleasure to know. She willingly took on several tasks that required a great deal of thought, persuasion, time, money, energy, and perseverance. Yet she rarely batted an eye at what was asked of her. Her devotion to LCTHF is heartfelt and deeply rooted, perhaps even more so than my friendship and respect for her.

LCTHF is extremely fortunate to have Sarah Cawley, who hails from Pennsylvania and New Jersey but joined us from Idaho, as its executive director. She came on board with very little help in finding her way through the job, but she quickly put her own stamp on things and was impressive from the start. From setting up a new telephone system and email capability, to mastering the government's reporting system, to producing reports and lists needed to complete various tasks, to managing a staff generally composed of people older than herself, to learning our database and website software, to finding grants, to instituting a new membership system, to representing LCTHF in various capacities in Great Falls and elsewhere, to handling member inquiries and complaints, to dealing with the nuts and bolts of producing WPO, among many other duties, Sarah has shown an astounding ability to handle it all with competence, politeness, grace, timeliness, and a sense of fun. We could not have asked for a better person as executive director. I have never worked with anyone so adept in so many ways. If you have not yet had the good fortune, get to know this woman. She is going places, hopefully right along with LCTHF for a very long time.

I must also thank past Board members Barb Kubik from Vancouver, Washington; Ken Jutzi of Camarillo, California; and Kris Townsend, who hails from Spokane, Washington. Barb has been the voice of experience and the one willing to help out with whatever was needed at any given moment. In my experience, Barb is the most dedicated LCTHF member of all. Ken and Kris have both taken on massive projects in upgrading our technological capabilities on many fronts. We could not hope to flourish in this realm without their expertise and willingness to deploy it. My heartfelt thanks to all three of you.

I pass along the gavel to Jim Sayce, who lives in western Washington state. Jim's varied work experience, long history in the Lewis and Clark world, and vibrant zest for life will enable him to

lead LCTHF in fruitful directions. I hope my efforts will have made his job easier, and I will work at his behest as the incoming immediate past president. It will be an honor to do so.

The superintendent of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Mark Weekley, has also been a tremendous help to me. While he was always scrupulous about not getting involved in internal LCTHF matters, Mark was consistently supportive of my efforts at modernization and in providing me with useful counsel in navigating the ways of the federal government. He made sure his staff was responsive to any requests we may have had. His staff followed Mark's example in being friendly, helpful, and understanding in our dealings with them. Mark exuded the "Minnesota Nice" attitude so prevalent among those who grew up in the North Star State, and he is a model of what an effective NPS superintendent should be. LCTHF is very lucky to have Mark in our corner.

Finally, I would like to thank each one of you, our amazing members, for choosing to join LCTHF and for your contributions to sustain it in so many ways. While the organization exists for you, it also exists of you. We simply could not operate without your support in many and varied ways. I thank you all.

My time as president is ending but the task remains. Please welcome Jim and his team and continue to support LCTHF to the best of your ability. I will remain involved in LCTHF and I look forward to seeing you along the trail in the future. ∎

Let us proceeding on, as always, together.

Lou Ritten, President
Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

We Proceeded On
The Journal of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

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Continued from inside front cover

the beached whale. She showed poise and resourcefulness when her inept husband Charbonneau nearly sank the White Pirogue on May 14, 1805, in eastern Montana. She appears to have done quite a bit of craft work along the trail, some of which she traded for a horse. She had a blue-beaded belt that the captains appropriated to purchase "a roab made of 2 Sea Otter Skins" from the Chinooks. She danced for joy when she was reunited with the Shoshone near today's Salmon, Idaho.

Was she born Shoshone, captured by the Hidatsa, acculturated into Hidatsa traditions, and given a Hidatsa name – *Sâh-câ-gar me-âh* as Lewis thought he heard it – and married off to Toussaint Charbonneau? Or, as our friend the distinguished Hidatsa elder Gerard Baker and other Knife River historians insist, was she Hidatsa (or possibly Crow) all along, captured by the Shoshone, but safely back in the Hidatsa world by the time the Expedition reached the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at the end of October 1804? Did she die young, on December 20, 1812, at Fort Manual Lisa on the Upper Missouri, of what the local factor called "putrid fever;" or did she live for many decades after Lewis and Clark left the scene, become a much-respected holy woman, spend time among the Comanche, and die, at the age of 100 or more, on April 9, 1884, on the Wind River Indian Reservation?

Nobody knows for sure. Such inconclusive evidence as we have favors Sacagawea's early death. That was how William Clark understood it.

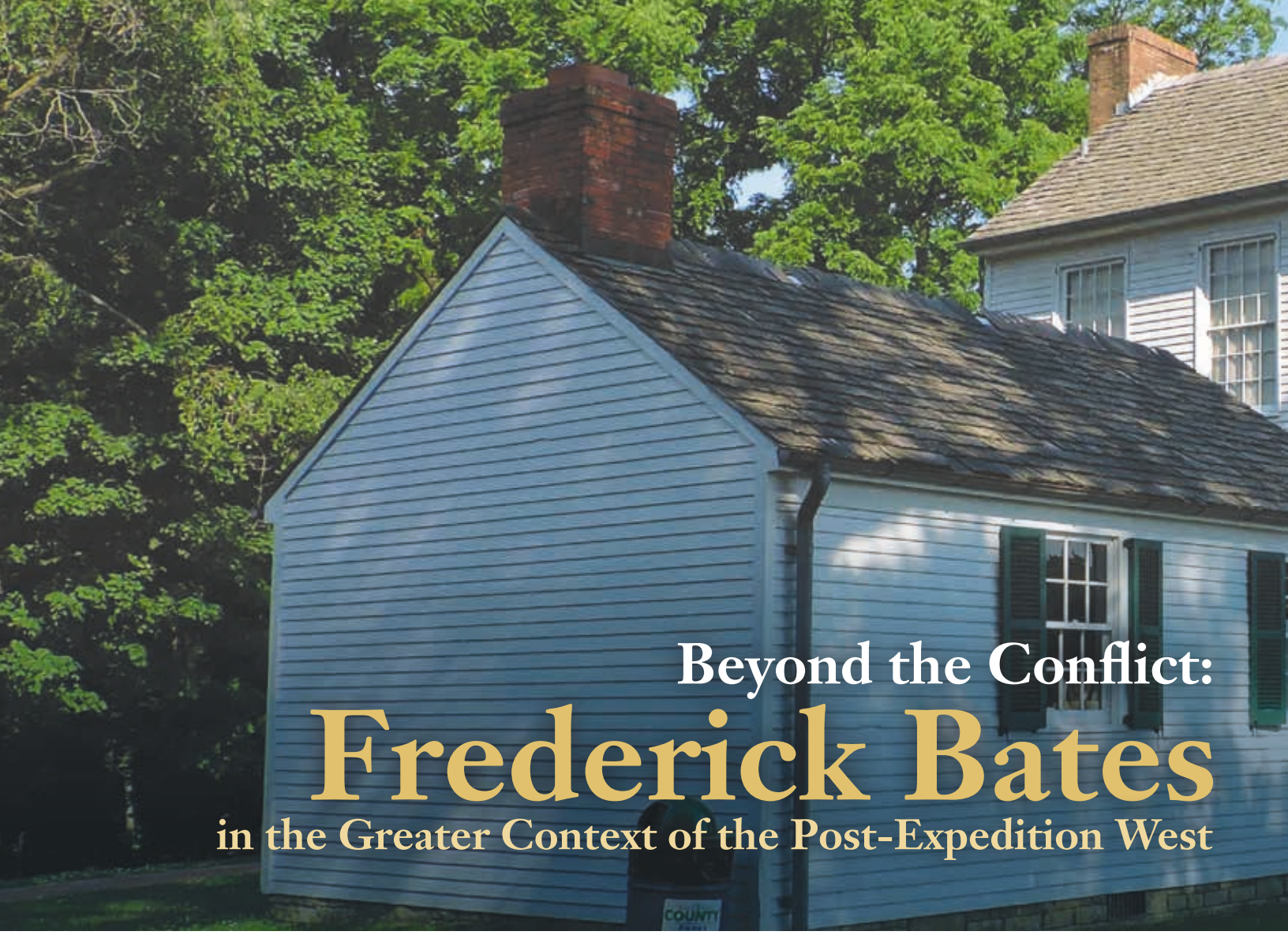
The historians and the interpreters of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial did their best to retire the traditional view that Sacagawea *guided* Lewis and Clark to the Pacific and back, but they were not successful. The website RoadsideAmerica.com begins, "Indian guide Sacajawea helped lead Lewis and Clark's expedition to the Pacific Ocean." In our national memory, the first or second most famous Native woman in American history will always be pointing towards the pass, towards Beaverhead Rock, towards Shoshone Cove, towards the Pacific, or – more accurately – towards Bozeman Pass. However erroneous this idea is, it has extraordinary tenacity, in part because it conforms to our desire to believe a comely and cooperative Native woman showed us the way to create Mr. Jefferson's "empire for liberty such as the world has never previously seen."

As I sat at the monument thinking about all of this, it became clear that the woman with the video camera was not going to record her podcast as long as I was within earshot. She seemed to think I would be a podcast killjoy, raising my eyebrow at whatever quirky, postmodern, free-floating, and ahistorical commentary she recorded at the site. I would have liked to have heard it, actually, but since she wanted privacy, I moseyed on down to the actual grave marker ("actual" is a contested term here) to pay my respects. Someone is buried there.

Whatever she actually was between 1787-1812 (or 1884), Sacagawea/Sacajawea has become a giant figure in American memory, in American mythology. There are more statues of her than of any other woman in America. The modesty of the fact base has not prevented novelists, beginning with Eva Emery Dye and more recently Anna Lee Waldo, from writing heavy tomes about her life. Nature abhors a vacuum. We would give anything to be carried back in a time machine to an average day on the Lewis and Clark trail and to one of the days where she played a key role – to describe how she looked, how she dressed, when or if she smiled, how much she spoke, including how much English she picked up along the way, to observe her with her young son and her old husband, to assess her style, her body language, and what she did when they weren't pressing forward.

That would be a cultural revolution, I think. But when that time traveler came back from the trail, even if possessing what Jefferson called "a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves," would we choose to accept and absorb that testimony, or just continue to load onto her undoubtedly strong back whatever cultural baggage most satisfied us at any given time: guide, suffragette, Native diplomat, embodiment of peaceful intentions, exemplar of domesticity, or – as she has more recently been described – survivor, woman of pluck and resourcefulness, like the cliché about Ginger Rogers, doing all that they did, but in high heels and dancing backward?

Clay Jenkinson



Beyond the Conflict: Frederick Bates in the Greater Context of the Post-Expedition West

Back side of Thornhill, Frederick Bates' home in St Louis, Missouri. Photograph by Shannon Kelly.

Meriwether Lewis' untimely death left a void in William Clark's world as well as in the government of Upper Louisiana. Clark was in Washington when the Madison administration approached him to offer the governorship. Having witnessed what his late friend had endured as well as whom, Clark turned down the opportunity to replace Lewis. Frederick Bates had written numerous complaints to federal officials about not just Lewis but also Clark. Although Clark likely heard something of Bates' grumblings while straightening out his and Lewis' affairs, he did not realize the full scale of the situation until he and his family returned to St. Louis in July 1810. In addition to learning of Bates' opposition to his goals in Indian affairs and administrative matters, Clark discovered Bates' letter-writing campaign denouncing both him and Lewis. Bates showed a portion of his correspondence to Clark and informed him he was willing to send more to the federal government if he so wished. According to Clark, his own clear upper hand and better information on developments in Washington caught Bates off guard. Writing to his brother Jonathan on July 16, 1810, Clark again referred to Bates as an animal — words that could have resulted in an affair of honor if Jonathan had been less discreet than Bates' brother Richard. "I am at Some loss to determine how to act with this little animale whome I had mistaken as my friend, however I Shall learn a little before I act. He must be very much Surprised to find that the Government has not taken notice of his information and he tells me they have not answered his letter on that Subject…."[1]

Learning to Respect Clark

Initially Bates did not view Clark as a threat but he came

Part Two "this little animale whome I had mistaken as my friend"

By Shannon Kelly

to recognize and respect Clark's political clout. Why did he reveal his letter writing campaign to Clark? He would certainly never have done so with Lewis. Bates viewed Clark and Lewis as a unit. He had told Clark in January 1809, "I cannot separate you from Governor Lewis — You have trodden the Ups & the Downs of life with him…"[2] Bates may have thought he could bully Clark with Lewis out of the way. If so, he was sorely mistaken. Lewis was not the only man of the two who could be dangerous. Once Bates realized Clark had the government's blessing he backed off. Many twenty-first century historians still underestimate William Clark's savviness. Despite his efforts to oppose Clark, Bates learned he would still be expected to cooperate with Clark regarding diplomacy with Native Americans. The two men also disagreed on land-deed management. Clark, like Lewis, supported a plan wherein settlers could purchase land

Frederick Bates ca. 1819, artist unknown.

titles through the federal government. Bates preferred a method featuring private sellers or eventually even state governments.[3]

Secretary Bates served as acting governor of Louisiana Territory again until later in 1810 when President James Madison appointed Kentucky Congressman Benjamin Howard to replace Lewis. Howard, a career politician in his early fifties, seemed a more stable option than younger men in their thirties. His Preston and Breckinridge relatives in Virginia and Kentucky aided his prestige. Bates was passed over and Howard served as governor for two years. During that time much of what had been Louisiana Territory became Missouri Territory; the southern portion of the old territory became the state of Louisiana in April 1812 with the state capital in New Orleans. Howard and Clark found themselves at odds regarding policies toward Native Americans while Bates found himself caught in the middle. The region was under threat of attack from the British during the War of 1812. Howard despised Native Americans and rejected pledges of support from members of the Fox and Sac Nations despite Clark's insistence that his actions doubled as a military blunder and a diplomatic snub. In 1813 Howard resigned to accept a brigadier general's commission in the army's Eighth Military Department to fight in the upper Mississippi River and Great Lakes. Howard fell ill during a campaign in Illinois and died in St. Louis in 1814. Accepting the offer from President Madison this second time around, Clark was appointed governor of Missouri Territory. Clark finally felt up to the task and his leadership was popular. Frederick Bates was less enthusiastic. He still complained about Clark to officials in Washington on occasion, but they did not share his opinion.[4]

Personal Conflicts

Still the territorial secretary, Bates continued to experience political problems. John Smith T, still furious over his

Missouri River at Weldon Spring Conservation Area, Lewis and Clark Trailhead, along MO-94 outside St. Charles, almost certainly on land Frederick Bates owned. Photograph by Shannon Kelly.

loss of position in 1807 and subsequent denigrations of his character, was one of Bates' most vocal critics. It did not help that Smith T and Bates were in an ongoing dispute over ownership of multiple lead mining properties and tenants. In 1811 he challenged Secretary Bates to a duel, his written formal challenge carried by Dr. Benjamin Farrar.[5] Bates responded the same day the challenge was written and delivered. He condescendingly wrote he felt "much surprise" and was unaware of having done anything wrong. He asserted that Smith T's note was vague.[6] If Bates thought he had settled matters he was mistaken. Two days later on Christmas Eve Smith T's second, Dr. Farrar, delivered another letter from Smith T. Longer than the first, Smith T's second epistle chided the secretary with references to Bates' conduct while waiting for Lewis to arrive in 1807-1808:

> The brief authority with which you were at that time clothed in the absence of a Governor and the arbitrary manner in which you exercised it carried conviction to every honest and independent mind that you were actuated by principles & practices which you would deem unjust and oppressive if practiced towards you--Of course, you do not do by others as you would that others should do to you. [7]

Portrait of Tarleton Bates by S.B. St. Memin. Tarleton's death in an 1806 duel haunted Frederick Bates who did not, however, support a bill punishing duelists in Missouri.

Smith T referred to natural law and the rights of man and the violations against them of which he accused Bates, listing nearly five years of grievances.[8] Bates waited until after the holidays before sending a second letter to Smith T on December 30, 1811. He told Smith T that his challenge was a "very extraordinary one" but that he owed his challenger nothing. Bates claimed to be responsible for providing "the Government alone, an account of my official conduct."[9] Bates cared not for any conventional chivalric codes demanding he stand and shoot at another man to assert his honor, particularly a man below his standing. Smith T's taunts questioning Bates' manhood and veracity did not sway him. Bates, convinced he was in the right and socially superior, ignored the challenge. Lewis, also responsible for Smith T's official fall from grace, had never received a duel challenge from Smith T.

Ruffian agitators and former explorers were not the only adversaries. Bates also crossed a former mentor. During his time in Michigan he came to know John B.C. Lucas, a respected judge and official born in France who had moved to Pennsylvania near the end of the American Revolution. Lucas hailed from a family of means but his meager inheritance sent him to America with the support of Benjamin Franklin.[10] Well educated, multilingual, and adaptable, Lucas was an asset to any western enterprise or territorial government. Between farming and practicing law in Pennsylvania, Lucas made multiple voyages up and down the Ohio River to the French settlements near Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis throughout the 1790s and interacted with individuals like the French naturalist Andre Michaux. He also rode the court circuit throughout the western territories. Lucas' French origins and familiarity with the area made him the natural choice for a judgeship west of the Alleghenies. He turned out to be one of very few officials in the region fluent in both French and English as well as the legal customs of both cultures.[11] Young Bates may have seen in him a kindred spirit.

Lucas was instrumental in establishing Michigan as a territory and he requested Bates be made secretary of that territory, a move Lucas himself noted to Tarleton Bates.[12] In 1805 President Jefferson appointed Lucas as judge of Louisiana Territory and as a commissioner on the Land

Board, giving him influence on the laws of the land as well as its real estate. When Bates arrived as Louisiana's secretary in 1807, he worked closely with his old mentor. By this point Lucas had gained a following. Bates wrote, "Judge Lucas ... is a civil lawyer, and a man of superior parliamentary information. His wit, his satire, and his agreeable combination of images are surpassed by few. He is a man withall more sternly independent in principle and conduct than most of my acquaintances. If a slave approaches him in the tone and attitude of a suppliant, he spurns him from his presence. He is only acceptable to those who know the dignity of their nature, and how to speak the language of freedom."[13]

By 1808 their relationship had chilled. Lucas openly opposed much of Secretary Bates' interpretation of property rights and transitions from Spanish to U.S. law.[14] By the fall of 1809 Bates' relationship with Judge Lucas was nearly as bad as his situation with Governor Lewis. In the same 1809 letter to Richard Bates in which Frederick claimed to have eclipsed Lewis in public opinion, he complained that Lucas "was never my friend, since I began to gain a little credit at Washington;" Lucas, he said, came to attack his reports, reputation, and business while "shielded by his official character."[15] In 1810 affairs improved for reasons that are unclear but likely part of Bates' petty cycle of perceived snubs and grudges. When Kentuckian Benjamin Howard was appointed to replace Lewis as Governor of Louisiana Territory Lucas was "reappointed, contrary to the expectation of a host of enemies, but very much to my satisfaction," according to Bates.[16]

War of 1812

Many western officials besides Howard left to serve in the War of 1812. Bates' former mentor William Hull returned to service in the U.S. Army as a general. Hull's incompetence cumulated in a failed invasion of Canada, the unnecessary surrender of Fort Detroit, and his subsequent courts martial for cowardice, conduct unbecoming of an officer, neglect of duty, and the capital offense of treason.[17] Found guilty of all crimes except treason, for which the court felt they lacked jurisdiction to determine, Hull was given a sentence of death by firing squad. However, President Madison remitted Hull's sentence due to his past honorable service. Dishonorably discharged, Hull's name was stricken from the Army's rolls.[18] Many American commanders were either old veterans who had not seen a battlefield in decades or sycophants more distracted by personal quarrels than committed to defeating the enemy. Enlisting young men for the U.S. Army and state militias proved difficult and discipline was terrible. The British had a world- class professional army seasoned by over a decade of war with France which was fighting alongside provincial militias and crucial Native American allies. Indigenous groups from the U.S. and Canada like the Shawnee were integral to the British war effort. Whereas Benjamin Howard and other American officials had balked at William Clark's proposal to court tribes as military allies, British leaders like General Isaac Brock forged strong relationships with both nations' first peoples. Tecumseh was just one key partner. Each side lost talented young generals in combat early in the war; Britain's popular General Brock and U.S. General and former explorer Zebulon Pike both died in the Canadian theater between October 1812 and April 1813.[19]

Frederick Bates played to his stronger suits in civilian government and kept his hands clean of the increasingly unpopular military fiasco. Bates maintained payroll records for the Missouri territorial militia during the war and continued heading the Land Board. The latter role had not become any more forgiving: "Since my coming to this country in 1807 as a commissioner of land claims, I have suffered attacks such as might be counted on from fraudulent speculators. I have disregarded them, and informed my antagonist that I was accountable only to the government… There is only one charge that can be brought against me with color of truth, that the papers of the Recorder's office have not been always kept in appropriate order. There are reasons for this: the need to refer to originals, the incessant applications of claimants, and the impudent inquiries of speculators. It is said I threatened a claimant. I am incapable of such conduct. Errors I may have committed, but deliberate injustice never. I ask for a hearing before suffering censures."[20]

Losses and Gains

In the meantime, Bates received sad news from home. His younger sister Anna "Nancy" Jett had written him in October 1813 explaining she had not been able to answer her brother's letters for months due to being "very ill with bilious fever" on top of her pregnancy and that she still had not fully recovered. British vessels were also patrolling Virginian waterways, disrupting trade and mail. Anna

encouraged her flappable brother Frederick, "You have met with enemies who try to damage your reputation but you have risen superior to them."[21] This would be Frederick's final letter from her. He received heartbreaking but all too familiar news that winter. She had died after giving birth to twin girls in December 1813. Edward reported, "Fleming says Nancy died very bravely." Nancy's husband, a close friend of Edward's, was unable to care for two newborns at once. The girls were sent to live with Fleming Bates and his wife, who had lost all their children and were ready to love their nieces as if they were their own daughters.[22]

Bates experienced little interpersonal drama as Governor Clark's territorial secretary. In contrast to Lewis' tenure, Clark diplomatically pursued a working relationship with Bates. Clark could reach compromises and work with opponents. Even tempered and optimistic, Clark preferred to remain calm and find common ground. Clark was confident whereas Bates perceived unfair slights. In 1818 Clark appointed Frederick Bates' youngest brother Edward, then twenty-five, attorney for the Missouri Territory's Northern District. Edward's record as a War of 1812 veteran and frontier circuit attorney caught Clark's eye. Like Clark and Frederick Bates, Edward was a Democratic-Republican. After a few years of promises to move to St. Louis, Edward arrived the year of his appointment. Sociable Edward was well liked, usually more so than his older brother Frederick. He went on to help organize the anti-slavery Whig party. When the Whigs dissolved, he joined the

Thornhill became a refuge for Bates and, after his death, for Nancy and their children. Photograph by Shannon Kelly.

Republicans and then lost the party's 1860 presidential nomination to Abraham Lincoln. Upon his election, President Lincoln chose Edward Bates for his Attorney General, the first from west of the Mississippi. Like Frederick, Edward Bates planted roots in Missouri and became a founder and vice president of the Missouri Historical Society. When he died in 1869, he was buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery, the resting place of early Missouri giants like William Clark and Manuel Lisa. When Edward relocated to St. Louis, he also moved the Bates family matriarch Caroline to the area, much as Meriwether Lewis had wanted for his own mother and siblings. Numerous Bates siblings and Gamble family relations also moved to St. Louis in this era. Robert and Letitia Gamble and their children were not among them; a decade later found them living in Florida. As slaveholding Southern Quakers, the Bates family embodied their sect's double-standards. Caroline and Edward brought enslaved people but vowed to keep everyone together rather than separate the families, a move that cost the Bates in time and money but not in conscience.[23]

Initially Frederick stood by as Clark endeared himself to the people of St. Louis and Missouri Territory. Julia Clark gained renown as the hostess of a fine home and for her proficiency at piano. George Sibley occasionally ended letters of business to Clark from Fort Osage with comments like, "Please tender my most Respectful Compliments to Mrs. C…"[24] Increasing numbers of Americans from the east moved into the new territory, however, and began to outnumber the French Creole inhabitants. Bates preferred these mostly Protestant Anglo-American residents with language, culture, and customs like his own. While in Washington on an 1815-1816 visit, Bates received a letter from his friend and colleague John Heath in St. Louis inquiring about Land Board issues. Heath ended his letter with a jab at Governor Clark: "I think 9 10th s of the Territory would agree that we do not want Wm. Clarke as Governor any longer. Also Governor and Superintendent should be two men."[25] During his winter sojourn in the east, Bates visited nearby friends and family and attempted flirtations with women. He was away long enough to begin receiving letters asking when he would return to St. Louis, perhaps giving him a taste of what he had given Lewis in 1807-1808. Nonetheless he failed to see his older brother Fleming. Offended, Fleming wrote him stating he was hurt that he did not even know Frederick was in the area until he was already gone. Fleming told him that another of his children had died and there was still damage from the war. There was no excuse, according to Fleming, for his younger brother to ignore him.[26] On the other hand, another one of Bates' younger brothers, James Woodson Bates, followed Frederick to St. Louis in Spring 1816. James had fulfilled the family dream of finishing college, graduating from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) thanks to the financial support of his older brothers. James had practiced law in Virginia prior to moving west. Frederick's support helped him get a start in territorial politics after Arkansas Territory was established in 1819.[27]

Courtship and romance eluded awkward Frederick Bates nearly as often as they did Meriwether Lewis. However, in 1819, 42-year-old Bates married his neighbor, 17-year-old Nancy Opie Ball. Nancy was born in 1802 in Lancaster County, Virginia, into a wealthy family. She was her parents' only surviving child. Her mother, born an Opie, was a member of one of Virginia's first families. Nancy's father, Colonel John S. Ball, had served as a commanding officer during the Revolutionary War. Part of the influx, the family moved to St. Louis County in 1815 on to property close to Bates'. The circumstances of how young Nancy and the cranky Frederick Bates began their courtship are unknown. Nancy was attractive, well-educated, and pedigreed. She would have been considered an ideal matrimonial prospect and she fit Bates' criteria for everything he desired in a spouse.[28] Although twenty-five years younger than her husband, she married one of the most politically powerful people in Missouri. As a wedding present, Bates gave his new bride a copy of *The Poetical Works of Matthew Prior*. Thoughtfully written inside the cover is, "Frederick Bates, to his friend, wife Nancy Ball."[29]

In preparation for his marriage Bates worked on a grand house on his Thornhill estate, now part of Faust Park in St. Louis. Built from 1819 to 1823 in the Federal style, Thornhill replicated the plantation homes of the southeast. A peach orchard surrounded the house. Bates' young bride Nancy was now mistress of one of the territory's finest homes. Nancy gave birth to four children between 1820 and 1826. Records show Bates entrusted Nancy with many of the administrative tasks of running a plantation. Shortly after the wedding, Nancy's parents moved west to central Missouri, no longer living a walk or horse ride away. Nancy was immediately absorbed and embraced by her husband's large family of siblings and was treated as a daughter by Frederick's mother Caroline. Nancy and Frederick also appear to

have felt a strong mutual regard for each other. The couple wrote affectionate letters and poetry. Bates family members as well as late nineteenth/early twentieth century historian Thomas Maitland Marshall who edited Bates' papers did not see value in publishing or archiving those:

> Many of the letters are of an intimate nature, dealing with matters of interest to the family, but of no interest to the public. Many of these, especially the letters of Nancy Bates to Frederick, are charming epistles, and would be choice material for the biographer. Frederick Bates wrote many poems. Some of these are amatory, others satirical, and several are imitations of the English poetry of the eighteenth century. They no doubt served their purpose in developing his art of writing, but as poetry they do not deserve a place in literature. The modern scholar is left to wonder. [30]

Slavery

Missouri territorial officials petitioned Congress for statehood in 1818. Rejected, they tried again in 1820. As the nation came of age, the issue of slavery became increasingly explosive. The debate moved to front and center with Missouri's proposed statehood. Would Missouri enter the union as a slave state or a free state? Most of Missouri's Anglo-American settlers were Southern slaveholders. The enslaved labor of African Americans had become an integral part of Missouri's culture and economy. Edward Bates disliked slavery and would eventually become a known abolitionist under the later Whig and Republican parties, but he was still a Virginia planter who owned African Americans and profited from slavery. He saw slavery as evil but did not consider African Americans as equal to white Americans, a commonly held belief among many abolitionists.

Frederick's views on slavery were less straightforward. He owned African Americans but wrote that he refused to inflict physical harm on his enslaved workers and vowed to keep families together if possible. In 1820 he purchased a girl named Lucy and a woman named Silvia from a friend of Nancy's to assist her around the house; the two may have been daughter and mother. In March of 1824 he purchased Winnie and her three daughters under the age of four, Henrietta, Mary, and Harriet. It appears Winnie's husband and the girls' father was Benjamin, Bates' enslaved blacksmith who had been with Bates since at least 1818. Benjamin and Winnie had a fourth daughter named Margaret the following year.[31] A seemingly insignificant note he had received seven years earlier offers another clue. In the summer of 1813 Bates was contacted by a man in Michigan, Alexander Craighead, on behalf of Tom Waters. Waters was a free man of African American and white ancestry who said he knew Bates in Detroit. "He has been sold by Doct. Wilkinson and is held in this country as a slave," reported Craighead. Waters, the letter said, asked that Bates send written confirmation vouching that he was a free man. Craighead also believed there was no doubt Waters was free.[32] No response from Bates survives but Craighead and Waters would not have bothered to contact him unless they knew he would help.

"Restrictionists" like Judge Lucas, though often slave owners themselves, opposed the expansion of slavery for economic and some moral reasons. They did not necessarily oppose the abolition of it. Some Missourians were flat-out abolitionists, including newspaper publisher Joseph Charless, whom Lewis had invited to St. Louis during his governorship to introduce the concept of free press to Louisiana. It is not clear when Charless' antislavery sentiments developed or became known, but by the 1820s he was a vocal opponent of the practice as well as of powerful members of the St. Louis clique, William Clark in particular. Much of the population opposed any government restrictions on slavery. Quarrels took place between Missourians. Similar factions in Congress debated the nature of the state's entry into the union.[33] Speaker of the House Henry Clay, a representative from Kentucky and a Democratic-Republican, engineered the Missouri Compromise, which passed in March 1820. Missouri would enter the union as a slave state while Maine would join as a free state. Any future states carved from territories to the west and north of Missouri would be free.

Frederick Bates' views on the Missouri state constitution are not known but Edward, who would become a delegate to the state's constitutional convention, was certainly receiving input from him. Except for his work with the Land Board, Frederick Bates surprisingly seems to have taken time off from politics. Perhaps he knew Edward would make a better delegate because he was more sociable and likeable and a negotiator. Leaders like Alexander McNair, according to Joshua Barton, hoped Bates would run for the state senate.[34] Barton and others tried to convince Bates to throw his hat in, but Bates declined. He spent more time at home with his growing family. Nancy gave birth to their first child, Emily Caroline, on January 5, 1820, and a son,

Missouri State Flag in front of Thornhill, Frederick Bates' estate, before sunset. Photograph by Shannon Kelly.

Lucius Lee, on March 18, 1821. As Bates settled into the role of father, Thornhill offered a private escape.

Statehood

Amidst the clamor, forty-one delegates convened in St. Louis for the new state's constitutional convention on June 13, 1820. Most of the delegates were pro-slavery slaveholders. Demand was strong for a liberal or open constitution that provided for a highly democratic government, but moderates and conservatives (considered those who supported a tightly structured document that adhered to more traditional views about land ownership and voting rights) initially carried the day. The sixteen-delegate bloc from St. Louis nicknamed the "caucus" or the "junto" minimized many liberalizing elements of the constitution. A lawyer from the "junto," David Barton, was selected to head the drafting committee. Edward Bates, a moderate, and six others worked with Barton for five weeks to pen the state constitution, which they sent straight to Congress rather than presenting it to the voters. The finished product featured universal white male suffrage — white men over the age of eighteen could vote regardless of land ownership status — but it also left the people out of the ratification of constitutional amendments. The General Assembly could override a governor's veto with a full vote of both houses and an independent state judiciary. The Missouri constitution was designed to protect slavery and any potential for legislative restrictions on slavery was prohibited. Incredibly devastating for African Americans was the ban on the movement of free African Americans and biracial people, recognized as citizens in some northern states, to Missouri.[35] These stipulations ignited a Congressional firestorm as to whether Missouri should become a state with such a governing document. President James Monroe signed the bill making Missouri the twenty-fourth state on August 10, 1821. With the business of establishing a government out of the way, the next task was to elect men to govern the new state.

Changes for Clark

Up to the creation of the state of Missouri, William Clark's life seemed quite stable. A successful expedition co-leader and influential territorial official, Governor Lewis had treated him more like the territorial second-in-command than he had his actual territorial secretary, Frederick Bates. Despite Bates' litany of complaints, Clark had been appointed the Missouri Territory's first governor by President Madison. Within seven years, Clark was in the running to be the first elected governor of the state of Missouri. Frederick Bates had initially entered the race until word got out Clark was running. Recognizing the odds against him and expecting Clark to win, Bates quickly withdrew his candidacy. However, in 1819 the iron-willed Clark faced hardship. Julia was gravely ill, possibly with breast cancer. She had barely survived the birth of their last child John Julius Clark, who was born in 1818 with severe physical disabilities. Clark spent most of his time in 1819-1820 tending to his ill wife. He took Julia and the children to stay with her family in Virginia to be closer to better-trained physicians — not that their prescribed treatments like inhaling tar fumes actually helped her. While Clark was attending to his duties as territorial governor and attempting to

promote his candidacy, he received news his beloved wife was dying. He rushed to Fincastle, but Julia had already died at twenty-eight by the time Clark arrived and he just missed her funeral. A year later his only daughter, Mary Margaret, died from a fever while in the care of her Clark aunts in Kentucky.

Acting as governor during Clark's frequent absences was his territorial secretary, Frederick Bates. William Clark could not find adequate time or energy to advance his candidacy. Less than a month before the election, while en route to his dying wife and waiting children, Clark sent two letters to be printed in the *St. Louis Enquirer*. In one of his letters he apologized to his constituents for his absences that had become the elephant in the room:

> A necessary absence, the cause of which is known to you, and I trust will be appreciated by you, will prevent me from being among you til the election is over. But this circumstance does not give me uneasiness, except as it may be construed by some into an indifference for your good will…The choice of the Governor is your business and not mine.[36]

In a time before the modern concept of political campaigns, electability stemmed from the candidate's reputation and record. Clark overestimated the value of an established reputation in the new populist political climate. Those who voted against Clark called him stiff and cold, a surprising description for the man. His emotional and physical unavailability came across as lack of interest and his Jeffersonian outlook was outdated. Even his hair, fading red locks still worn in a queue, was considered behind the times. Clark was at the center of the St. Louis establishment's "junto." The flow of Americans from the East brought in many who criticized him for being too sympathetic toward Native Americans and French Americans. Period criticisms of his alleged favoritism toward Native Americans do not translate well in the twenty-first century. Much of Clark's treaty making as Indian agent and territorial governor, even if not intentionally genocidal on Clark's part, brought catastrophe to Native Americans living in and around Missouri. The removal of tribes like the Osage from the present-day state of Missouri to make way for white settlers and miners radically transformed the culture of the region. Nonetheless many Anglo-American settlers felt that was too little done to their benefit. His inadequacies as a politician in the populist era cost William Clark

Portrait of Robert Gamble by S.B. St. Memin.

the first governorship of the state of Missouri.

Clark lost the election to Alexander McNair, the more populist and popular candidate. He was a frontiersman and military veteran who called for modifications to the new state constitution, which many argued had been penned to favor the territory's original governing classes. McNair ran as a man of the people and reminded voters that he would be overpaid if elected. Bates was wise to drop out. As Edward Bates said of his brother, "His habits were very retired, perhaps censurable recluse. His friendships few, but strong and abiding."[37] Frederick's own personality may not have gotten him far, but he would have recognized that Clark's defeat signaled an opening for politicians like himself. Clark was considered out of touch by the new generation of Americans in the new state while Frederick Bates benefitted from his own ability to evolve. Times were indeed changing. Steamboats and improved infrastructure eased transportation across the country. Construction on the National Road began in 1811. The communication gaps among St. Louis, the frontier beyond, and eastern officials were shrinking.[38]

Governor and Family Man

During this interim Bates and Nancy welcomed their third child, Woodville, on July 29, 1823. The position of secretary was replaced with lieutenant governor, but Bates

continued his land recording duties for the state. His Land Board duties frequently took him from home and family for weeks at a time. The 1824 election included the governor's seat and after some persuasion from family and friends Bates agreed to run. First he had to defeat the politically well-versed William Henry Ashley, the sitting lieutenant governor and a fellow Democratic-Republican. Ashley had been dubbed the favorite by recent settlers due in part to his wilderness exploration as leader of the Ashley and Smith expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Initially Bates was hesitant to stand for election. He feared that he, an introverted intellectual with a tendency to wind up on the wrong side of certain officials, would not stand a chance against yet another strong-willed adventurer. Whatever lackluster personality traits Bates may have possessed, he managed to expand "his friendships few" and utilize his twenty years of experience in public office. In August 1824 Bates was elected the second governor of the state of Missouri.[39] He received 6,165 votes to the 4,636 cast for Ashley, a little over fifty-seven percent.[40] He was sworn in as governor in St. Charles on November 17, 1824.

For Missouri's Secretary of State, Bates appointed a Gamble relative, Hamilton Rowan Gamble. Gamble had moved to Missouri in 1818 to practice law with his older brother and subsequently became a deputy state circuit court clerk and then the Howard County Circuit Court's prosecuting attorney. Gamble was married to Caroline Coalter, sister of Edward Bates' wife Julia. Governor Bates recognized in Gamble honesty and a strong understanding of the law and the state's courts. Gamble was elected to the state supreme court as a Whig in 1848 and as chief justice gave the dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case before it moved to the U.S. Supreme Court. Although a slaveholder himself, he fought the expansion of slavery and hoped to see it end. During the Civil War Gamble opposed secession from the Union, an act Missouri narrowly avoided. When in 1861 Governor Claiborne F. Jackson was removed from office for supporting the Confederacy, the state legislature named Gamble as provisional governor. Striving to keep Missouri in the Union while avoiding intense federal oversight, Gamble served until his untimely death in 1864.[41] It could be argued Missouri's survival as a whole state during the Civil War is attributable in part to Governor Bates' wise choice for Secretary of State.

Frederick Bates' scorn for the state's French inhabitants never entirely disappeared and some suspected that his contempt was the motivation for an 1825 event. An elderly Marquis de Lafayette was touring the United States and planned to visit St. Louis in the spring. The event was the last chance for many Americans to see a living legend from the Revolution. Governor Bates refused to match neighboring states' receptions for the Marquis and his retinue, citing it as an inappropriate use of state funds. He found it tasteless to throw a lavish event for a few hours while many of the state's veterans from the War of 1812 languished in poverty and disability, stating, "something is due to principle" and "enough with the pageantry." He wrote, "As an individual it would be altogether immaterial whether I kissed the hem of his garment or not — As the Governor of the State I shall not wait on him since the Gen'l. Assembly has not thought proper to give the first impulse."[42] Whatever the merits of Bates' reasons of conscience and fiscal responsibility, on a public relations front Clark and the Chouteaus received credit for saving face for the state of Missouri by hosting Lafayette on April 29, 1825.[43] Bates made no secret of his own personal plans. If Lafayette were to "personally take it into his head to search me up, either at St Ch[arle]s or on the hills of Bonne Homme," the Frenchman "would find me at neither place, -- for I have long since promised my family to visit some friends about that time."[44] He spent the duration of the French hero's visit outside town with Nancy and their children, away from the excitement.[45] The relocation of members of the Bates family to Missouri, marriage to Nancy, and fatherhood softened his personality somewhat. One cannot help but wonder if those same factors would have aided Meriwether Lewis more than fifteen years earlier. Nonetheless, Bates retained an aloofness that contrasted with Edward's jovialness.

Conscience

Although he never voiced the clear antislavery sentiments Edward eventually would, Frederick's family letters and conduct quietly reflect a man uncomfortable with the brutality made acceptable by slavery and the social complexities that accompanied it. As governor, Lewis had returned to St. Louis in 1808 not with slaves but with free African American valet John Pernier. Bates initially did not own slaves when he arrived in 1807. Louisiana Territory under the French and Spanish was home to free and enslaved African Americans. The influx of predominantly Southern planters after the Louisiana Purchase spread the

South's form of slavery and the legal codes associated with it. By the time Missouri Territory was created, Bates was surrounded by planters and small farmers with assorted views on how to treat the enslaved. Bates' Quaker upbringing taught him to avoid brutality. In an 1812 letter to his mother, he told her his own enslaved household members did not need overseers, strict supervision, or physical recourse to raise and harvest exceptional crops. "I have been induced to purchase — and have been so fortunate as to get a family which will not I hope, ever require harsh treatment." He went on to describe how well his lands were doing under the self-supervised — but unpaid — work of Sam, Polly, and Juno.[46] He was conscious of the fact that not all of his friends, associates, and neighbors acted as he did. William Clark's post-expedition displeasure with York's demands for freedom and his wish to live near his enslaved wife in Louisville led to beatings, threats, and other punishments now known to historians.

When reporting for work in the first state capitol, a tavern-like brick structure in St. Charles, Bates did not have a reputation as a charismatic orator or for being particularly outgoing. He preferred to work in his office at Thornhill.[47] Brother Edward chastised him in 1824:

> I drop a line for Dr. Moore to deliver. We were surprised you declined to take the tour of the state. I think the policy of inaction is very questionable, but you are the best judge. Various people have been expecting you in town for political or business reasons. I have been appointed District Attorney. The recent land law will create a mass of business in court, and I will need your knowledge of facts and principles. This business will be worth several thousand dollars to me and I am anxious to do it creditably. Perhaps you could give me written views on the new act and related laws and regulations. I believe the new act mainly provides for doing in court what had been done in other offices.

Edward, who adored his own family and his brother's, softened the letter's close with, "My family is in perfect health, though my wife is subject to frequent brief headaches. My respects to Mrs. B and kiss the light infantry for me."[48]

Frederick was a persistent negotiator, a talent that had been a work in progress. When legislators or other power brokers showed reluctance to pass bills or to further items on Bates' agenda, the governor would sometimes ride out to the man's home to persuade him otherwise. Among his few major actions was his veto of a bill to outlaw dueling. Bates abhorred dueling, which had taken the life of his brother Tarleton. However, he did not believe the corporal punishment of flogging for engaging in duels offered a better solution. Part of this decision came from his belief in less government involvement and his preference that men make their own wise or poor decisions rather than inflict the whip as a deterrent. Another motivator was a humanitarian interest rooted in his family's Quaker beliefs: "With as sincere a disposition as any man feels for the suppression of this practice, I cannot give my consent to the employment of torture as the proper correction — and perhaps the lash is the last description of corporal chastisements which ought to be resorted to." As he would have remembered from his own brother's unfortunate end, whipping the surviving duelist would not bring the deceased back to his family.

A major unspoken factor was the culture of dueling. Duels took place largely between Southern gentlemen. A majority of Americans in Missouri at the time, Governor Bates included, belonged to the Southern-born demographic. Many of those men wielded the whip over African American slaves, although if we take Bates for his word, he did not believe in physically punishing his own enslaved workers. Thus, corporal punishment for white gentlemen was vehemently opposed in states like Virginia and Missouri on the grounds it was demeaning and placed them on par with slaves. Law enforcement shied from corporal punishment for gentlemen and schoolmasters had few options for disciplining the sons. Caning or whipping a man during a quarrel insinuated that he was not a gentleman and thus lowly enough to deserve physical recourse. Those situations typically led to duel challenges as in the case of Tarleton Bates in 1806.[49]

Rewards only shortly relished

Frederick Bates did not serve long as governor. Perhaps a feeling of illness in his throat and lungs had contributed to his unwillingness to venture too far from home in 1825. After nearly a year in the office he had coveted for much of his career, Bates contracted pleurisy and died on August 4, 1825. Pleurisy is the inflammation of tissues separating the lungs from the chest wall which makes breathing difficult and painful. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark had treated George Drouillard for pleurisy at Fort Mandan

twenty years earlier. Bates left Nancy, his young widow, with three children under the age of six — Emily Caroline, Lucius Lee, and Woodville — and another on the way. Their fourth child, named Frederick Bates after the infant's late father, was born six months after Bates died. Bates had spent much of his career climbing ranks while irritating those in positions above him and when he finally achieved the ultimate goal — election as Missouri's governor — he died barely into his first term. Perhaps more tragic was that he spent his entire adulthood searching for his ideal wife and creating a family of his own, only to die and leave his young family behind. Nancy was named executor in her husband's will. He granted Thornhill as hers until whenever she wished, at which point the property would be divided among "their three children, and any to come" or "that came in a reasonable time after his death." He was aware that Nancy was pregnant when he was dying. Frederick Bates' will is extraordinary for its time because it gave Nancy ownership until she decided to remarry, rather than acting as the estate's steward until their eldest son Lucius came of age. Bates preferred dividing the property equally to care for all his children rather than investing it solely in his oldest male heir or only among the sons as was often done. His children inherited the financial stability he never experienced growing up.50 William Clark survived Bates by thirteen years. Bates' younger brother Edward lived to 1869 and solidified the Bates family dynasty in Missouri state government while preserving Frederick's legacy.

Nancy Bates, widowed at twenty-three, found support from her Bates in-laws. Edward remained close to Nancy and his nieces and nephews for his entire life, always the fun uncle. Thanks to the financial comfort in which Frederick left Nancy, there was no need for her to find a new husband immediately if she were not so inclined. She

Nancy Bates Ruby and Frederick Bates are buried at Thornhill, Faust Park, St. Louis. Photograph by Shannon Kelly.

remained single for six years while raising four small children, an impressive mourning period for the era. She then married Dr. Robert C. Ruby and had four more children. After Dr. Ruby's death in 1839 Nancy spent the rest of her years caring for her children and grandchildren while running Thornhill. She outlived three of her children: Caroline Jett Ruby died shortly after birth in 1833; Woodville Bates died at sixteen in 1840; and Robert Ashley Ruby died at nine in 1847. A photograph of her shows a spirited elderly woman, the only surviving image of the love of Frederick Bates' life. As Caroline grew older and her children developed lives of their own, she became lonely living by herself at Thornhill. In 1862 Nancy moved to St. Louis to live with her daughter Nancy Ruby Strode's family and was near her other children. She died March 16, 1877. Rather than be buried next to the late Dr. Ruby, she was buried in the cemetery at Thornhill next to her first husband Frederick Bates. Many of Frederick and Nancy's descendants remained in Missouri. Today the main house at Thornhill is beautifully preserved by St. Louis County Parks at Faust Park in Chesterfield, Missouri. Where once stood orchards there is now a network of trails and play areas for public recreation — even a carousel and a butterfly house. Frederick, Nancy, a few children, and grandchildren are buried in the small family cemetery behind the house and gardens.

An analysis of the life of Frederick Bates does not necessarily make him more likeable, but it gives his actions more context. This examination of his extended career neither vindicates nor condemns him in relation to Meriwether Lewis or William Clark. Frederick Bates is most often remembered as Meriwether Lewis' bitter rival during the explorer's final years. Such oversimplification overlooks Bates' major contributions to the development of the Trans-Mississippi/Trans-Missouri West. His political rise bridged multiple generations and developed with changing times. Bates' actions still managed to intersect and parallel William Clark's career until Bates' death in 1825. The legacy of Bates' career also occurred within the context of the Corps of Discovery's aftermath. Frederick Bates took his own path in competition with trailblazers. ∎

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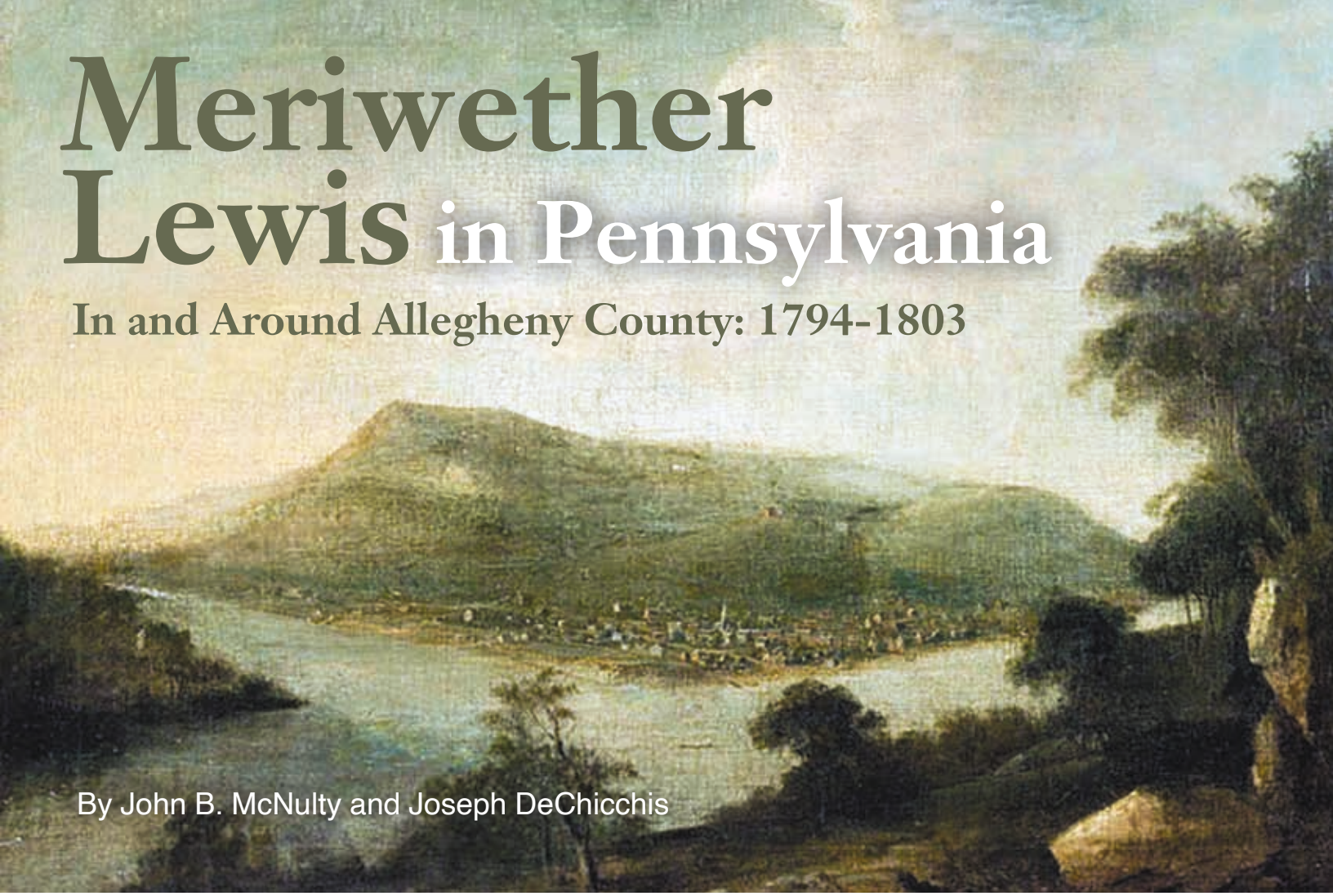
Photograph of Trapper Peak, Bitterroot Mountains, Montana, courtesy of Steve Lee.

Meriwether Lewis in Pennsylvania

In and Around Allegheny County: 1794-1803



By John B. McNulty and Joseph DeChicchis

Pittsburgh, 1804, by George Beck. Darlington Family Papers, 1753-1921, Darlington Collection, Archives & Special Collections, University of Pittsburgh Library System. All photographs in this article by John B. McNulty and Joseph DeChicchis.

In 1803, Meriwether Lewis launched his great riverine trek in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. He did not write about his reasons for selecting this launch site because, for over half a century, the lower Monongahela Valley had been the gateway to the Ohio country, and Lewis was very familiar with the area and its history. Christopher Gist had built a road from the Potomac to the Monongahela in 1753. After the London publication of *The Journal of Major George Washington* by Thomas Jefferys in 1754, the road to the Forks of the Ohio became well known. The Monongahela drainage area was widely settled after the French and Indian War, and a generation of young men had procured boats and supplies for seasons of hunting in the Ohio Valley.

By the time Lewis was serving during the Whiskey Rebellion (1794-1795), Allegheny County had been formed (1788), a blast furnace (George Anshutz, 1792) was making steel, Elizabeth (named in 1787, but established long before then) had emerged as an important boatbuilding town on the lower Monongahela, and there was a regular Army presence in Pittsburgh.[1] During his service in the newly organized United States Army's 1st Infantry Regiment, Lewis became very familiar with western Pennsylvania and the Northwest Territory.

President Jefferson's February 23, 1801, letter, delivered to Lewis on March 5 by Tarleton Bates, confirmed Lewis' expertise: "Your knolege of the Western country, of the army and of all it's interests & relations has rendered it desireable for public as well as private purposes that you should be engaged in that office." Lewis' reply to that letter and his subsequent two years of service as Jefferson's secretary mark the beginning of the Jefferson-Lewis planning of the Expedition. Then, in 1803, when Lewis returned to Allegheny County to actually launch a "keeled boat," he was going to a very familiar area which had been his military home for six years; indeed, it was his only adult-aged home before his two years at the White House.

"Point of Beginning" for the survey of the western lands which was set in 1785 at Pittsburgh.

In this article, we identify the paths and wagon roads that Lewis most likely traveled and the places that he would have seen by describing today's corresponding roads, surviving buildings, cemeteries, and other landmarks from 1803. Even a seasoned traveler of the Lewis and Clark Trail is certain to find surprising discoveries in this part of the Eastern Legacy.

Lewis surely knew that Boone's Wilderness Road through the Cumberland Gap had been upgraded in 1796 to permit wagon travel to Louisville. He did explore the possibility of getting a boat in Nashville in 1803,[2] but ultimately he headed for Allegheny County instead. After six years of service in the trans-Appalachian region, Lewis knew both the trails and the wagon roads well, and he also surely knew about the Elizabeth and Pittsburgh boatyards. In 1794, he was camped across the Monongahela River from the Walker boatyards in Elizabeth. During the Whiskey Rebellion operation, Samuel Walker is reported to have arranged ferry transport across the Monongahela for General Daniel Morgan's men. It is unclear how well Lewis knew Samuel Walker and his son John, but he surely knew of their boatyards in Elizabeth. From Elizabeth, John Walker had traveled aboard the schooner *Polly* to New Orleans, where he received a Spanish passport in 1795 on his way to New York.[3] Even if Lewis did not meet John Walker, he would have learned of Walker's boats and this famous voyage. The *Polly* is the first known ship built in southwestern Pennsylvania to have sailed the open seas. As we uncover more data from moldering documents in our military archives, we may come to know more details of Lewis' military postings, his travels, and his acquaintances between 1794 and 1801. It is inconceivable, however, that Lewis did not become aware of the boatyards in Elizabeth and Pittsburgh during this time.

In 1801, John Walker famously sailed his sea-going schooner, the *Monongahela Farmer*, to New Orleans, leaving Elizabeth in April,[4] just one month after Lewis had received Jefferson's letter summoning him to the White House. No document is known that confirms that Lewis had ever seen the *Monongahela Farmer*, but it would have been hard to miss when he traveled through Elizabeth on his way to Washington in March 1801. Although no extant document confirms their alleged acquaintanceship, the renown of the boatbuilder John Walker and his proximity to Lewis in time and space suggest opportunity and motive for their meeting, and this too would have figured into Lewis' decision to ride to Allegheny County in 1803.

Another person who may have biased Lewis in favor of a Pennsylvania launch was Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin who was at his home at Friendship Hill when Lewis first visited western Pennsylvania in 1794 and active in Whiskey Rebellion arbitration, a role with which Lewis was familiar. In short, Lewis knew from his personal experience that Allegheny County would be a good place to launch, and the experience of authorities such as Washington and Gallatin did not contradict the value of southwestern Pennsylvania as the gateway to the West.

Ordering a boat for July suggests that Lewis may not have been an experienced riverman because large boats were typically launched with the spring's high water. On the other hand, perhaps he did know this and that is why he wrote to Dr. Dickson about procuring a boat and canoe in Nashville. In any event, Lewis also knew that his boat would not be so large that mules and men could not muscle it through low Monongahela and Ohio waters, and he knew that the best Ohio boats, not to mention men skilled in cordelling and mule-hauling, were to be had in Pennsylvania from Brownsville, Elizabeth, and Pittsburgh.

"View of the City of Pittsburgh in 1817." After a sketch by Mrs. E.C. Gibson. Image courtesy of University of Pittsburgh digital collections.

In connection with Lewis' preparations for the riverboat launch of the Corps of Discovery, there are three trips that Lewis made which we would certainly like to know more about. First, what did Lewis do and with whom did he meet between March 10 when he wrote to Jefferson from Pittsburgh and April 1, 1801, when he arrived in Washington? Second, besides two weeks at Harpers Ferry, where did Lewis spend the remainder of his time from mid-March to mid-April 1803? Third, precisely how did Lewis travel from Harpers Ferry to Pittsburgh, July 8-15, 1803? Here, as we describe the overland paths that Lewis likely traveled and the places he might have seen, we will focus on the July 1803 travel, but most of our commentary also applies to any of Lewis' travel in southwestern Pennsylvania before that time.

The Path to Pittsburgh

Assuming that Lewis stuck to the plan of his July 8 letter to President Jefferson,[5] Lewis probably followed the common route of that era from Farmington to Uniontown to Brownsville to Peterson's to Elizabeth to Pittsburgh. This route could be easily traveled in four or five days, so we immediately wonder why Lewis was planning a seven-day journey. Given that he was already familiar with the area from his time there during 1794-1801, we cannot dismiss the possibility that he may have been planning to visit some favorite places or friends along the way.[6] Here we will describe the travel options from Farmington to Pittsburgh, mentioning some of the places and people Lewis likely knew from his 1794-1801 travels in the area.

Entering Pennsylvania from the Maryland panhandle, Lewis followed the road that became the National Road, a highway later authorized by Congress in 1806 and built entirely with federal funds, which is today called U.S. Route 40. Riding through Addison to Farmington, he then passed through the Great Meadows, recalling the French and Indian War battle of Fort Necessity, the site of George Washington's only surrender. Even before that war, the area

Bowman's Castle in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, is one of the oldest structures in western Pennsylvania.

of this route, called Gist's Trace since 1750, had been described in *The Journal of Major George Washington*. Thus, Lewis could have read about the "nearly forty feet perpendicular" waterfall that Washington had described as a reason the Youghiogheny River "can never be made navigable." Today Ohiopyle Falls is the defining feature of an ecotourism hub that features white water rafting, mountain hiking, and cycling along the Great Allegheny Passage.[7]

Cresting Chestnut Ridge, Lewis could look out far to the west over the mostly forested landscape once called the Hills of Eden. We can imagine that Lewis stopped to enjoy that view, taking a lunch break, perhaps even visiting Jumonville Glen, two miles to the north, where the first shots of the French and Indian War were fired. With much on his mind, but with no troops yet under his command, he may have taken his time near the site of today's Historic Summit Inn Resort in Farmington to reflect on the monumental task ahead while gazing upon the spectacular panorama of the young nation's first Gateway to the West. As his hero Washington – half a century earlier – had worked to establish Anglo-American control of the Ohio drainage, Lewis would bring the western part of the Mississippi drainage under federal dominion.

Chestnut Ridge Vista

From this summit vantage point, Lewis could have seen plumes of smoke rising above the primeval forest of the Monongahela Valley. Though not along his intended route, the industrial hub of New Geneva was about fourteen miles west southwest. The founder of this settlement was Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin who managed the financial details of the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Today's visitors to Gallatin's home at Friendship Hill, a National Park Service Historic Site on the Monongahela River near present-day Point Marion, can enjoy acres of open fields and wooded trails. Four miles to the west, along Morgantown Road (i.e., the Catawba Trail), Lewis may have seen smoke from "Fort Gaddis," the second

Friendship Hill in present-day Point Marion, Pennsylvania, was the home of Albert Gallatin in the years before the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Gallatin was serving as Secretary of the Treasury at the time of Lewis' departure from Pittsburgh.

oldest log cabin in western Pennsylvania, where the Whiskey Rebels had raised a Liberty Pole.

Shifting his gaze northwest, seeing the smoke of another nexus of industry at the mouth of Redstone Creek about fifteen miles away, Lewis might have thought about the Clark family. At Redstone Old Fort, in 1778, William's older brother George Rogers Clark trained his troops and prepared the boats that took him to the Wabash River and his conquest of the Old Northwest. Later, in 1785, when William was only fifteen years old, the Clark family wintered nearby to transform their Conestoga wagons into flatboats, which they subsequently floated down the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers to their new home at the Falls of the Ohio. Today, the charming town of Brownsville, where Fort Redstone once stood, still has Nemacolin Castle, also known as Bowman's Fort, construction of which began in 1794 and which is open seasonally to the public.

Perhaps Lewis may have arrived at Chestnut Ridge later in the day, opting to spend one last night alone in the wilderness at the natural lithospheric overhang known as Half-King Rock. He could have enjoyed the sublime aspect of a beautiful sunset over the Allegheny Plateau, knowing that he would not encounter such a prominent mountain view until he reached the Shining Mountains.[8] Indeed, Lewis would become the first person recorded by history to travel from the eastern edge to the western edge of the Mississippi drainage area and the first person to travel overland in one continuous journey from the capital of the United States to the Pacific Ocean. Today, Chestnut Ridge remains a beautiful place to contemplate a westward journey while breakfasting at the Summit Inn before driving U.S. Route 40 on to Uniontown and then to Brownsville.

Brownsville to Elizabeth

The most direct route to Elizabeth[9] from Brownsville would have taken Lewis first to Cookstown (Fayette City,

Pennsylvania), which is very near the Cook family's stone mansion. Built during the Revolutionary War, the mansion housed General Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee during the Whiskey Rebellion. Edward Cook was a personal friend of George Washington's who visited Cook's house at least twice. The property is conspicuously noted on Howell's 1792 map, and Lewis could easily have stopped by on his way north to Elizabeth. The house remains one of the Cook family's private homes today.

From Cook's, Lewis would have traveled the Rehoboth Road (SR 3011), passing the Rehoboth Presbyterian Church, north to Rostraver Road. Connecting with Fells Church Road, he would have surely seen the old log Fells Church, where the Marquis de Lafayette had spoken two decades later. Benjamin Fell, a Quaker cobbler who served George Washington in Valley Forge and supplied the troops with shoes, changed his religious affiliation to Episcopalian. Nevertheless, the current Fells Church building, completed in 1835, has a two-door façade reminiscent of a Quaker meeting house. Eventually, all routes from Brownsville to Elizabeth led to Gabriel Peterson's old tavern stand on the ridge dividing the Youghiogheny drainage from the Monongahela drainage area, precisely where the main force of General Lee had camped during the Whiskey Rebellion campaign. In 1803, the Black Horse Tavern, newly constructed on this spot, would surely have welcomed Lewis to some refreshment. Indeed, Lewis may have seen this building (parts then still under construction) when he rode from Pittsburgh to Washington in 1801. This building still stands today on the northwest corner of the intersection of Webster Hollow Road and PA Route 51 southbound.

One mile north of Peterson's is the intersection of PA Route 51 with PA Route 136, the current highway designation of the extension of the Glades Trail from Mount Pleasant to West Newton (PA Route 31) to Monongahela (a.k.a. "Mon City") to Washington, Pennsylvania, perhaps the most traveled path of westward foot traffic at the time. From this intersection, in an automobile today, we can easily approximate Lewis' likely route by going north on Route 51 to Route 48 north to Round Hill Church. Turning left onto Round Hill Church Road, and passing the Wycoff farm, we can expect that Lewis may have stopped at the locally famous spring on the Hutchinson farm, just before we arrive again at Route 51. Wycoff family oral tradition includes a story about Lewis' having kept some horses at their property along Fallen Timber Run, but no confirming documents

SW corner of 1792 map by Reading Howell

The enumerated blue rectangles show the most likely route taken by Meriwether Lewis in July, 1803.

1. Lewis almost certainly traveled this same road that he had marched October 23–24, 1794, from Fort Cumberland to Tomlinson's.

2. The Petersburg Toll House (Addison, Pennsylvania), built in 1835, marks the natural path to Uniontown.

3. From the area of Fort Necessity, Lewis could have easily made a side trip northwest to the falls at Ohiopyle before continuing along the main route to Uniontown.

4. The summit at Chestnut Ridge is about 2½ miles south southwest of Jumonville Glen, where George Washington's engagement with French troops marked the start of the Seven Years (French and Indian) War.

5. Lewis mentioned Uniontown in his July 8 letter to Jefferson.

6. Brownsville, the location of "Redstone old fort" mentioned in Lewis' July 8 letter, was an important place of boatbuilding in 1803, perhaps even more so than Elizabeth and Pittsburgh. This was the site of British Fort Burd in 1759. In 1789, Jacob Bowman began construction of the building now known as Nemacolin Castle. Lewis would have seen a smaller structure.

7. The Cook family continues to live in their 1776 house built of local limestone.

8. By 1801, at the site of Peterson's 1794 farmstand, a brick building housed the Black Horse Tavern. Today's building was certainly known to Lewis in 1803.

9. In January 1795, Captain Thomas Walker of Albemarle County (Virginia), Lewis's superior, was buried in Lobb's Cemetery, just west of the ferry at Elizabeth.

10. The Old Stone Tavern was the place to buy tickets for the ferry at the mouth of Saw Mill Run, just upstream from Brunot Island.

11. Fort Fayette in Pittsburgh (sometimes spelled "Pittsboro" or "Pittsburg") was on the left bank of the Allegheny just above the Point.

Other places probably known to Lewis include those marked by letters.

G. Gallatin's Friendship Hill.

H. Hutchins' Point of Beginning.

M. At Parkinson's/Devore's ferry, Washington crossed the Monongahela.

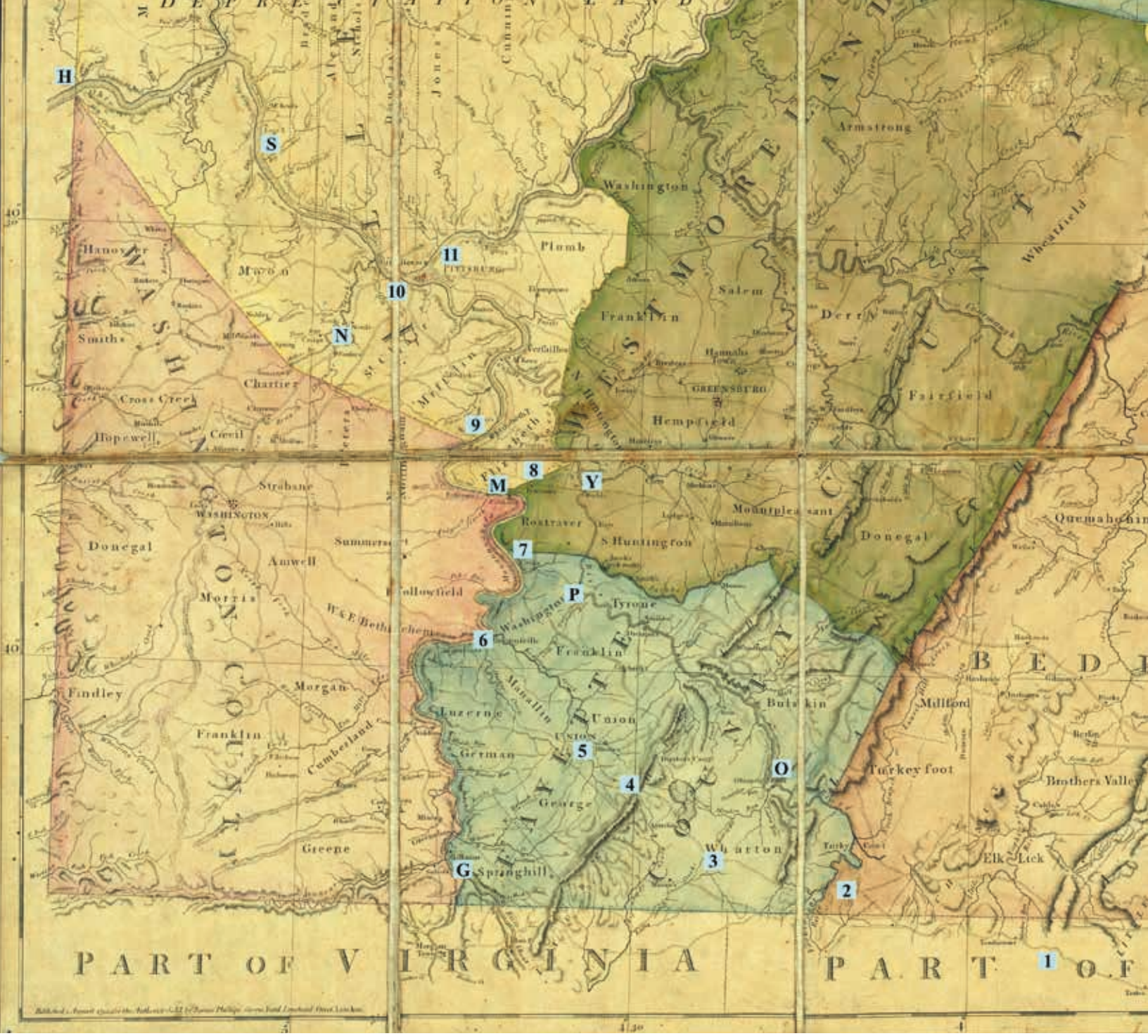
N. Neville's Woodville.

O. The Ohiopyle Falls.

P. Washington Bottom, now Perryopolis.

S. Shenango/Logstown/Legionville.

Y. At Budd's ferry, the Glades Trail crosses the Youghiogheny.



Map of greater Pittsburgh circa 1804. Annotations by Joseph DeChicchis show most likely route taken by Lewis in July 1803. See key on page 26.

from 1803 are currently known to exist.[10]

From the spring on the Hutchinson property, Lewis could have followed a path along Fallen Timber Run to its mouth at Elizabeth Town. However, from Hutchinson's spring, it is more likely that Lewis traveled into the center of today's Forward Township (then still part of the Township of Elizabeth), where the Wall, Applegate, and other founding families had created the "Jersey Settlement." Eventually meeting Williamsport Road, he would then have had the option of turning left toward Willamsport and Parkinson's Ferry (Monongahela, Pennsylvania) or right towards Elizabeth Town (present-day Borough of Elizabeth), where it terminates at the corner of Market and Tanner Streets, today the site of a popular hotdog stand and a Rite Aid pharmacy.[11]

Arriving in Elizabeth Town, Lewis could look upstream across the Monongahela River to where he had camped under General Morgan's command near the mouth of Lobb's Run in 1794. Today, no above-ground buildings survive in Elizabeth from 1803; however, the streets at the heart of this borough remain as Stephen Bayard laid them out in

1787 and as Lewis would have walked them. As we stroll along Elizabeth's Water Street promenade, we can imagine Lewis as he looked across the river towards his old bivouac site. General Morgan's officers had been housed in Virginia's old log Yohogania County Courthouse. Having closed on August 28, 1780, by agreement of the Pennsylvania and Virginia Assemblies, the building was privately owned in November 1794. Nearby is Lobb's Cemetery, the resting place of some of Lewis' comrades who died during that winter of 1794-1795.

Elizabeth to Pittsburgh

Today's motorist can approximate Lewis' path from Elizabeth to Pittsburgh by continuing on Route 51 north. Of course, the beautiful Regis Malady Bridge did not then exist, so Lewis would have crossed to West Elizabeth by ferry. He would then have climbed the hill above West Elizabeth along Scotia Hollow Road, descended the far side, and crossed Peters Creek, named for "Indian Peter," a Native American who warned the European settlers of Native American raids on several occasions. This important east-west tributary today empties into the Monongahela River at United States Steel's Clairton Mill Works, but the graveyard of the pioneer Kuykendall family can still be found on the left bank near its mouth. Benjamin Kuykendall first arrived in the area in 1755 with Braddock, and in 1757 he became the first European settler in what is now the Borough of Jefferson Hills. His daughter and son-in-law later built a gristmill upstream in present-day Large, named for Henry Large. Large owned a distillery and commanded the Peters Creek Rangers, who protected local residents and kept order during the Revolutionary War. Lewis would have crossed Peters Creek near that distillery, near the present-day PAT[12] bus Park-and-Ride lot.

Following the stream named Lewis Run towards Bethany Church in the present-day borough of Pleasant Hills, Lewis would have seen log cabins similar to the Jacob Beam cabin at nearby Jefferson Memorial Park. Beam was active in this area around today's traffic cloverleaf. From that high ground, Route 51 crosses Streets Run and passes through today's Whitehall and Brentwood municipalities into Saw Mill Run, which Lewis would have followed to the Old Stone Tavern, where he most likely purchased his ferry passage to Pittsburgh. In Allegheny County, today's Route 51 corridor follows an ancient Native American path which was very well worn by 1803.

The Old Stone Tavern located between The Point in Pittsburgh and Brunot Island operated the ferry that enabled Lewis to move supplies overland to Wheeling.

Tucked away in Pittsburgh's West End neighborhood, the Old Stone Tavern, a spot well known to all sorts of travelers, has been a silent witness to history from before the Revolutionary War. A ferry at the mouth of Saw Mill Run was operated by the tavern for many years, and the tavern quartered horses, which were used for rapid travel to the boatyards of Elizabeth. This same ferry would have permitted Lewis to move supplies overland from Fort Fayette to Wheeling when he launched at a time of extremely low water levels.[13] Another intriguing aspect of the Old Stone Tavern is its ledger entries[14] of 1793-1797 which covered

The Woods House dating from the 1790s is now a restaurant in the Hazelwood neighborhood of Pittsburgh.

the tumultuous period of the Whiskey Rebellion and the Ohio Country Indian Wars. These events set the stage for the meeting of Lewis and Clark in 1795, when the enduring friendship of these young officers began.

In the Old Stone Tavern ledger entry of July 1, 1794, one day before the Whiskey Rebels burned the tax collector's Bower Hill house, John Woods is mentioned relative to a transaction using Elliott's ferry to cross the Ohio River. In the margin, next to Woods' name, is also written "spy." Whether one considers him a hero or not, the John Woods House, which has recently been turned into a cafe, still stands as the oldest stone dwelling in Pittsburgh. Not far from the Woods House, in Schenley Park, is the oldest extant Pittsburgh dwelling, the Neal (a.k.a. Neill) Log House, built in 1765.

A log structure in Schenley Park in Pittsburgh's Oakland neighborhood.

Pittsburgh and Environs

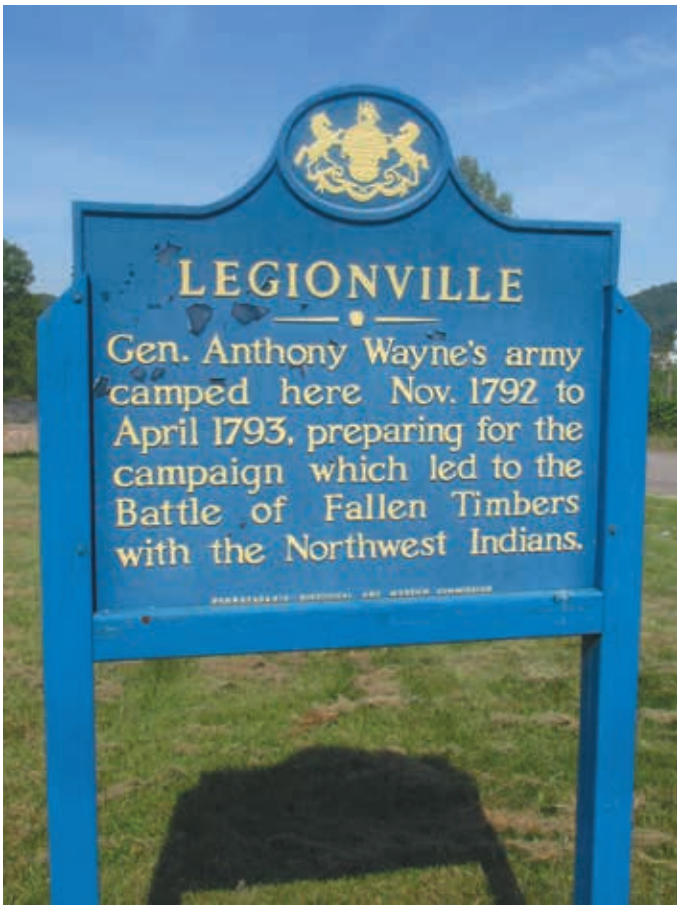
The route that Lewis took to Pittsburgh from Brownsville is easily imagined, but we are generally uncertain about exactly where he might have gone and whom he might have visited once he had arrived in Pittsburgh. Given the six weeks that he spent in the Pittsburgh area while waiting for his keeled boat to be ready, it is reasonable to assume that he traveled the local environs, visiting people he knew from his six years of military service in the area, especially when he was posted at Fort Fayette as Army paymaster. For instance, surely he knew of the opulent Century Inn (midway between Brownsville and Little Washington on Route 40), and he might have seen the Old Log House in the Greenock neighborhood of Elizabeth Township, or perhaps the Walker-Ewing-Glass and the Walker-Ewing log houses on Pinkertons Run west of Pittsburgh.

Within the city of Pittsburgh, in its West End neighborhood, the John Frew House on Poplar Street, built around 1790, is still inhabited today and can give today's tourist a sense of life in Lewis' time. Many of Pittsburgh's buildings from the early nineteenth century were destroyed during the great fire of 1847, however, and others were removed to make way for new buildings in the limited space available at the Forks of the Ohio. Arguably the most famous surviving building that Lewis would have seen in 1803 is the Fort Pitt Blockhouse which remains on its original site at the confluence in today's Point State Park. Built in 1764 and currently owned by the Fort Pitt Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, this small redoubt was constructed just outside the ramparts of Fort Pitt during what is known as Pontiac's Rebellion. After its decommissioning in 1792, most of Fort Pitt's bricks and stones were used to construct other buildings, but this small structure somehow managed to survive to the present day and is open to the public on a daily basis.

Although few eighteenth century buildings remain in the trailhead region, many new greenspaces and trees mark a return to Pittsburgh's pre-industrial character. The city is again home to white-tailed deer and bald eagles, although the huge trees seen by Lewis and his contemporaries were cut down well over a century ago. Newcomers to Pittsburgh, once described as "Hell with the lid off," may be surprised by the number of parks and recreational opportunities that reflect the cleaner environment since the decline of heavy industry over a generation ago. One day, we may again have trees fifteen feet in diameter like the ones hollowed out by early settlers for residences and canoes.[15]

Getting His Feet Wet

Lewis' journal entries dated August 30 and September 1, 1803, together with his September 8 letter to President Jefferson, indicate that he landed at Brunot Island in the late morning of August 31, 1803. The descriptor, "3 miles below" and old maps suggest that Lewis landed at the downstream end of the island, close to the mouth of Chartiers Creek and McKees Rocks. Most students of the Expedition are familiar with the air rifle incident on "Bruno's" [Brunot] Island.[16] After demonstrating his most unusual weapon, Lewis had let the rifle be handled by a man named Blaze Cenas who accidentally shot a woman forty yards away, just grazing her temple but



Legionville was the United States' first formal military training site under the command of Mad Anthony Wayne.

spilling a lot of blood. Today, nothing remains of Brunot's farmstead which he sold in 1811 after a devastating flood. The upstream half of the island is a tree-covered de facto bird sanctuary, pleasant to see as one approaches from The Point, but with trees different from those Lewis may have seen. Ironically, Brunot Island is more famous around the country to Lewis and Clark fans than it is in Pittsburgh itself, perhaps because it is eclipsed by the much larger Neville Island farther downstream. In the vicinity of the fledgling Expedition's first campsite, this island is named for John Neville who played a significant role during the Whiskey Rebellion as the government's chief tax enforcement officer whose house was burned at the Battle of Bower Hill. Fortunately, Woodville, John Neville's older house dating from 1775, still remains on the opposite side of Chartiers Creek and is today a museum with lovely grounds open to the public.

The Whiskey Rebellion was the beginning of Lewis' formative years in southwestern Pennsylvania, and another Whiskey Rebellion site worth visiting is the Oliver Miller Homestead in Allegheny County's South Park. Perched on a verdant hillside, the buildings are open to the public on Sunday when volunteers in period dress offer an ever-expanding program. An additional treat is the herd of bison in the South Park game preserve, which is free to visitors and open all day.

The Upper Ohio River

The Expedition's progress during the first couple of weeks on the upper Ohio River is well known from Lewis' journal. Today there are interpretive signs in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, and we should note some of the important areas that Lewis passed through. The important trading center of Logstown (French Chiningue, anglicized as Shenango) was the site of the 1752 signing of the Treaty of Logstown by the Ohio Company, the Colony of Virginia, and the Six Nations. Although the Native American population had long abandoned it by 1803, it was an important trading center in its heyday. It morphed into Legionville, the 1792-1793 training ground for "Mad" Anthony Wayne's federal troops, whose training here has been credited with the decisive federal victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. Wagon ruts are still visible to those who know where to look.

Further downstream, just past the mouth of the Beaver River where, after reaching its most northern point, the Ohio River bends to the southwest, Lewis would have seen the remains of Fort McIntosh on the right bank. Over 400 chiefs and warriors of the Delaware, Wyandot, Chippewa, and Ottawa tribes had met here with the chief treaty author and commissioner plenipotentiary George Rogers Clark, signing the Treaty of Fort McIntosh on January 21, 1785. Now a quiet neighborhood with stately homes, the outline of the fort is observable on the ground along with interpretive signs, making for an excellent place to relax and enjoy the Ohio River atmosphere.

Further downstream on September 4, when Lewis reached the intersection of the borders of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the newly formed state of Ohio, he noted that the western border of Pennsylvania is easily discerned from a swath of "timber having been felled about sixty feet in width." Nearby on the Ohio side of the river, Thomas Hutchins, the Geographer of the United States, had driven a stake marking the "Point of Beginning" for his survey of the townships in compliance with the Federal Land Ordinance of 1785.

Leaving Pennsylvania in early September 1803, Captain Lewis doubtless realized that the delays there would prevent the Expedition from advancing up the Missouri River that fall as he originally had planned. With Clark and his recruits waiting for him hundreds of miles downstream at the Falls of the Ohio, it probably had not yet occurred to Lewis that the Pennsylvania delays in many ways helped him to achieve success. By wintering over at Camp Dubois (near present-day Wood River, Illinois), the captains had sufficient time to train and discipline their raw recruits, gather intelligence and supplies in St. Louis, and retrofit the keeled boat to make it more defensible. Perhaps most important, it put the Expedition at the Mandan villages for wintering, giving them a chance to engage Toussaint Charbonneau and the new mother Sacagawea whose presence with a baby sent a potent message of peace to the Native American communities they encountered[17] and whose connection to her brother, the Shoshone leader Cameahwait, was indispensable for procuring the horses needed to cross the Bitterroot Mountains before the onset of winter in the fall of 1805. Thus, a longer than expected stay in southwest Pennsylvania turned out to be a good thing for the Expedition, and we encourage everyone to explore and learn more about this most recently added and incredibly important part of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. ∎

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Joseph DeChicchis, Ph.D., F.R.S.A., has been a promoter of the Eastern Legacy since 2004 and is the current president of Historic Elizabeth, a Pennsylvania charity whose mission includes the verification of information about the Monongahela and Youghiogheny River areas. Outside of Allegheny County, he has produced a nationally syndicated radio program, studied Indigenous languages, taught linguistics, and served as a language-policy consultant.

Notes

1. Fort Lafayette, later called Fort Fayette, was built in 1792 to facilitate military operations against Native Americans, and Lewis was posted to Fort Fayette during his Army service after the Whiskey Rebellion. President Jefferson knew of Lewis' long service in the Northwest Territory while based at Fort Fayette, despite the fact that he mistakenly called it "Fort Pitt" in his 31 March 1801 letter to Lewis. Fort Fayette was also used by Oliver Hazard Perry in 1812.

2. In his 20 April 1803 letter to Jefferson, Lewis described his earlier letter to Dr. Dickson.

3. Richard T. Wiley, "Ship and Brig Building on the Ohio and Its Tributaries," *Ohio History Journal* 22:1 (January 1913): 54-64.

4. Wiley, "Ship and Brig Building," 54-64.

5. "I shall set out myself in the course of an hour, taking the route of Charlestown [Charles Town, West Virginia], Frankfort [Fort Ashby, West Virginia], Uniontown and Redstone old fort [Brownsville, Pennsylvania] to Pittsburgh, at which place I shall most probably arrive on the 15th."

6. Although we have neither evidence of such stops nor of his precise route, we allow for reasonable speculation following earlier scholarship: Lorna Hainesworth, "Planning a Transcontinental Journey," *We Proceeded On* 35:3 (August 2009): 8-19; David T. Gilbert, "Route of Meriwether Lewis from Harpers Ferry, Va. to Pittsburgh, Pa. July 8 – July 15, 1803," https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/route-from-harpers-ferry-va-to-pittsburgh-pa.htm (downloaded March 6, 2022).

7. Frank Lloyd Wright's Fallingwater is also in this area.

8. Notwithstanding the impressive view from Spirit Mound, the view from Chestnut Ridge is probably the best mountain vista Lewis experienced until he reached the Montana Rockies.

9. We agree with Gilbert, "Route of Meriwether Lewis," that Lewis probably crossed the Monongahela at Elizabeth.

10. Ed Falvo of the Elizabeth Township Historical Society has earlier commented about documentation of Lewis' use of the Wycoff property. The late Sarah Wycoff is also remembered by Elizabeth area residents as having mentioned this.

11. This most likely route, which had over a generation of travel, had been officially improved following an order of the Yohogania County Court (Virginia) of April 27, 1779; see also Richard T. Wiley, *Elizabeth and Her Neighbors* (Butler, Pennsylvania: The Ziegler Company, 1936), 262, 324 ff.

12. In the Pittsburgh area, until its rebranding in June, the name of the public transportation company operating buses and trains had been Port Authority Transit (PAT), evoking Pittsburgh's history as America's largest inland port. The area's many PAT signs are gradually being replaced by PRT signs, for Pittsburgh Regional Transit.

13. Lewis' 8 September 1803 letter to Jefferson describes his solution to the low water problem: "having taken the precaution to send a part of my baggage by a waggon to this place [Wheeling]."

14. Ledger H, the only ledger known to have survived, is kept at the Oakland branch of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh; on-line images are available.

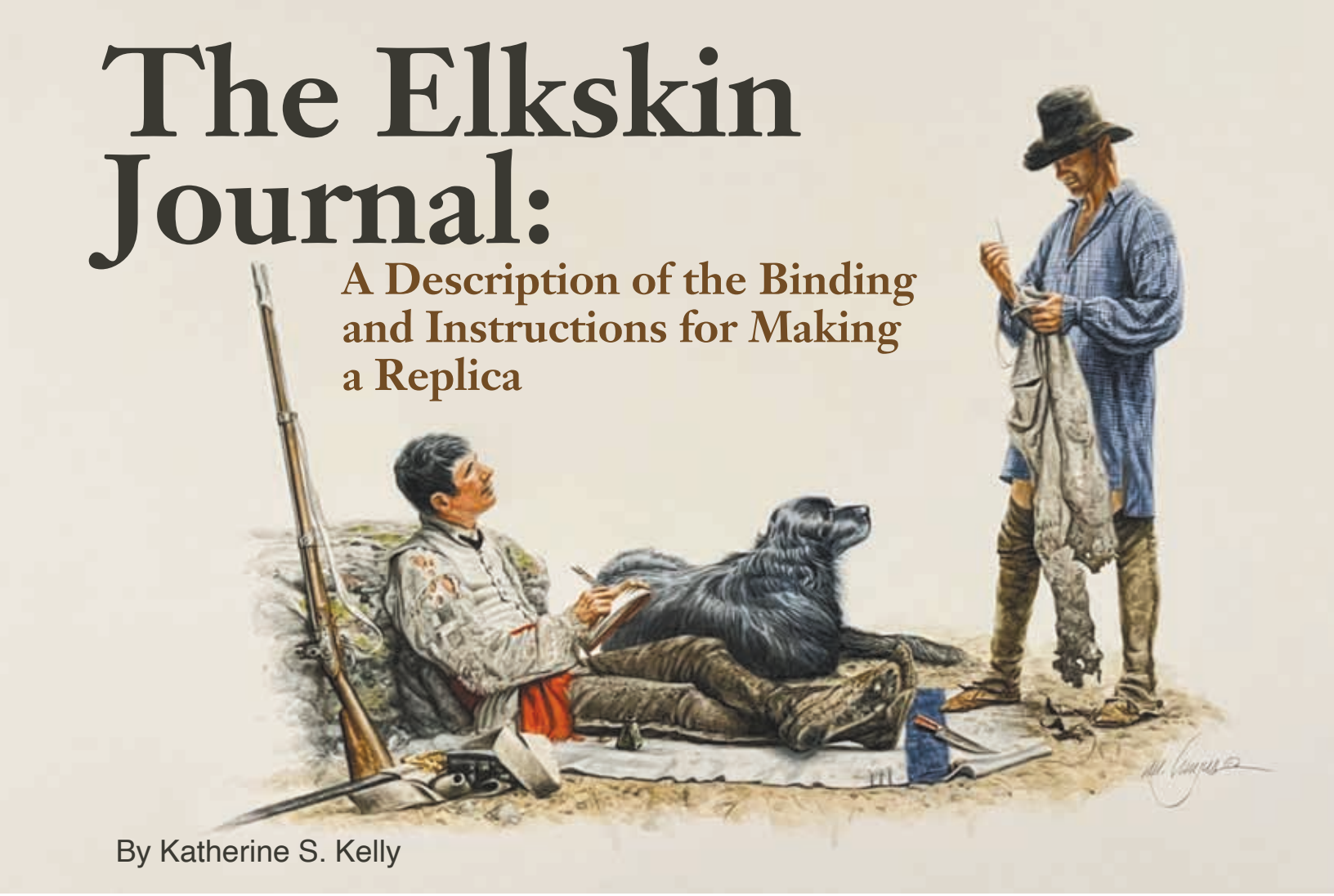
15. We agree with John Fisher (email communication) that the "pirogues" were large dugout logs. The use of "canoe" and "pirogue" was inconsistent as to the type of construction, and Lewis' pirogues were not at all like the watercraft typically called pirogues in Louisiana today. In 1803, there were still plenty of large old trees from which to make forty-foot-long dugout boats.

16. Dr. Felix Brunot, born in France in 1752, was a foster brother of General LaFayette. In 1797, he came to Pittsburgh and established his island farmstead where he entertained George Rogers Clark and other friends from the Continental Army.

17. During the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial in July 2006 at the signature event at Pompeys Pillar, John McNulty heard Crow Elder Stands-over-Bull explain in the Tent of Many Voices that his ancestors, when they saw Sacagawea with her baby, changed their initial plan to attack the Expedition and instead just stole the horses.

The Elkskin Journal:

A Description of the Binding and Instructions for Making a Replica



By Katherine S. Kelly

"The Tailors: Sgt. John Ordway, Joseph Whitehouse, and Seaman, 1805." Painting by Michael Haynes. Image courtesy of Michael Haynes.

Introduction

As Meriwether Lewis and William Clark journeyed across the American continent, they mapped new terrain, documented wildlife, and recorded encounters with Native American nations in a series of notebooks. Thomas Jefferson's instructions to them were clear: "Your observations are to be taken with great pains & accuracy, to be entered distinctly, & intelligibly for others as well as yourself,... several copies of these, as well as of your other notes, should be made at leisure times, & put into the care of the most trustworthy of your attendants, to guard, by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed."[1]

Both Lewis and Clark kept journals, and there are also surviving records from three of the four sergeants and one of the enlisted men who made the journey with them. Most of these journals, bound in red leather and known as Codices A - N, are now held by the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. The remaining journals are spread out among several institutions across the United States.[2]

Some journals were written day by day, while others were copied out when time and circumstances allowed. Gary E. Moulton, who edited *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, weighed the evidence and theories for which texts were written in the moment, which were copied out during the journey, and which may have been completed in the months immediately following their return. Although he argues against assuming the existence of an entirely separate set of (now mostly missing) rough journals, he agrees that many passages in the red leather books were clearly written days or months after the events they describe. He also argues that the captains must have sometimes kept daily rough drafts upon which the entries in the red leather journals were based.[3]

One of those rough field notebooks, Clark's Elkskin Journal, survives and is held by the Missouri Historical

Figure 1. Clark's Elkskin Journal. Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Society in St. Louis (MHS).[4] It encompasses the journey from Travelers' Rest at the base of the Bitterroot Mountains to the establishment of Fort Clatsop on the Pacific coast (September 11 - December 31, 1805). For some of the two-year Expedition, both captains maintained daily journals. However, for several long stretches, Lewis either inexplicably failed to record his observations or his journals for that time period were lost. Clark's field notes, bound together to become the Elkskin Journal, fill in the gaps for one of these lost stretches.

The Elkskin Journal has a special significance for Lewis and Clark scholars because it provides textual evidence of the journey while also being a uniquely evocative object. It is singular among the captains' surviving journals for its rough binding, probably fashioned in the field. Their other records were either written into purchased blank books or were retained as loose fragments. Clark began the Elkskin Journal during a wet and treacherous portion of the journey, while the blank books were probably sealed in tin boxes for protection until smoother traveling days or periods of encampment allowed them to be pulled out.[5]

The journal is written on paper folded into gatherings and bound together into a wrapper of animal hide. This binding may have been done at Fort Clatsop while the Corps waited out the winter and prepared supplies for the return journey east. Clark later copied out these notes into clean copies of the journals, now called Codices G, H, and I.

Both the Elkskin Journal and codices have been transcribed and published in several editions, and the MHS has an excellent digital reproduction of the Elkskin Journal available online. The text has been thoroughly mined for its historical gems, including the moment when the captains first saw the Pacific Ocean (though their celebrations were a little premature); the results of a poll on where to establish winter quarters, which included votes by a Lemhi Shoshone-Hidatsa woman, Sacagawea, and an enslaved African American, York; and the establishment of Fort Clatsop.

Other than the ubiquitous identification of the object as the "Elkskin Journal," the physical structure of this volume has received much less attention. There seems to be no detailed description available for how the book was constructed and bound. This article attempts to describe the physical

object more fully and to give instructions for making a replica of the journal.

The observations below are based on the digital images on the MHS website and two visits to the MHS Library & Research Center where I was able to examine the journal. MHS rules require that all handling be done by archival staff – a wise policy for such a treasured object. In addition to this limitation, the spine of the book and sewing are hidden by the concavity of the spine. However, the digital images are excellent and reveal a wealth of details about the book.

Description of the Elkskin Journal

The MHS describes the journal thusly: "The journal is handstitched in soft elkskin cover with foldover flap, button, and leather thongs attached. Page folios are made of different types of paper, grey and off-white, and both iron-gall and oak-gall ink are used. Lettering is tightly-written and interspersed with maps and tables."[6] A floor plan of Fort Clatsop is drawn on the inside of the wrapper, under the last page.

Collation

The journal has five gatherings made up of nine, sixteen, eight, twelve, and eleven bifolios for a total of 224 pages.[7] The first gathering has an outermost bifolio of parchment, but the rest of the pages are paper. Pages 1-220 are manuscript, written in ink, and in Clark's hand. Page 222 is described by Moulton as being "some writing in pencil, too faded to decipher but clearly postexpeditionary and in an unknown hand." Page 224 has several ownership marks in various hands.[8]

Extra Pages Added?

Rather than beginning its life as a blank book, Moulton suggests that the journal was first written on loose paper and then bound at a later time. Professor Moulton based his conclusion on how Clark's journal conveniently ends on December 31, 1805, and how Lewis takes up journal-writing again in a different book the next day.[9] Although I agree with the conclusion, Moulton's reasoning does not give sufficient attention to the structure of the book. Clark did not choose the length of his book on December 31, but rather when he began the final gathering, around December 8. He then had several dozen blank pages to fill before conveniently ending on the last day of the year.

Examination of the structure also suggests an interesting

A Glossary of Bibliographical Terms

Bifolio
two leaves of paper or parchment connected across a center fold.

Flesh side
the bottom side of a skin, closest to the flesh.

Fore edge
the edge of a book opposite the spine.

Gathering
a group of pages formed by folding several sheets together.

Grain direction, paper
the direction in which the majority of the paper fibers are oriented. Paper is easiest to fold in this direction.

Grain side of a skin
the top side of a skin, closest to the hair.

Gutter
the margin at the sewn fold of a gathering.

Head
the top edge of a bound book.

Octavo
the gathering size formed by folding a sheet of paper into eight leaves (sixteen pages).

Quire
a collection of twenty-four or sometimes twenty-five sheets of paper of the same size and quality.

Silking
adding a layer of nearly transparent silk over deteriorations in a document, to prevent further damage and increase structural integrity (an older conservation method).

Spine
the edge of a book where the folds are, and the location of the sewing.

Tacket
a small loop of thread that holds a gathering together before it is sewn.

Tail
the bottom edge of a bound book.

explanation for eight "out of place" pages at the beginning of that final gathering. Pages 181-184 consist of an undated "List of the Tribes near the mouth of the Columbia river." Page 185 is blank, and pages 186-188 are dated January 1, 1806, and include "A List of the names of Sundery persons, who visit this part of the Coast for the purpose of trade &c." Only on page 189 does the journal resume its regular pattern, with December 8 at the top of the page.[10]

Consider Captain Clark as he writes out his final thoughts for the year: his narrative, begun on December 8, 1805, requires a few more pages to conclude – too much to fit in this sheaf of papers, but not enough to fill another booklet. The obvious solution? Wrap four extra bifolios of paper around the gathering, which gives him eight pages to complete his entry (though he only needed four). Not one to waste resources, Clark soon fills in the eight conjugate pages, which now appear before December 8, with useful lists. This explanation also supports (and actually requires) that the journal was first written and then bound.

The last pages of each of the first four gatherings are also noticeably dirtier than their predecessors, and all five gatherings have extra material written on their final pages, frequently upside-down and out of chronological order with the main text.[11] These annotations and grime are more consistent with loose booklets that exhibit wear from being individually handled than with a single text block whose pages were always part of a bound volume.

Paper and Parchment

The five gatherings (of paper) are of irregular size and shape. The first gathering is larger than the others, measuring approximately 4½ x 6½ inches, and consists of paper bifolios nested within a thin parchment bifolio. The remaining four gatherings vary slightly in height but are approximately 4 x 6¼ inches. The paper is handmade rag paper, and where chain lines are visible, they indicate that the grain direction runs parallel to the spine. The gatherings are lined up to the tail, leaving the irregularities at the fore edge and head. All of the page edges are tattered and not evenly aligned.

Lists of Expedition supplies include quires and half quires of foolscap paper and post paper, memorandum books (probably the red morocco blank books), needles, knives, thread, colored thread, quills, and ink powder.[12] These supplies are not an exhaustive record of everything the Corps brought with them, but, with the exception of the elkskin wrapper, the journal could have been made from the materials listed. In other words, the Corps had everything it needed to construct this bound journal before the Expedition began, except for the elkskin wrapper (cover).

Writing paper was commonly sold in quires of twenty-five sheets, sometimes trimmed and pre-folded. Post paper is approximately 15¼ x 19½ inches, and foolscap paper is approximately 13½ x 16¾ inches,[13] so these paper quires, folded into octavos and trimmed, match the measurements of the Elkskin Journal. The bifolio made from parchment is puzzling, but may have been included as a stiff cover for the post-paper quires.

Animal Skin Cover

Over the winter of 1805-1806, the Corps enjoyed a period of relative leisure at Fort Clatsop as they prepared for their return journey. Lewis resumed regular journal keeping on January 1, 1806, and Clark worked on preparing his

Figure 2. Page 59 in the Elkskin Journal showing campsites along the Columbia River for October 20, 1805, and then again on the return journey on April 23 and 24, 1806. Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

maps. Thomas Dunlay argues that there was a period of several months at Fort Clatsop during which the captains' observations of the approach to the Pacific Coast only existed as rough notes. Lewis had not apparently kept a journal during that time, and Clark did not copy his notes into the red morocco-bound volumes until after March 19 and perhaps not until mid-May. This may have prompted Clark to have the pages sewn into a protective wrapper, rather than leaving them as loose pages.[14] Such a binding would have been useful on the return trip, as the book was consulted and annotated while the Corps traveled upriver to Camp Chopunnish (Figure 2).[15] Other documents could be sealed up in tin cases, but a guidebook needed a durable cover.

In published descriptions of the journal, the skin is variously described as being "a rude piece of elk skin," "Buffalo hyde," or "cured hide."[16] The species is difficult to identify on this type of skin, but its thickness (1.1-1.2 mm) is too thin for the American bison, on the lower end of thickness for elk, and on the upper end of thickness for deer. Without analytical testing, the origin of the skin remains unconfirmed, but there is a great deal of evidence in the journals themselves that suggests that the wrapper is made from brain-tanned elk skin.

Many of the Corps' supplies were water damaged during the passage from the Bitterroot Mountains to the Pacific. In particular, the loss of many leather clothes from damp and rot was noted.[17] This suggests that the binding would not have been made from leftover brain-tanned buffalo hides from the Great Plains or from any original supply of vegetable-tanned leather obtained in St. Louis or Philadelphia. Another possible source of skins would have been the Chinook or Clatsop Native Americans who had access to a wide variety of animals. Clark noted that "maney of the men … have robes of *Sea Otter*, Beaver, Elk, Deer, fox and Cat common to this Countrey, which I have never Seen in the U States. They also precure a roabe from the nativs above, which is made of the Skins of a Small animal about the Size of a Cat, which is light and dureable and highly prized by those people" (November 21, 1805).[18] Over the winter, the Corps traded for these skins.

In one particularly intriguing entry from March 22, 1806, the day before they departed Fort Clatsop, Clark notes that "about 10 A. M. we were visited by Que-ne-o alias Commorwool 8 Clatsops and a Kil-a-mox; they brought Some dried Anchovies, a common Otter Skin and a Dog for Sale all of which we purchased. the Dog we purchased for our Sick men, the fish for to add to our Small Stock of provision's, and the Skin to cover my papers."[19] Did Clark purchase this prepared otter skin to bind his notes together? Otter skins are prized for making robes and caps, and over the winter, the men made many attempts to trade for both sea-otter and common-otter skins. However, these seem to have been pelts, so this skin, with fur on, may simply have been purchased as a protective wrapper for loose papers or the already-bound books. It seems a little unusual that Clark would have waited until the last moment to sew his notes into a binding, and despite the intriguing possibility of otter, it seems most likely that the skin for binding would have been selected from the Corps' own production of brain-tanned elk skin. Without biomolecular analysis, there is no way to be sure.

There are a variety of methods for preserving animal skins, but one method used by the Corps was brain tanning. John Ordway and Joseph Whitehouse, in their July 3, 1805, journal entries, mention saving bison brains for dressing deer skins.[20] The required materials, brain and lye, are mentioned in the journals, while no mention is made of acquiring tannins for vegetable tanning or alum as used in other techniques. Although very labor intensive, brain tanning can be accomplished over several days, unlike the weeks or months required for vegetable tanning. Brain tanning was common among Native American nations, and buckskin was also made by early American frontiers-people, though they generally preferred to use soap instead of brains.[21]

The general technique for brain tanning is soaking the skin in lye (potassium hydroxide) obtained from wood ashes, scraping both sides of the skin clean of excess flesh and hair, soaking the skin again in a mixture of animal brain and water, and then working that mixture into and through the skin by repeated stretching and wringing out. Unlike other tanning methods, the topmost grain layer is almost always removed, which is a necessary step to allow full penetration of the oils into the skin. Brain-tanned skins are usually also smoked as a final preservative step.[22]

The color of the tanned skin depends on the wood used in smoking, though the color is reported to fade over time. The Elkskin Journal is grayish tan in color. The outside of the wrapper is the hair side of the skin with the grain layer removed, and the inside of the wrapper is the flesh side. The hair side exhibits a more mottled pattern, possibly due to dirt and handling.

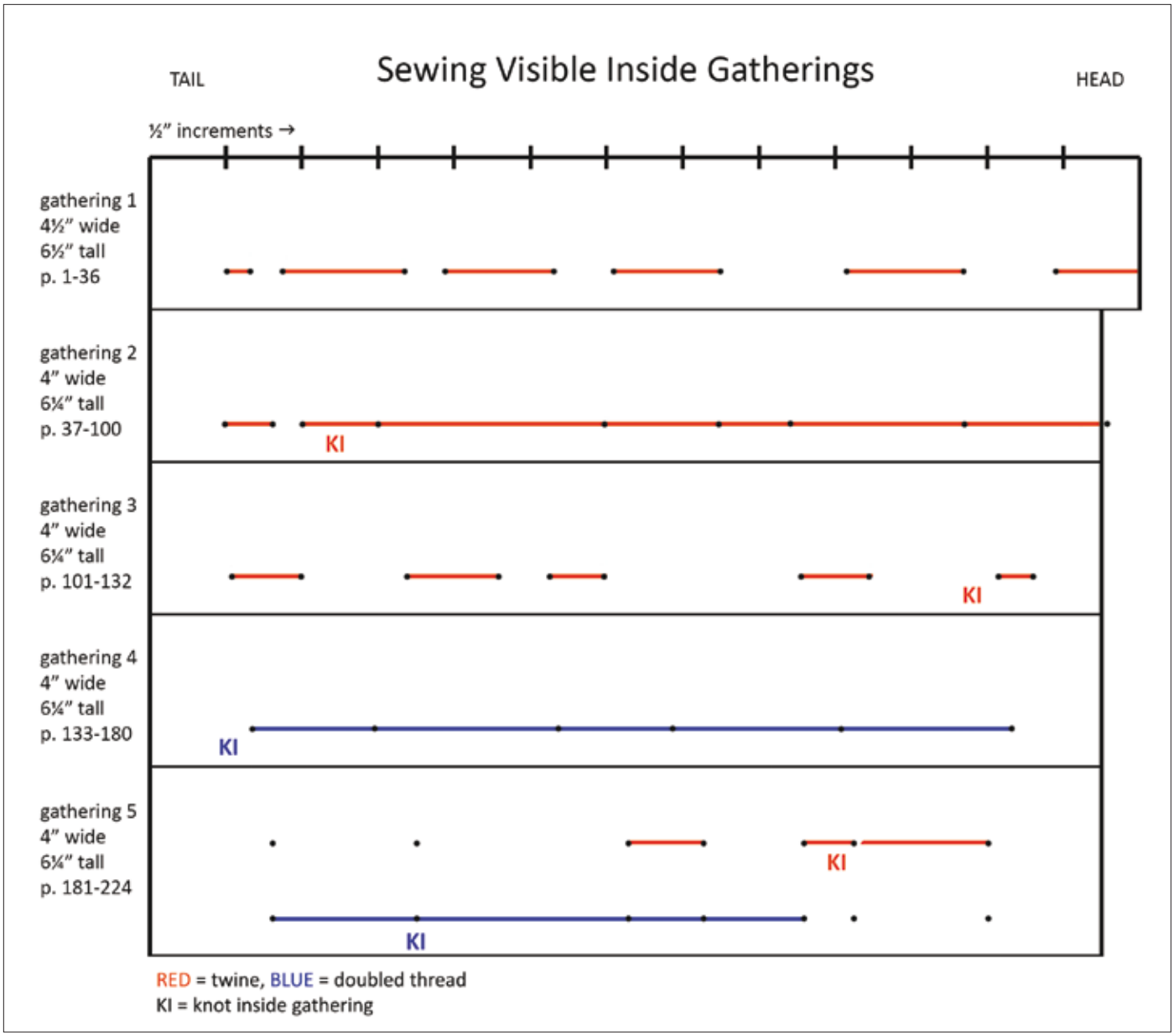


Figure 3. The approximate measurements of each gathering and the sewing visible inside each. The heights and the spacing of the sewing holes correspond to the scale at the top of the diagram with ½-inch increment marks.

As I created the replica binding described below, several iterations were made, some with vegetable-tanned calfskin and others with brain-tanned elkskin. Several aspects of the model could only be accurately accomplished with the brain-tanned skin, including the stretched-out loops at the head and tail and the pleat underneath the button attachment. Similar observations about the relative strength and stretchiness of different tanning technologies have been made by researchers in other contexts.[23] In addition to this tactile evidence, close examination of the journal with ultraviolet light and transmitted light supported the assumption that a brain-tanned skin was used to bind this book, which further supports that it was bound in the field.[24]

If the skin were processed by the Corps at Fort Clatsop, it is most likely elk. Elk was their primary food source over the winter months, with little variety. The journals mention over a hundred that were shot for food. Only some of these would have had their skins dressed for use, as dressing required the brain of the animal. A single animal's brain is sufficient to tan the skin of that animal, but the brain spoils quickly and is difficult to transport outside of the skull. As the hunters traveled far afield in their search for meat, only animals shot nearby would be returned to camp with their brains intact. Others would have been butchered in the field

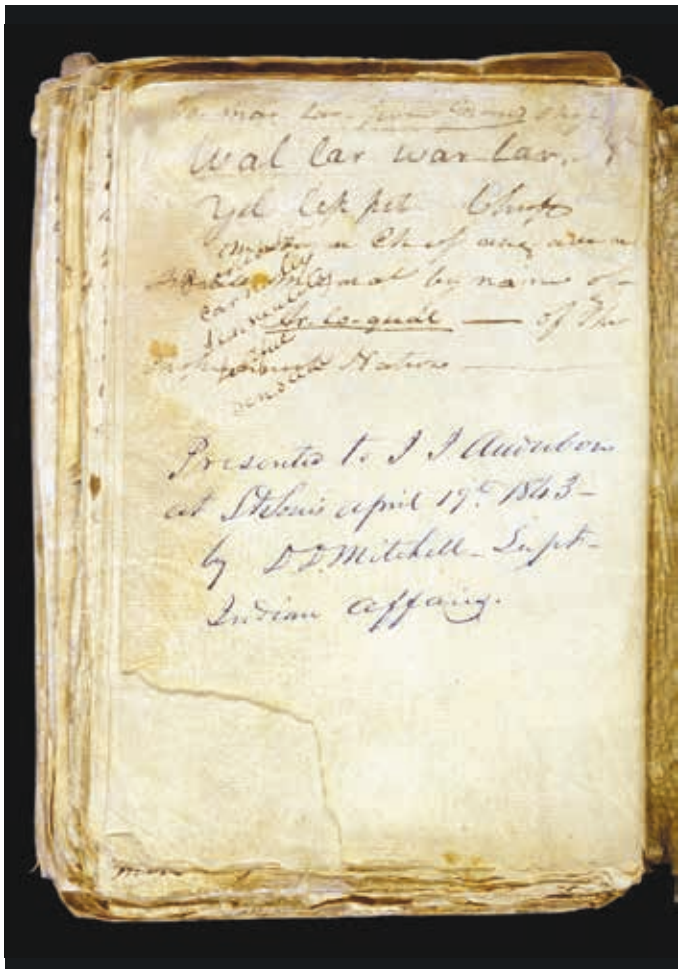


Figure 4. The last page of the journal, showing the inscription: "Presented to J. J. Audubon at St. Louis April 19th 1843—by D. D. Mitchell—Supt—Indian Affairs." Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

and the head removed.[25] This shortage of brains (and lye) was noted in Lewis' journal entry for January 23, 1806: "The men of the garison are still busily employed in dressing Elk's skins for cloathing, they find great difficulty for the want of branes; we have not soap to supply the deficiency, nor can we procure ashes to make the lye; none of the pines which we use for fuel affords any ashes...."[26] The Corps did find a way past this difficulty, though, and over the winter, the journals record a monotonous pattern of eating elk, dressing skins, and using the skins to make clothes and moccasins.

Sewing

My observation of the sewing of the Elkskin Journal was limited by the fragility of the object and the concavity of the spine. It is also by no means certain that all or even some of the existing sewing is original. Conservation treatment documentation from 1996 indicates that the first two leaves had been silked as part of a previous treatment. Silking is a now-discontinued practice of adding a layer of fine, nearly transparent silk over a badly deteriorated page. The silking treatment may have involved the removal of those leaves from the volume and possibly some sewing repair. Conservation treatment performed in 1996 and 2002 removed that silking but did not remove leaves from the binding or repair the sewing.[27]

Each gathering seems to have been sewn individually, and the sewing stations do not correspond in any organized way. Rather, the sewing resembles a very irregular archival long-stitch binding. Figure 3 shows the observed number of sewing holes and placement of the thread inside each gathering.

Several of the gatherings have quire tackets – small loops of thread that hold a gathering together before it is sewn. The first gathering has an off-center tacket of thin beige thread visible just inside the gathering and between gatherings one and two and at page 21. It passes through the paper and the parchment. The second gathering has a small red stitch through the center fold near the tail. Gathering five has off-center holes for a tacket visible on pages 181-203, but the thread is gone. This tacket may have been added by Clark to hold together the original and added pages.

The first gathering is sewn against the hair side of the skin, and then the skin is rolled over. The second gathering is sewn through two layers of skin, and the remaining gatherings appear to be sewn to the flesh side through a single layer of skin (see Figure 5). The same thick dark-brown twine or cord was used to sew the first three gatherings. A double thickness of moderately thick thread, lighter in color, was used to sew the fourth gathering, and the fifth gathering seems to have been sewn with both twine and thread.

Button and Laces

The skin extends under the last page of the journal and around the fore edge and is cut into an envelope flap with a horizontal slit for the button. The button used as a closure for the journal is made from a thick piece of skin, cut in a ¾ inch-diameter circle with a hole in the middle. The button may have been made from a different skin from the rest of the wrapper, as it is quite stiff and appears to have an intact grain layer. The button is attached with a skin lace sewn through the cover. The exact structure is not clear.

Two slits are cut parallel to the head and tail of the wrapper and have been stretched to form loops. A long skin lace, about ¼-inch wide and eleven inches long, is tied to the loop at the tail. There are three slits in the lace and several slits in

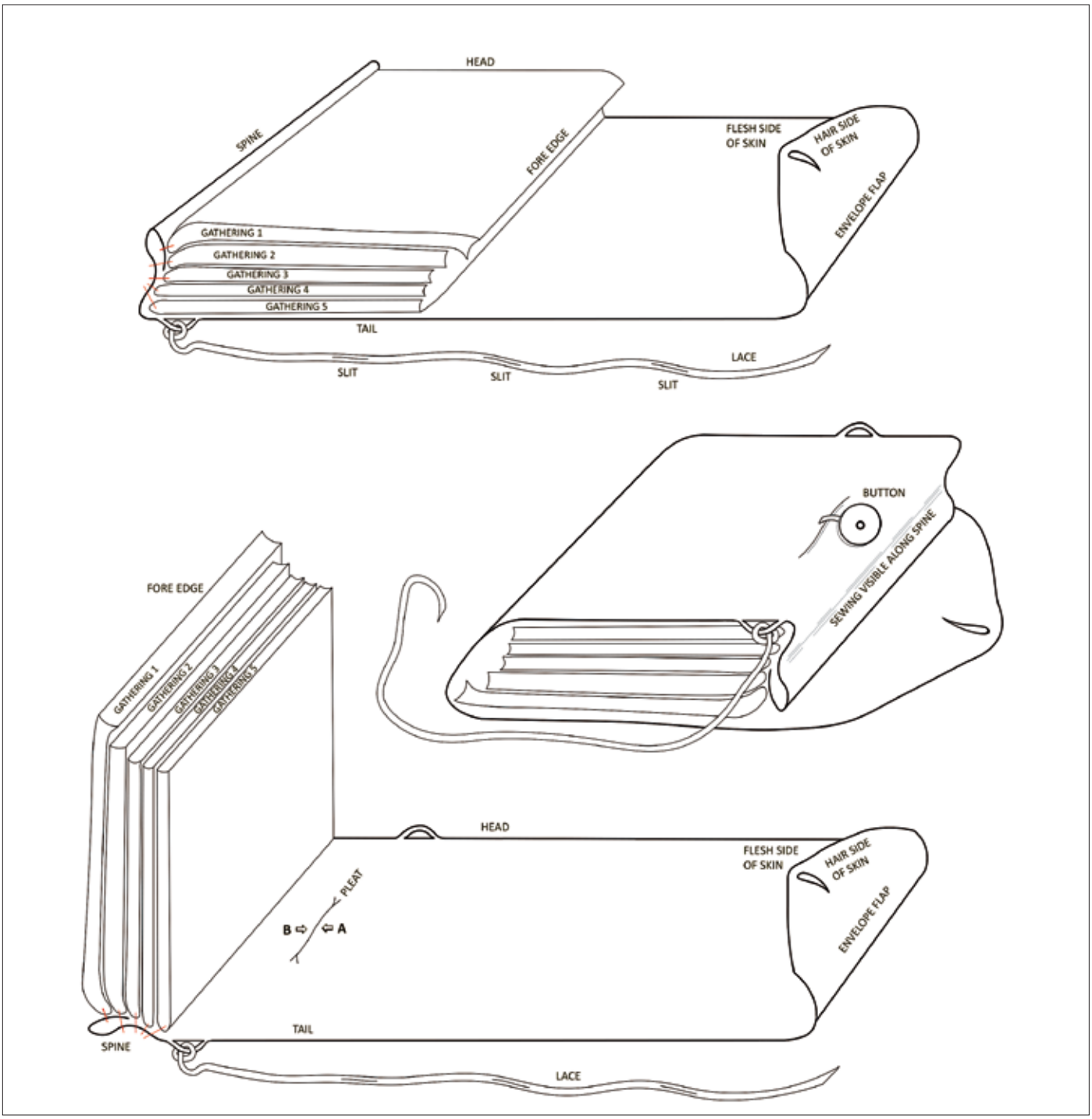


Figure 5. Diagram of replica parts and their relationship to each other and the whole.

the cover whose function is unclear.

The Life of the Journals

The journals from the Lewis and Clark Expedition have led interesting lives. During the Expedition, they were vital records to be protected at all costs. It was a constant challenge to keep papers dry, and when the white pirogue nearly capsized on May 14, 1805, Sacagawea's effort to save the papers and other articles was gratefully acknowledged by the captains.[28]

Every day of the Expedition was documented, and with few exceptions, the journals accompanied the men over and through every hazard. At a particularly difficult point in the return journey, with ten feet of snow on the ground and no clear trail through the rough terrain of the Bitterroots, the

Corps was compelled to leave the journals and their baggage behind, on scaffolding suspended between trees, as they backtracked in a desperate search for food for their horses and a guide who could get them over the mountains and back onto the plains of today's Montana. Sergeant Gass describes how "We therefore hung up our loading on poles, tied to and extended between trees, covered it all safe with deer skins, and turned back melancholy and disappointed." Fortunately, Nez Perce guides were found, and the party retrieved the journals nine days later.[29]

After the Expedition, Captain Lewis presented himself and the journals to President Jefferson in Washington, D.C. The captains were expected to prepare a publication on the Expedition, and so held onto the journals and notes. The story of that publication is a complicated one, but involved unexpected delays and the eventual transfer of most of the journals to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia at Jefferson's request. The Elkskin Journal, having been copied out into Codices G, H, and I, was not among those deposited in Philadelphia.[30] Five years after Clark's death in 1838, the journal was in the possession of D. D. Mitchell, who held Clark's former position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. According to an inscription on the last page of the journal, Mitchell presented the journal to American naturalist John James Audubon on April 19, 1843, just before Audubon began his own trip up the Missouri River (Figure 4). In a letter to his wife, Audubon called it "a gem," and mentions that he left it behind in St. Louis in the care of his brother-in-law.[31]

By 1903, the journal was owned by Clark's descendants, Julia Clark Voorhis and Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis, and was brought to light by Reuben Gold Thwaites in his 1905 published edition of the journals.[32] The journal found its permanent home in the Missouri Historical Society in 1923 as part of the Clark Family Papers.

Given this history, the existence and condition of this journal are remarkable. Though worn and fragile, it is available for scholars to consult and is a tangible reminder of the immediacy of the past. Perhaps all Lewis and Clark readers imagine themselves on the journey, traveling on the same rivers, finding ways to communicate and survive, and holding the same objects in their hands. Being one of these readers and also a book conservator, I was drawn to the idea of making a replica binding of the Elkskin Journal. I imagined what it was like to create and use this unique object.

Instructions for Making a Replica Journal

Historical replicas are delightful to own and to use, but it is the process of making them that reveals the most to the student of the object. The following instructions are imperfect, but produce a binding very similar to the original Elkskin Journal and may allow future binders to discern even more about this relic of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, its creators, and its historical period.

Materials Needed

- Elkskin, brain tanned, 7 x 15 inches, 1-2 mm thick
- 8 sheets of text-weight paper, 6½ x 9 inches, grain short
- 47 sheets of text-weight paper, 6¼ x 8 inches, grain short[33]
- 1 piece of heavier paper or thin parchment, 6½ x 9 inches
- Twine (ideally 8/4-ply flax seaming twine)
- Thread (ideally 16/3-ply linen thread)
- Awl
- Glover's needle
- Pliers
- Ruler
- Cutting mat
- Scalpel or X-ACTO knife
- Scissors
- Pencil and pen

Brain-Tanned Elkskin or Alternatives

If possible, use a brain-tanned elkskin or thick deerskin for the replica. Skins can be purchased online, or they can be found through local Native American sources or primitive skills enthusiasts. Or, you can brain-tan a skin on your own.[34]

There are several methods to verify that a skin is, in fact, brain tanned. In most cases, the grain layer of the leather will be gone, leaving a suede surface on both sides of the skin. The hair side will be smoother than the flesh side. If the skin has received the final preservative step of smoking, it will smell strongly of smoke for a long time. Brain-tanned skin can also be distinguished under ultraviolet illumination. Vegetable-tanned and chrome-tanned leathers do not fluoresce under ultraviolet illumination, while brain-tanned skins will.[35] Also, some light from a bright flashlight will pass through a brain-tanned skin, but not through a vegetable-tanned or chrome-tanned skin.[36]

If brain-tanned elk or deerskin is unavailable, chrome- or vegetable-tanned calf or goat can be substituted. In this case,

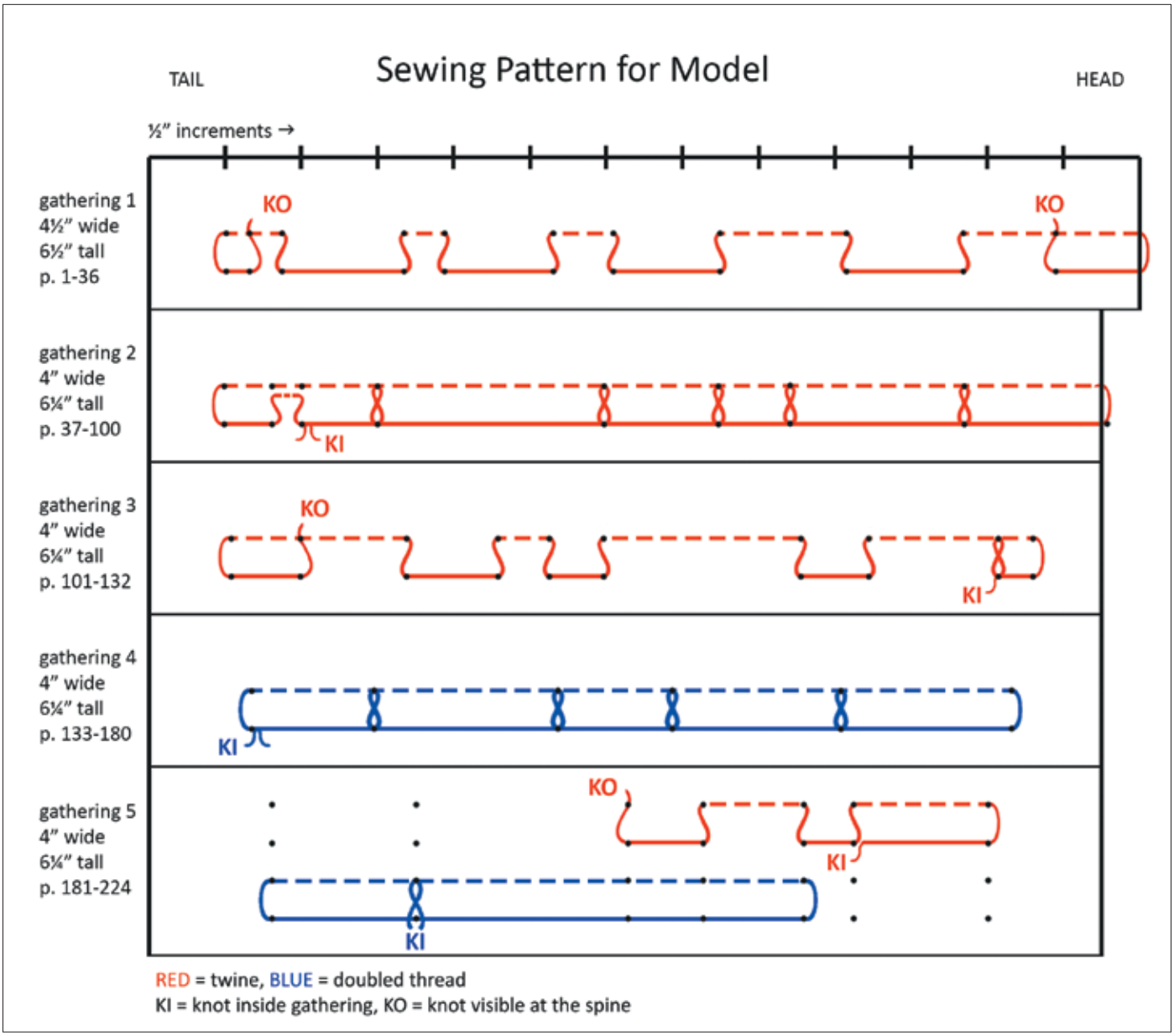


Figure 6. The approximate measurements of each gathering and a suggested sewing pattern. The heights and the spacing of the sewing holes correspond to the scale at the top of the diagram with ½-inch increment marks.

shave off the grain layer so that the skin has a double suede layer.[37] These other tannages will result in a much less stretchy skin than brain-tanned skin, and will affect the final result.

Cutting the Skin

The wrapper will be the height of the larger first gathering (6½ inches) and about three times the width (fifteen inches). Save extra skin for the laces and button. It is a good idea to have the spine edge cut to the correct height, but leave the rest oversized. Brain-tanned skin is stretchy and you will need to think about how the height will contract as the skin is stretched around the book, and how the laces will thin once they are stretched out.

Paper

Take the eight larger sheets of text-weight paper and the one heavier sheet of paper (or parchment). Fold in half once along the grain so that the heavier paper is on the outside. This is the first gathering. From the smaller text paper, make the second gathering with sixteen sheets, the third with eight sheets, the fourth with twelve sheets, and the fifth with eleven sheets. This will result in a total of 224 pages. Press well, and then trim the gatherings to the heights and widths indicated in Figure 6.

Figure 7: The completed replica of Clark's Elkskin Journal.

Sewing

Each gathering is sewn individually through the skin. For the twine, use 8/4-ply flax seaming twine (a little under 1 mm thick). For the last two gatherings, use a double thickness of 16/3-ply linen thread. If these are unavailable, any thick, strong twine or thread will work.

Using an awl or needle, punch holes through each paper gathering, as indicated in Figure 6.

Position the first gathering about ½ inch in from the right edge of the skin (hair side up), flush to the tail and face up. Sew the first gathering through the paper and the skin, starting at the tail. At the head, the thread passes over the edge of the leather, back into the center of the gathering, and then out through the skin.

The sewing for the second gathering passes through two layers of the skin and will cause the skin to roll over around to the spine (see Figure 5). Parallel pen lines, ⅝ inch apart on the flesh side of the skin can be made to guide the sewing holes. They will be concealed when the twine is pulled tight. Starting at the tail, sew the gathering loosely through both layers of skin. Pass the needle over the head of the gathering and through both layers of skin. Pull the twine tight, bringing the skin into a tight roll. Finish sewing the gathering, passing through the same sewing holes on the way back to the tail. Trim the excess leather below the second gathering so that it barely extends past the sewing.

Sew the remaining gatherings through a single layer of skin from the flesh side. Minimize the space between the gatherings. When viewed from the spine, the lines of stitching should almost overlap. This will tend to draw the spine into a concave shape.

Knots, Button, and Laces

Cut a short lace from the same skin, ⅛ inch wide and six inches long. Cut or punch a round button ¾ inch in diameter. Use the stiffest part of the skin or use a thicker skin to make a robust button that will not be easily bent. Punch a hole through the center with an awl.

Pierce two holes in the wrapper, centered head to tail and about one inch and 1¼ inches from the spine. Hole "A" is closer to the fore edge. Hole "B" is closer to the spine. Draw the short lace through both holes, starting from the outside of "A." It is easiest to do this by pushing with the awl and pulling with a pair of pliers.

Pierce another hole, about ¼ inch above hole "B." Draw the lace from "B" through to the inside of the skin, but do not pleat the skin. Secure this stitch with a loop of thread, tied off inside the skin. Pull the lace tight to draw up a pleat between "A" and "B." Hammer to flatten the pleat so that it lays flat on the outside of the skin, pulled towards the spine. Trim excess of the "B" lace from inside the skin.

Lace "A" through the hole in the button. Leaving ⅜ inch of lace under the button, tie an overhand knot in the end to hold the button in position. Hammer to flatten the knot, trim away any protruding tail, and hammer again.

Cut a long lace from the same skin, approximately ¼ inch wide and thirteen inches long, with tapered ends. Cut a ⅜-inch long slit at the head of the wrapper, parallel to and ⅛ inch in from the edge of the skin, 1½ inches from the gutter. Cut a similar slit at the tail, next to the gutter, and ⅛ inch in from the edge of the skin. Dampen slightly with water, then tug on each hole firmly to stretch it out. Using an overhand knot, tie the long lace around the hole at the tail, leaving the

short end pointing towards the fore edge. Cut slits in the lace, as indicated in Figure 5.

Wrap the skin snugly around the volume. Cut a 1-inch long horizontal slit in the skin corresponding to the button. Cut the envelope flap, with a slightly rounded tip, ⅛ inch away from the slit, and angled out to the head and tail.

Embellishments

The model journal will look much like the original did, but it can be realistically aged with some rough handling, dirt, humidity, dry air, heat, and sunshine. (Or just take it on a hike across the continent). The digital images of the Elkskin Journal from the Missouri Historical Society show all the dates, maps, and notes that can be added. The map of Fort Clatsop inside the back cover can be imitated with a fine black ballpoint pen.

Conclusion

I hope that this examination of the Elkskin Journal will find an interested and critical audience in the legion of Lewis and Clark aficionados. Each of us, in reading the journals and exploring the world of the Corps of Discovery, embarks on our own journey along with the explorers and, it is hoped, returns with new knowledge to share.

Part of what drew me to make a replica of this object was its uniqueness – both as an artifact with a singular place in American history but also as a physical book. The Elkskin Journal has a number of features that set it apart: the irregular sewing, the wrap-around structure that extends only to the right side, and the use of brain-tanned skin were all puzzles to be solved. As I made my own version of the binding, I had to step away from familiar techniques and imagine myself as a person far from home, armed with a wide variety of practical skills, but perhaps working with only a loose idea of bookbinding conventions and certainly without the traditional materials and tools of that trade.

Inevitably, one wonders whose hands did this work. The Corps did not include a bookbinder, but as the Expedition progressed, different men distinguished themselves with particular skills. Both Clark and Lewis were eminently capable men, but their skills with a needle, thread, and leather were never commented on. Private Joseph Whitehouse, however, was noted to be a particularly skilled tailor and was frequently called upon to make buckskin clothing for the group.[38] His journal survives and is held by the Newberry Library in Chicago.[39] Although quite different in style, this journal is also bound in a wrapper of brain-tanned animal hide, probably elk. Though it cannot be said with any assurance that Whitehouse was the binder of either journal, it is a fascinating possibility.

Jefferson had given instructions for the men to guard their observations "against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed." Despite its unsophisticated nature and rough travels, the wrapper for the Elkskin Journal did just that. And like the text it encloses, it continues to give insight into the Expedition and the people who set out to see and document the expanding United States. ∎

Acknowledgements

The author would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the following colleagues and friends: Richard Baker, Julie Biggs, Bexx Caswell-Olson, Lesa Dowd, Jennifer Evers, Michael Kelly, Molly Kodner, Dan Paterson, and Shelly Smith.

Katherine S. Kelly is a book conservator at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. Her work there is focused on the treatment of rare books and bound manuscripts, largely from the Geography and Map Division and the Music Division. In addition to her interest in Lewis and Clark materials, she also researches construction and preservation techniques for atlases and foldouts. The Elkskin Journal has inspired an interest in identifying other examples of brain-tanned skins used in bookbindings.

Notes

1. Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis, 20 June 1803. Letterpress copy of manuscript letter [instructions for the Corps of Discovery], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, accessed May 1, 2022, https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/lewisandclark/images/ree0057p1.jpg. Transcribed in: Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with related documents, 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:62.

2. Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 2:549-67; Paul Russell Cutright, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989; reprint of 1969 edition), 448-56; and Elliott Coues, "Description of the Original Manuscript Journals and Field Notebooks of Lewis and Clark, on Which was Based Biddle's *History of the Expedition of 1804-6*, and Which are Now in the Possession of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 31:140 (January 1893): 17-33. These three resources are particularly helpful in locating and understanding the mass of Lewis and Clark material. The most recent is the "Calendar of Journals and Manuscripts" in Moulton's edition of the *Journals*. Paul Cutright's "Appendix C: Locations of Lewis and Clark Journals, Maps, and Related Materials" is helpfully broken down by repository, and Elliott Coues' 1893 description of the journals in the American Philosophical Society has detailed physical descriptions.

3. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:8-35.

4. William Clark, *Elkskin Journal, September-December 1805*, Clark Family Collection, Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis, accessed May 1, 2022, http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/214653.

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

6. Missouri Historical Society Archives, catalogue record for the Elkskin

Journal, accessed May 1, 2022, http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/214653.

7. The digitized copy of the Journal unfortunately skips pages 74 and 75, a page opening from October 26, 1805. The page numbers in this article follow the page sequence of the actual journal, not the numbering used in the digital images available in May 2022.

8. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:148.

9. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:23-25.

10. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:46. Moulton notes that "The Elkskin-bound Journal contains some miscellaneous material of uncertain date, between the December 7 and 8 entries, including distances on the lower Columbia and a list of local tribes. Here also is an entry dated January 1, 1806, having no daily material but consisting of a list of sea captains who traded with the nearby Indians, from Indian information. Lewis has a similar list in Codex J under March 17. We cannot say which list was written first; Clark's list in the elkskin book has more details, and material of any date could have been included in the book."

11. First gathering: page 36, upside-down map after entry for October 14, 1805. Second gathering: page 100, upside-down "Names of Tribes" after entry for November 1, 1805. Third gathering: page 132, out-of-place and sometimes upside-down text in the middle of entry for November 13. Fourth gathering: pages 178-180, map, lists, and notes after entry for December 7, 1805. Fifth gathering: page 224, notes in Clark's hand on the last page of the book. Moulton's footnotes to the *Journals* describe how each example does or does not fit into the chronology.

12. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 3:492-505. Baling Invoices; and Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:96.

13. Cathleen A. Baker, *From the Hand to the Machine: Nineteenth-Century American Paper and Mediums: Technologies, Materials, and Conservation* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Legacy Press, 2010), 115, 295-98.

14. Thomas W. Dunlay, "'Battery of Venus': A Clue to the Journal-Keeping Methods of Lewis and Clark," *We Proceeded On* 9:3 (August 1983): 7. "The pages covering those days must have been bound in elkskin and saved because they covered a period for which there were no complete Lewis journals."

15. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:47. Moulton notes that "Clark's Elkskin-bound Journal contains a number of sketch maps, some of them made going down the Columbia in October 1805. Obviously the journal was out and in use during the return up the Columbia. But the Lolo Trail maps in the same book do not have return campsites marked. That may indicate that Clark finished his copying of the Elkskin-bound Journal (to December 31, 1805) by the time he left Camp Chopunnish, having been engaged in copying [into the red morocco books] from it there or during the upriver journey."; also Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:308, 312. "Opposite this material in the Elkskin-bound Journal is a sketch map showing the party's route for about October 20–21, the camp of October 20, and return campsites of April 23 and 24, 1806." There is a similarly marked return campsite for April 25, 1806.

16. Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books and Missouri Historical Society Press, 2003), 387, 288. The journal is described as: "Ink on paper, bound in cured hide 6¾ x 16½ x ¾ (open); 6¾ x 5½ x ⅞ (closed)" and notes that "Most of the information it contains was later (probably at Fort Clatsop) copied into the red leather journal books … Although it became famous as a 'Field-book, bound in a rude piece of elk skin' when Reuben Gold Thwaites first published its contents in 1904, the Missouri Historical Society's 1923 accession records call it 'bound in Buffalo hyde'. [sic]"

17. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:47. William Clark on November 14, 1805, "The rain &c. which has continued without a longer intermition than 2 hours at a time for ten days past had distroyd. the robes and rotted ⟨a great maney⟩ nearly one half of the fiew Clothes the party has, perticularley the leather Clothes,— fortunately for us we have no very Cold weather as yet and if we have Cold weather before we Can kill & Dress Skins for Clothing ⟨we⟩ the bulk of the party will Suffer verry much."

18. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:75-76.

19. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:444.

20. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9: 179. John Ordway on July 3, 1805, "Some men out for meat &.C. the 2 men returned from the falls and had killed 6 buffalow, and Saved only the tongues, & brains for to dress Skins."; and Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 11:217 Joseph Whitehouse on July 3, 1805, "Sergt. Gass and the man returned from the falls, had killed Six buffalow and Saved only the brains and tongues."

21. Matt Richards, *Deerskins into Buckskins: How to Tan with Brains, Soap or Eggs*, 2nd ed. (Cave Junction, Oregon: Backcountry Publishing, 2004), 25.

22. Theresa Emmerich Kamper, *Determining Prehistoric Skin Processing Technologies: The Macro and Microscopic Characteristics of Experimental Samples* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Sidestone Press, 2020), 83-96.

23. Emmerich Kamper, *Determining Prehistoric Skin Processing Technologies*, 203-8.

24. The journal was examined by the author in December 2021 at the Missouri Historical Society. The ultraviolet lamp used was a handheld unit with 365 nm 6 Watt bulbs. The transmitted light lamp used was a 350 lumen LED headlamp.

25. Joseph Mussulman, "Making Leather," Discovering Lewis and Clark, accessed May 1, 2022, http://www.lewis-clark.org.

26. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:230-31. Lewis on January 23, 1806. Clark uses identical words in his journal entry for the same day.

27. Elkskin Journal, reports of conservation treatment (unpublished documents, Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis, 1996 and 2002).

28. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:154-57. Clark on May 14, 1805, "the articles which floated out was nearly all caught by the Squar who was in the rear. This accident had like to have cost us deerly; [Lewis takes over writing] for in this perogue were embarked our papers, Instruments, books, medicine, a great proportion of our merchandize, and in short almost every article indispensibly necessary to further the views, or insure the success of the enterprize in which, we are now launched to the distance of 2,200 miles." Lewis on May 16, 1805, "the Indian woman to whom I ascribe equal fortitude and resolution, with any person onboard at the time of the accedent, caught and preserved most of the light articles which were washed overboard."

29. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 10:241. Patrick Gass on June 17, 1806; and Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 371-73.

30. Paul Russell Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).

31. John James Audubon to family, 23 April 1843, John Francis McDermott, ed., *Audubon in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 64. After describing to his wife how he is leaving many of his recent drawings and animal specimens behind in a "dry garret" in St. Louis in the care of his brother-in-law Nicholas Berthoud, Audubon writes, "I have had a Gem presented to me by Major Mitchell, which is no less than one of Lewis and Clarks M.S. Journal containing the year 1805. It is written by General Clark. This I leave also behind me with Nicholas." McDermott affirms in a foot note that this is the Elkskin Journal, now at the MHS; and Joseph Mussulman and Doug Erickson, "John James Audubon," Discovering Lewis and Clark, accessed May 1, 2022, http://www.lewis-clark.org. This article leaves open the question of which 1805 journal was given to Audubon, but the inscription in the Elkskin Journal seems to make it clear.

32. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1904-1905), l-liv.

33. For authenticity, use laid writing paper, in a natural white or cream color, about 75 gsm for the text weight and 120 gsm for the heavier sheet. Stationary shops that cater to calligraphers and quill and fountain pen users sell 8½ x 11-inch sheets. Good quality laid paper is expensive and is difficult to find in larger sizes. In order to make a correctly-sized replica and in the interests of economy, I used a 14 x 17-inch pad of wove Strathmore 300 Series Sketch paper and a heavier sheet of unknown brand, which I colored with dilute acrylic paint and cut to the appropriate sizes.

34. Richards, *Deerskins into Buckskins*; Matt Richards, "Traditional Tanners." Website of Traditional Tanners, from Cave Junction, Oregon, https://braintan.com/.

35. R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London: Seminar Press Ltd., 1972), 252-56.

36. Emmerich Kamper, *Determining Prehistoric Skin Processing Technologies*, 106. The effect on chrome-tanned skin is based on the present author's personal observations.

37. Leather can be purchased as a "suede split" without the grain layer, or the grain layer can be removed by sanding or by using specially designed tools for leather thinning and paring, like a modified spokeshave or a Scharffix.

38. Arlen J. Large, "Expedition Specialists: The Talented Helpers of Lewis and Clark," *We Proceeded On* 20:1 (February 1994): 4.

39. Joseph Whitehouse, *Journal Commencing at River Dubois [i.e. Wood River, Ill.] ... 1804 May 14-1805 Nov. 6*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, accessed May 1, 2022, https://archive.org/details/ayer_ms_978.

On the Research Trail with Stephen Ambrose

By Bob Stalder

Bob Stalder at the Stephen Ambrose monument at the Lolo Pass Visitor Center near Steve's beloved Packer Meadow.

It started with a simple enough question over the telephone.

"Do you want to go on a trip?" Steve asked. I had done enough hiking, canoeing, camping, and just riding in Chevy pickup trucks with Steve Ambrose to immediately and without thought reply, "Sure."

I was a 27-year-old former student of Steve's, had remained a family friend, and was working as a carpenter in Baton Rouge at that time in 1977. I had a lot of freedom, but it was mid-week and I did have two questions: where and when?

The answer to "where?" came out first. "Where it ended and where it began," he explained, "To where Meriwether Lewis died and where he was born. I'm going to write a book about him, and I want to stay where he died and was buried, and I want to go to the place where he was born." That meant Grinder's Inn in Tennessee and Charlottesville, Virginia.

The "when?" was to be soon. We would leave that Saturday morning and be back the next Wednesday evening, and it would be just the two of us. Knowing Steve as I did, and having travelled with him and his family many times before, I knew this would be fun and educational. What made it different, after all the Lewis and Clark routes we had taken, is that this one did not involve any path on the journey of discovery. What made it especially unique for me, this was my only major road trip alone with Steve.

While much has been written about Steve's Lewis and Clark research travels in introductions and essays, and while I am sure he told this story many times, the only places I have seen this trip mentioned in print are in a story by Dayton Duncan in *The American West* magazine[1] subsequently quoted in Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs' article in the *Undaunted Courage* 25th anniversary issue of *We Proceeded On*;[2] one of the paragraphs about me in Steve's book *Comrades* ("He was my companion on a trip to Virginia to see Meriwether Lewis's birthplace in 1977; along the way we stopped at Lewis's grave in Tennessee);"[3] and in his inscription in my copy of *Undaunted Courage* ("For Bob Stalder, Who slept beside me at Lewis's grave – who hiked with me in Lewis's footsteps – who paddled with me in Lewis's wake on the Missouri River. Happy Trails SE Ambrose Helena June 6, 1998)."[4] I think a look at this journey gives a good picture of how Steve researched and wrote, as well as who he was as a person and friend. He wanted to experience

the places where his histories happened, and he wanted to do it with family and friends.

The plan was a good one. I was to drive down to the Ambrose house in New Orleans after work that Friday to hash out the details, and we would take off Saturday morning. But not exactly first thing. In fact, we would be committing the cardinal Steve Ambrose sin of "burning daylight." He was in a running stage at the time, there was a 10K race that morning, and he was going to participate in it.

I would drop him close to the beginning and pick him up near the end, although not exactly at the start and finish. Steve was a college professor and the author of some very readable and academically-successful histories, but he and Moira were raising five kids, so the entry fee wasn't in the budget.

Saturday morning we waited on Canal Street at its intersection with Bourbon in his pickup with the camper shell on the back, loaded and ready to go. As the tight pack of runners exploded from the French Quarter into a much looser mass on Canal Street, Steve merged into the group. Near the finish a couple of hours later, he veered from the race course onto the side street where I was parked, and our memorable start continued.

We went west out of town on I-10, and I'm going to name and talk about the roads on this trip, because roads and trails and waterways were important to Steve and figured heavily into his research and written works. He loved the interstate highways that Dwight Eisenhower gave us. They are a way to see the United States and to make time when needed. A few miles west of New Orleans I-55 begins its route north, and we took it. We also took advantage of Mississippi's then-lenient speed laws to beat it north of Jackson, and then we headed northeast on the Natchez Trace.

Lewis did not get on the trace until he got near Grinder's Inn, where he spent his final night. We started near its beginning to get a feel for the route, talk about its history, and to discuss Lewis and Clark, especially Meriwether. Steve already felt then that Lewis had committed suicide, and he hoped staying at Grinder's would help him to understand this.

We arrived at the inn during what had turned into a drizzly, dreary Saturday afternoon, and the place was deserted. It was set up for tourists, but it didn't feel open. However, the door was not locked, so we went in to look around. We were delighted we could get inside and get a real feel for the place, as it was important to Steve's research. He and I did some brassy things together, but we never broke and entered. Inside it was unlit, gloomy and damp. Among the rules on the sign was one about no overnight camping.

"We've got to sleep in here," Steve commanded. I was not a total stickler for rules nor all that superstitious, but who knew how many characters had stayed in that place during its day, including one who had committed suicide. "No way," I said. "Let's just sleep in the camper shell next to the grave like we planned."

Even that was enough to get us busted.

The evening wasn't any less damp than the afternoon. After cold supper, a dram of liquor, and some lantern-light readings in the inn, we buttoned ourselves into the bed of the pickup. It finally got dark, and we had dozed off when there came a tapping and the beam of a flashlight shining through a rain-spattered window of the camper shell, along with the questions: "What's going on?" and "May I see some ID please?" It was a cop, and he wanted to know why we were there. Our driver's licenses proved out, but we still got a lecture about no camping and were asked to leave. That's when Steve played his card.

"I'm a historian," he said, "and I'm doing research for a book about Meriwether Lewis and I'm in love with this man. I really need to spend the night where he spent his last night and died. If you're into history, give me your name and address and I'll send you a copy of the book when it's done." I don't think the officer really wanted us to have to drag out into the rainy night and drive off to find someplace else to put up, so he told us we could stay, but to be gone first thing in the morning. The brash Ambrose charm had worked again.

The next day we took the trace to Nashville, went east a ways on I-40, and then down into Great Smoky Mountains National Park for a night of real Ambrose-Stalder camping. We would have a campfire, hot food, and story-telling, the latter after a ration of alcohol to loosen things up a bit. We made camp and got the fire started, then Steve took off into the Smoky Mountains on his almost-daily run. After we had our meal and got started on our whiskey and stories, the evening came to an abrupt end following some rustling in the bushes around us and an invasion of skunks. Many skunks. We doused our fire and beat a hasty retreat into the pickup shell. A ranger told us the next morning that the skunks were acclimated to people and came down into the campgrounds at night. Cold comfort for a shortened evening around a campfire.

We proceeded on through the Smokies, picking up I-40 again east of the park for the short jaunt to Asheville, North Carolina, then onto another scenic road, the Blue Ridge Parkway. We rode the backs of the mountains into Virginia, and when we got to Waynesboro and the intersection with I-64 just west of Charlottesville, we took an early motel. The parkway becomes the Skyline Drive north of there, and Steve wanted to run on it.

Our final day of research began the next morning with a drive to Charlottesville and up Locust Hill. The Lewis house was locked up, but we could study the place all around the outside and look into the windows. Steve didn't verbalize it at the time, but I'll always believe that standing under the bedroom window on the west side of the house on that morning he had the inspiration for what would become the opening sentence of Undaunted Courage: "From the west-facing window of the room in which Meriwether Lewis was born on August 18, 1774, one could look out at Rockfish Gap, in the Blue Ridge Mountains, an opening to the West that invited exploration."[5]

The rest of Tuesday was spent exploring Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, with much discussion of its history and architecture. We two avid gardeners marveled at the fascinating grounds. This not being a real camping trip, another motel followed, with another run by Steve.

Wednesday was an Eisenhower day, meaning all interstate highways from Charlottesville to New Orleans. We drove plenty of them, setting a southwest heading on Interstates 64, 81, 75, 59, 20, and 10 on our one-day route home.

Undaunted Courage wasn't published until nineteen years later. On that road trip in 1977, Steve Ambrose and I visited the places Meriwether Lewis' life began and ended. We stood facing west under the window of the room where he was born, and we slept beside his grave. It remains an honor and cherished memory to have been part of this journey of discovery. ∎

Bob Stalder was a student of Steve Ambrose's in the early 1970s at then-LSUNO (now University of New Orleans), becoming a lifelong friend of the entire Ambrose family. He worked his way through college and after as a sportswriter for the New Orleans Times-Picayune *before entering construction. He retired as a general superintendent. Bob and his wife Pattie live on a farm near Westmoreland, Kansas, raising horses and tending their flower beds and organic vegetable garden. They still camp regularly, visiting Lewis and Clark sites whenever possible.*

Notes

1. Dayton Duncan, "Trailing Lewis and Clark on the Missouri," *The American West* (May-June 1987).

2. Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs, "Stephen Ambrose In His Own Words: A Daughter's Journey Through the Scrapbooks," *We Proceeded On* 47:4 (November 2021): 20.

3. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Comrades*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 87-88.

4. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), Author's inscription to this writer, Title Page.

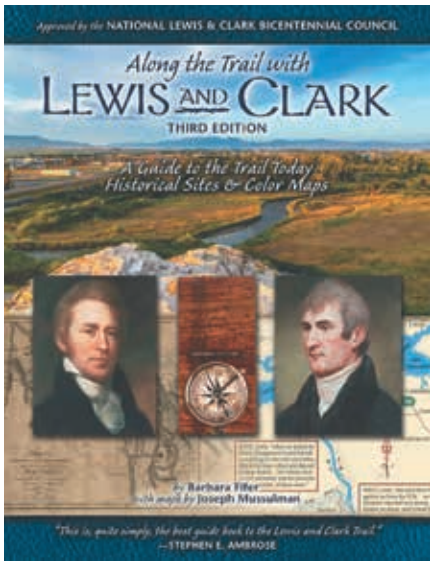
5. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 13.

Reviews

Along the Trail with Lewis and Clark: A Guide to the Trail Today Third Edition

By Barbara Fifer
Farcountry Press, 2021, 120 Pages, $18.95

Reviewed by Charles E. Rankin



It is not often that a guidebook comes along that is as enjoyable from an armchair as it is valuable in the field for tracking trails and historic sites. *Along the Trail with Lewis and Clark: A Guide to the Trail Today*, Third Edition, by Barbara Fifer with maps by respected Lewis and Clark scholar Joseph Mussulman, is such a book. Beautifully produced by Farcountry Press, this new edition provides the most up-to-date information on how to follow the momentous trek Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the Corps of Discovery undertook between 1803 and 1806.

This is a book for the seasoned enthusiast and beginner alike. Through accessible narrative and easily deciphered maps, everything the modern-day explorer needs is here. Although only 120 pages and thus much smaller, *Along the Trail* reminds the Alaskan adventurer of the famed essential travel guide, *The Milepost*, but without the commercialism.

Barbara Fifer is no stranger to writing and compiling useful books, nor is she a stranger to the Lewis and Clark story. She has produced other books on the Corps of Discovery that focus on such themes as an illustrated glossary, Native tribes along the way, and a day-to-day look at the journey. Joseph A. Mussulman (1928-2017), long-time professor of music at the University of Montana, was a recognized expert on Lewis and Clark and mapmaker and created the website *Discovering Lewis and Clark*.

No component of this book is superfluous. Of equal value are the introductory "How to Use This Book," the twenty-eight well-crafted chapters, each with one or more full-color maps, the detailed index, and the brief "After the Journey," which tells what happened to many of the Corps of Discovery's important characters. A selected bibliography listed under "For Further Exploration" apparently appearing in an earlier edition has been removed, however.

Fifer and Mussulman guide the reader from the Expedition's preparations on the East Coast, down the Ohio River for recruitment of what would become the Corps of Discovery, to the launch of their Expedition at St. Louis. From there, the narrative and maps guide the reader up the Missouri River to the Continental Divide, on to Astoria, and then back along the route of the return journey.

Like the text, the maps are gratifyingly detailed but not overly so, offering routes, streamflow directions, symbols for highways, travel restrictions, and major interpretive sites. Key excerpts from *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition* by award-winning author/editor Gary E. Moulton have been elegantly incorporated into the maps as well. The historical overview traces the highpoints, critical encounters, and main arc of the Expedition's story. Accompanying each chapter and noted prominently on the maps are fifty-five references to historical sites, museums, campsites, events, and practical tips for access, travel, lodging, and recreation. The reader is also appropriately warned to beware of driving conditions and private, tribal, and public land restrictions. The maps themselves are compendiums of information. Except for their time negotiating the Rocky Mountains forming the ranges of the Continental Divide, Lewis and Clark followed rivers, and Mussulman's maps allow the reader to follow the rivers as well in extraordinary detail.

Beautifully produced, this volume will reward the reader not only by the amount of essential information offered but also by an attractive price. Highly recommended. ∎

Charles E. Rankin is retired Editor-in-Chief for the University of Oklahoma Press and editor of three books. A fourth, his latest effort, is a collection of husband-and-wife Civil War letters, forthcoming from the University of Nebraska Press. He and his wife Diane live in Helena, Montana.

Lewis & Clark Reframed: Examining Ties to Cook, Vancouver, and Mackenzie

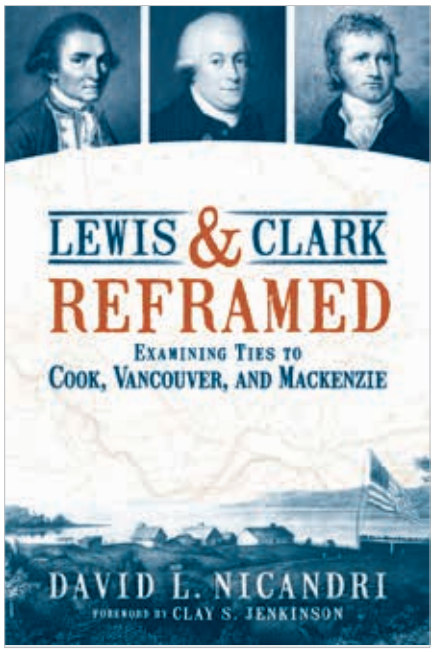
By David Nicandri
Washington State University Press,
184 pages, 2020, $32.95, Paperback

Reviewed by Mark Jordan

When I first read David Nicandri's extensive look at Lewis and Clark in his book *River of Promise: Lewis and Clark on the Columbia*,[1] he made an observation that strongly resonated with me. The captains, and especially Lewis, were quite beholden to Alexander Mackenzie and his account of the crossing of the North American continent in 1792-1793. Having read Mackenzie well before I undertook studying Lewis and Clark, I returned to my copy of Mackenzie's *Voyages from Montreal*.[2] Sure enough: phrase after phrase, idea after idea, even word after word, had worked their way into the captains' account of their excursion to the Pacific. This striking revelation made me appreciate Mackenzie even more, and set an interesting frame for Lewis and Clark's work. I developed a fine appreciation of Nicandri's historical analytical skills.

Nicandri, in this current volume, has followed up his observations on Mackenzie's impact on Lewis and Clark with a series of essays looking not only at Mackenzie, but also George Vancouver and particularly Captain James Cook. He attributes his interest in this broader look to James Ronda. To quote from Nicandri's Preface:

> Ronda pointed out that although Lewis and Clark were fixtures in the history of the American West "they have yet to be placed in the wider context" of Enlightenment era exploration.



Nicandri applauds Clay Jenkinson's seeking "liberation from the conventional (and largely mythic) national master narrative that has been permitted to pass for real history for so long." The "Reframed" of the title attempts to carry through on Ronda and Jenkinson's urgings. What can we learn from pursuing this approach?

WPO Editor Clay Jenkinson introduces the book with a laudatory forward, itself an interesting review. Nicandri, historian, museum consultant, and former director of the Washington State Historical Society, follows the forward with a preface elaborating on his intent in writing it. He separates his book into eight chapters, but "chapters" seems like an inappropriate labeling of its contents. Each "chapter" is really an essay on a separate subject, though there are links between essays. Nicandri finishes with an epilogue, really a ninth essay. Each essay perceives the Lewis and Clark Expedition differently from the hagiography that has plagued much Lewis and Clark study.

His first essay – "Lewis and Clark in the Age of Cook" – reviews much of the work of the most famous of the eighteenth century explorers, against whom all pre-twentieth century explorers are or should be measured, Captain James Cook. His three extensive voyages covered most of the unknown world. Nicandri counsels that in order to appraise the Lewis and Clark Expedition properly, we must take into account the exploration that preceded it. Concentrating on Cook's third voyage, the one that took him in search of the Northwest Passage around Alaska into the Arctic Ocean, Nicandri limits the parameters for evaluating what the two captains did: that is, narrowly defined that a Northwest Passage did not exist within the latitudes of the Columbia River.

In this essay Nicandri also advocates for the assertion that Lewis deserves less credit than he has heretofore been given, just as he maintains that Cook has been given less credit for his work in the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic than he deserves. Nicandri develops this latter argument more fully in his book about Cook[3] and criticizes the assessment of Cook's third voyage by Cook's primary biographer, John Beaglehole. The Beaglehole orthodoxy asserts that Cook was ill prepared to make the third voyage, an orthodoxy that Nicandri rejects. Nicandri observes that Cook proved that no high-latitude Northwest Passage existed and then, that Vancouver demonstrated that there was no Mer de L'Ouest, a mythical parallel to Hudson Bay that would have allowed easy passage from east to west. He charts

Peter Pond's search, then Mackenzie's, both preceding but leading inevitably to Lewis and Clark's failure to find a Northwest Passage. He then identifies the ultimate passage from east to west – the railroad.[4]

This essay, initially presented at a LCTHF meeting in 2013, I found rather diffuse, as it covers diverse subjects and is a diffuse look at the various explorations without tying them together. If his goal is to have Lewis and Clark placed in a broader context, he manages to get there, but by indirection. I agree with the author that exploration in the age of Cook, and that includes the Lewis and Clark Expedition, can only be evaluated by taking Cook into account.

This chapter includes three maps that are virtually unusable. The book's size is approximately six inches by nine inches. The three maps, each appearing on a separate page, are small and the type very difficult to read, even with a magnifying glass. While the explanation accompanying the maps describes the purpose of their inclusion, I found it disappointing that I could not more closely examine them.

In Chapter Two – "Exploring Under the Influence of Alexander Mackenzie" – Nicandri returns to a subject he covered in *River of Promise*. Essentially he posits that both captains, but Lewis primarily, used Mackenzie's *Voyages from Montreal* to frame what they said and how they said it, noting that this has been an area ignored by those who apply "the hagiographic tendency within the literature discussing Lewis and Clark." The captains "did not operate in a vacuum," Nicandri informs us, since their journals reflect literary conceits that preceded their adventure. Mackenzie's *Voyages from Montreal* "was also a methodological and literary model for Lewis and Clark."

Lewis' Expedition library included a copy of *Voyages from Montreal*. Nicandri compares various journal entries to what Mackenzie had written to show the parallels – or the copying. The extent of channeling Mackenzie can be seen in the inscriptions left by the captains on the trees they carved, parroting what Mackenzie had written in vermillion paint on a rock near the mouth of the Bella Coola River. Each Expedition journalist was in some way impacted by Mackenzie's prose. As noted above, I reread Mackenzie after reading *River of Promise* and found Nicandri's thesis impressively correct. The more familiar you are with Expedition journals, the more apparent the parallels become as you read *Voyages from Montreal*. As the author sums up his essay:

> From the beginning of his western venture to the end, Lewis was seemingly under Mackenzie's influence. The Scotsman was nearly as constant a companion to Lewis before, during, and after his "darling project"[5] as Clark had been.

This essay is an important look at the reframing of the Lewis and Clark story.[6] The magic of watching the essay unfold resides in the reservoir of the reader's knowledge and understanding of the Expedition journals.

Chapter Three – "The Rhyme of the Great Navigator: The Literature of Captain Cook and Its Influence on the Journals of Lewis and Cark" – continues the author's enlightening look at the evolution of the influences that impacted what Clark and Lewis wrote. It centers on Cook, using Lewis' April 7, 1805, panegyric, but digresses from Lewis to trace how Clark mistakenly attributed the presence of human teeth in Northwest Native canoes to Cook.[7] Cook never wrote that these canoes were festooned with human teeth. The "information" came from Mackenzie, from where Clark derived it. Nicandri describes how literary travel texts can impact what subsequent explorers write. In this process he unravels the mystery associated with the reference to human teeth, which Clark thought he had solved.

Nicandri also illuminates esoteric references penned by Lewis on sighting the Great Falls of the Missouri. The Captain wished to have "the pencil of Salvator Rosa or the pen of Thompson"[8] in order to portray the sight adequately. The former was a painter, the latter a poet (really "Thomson"), both of whom had an impact on members of the Cook party, which ultimately influenced Lewis. He also considers Lewis' use of the truly abstruse word "sublunary" in his thirty-first birthday reflection of August 18, 1805.[9] Nicandri concludes:

> Thus, as is true of so many aspects of Enlightenment-era exploration, Lewis was not crafting his experiences, or more particularly the words describing them, de novo: instead he was drawing on literary tradition.

Several paragraphs later he sums up his essay with:

> My aim here had been to show how the expedition can also be understood as a study in English

> literature, for every exploratory text resonates with the ambient culture that produced it.

Nicandri's first three essays are replete with material supporting his theses.

Perhaps the most interesting essay penned by Nicandri is found in Chapter 4 – "The Missing Journals: Some Clues on the Upper Missouri." Assuming that seven (or possibly eight) men of the Expedition kept journals,[10] and reasonably certain that Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor and Private Robert Frazer kept journals in addition to Lewis, Clark, Ordway, Gass, and Whitehouse (with a nod to the ill-fated Charles Floyd as the eighth), Nicandri engages in historical conjecture and a bit of intellectual legerdemain to derive the names of the unknown two. He mentions but gives no credit to the peripheral evidence that Alexander Willard kept a journal. Identifying a naming convention from his reading of Captain Cook, he applies it to names chosen by the Captains after the Corps left the Upper Portage Camp. Lewis or Clark "honored" several key federal government individuals by conferring their names on rivers, creeks, or streams. We see a prime example in naming the three rivers that became the Missouri at the Three Forks. Nicandri then examines names attached to other bodies of flowing water in that vicinity, allowing him to deduce that those names were chosen to honor someone important – the journal keepers. He identities geographical features named for Sergeants Nathaniel Pryor, John Ordway, and Patrick Gass, as well as Robert Frazer – known journal keepers. He then focuses on two other names – no spoilers here – given to nearby rippling bodies of water. Nicandri conjectures that they were named in honor of the unidentified journal keepers. It is certainly an ingenious thesis, but in the absence of finding the journals of either, or at least a reference to either, his thesis is unprovable, and not convincing.

In Chapter 5 – "The Illusion of Cape Disappointment" – Nicandri takes on the nay-sayers who complain that Clark did not see the Pacific Ocean when he stopped near Pillar Point on the Columbia. He lauds Clark's poetry ("Ocian in view! O! the joy!") and proceeds to justify the exclamation. He does so in two ways. First, he scrutinizes a map of what Clark might have seen. The view to the mouth of the Columbia would have been unblocked in 1805 from his point of observation. Second, he credits William Broughton's physical description that extended the Pacific inward from Cape Disappointment well past the mouth of the river. Could Clark have seen the Pacific? At the Astoria Meeting in 2018, the person who spoke before I gave my presentation sought to demonstrate that the earth's curvature was enough to prevent Clark from seeing the Pacific, which one would think might have settled the physical possibility. But if we accept Nicandri's analysis, that the ocean extends into the mouth of the Columbia (and he cites John Meares and Broughton to support it), then Clark did see – and hear – the roar of the Great Western Ocean. And to the nay-sayers – I say, "Who cares!" What is so important about a possible trifling difference of perception? I have never thought it important that Clark did not actually see the ocean from Pillar Point. I revel in his – their – joy at the discovery of where they were and the sense of accomplishment of having reached – almost – their goal. After all, the misery of "Dismal Nitch" would wash away their joy. It would be a while before any member of the party dipped a toe into the ocean. I vote with Nicandri on this.[11]

Nicandri in Chapter 6 – "Meriwether Lewis: The Solitary Hero" – further examines a theme developed by Clay Jenkinson in his *The Character of Meriwether Lewis: Explorer in the Wilderness*[12] of the Lewis whose ego demanded that he be the first to reach any important locale on the Expedition. While pointing out the many instances when Lewis was first – and probably wanted to be first – I feel this argument is a bit overstated. Conceding that Lewis took advantage of opportunities available to him, there were times that Clark was, or could have been, the first. Clark was the first to "see" the Rockies; he was the first to reach the important geographical location of the Three Forks; he was the first to explore the extent of the Columbia sources; he was the first to reach the Columbia (via the Clearwater and the Snake); he descended the Bitterroots in advance of Lewis and others; he was the first to "see" the Bitterroot River, to name but a few. I suppose that Nicandri or Jenkinson would argue that these were insignificant in view of Lewis' aggressive push to be first on so many other occasions. If so, we would have an acceptable difference in historical perception. The point Nicandri makes and Jenkinson made about Lewis has some validity. It is up to the reader of his account – and of Jenkinson's – to determine if either author makes the case about the extent of Lewis' "hero ego" in making the Expedition's "discoveries."[13] One may readily conclude from existing evidence they both had heroic egos.

With Chapter 7 – "Pure Water: Lewis's Homesickness at Fort Clatsop" – Nicandri speculates that Lewis' mental state appears to have deteriorated after he reached the Pacific Ocean having previously elaborated on this supposition in *River of Promise*. He examines Lewis' statement of January 1, 1806, that

> our repast of this day tho' better than that of Christmass, consisted principally in the anticipation of the 1st day of January 1807, when in the bosom of our friends we hope to participate in the mirth and hilarity of the day, and when the zest given by the recollection of the present, we shall completely, both mentally and corporally, enjoy the repast which the hand of civilization has prepared for us. at present we were content with eating our boiled Elk and wappetoe, and solacing our thirst with our only beverage pure water.[14]

and puts it into the larger context. Using conjectures about homesickness recorded by Joseph Banks, who accompanied Cook on his first voyage, Nicandri hypothesizes about the impact of homesickness on Lewis' inability to produce the book that Jefferson so badly wanted. He alludes to Richard Henry Dana's similar musings in his *Two Years Before the Mast*. Nicandri notes, however, that Dana recovered when he returned, but Lewis did not. Each source leads Nicandri to believe that Lewis needed something to drive him forward to become productive, but he did not get it, thus devolving into inaction and ultimately despair. It is an interesting thesis, but one that might bring about a challenge from one who views Lewis differently. Was Lewis' rather poetic wish an expression of the homesickness manifested by Cook and his crew? If he were homesick at Fort Clatsop, what prevented him from recovering when he returned? Can we say that Jefferson made the terrible mistake of not having Lewis sit down on his return and do nothing but produce the manuscript, rather than giving him other duties to perform? Did David McKeehan's trashing of Lewis[15] have any impact on Lewis' ability to produce the books? Does this reframing of Lewis' story give us any more insight into that complicated man? That is for the reader to determine.

With Chapter 8 – "Lewis's 'dear friend' Mahlon Dickerson and the Fate of Early Nineteenth-Century America Exploration" – Nicandri sees Dickerson as the link between Lewis and Clark as the first great American expedition leaders and John C. Fremont as the last. Nicandri offers a brief biography of Dickerson, a man with an impressive resume of service to the country, and then takes a close look at his friendship with Lewis. It began in 1802. They shared several interactions between then and Lewis' death, some of which appear in Dickerson's diary, and which shed new light on Lewis.

Interestingly, Dickerson was a "life-long bachelor," with whatever implication that might have today. Both decried the fact that they did not marry, and both apparently were incapable of it. Nicandri refers to William Benneman's article in *We Proceeded On*[16] about Lewis' potential homosexual longing for Clark and dismisses it. He fails to develop the possibility that similar feelings might have been a key to the friendship with the "old bachelor" Dickerson. This might be a potential area for reframing of looks at Lewis. Dickerson also played a key role in the exploration of the west. The essay is an interesting digression into a life with which I was unfamiliar, and the linkages between the Charles Wilkes and John C. Fremont expeditions filled gaps in my knowledge of the era. A worthwhile but brief look at the man and his role.

The concluding chapter Nicandri labels "Epilogue – Wither the Exploration of Lewis and Clark – Recent Trends and Future Direction." By the time of the Bicentennial, the scope of Lewis and Clark research had stagnated. It then received a jolt from Clay Jenkinson, Thomas Slaughter, Thomas Danisi, John C. Jackson, and Nicandri who challenged previous perspectives. Nicandri follows his analysis of these authors with a plea to further expand the scope of historical inquiry about the Expedition.

I agree with Nicandri – and with Ronda and Jenkinson and other post-Bicentennial challengers of Lewis and Clark orthodoxy. We must continue to examine the Expedition in more comprehensive contexts and give the journals – what was said, what was not said, and what is implied in both – closer readings. Nicandri avers that "the literature of Lewis and Clark would be well served by the application of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the expedition." His list includes environmental studies; ethnological studies; looking at "the concerns that truly dominated the thinking of Lewis and Clark" (he lists them); and viewing Lewis and Clark's writings as discovery literature.

To this I would add that we have an

incredible resource in having Dr. Moulton's work online through the University of Nebraska. This resource should be updated as more material develops about the Expedition and the individuals who participated in it, such as what Nicandri has offered. The journal entries for the specific days should be supplemented by relevant annotations. A full glossary of the terms in the journals would be greatly appreciated.

Lewis & Clark Reframed has small flaws – though perhaps this is nit-picking on my part. Each essay has its digressions, some more than others. At times reading leads you to question where the author is going with what he has written, but eventually Nicandri reaches the point he attempts to make. He refers to the Mackenzie River, which now bears the Native name, the Deh Cho. Why continue using the name Tetoharsky, clearly not a Nez Perce name? Nicandri is familiar with *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce*,[17] where the proper name – Te-toh-kan Ahs-kahp (or the English equivalent, Looks Like Brothers) – is given. At one point he writes that "Meriwether Lewis discovered" the five falls of the Missouri. Really? And why, oh why, does a professional historian still use the term "keelboat?" If you are reframing Lewis and Clark, practice what you preach and use the historically accurate term "barge."

In *Lewis & Clark Reframed* Nicandri offers many valuable ways of re-evaluating or re-examining the Expedition. I doubt if every reader will agree with or be convinced by Nicandri's conclusions, particularly his views on Lewis. But the challenges he offers should set many to thinking about received wisdom and historical interpretation. It is a valuable book because of that. ∎

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.

Notes

A version of several of the essays in this volume had previously appeared in *We Proceeded On*. The text of the essays in WPO differed somewhat but not substantially from their text in this volume.

1. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2009.

2. William Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal on the river St. Laurence through the continent of North America, to the frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793 with a preliminary account of the rise, progress, and present state of the fur trade of that country* (London: T. Cadell, 1801).

3. *Captain Cook Rediscovered: Voyaging in the Icy Latitudes* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2020).

4. Nicandri also posits that had Cook been searching today, he would have found the Northwest Passage in the Arctic Ocean because of global warming.

5. A phrase Lewis had copied from Mackenzie.

6. This essay contains a map that suffers from the same problem as the maps in Chapter One.

7. See Clark's journal entry of March 24, 1806: "they also deckerate their Smaller wooden vessles with those Shells which have much the appearance of humane teeth, Capt Cook may have mistaken those Shills verry well for humane teeth without a Close examination." Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 7:10.

8. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:285.

9. "This day I completed my thirty first year, and conceived that I had in all human probability now existed about half the period which I am to remain in this Sublunary world." Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:118.

10. See discussion in Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:543-48.

11. Occasionally Nicandri's sentences leave me cold. For example, in this essay he writes "Why would Clark (or his amanuensis) have been so aggressive in contradicting modernity's understanding of geographic fact?" (83) Clark is not the one contradicting modernity. Modernity contradicts Clark, at least as I understand the terminology. Nor is Clark being "aggressive" in contradicting some pre-existing assertion.

12. Washburn: The Dakota Institute Press of the Lewis & Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, 2011.

13. This essay has another one of Nicandri's odd sentences. "John Colter had just returned from the bay around Point Distress with Alexander Willard and George Shannon and conveyed the news that no traders or explorers were to be found." This sentence makes it appear that when Colter returned to the dismal niche on November 14, 1805, Willard and Shannon, who had canoed around the point with Colter, had returned with Colter, but that is not the case. Willard and Shannon remained in the vicinity of Station Camp after successfully rounding that point. I was not sure if Nicandri made the error or if his sentence failed to get the point across correctly.

14. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 6:151-52.

15. See McKeehan's statement in Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783-1854*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978) 2:399-407.

16. William Benneman, "'My Friend and Companion:' The Intimate Journey of Lewis and Clark" 41:1 (February 2015) and 41:2 (May 2015).

17 Allen V. Pinkham and Steven R. Evans, *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce: Strangers in the Land of the Nimiipuu* (Washburn: The Dakota Institute Press of the Lewis & Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, 2013).

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