



Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation / www.lewisandclark.org

February 2013 Volume 39, No. 1

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION AND PARTISAN POLITICS



An Uneasy Encounter: Lewis and Clark and the Teton Sioux
Sergeant Charles Floyd's Death: "Beliose Cholick" or Dr. Rush's Pills?

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Lewis and Clark and the Teton Sioux

In a letter to Meriwether Lewis, Jefferson referred to the Sioux as a nation of “immense power” on whom we most wish to make “a friendly impression.” Yet the tense September 1804 meeting makes this historian wonder if the explorers anticipated meeting the Teton Sioux.

By Brad Tennant

The Lewis and Clark Expedition and the Partisan Debate over Western Expansionism

In the early republic, the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition expressed Jefferson's ideal republic, of which western expansion was a necessary part. But it was a vision that appalled the Federalists.

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Editor and Designer

Caroline Patterson, carolinepatter@yahoo.com
Eileen Chontos, Chontos Design, Inc.

Volunteer Proofreaders

H. Carl Camp • Jerry Garrett •
Philippa Newfield

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President's Message

Who We Are: The Lewis And Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

We are a national nonprofit membership organization. Incorporated in 1969, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has members in all 50 states and several foreign countries. Our mission remains “to preserve, promote and teach the diverse heritage of Lewis and Clark for the benefit of all people.” Our organization has 32 chapters throughout the country on and off the Lewis and Clark Trail. Our organization was a principal partner in the formation of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and continues to be a major partner in supporting the trail. We publish the quarterly journal *We Proceeded On*, with scholarly articles on all aspects of the Lewis and Clark journey.

We thank you for your continued support, service, and membership in the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. We are the second-largest historic trail association in the nation. Last year we welcomed more than 50 new members to the organization, bringing our membership total close to 1,200. Nevertheless, we need everyone's help to grow. We encourage chapters to reach out to members whose dues have lapsed—and encourage them to reactivate their memberships. Although there are several groups that have similar names, please remember our name and our website: www.lewisandclark.org. I emphasize our name in response to the recent annual membership renewal statement, in which a few members

may have been confused with mailings from other Lewis and Clark groups.

We encourage you to make sure your membership in the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is current. Your previous issue of *We Proceeded On* comes with your membership number and expiration date printed directly on your mailing label. If you have further questions pertaining to

your membership, you can call our national office in Great Falls, Montana and talk to Lindy or Don at 888-701-3434 or e-mail them at: lindy@lewisandclark.org or york@lewisandclark.org.

We are also pleased that we have been able to distribute more than \$50,000 to 16 chapters for 20 trail stewardship projects from the Lewis and Clark

Trail Stewardship Endowment: A National Council of the Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial Legacy Project. We will continue this annual program, supporting primarily local projects. We encourage chapters to apply for these annual grants and use these worthwhile projects as opportunities to share the Lewis and Clark story. These grants help us preserve the trail, reach out and recruit new friends, grow local chapter and national LCTHF memberships, develop chapter leadership, and fulfill our motto as “Keepers of the Story—Stewards of the Trail.”

New members, chapters, and leaders have infused energy and enthusiasm



President Dan Sturdevant at Lewis and Clark Point in downtown Kansas City, MO.

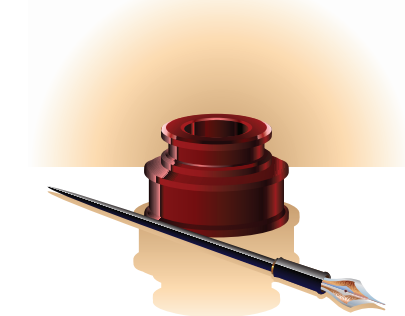


into the organization. Combine that with the experience and passion of our existing membership, and the expertise of our partners—and we are on the cusp of some exciting opportunities. We have pared down our expenses to live within our means. Nevertheless, our operating budget to pay for *WPO* and the executive director is still dependent upon dues and contributions from members and friends. Please help us build the future by stepping up to serve, recruiting members, attending the national and regional meetings, and contributing to the LCTHF or to one of the restricted funds in the endowment that provides income for the future. For more information, log on to: www.lewisandclark.org.

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has renewed partnerships and worked on relationships with our federal, private, and tribal partners. Superintendent Mark Weekley of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (National Park Service) has been a faithful supporter as has Elizabeth Casselli, Director of the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls (USDA Forest Service). We thank our other federal, tribal, and private partners throughout the country. When all of us work together, we are able to accomplish more than by working alone. Look at support given us by our volunteers and partners. Our volunteers provided 128,000 hours of service and partnership support valued at \$4,808,766 helped us fulfill our mission to “preserve, promote, and teach the diverse heritage of Lewis and Clark for the benefit of all people.” Thank you for your ongoing contributions toward creating a lasting Lewis and Clark legacy.

YOUR E-MAIL ADDRESS

In our membership database, we currently have e-mail addresses for more



than half of our members. However, we need e-mail addresses for each LCTHF member who is willing to share it. Each member will continue to receive post office mailings from us. Our e-mail addressee members will also receive interesting information and pictures from time to time, from e-mail “blasts,” including the *Orderly Report* (written

by board member Philippa Newfield and Executive Director Lindy Hatcher). As you know, e-mails are easy and inexpensive to send, while post office mailings are expensive. We can bring you more value if you will permit us to have your e-mail address. If you have not received an e-mail from the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, our membership database does not have your e-mail address. You may send your e-mail address to Lindy or Don in our office. Their contact information is: lindy@lewisandclark.org or york@lewisandclark.org.


Thank you so much for supporting the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

—Dan Sturdevant
Kansas City, MO

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As Keepers of the Story ~
Stewards of the Trail, the Lewis
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in maintaining the integrity of
the Trail and its story through
stewardship, scholarship, education,
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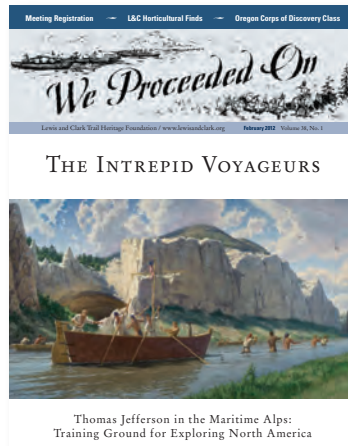
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Letters



Expedition Engagés

“Voyagers with the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” by Orville D. Menard, February 2012

In the above-referenced article, Dr. Orville D. Menard gives well-deserved attention to the French-speaking *engagés* who rowed, poled, and warped the vessels up the Missouri River.

As the author of “New Light on the Expedition Engagés,” (*WPO*, August 1996) I would like to point out that the archives of the 220-year-old St. Charles Borromeo parish in St. Charles, Missouri, provides a wealth of information about some of the individual boatmen Lewis and Clark hired, particularly Jean Baptiste Deschamps, Charles Hebert, Jean Baptiste Lajeunesse, Etienne Malboeuf, Paul Primeau, Pierre Roy, and perhaps a man Clark calls “Rokey.”

For example, the original archival entries show that some of these men had ties of blood or marriage—and a few had both—to Indian tribes along their route, including the Missouri, Crow, Arikara, and the various groups that were then known as the Sioux Indians.

In addition, the entries reveal that shortly before embarking with the Corps of Discovery, a number of those *engagés* experienced the death of a parent or wife, thereby freeing them of family obligations which might otherwise have kept them close to St. Charles.

Additionally, for years after the Expedition, many of those boatmen, lacking formal education, left their cross-shaped mark in lieu of a signature in the parish archives.

Dr. Menard writes that “when Lewis and Clark put their keelboat and pirogues ... on the Missouri River, they had had little experience with the New World’s waters.” Concerning Meriwether Lewis—who before 1803 had never traveled far down the Ohio River or even seen the Mississippi—that statement is accurate, but it is not so concerning William Clark.

As a boy, Clark floated the Ohio from Pennsylvania to his future home at Louisville, and as a soldier he made numerous expedition up and down the river and tributaries including the Wabash and Kentucky. Furthermore, he commended military expeditions on the Ohio and the Mississippi, stopping in 1793 at the site of the future Memphis, Tennessee, and in 1795 at what is now New Madrid, Missouri. And, after resigning from the Army, he made a commercial venture by flatboat to New Orleans in 1798, then descended the last hundred miles of the Mississippi on an ocean-going ship.

Whether directing crews of enlisted men or of hired deckhands, Clark learned much about navigation, command, terrestrial position, and mapping during his early river ventures. As a book I hope soon to finish writing will point out, during an 1801 visit to the City of Washington, he probably made sure that Lewis—who had less experience than he in such skills—learned of his impressive attainments in those areas. Therefore it is likely that the knowledge Clark gained while on North American waters led Lewis to select him over all the others.

JO ANN (BROWN) TROGDON
Columbia, Missouri

Horses & Pack Saddles

“Horses of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” by A. G. “Doc” Wesselius, May 2012

I really enjoyed the above article and it seems to be very well researched.

I would like to convey to the author a couple of items he might be interested in. ... I believe he stated that there was no clear documentation of the horses they set out with in 1804. I believe it was four horses. While camping on Goat Island near present-day St. James, Nebraska,

two wandered off during the night. The captains sent Private George Shannon and Interpreter George Drouillard to look for them. Drouillard came back empty-handed. Shannon was gone almost for two weeks. He found them then angled toward the river trying to catch up with the crew. What he didn't know was that the crew had parleyed with the Yankton Sioux so they were behind him. ... Shannon had let one of the horses go because it was lame, in the hope that it could rest and hopefully get better.

As for the pack saddle, there was a small little town museum in Orofino, Idaho, that has a saddle supposedly given the chief who could who cared for their horses the winter of 1805 to 1806. It was reputed to have been given them by Cameahwait along with a fine stead and dress worn by his wife while counseling with them. It was one of the most meaningful displays I have seen coast to coast.

In closing, I want to express a big thank you for describing the stirrups brand. It also further substantiated the thought that the corps had military-style stirrups with them and it would be an excellent brand and the author's noting that Lewis's brand would never have been used on a horse you wanted to keep.

BOB ANDERSON
Marysville, OH

Captain Lewis' Saddle

Credit John Fisher of Juliaetta, Idaho, for pointing out that Captain Lewis's saddle did accompany the Lewis and Clark Expedition part of the way across the North American continent. Only when the expedition is researched on a particular details aspect do such minutia fall in place.

Robert Hunt reported on the shipment of Lewis's saddle and possibly his bridle from Monticello to Pittsburgh.¹ Since there is no documentary evidence for either the saddle and/or bridle arriving for shipment with the expedition's baggage, he questioned their inclusion

in the expedition's cargo. The minimal references to riding accouterments in the otherwise sizeable journal records contributed to this conclusion.

A careful review of the documentary records does account for the saddle accompanying the expedition to Canoe Camp on the Clearwater River in Idaho. On May 8, 1806, Captain Lewis mentions making arrangements for collecting cached saddles west of Orofino, Idaho.² The next day he laments, "my saddle was among the number of those which were lost."³ Captain Clark reported on October 6, 1805, that saddles were cached before continuing westbound down the Clearwater River with dugouts.⁴ He did not record the inclusion of Captain Lewis's riding saddle with the collection of pack saddles that were buried on the river's bank. When the saddles were washed out of the cache by the river, Captain Lewis's riding saddle was lost.

One small sentence in the sizeable number of journal entries reveals the existence of Captain Lewis's saddle for inclusion in the expedition's cargo. There is no mention in the journals of the bridle shipped for Captain Lewis or "Horseman's Cloths" that were included in his summary of purchases for the expedition. The term "saddle cloth" is not often heard nowadays, having been replaced by "saddle pad" in modern riding vocabulary.⁶ The expedition's journal-keepers also do not provide any information on the existence of a riding saddle for Captain Clark.

American officers brought their own saddle and bridle for military service in the Revolutionary War and early 1800s. Little is known about early American saddles and bridles except their design was English in their derivation. The Revolutionary Era Officer's Plantation Saddle exemplifies the Southern saddle ridden by gentry and officers.⁷ A documented description of Captain Lewis' saddle is not available; therefore historians can only depend on scant information concerning the design of early American military riding saddles and accouterments for comparison.

Captain Lewis shipped his saddle from Monticello to Pittsburgh to accompany him on his exploration to the Pacific Ocean only to lose it in the waters of the Clearwater River.

¹Robert R. Hunt, *Hoofbeats & Nightmares: A Horse Chronicle of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, (*We Proceeded On*, Vol.20, No. 4, November 1994), p. 6.

²Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983–2001). Vol. 7, pp. 226 – 230.

³*Ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 235.

⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 248.

⁵Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783–1854*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 92.

⁶R. Stephen Dorsey & Kenneth L. McPheeters, *The American Military Saddle, 1776 – 1945*, (Eugene, Oregon: Collector's Library, 1999), p.341.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 2.

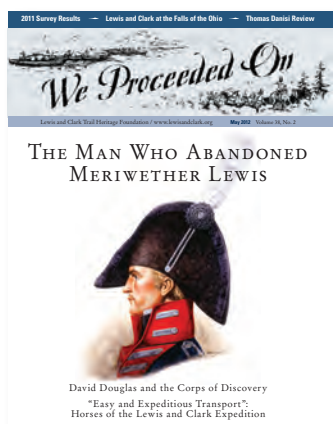
DR. A. G. WESSELIUS
Centralia, Washington

Was Lewis at Chickasaw Agency?

Thomas Danisi Responds to Tony Turnbow's "The Man Who Abandoned Meriwether Lewis"

In reference to Tony Turnbow's article, *WPO* 38:2, I once more take pen in hand. In the article, Mr. Turnbow relies upon a source that states that Meriwether Lewis visited the Chickasaw Agency, and that he also crossed the Tennessee River in Mississippi aboard Colbert's Ferry. In my book, *Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis*, I claim that Lewis never traveled to the Chickasaw Agency and showed, through different sources, how this was impossible.

There has been considerable historical debate that when Meriwether Lewis and James Neely, the Chickasaw Indian agent, departed Fort Pickering in Memphis, Tennessee, they traveled to the Chickasaw Agency near Okolona, Mississippi. This



Letters

time period, from September 30, 1809 to October 10, 1809, was of course a major one in Lewis's life, and those historians that agree that Lewis went to the Agency have recast his final days—choosing to ignore that Lewis was physically ill. Because of his illness, Lewis decided to ride horseback through Tennessee rather than take a boat to New Orleans and then another one to Washington, D.C. On September 30, 1809, Neelly, as Lewis's escort, departed the fort on their way to Nashville, Tennessee.

In the two hundred years since Lewis's death, no one has been able to locate a credible source proving that Lewis and Neelly traveled to the Chickasaw Agency. In Mr. Turnbow's article, "The Man Who Abandoned Meriwether Lewis," Turnbow claims that Neelly wrote that he and Lewis "rested at the Agency House." In 1809, Memphis, Tennessee, was outside the Indian boundary and the Chickasaw Nation still enveloped most of the eastern half of Tennessee below Grinder's Inn. When Neelly wrote: "on our arrival at the Chickasaw nation I discovered that

he appeared at times deranged in mind, we rested there two days & came on, one days Journey after crossing the Tennessee River," this confirms to me that the Neelly party remained in the Tennessee wilderness. Turnbow's other source however, if true, would completely shatter my interpretation.

Turnbow wrote that the Neelly party, after leaving the Agency House in Mississippi, "boarded a ferry across the one mile-wide Tennessee River in present-day Alabama. Natchez Road resident Levi Colbert ... confirmed that Lewis had stayed at his inn during the final journey." Turnbow's source was a self-published book by W. C. Yates, *Tales of a Tennessee Yeoman* (Franklin, TN: W.C. Yates, 1991). On the back cover and in his prologue, Yates makes the following statement: "Tales of a Tennessee Yeoman is a soliloquy of an 'Ole-Timer,' recalling his eighty-eight years of active living in the community. The tales have derived from fragments of folk-lore ... and ... the book makes no claim to exact authenticity of historical events, genealogical accuracy,



Meriwether
Lewis's grave on
the Natchez Trace
Parkway.

NPS PHOTO

geographical locations, or any other class of information. It is merely a collection of tales told by the author as he reminisced through the confines of his memory. ..."

On pages 26 to 29, Yates recalled these events: "Colbert had met Lewis as Lewis traveled the Trace before on government business. However, he had not seen him since he returned from his famous exploring trip." This information is not true. Further, it is stated that when Lewis left St. Louis by boat in September 1809, "he took with him but two servants, a creole derelict and Captain Tom, a negro slave, who belonged to Lewis' brother." This statement is also not true.

According to Yates, the Neelly party "arrived at Colbert's ferry in late afternoon on October 5, 1809," and Turnbow surmised that they "boarded a ferry across the one mile-wide Tennessee River." That means that the party traveled 120 miles from Memphis, Tennessee to Okolona, Mississippi, then 114 miles from Okolona to the site of Colbert's Ferry in Alabama. Traveling 234 miles in five days would be impossible on horseback, over backwoods roads, especially with a man as ill as Lewis was, in that time period. Turnbow also states that Levi Colbert "operated an inn in what is now Alabama." In fact it was Levi's brother, George Colbert, who owned the ferry and inn.

It is evident that Mr. Turnbow spent much time refining his article, but Lewis scholarship deserves adherence to documented facts. There is still no proof, certainly not within the Yates book used as evidence by Mr. Turnbow, that Lewis ever made it to the Chickasaw Agency in 1809.

THOMAS DANISI
St. Louis, MO





The box cover for new computer game *Meriwether: An American Epic*, due to be released November 2013.

The Discovery Continues: Lewis and Clark, The Computer Game

At this year's annual meeting in Clarksville, Indiana attendees were treated to an early peek at *Meriwether: An American Epic*, a computer game where players try to guide the Corps of Discovery to the Pacific and back while fulfilling all of Jefferson's goals for the expedition. The game was created by Josh deBonis, a game designer and director of Sortasoft, along with an eight-person development team that included writer and designer Carlos Hernandez and historian and LCTHF board member Barb Kubik. The game is due to be released in November 2013.

Funded by the historically rigorous videogame producer, American Media Makers, *Meriwether* will depict the complexity of Lewis's character by allowing players to choose which facets of his personality they wish to emphasize. Subtitled "Experiencing American Identity" the game critically investigates the mindset of turn-of-the-nineteenth-century Americans, primarily through four different facets of Lewis's character: that of soldier, diplomat, scientist, and leader. A fifth choice, that of melancholy, will serve as a less-than-ideal default choice. In

addition, the game will focus on seven major non-player characters who travel with Lewis for the majority of the trip: Captain William Clark, York, Sacagawea, George Drouillard, Private Alexander Willard, Sergeant Patrick Gass, and Private John Colter. These characters do not change as much Lewis in the course of the game, but instead represent general themes.

DeBonis said he was inspired to create the game after traveling and camping along the Lewis and Clark Trail for three weeks with his wife Amanda. "It became obvious to me that there are so many aspects of the expedition that make for a great game: the story, the characters, and the setting, as well as the resource management and the drama of survival."

This Boot is Made for Reading

The Big Boot is a four-foot tall hands-on tactile book created by students based on the travels of the Corps of Discovery. The Big Boot Book Project was a multi-disciplinary collaboration between Joan Michelson, a poet and storyteller from London, England and Naomi Schliesman, a visual Artist from Fergus Falls, Minnesota. The project involved ten seventh-grade students from the Nebraska City Public Middle School and fifteen students from the Nebraska Center for the Education of Children who are Blind or Visually Impaired (NCECBVI).



A NCECBVI student works with poet Joan Michelson to create her own personal project for the Big Boot Book Project in Nebraska City, Nebraska.

Students worked independently, then collaborated to tell stories and make art based on the theme of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The text is also printed in Braille so the students at NCECBVI can enjoy it.

The starting point of the story writing focused on an imaginary stray boot found by modern day explorers along what is now the Lewis and



The Big Boot, which tells the Lewis and Clark story from the perspective of a boot, which stands four feet high and was created by students from the Nebraska City Public Middle School and the Nebraska Center for the Education of Children who are Blind or Visually Impaired.

Clark Trail. The inspiration for the book design was taken from the boots likely worn by Lewis and Clark on their 1804–1806 expedition. Students learned about historical accounts and traditional folk tales that were part of the corps' journey west across the continent.

The Big Boot Book will be on display at the Kimmel Harding Nelson Center for the Arts through 2013. It will be at the James Morton Public Library in Nebraska City, Nebraska, in summer 2013 and at the Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in September 2013. The Big Boot Book will be moved to NCECBVI for final installation in October 2013.

The Expedition in Bronze

Richard Greeves, who grew up in St. Louis, Missouri, created a series of fifty bronze sculptures titled “Corps of Discovery,” commemorating the 1804–1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition. “There’s so much material,” he said. “Their journey was an epic in the history of our country.” The sculptures, some of which are fourteen feet high, focus on the explorers and key members of the corps, including Sacagawea, as well as many of the Native Americans they encountered.

“The early scholars and historians only looked at the Lewis and Clark Expedition through the eyes of white people,” he said. “Had it not been for the Indian people, the Lewis and Clark Expedition would have failed.”

Greeves, who comes from a long line of mosaic artisans, marble cutters, and ornamental plaster workers in St. Louis, came out west as a teen to live in Fort Washakie, where he now has a home and studio in a former trading post. He received the James Earl Frasier Award for artistic merit from the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, and has work featured in the Gene Autry National Center and the Buffalo Bill Historical Center.

Captain Lewis Meets The Shoshone, bronze edition, by Richard Greeves.



LEGACY GALLERY



DON PETERSON

Bob Doerk at the Decision Point overlook above the mouth of the Marias River near Loma, Montana.

In Memoriam: Bob Doerk

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Past President Robert K. Doerk, 72, of Fort Benton, Montana, passed away on December 20, 2012, in Great Falls, Montana. A native of Chicago and graduate of Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin, Doerk was commissioned in the U.S. Air Force upon graduation and retired as a Lieutenant Colonel in 1982 after a career of twenty years. During his military service, he met and married his wife Mary (Dudley) in 1966. Bob had assignments in Ohio; Washington, D.C.; Illinois, and Montana, as well as in Vietnam and England. He was awarded the Bronze Star for his service in Vietnam. After his military service he worked for Norwest Bank (later Wells Fargo Bank) in the Trust Department. After returning to Montana, he made his home in Fort Benton.

Bob was a vital player in area civic and history groups. He was involved in numerous groups, including the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, where he served consecutive terms as president in 1989–90 and 1990–91 and he wrote numerous *WPO* book reviews. His passion for American history and the Lewis and Clark Expedition was embodied in his taking every opportunity to share history through lectures, field trips, his portrayal of Thomas Jefferson, and his involvement with numerous history and civic groups (several of which he helped found), including the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Fund Inc.; Portage Route Chapter; C.M. Russell Museum Board of Directors; and the National Fur Trade Symposium in Fort Benton. Survived by his wife Mary, his son Steven and four grandchildren, Doerk will be forever remembered as a true champion of the Lewis and Clark story.



Evening of Ceremony with the Teton Sioux—September 26, 1804, by Charles Fritz.

LEWIS AND CLARK AND THE TETON SIOUX

BY BRAD TENNANT

The role of American Indian nations is a vital part of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and with a couple of notable exceptions, the meetings between the Corps of Discovery and the native populations were relatively peaceful and friendly.¹ However, one of the most strained meetings occurred in present-day central South Dakota when Captains Lewis and Clark held council with the Teton Sioux.²



On September 23, 1804, three boys swam out to greet the members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as they proceeded up the Missouri River in present-day central South Dakota. Clark recorded that the Sioux boys belonged to the band known as the Teton (Lakota) and that they informed the expedition of an encampment of eighty lodges located nearby.³ For the next four days, from September 25 to 28, 1804, the members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the Teton shared concerns over open hostilities and the pleasures of feasting and dancing.⁴

Based on the journal accounts, it is easy to understand why the Lakota encounter is viewed as one of the most significant. Clark recorded that, on September 25, 1804, three Lakota chiefs – Black Buffalo, Buffalo Medicine, and the Partisan – were invited to join Lewis and Clark on the keelboat. In addition to showing the three chiefs some of the expedition’s more curious novelties, they were each offered whiskey, which was quickly consumed. Unfortunately, the Partisan feigned drunkenness and became so offensive that Captain Clark finally drew his sword. At this point, both the Lakota warriors along the river bank and the expedition members prepared their weapons. Instead of a sudden, bloody battle, Black Buffalo intervened and the situation was resolved peacefully.⁵

Over the next several days, a great deal of tension still hung in the air, although the mood was often festive at the same time. Despite the tensions of the first day’s visit, the second day of the Lakota encounter featured Lewis and Clark being treated to a night of dancing, singing, and feasting as the honored guests of Black Buffalo. Both men were ceremoniously carried into the Lakota encampment on buffalo robes and were seated next to Black Buffalo.⁶ The Teton encounter is often remembered more for its tense moments rather than the times of friendliness. In fact, during the 1804-1805 winter at Fort Mandan, Clark described his reaction to the Teton by stating that they “are the vilest miscreants of the savage race, and must ever remain the pirates of the Missouri.”⁷ Historian James Ronda even stated that the volatile atmosphere of the Teton meeting made “the Teton Sioux negotiations ... perhaps the most demanding piece of Indian diplomacy assigned to Lewis and Clark.”⁸ Although there is much to be said about the significance of those four days in September 1804, some individuals question whether Lewis and Clark anticipated meeting the Teton at all.

SKETCHY MAPS, MISSING GIFTS

At the 2004 Tent of Many Voices near the confluence of the Bad and Missouri rivers at Fort Pierre, South Dakota, many presenters offered new information or interpretations on the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Known as the “Oceti Sakowin Experience: Remembering & Educating,” this eighth national signature event of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration featured a variety of speakers, many of whom were Dakota and Lakota.⁹

Craig Howe, who has a doctorate from the University of Michigan and is an enrolled member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, gave a presentation in which he stated that there was no solid evidence that Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark anticipated meeting the Sioux, and specifically the Teton Sioux, as they journeyed up the Missouri River.

Instead, Howe stated there are several key pieces of evidence that indicate that Lewis and Clark did

not expect to encounter the Teton at all. The first point of contention focuses on a letter from President Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis dated January 22, 1804. By 1804, Lewis was in the St. Louis area, and he and Jefferson were maintaining a fairly regular correspondence. In his letter, Jefferson referred to the Sioux by stating, “On that nation we wish most particularly to make a friendly impression, because of their immense power, and because we learn they are very desirous of being on the most friendly terms with us.” When read alone, it appears that Lewis and Clark fully intended to meet the Teton, or at least some group of the Sioux.

In order to put Jefferson’s words in their proper perspective, however, Howe added that the sentence preceding this passage must be included. Jefferson’s earlier sentence was this, “Although you will pass through no settlements of the Sioux (except seceders) yet you will probably meet with parties of them.” Therefore, based on President Jefferson’s understanding at the time, no significant gatherings of Sioux were to be expected by the expedition members.¹⁰

Another line of evidence cited by Howe involves Lewis’s meetings with Antoine Souldard, a Frenchman by birth who became a Spanish government official. Souldard, who served as the Surveyor General of Upper Louisiana Territory while it was under Spanish control, met with Lewis on several occasions. In late December

“the Teton Sioux negotiation was perhaps the most demanding piece of Indian diplomacy assigned to Lewis and Clark.”

1803, Lewis wrote Jefferson a letter from Cahokia, across from St. Louis, to inform the president about his meetings with Soulard. Although Soulard exhibited a willingness to provide information about Upper Louisiana Territory, Lewis noted that Soulard exercised a great deal of caution in doing so since he was still an official of the Spanish government. Nonetheless, Soulard shared what he could, including a map.¹¹

Many aspects of the Soulard map, however, were incorrect as Lewis and Clark certainly would have realized if they depended on this map for detailed information about the Missouri River west to the Mandan. The Soulard map, for example, indicated the presence of Sioux in two different areas, although only one location was accurate. The first reference to the Sioux placed them at the headwaters of the Mississippi River, which was correct. At the same time, the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota Sioux, who were spread out over the northern plains, were not featured anywhere else on the map except at the base of the Rocky Mountains, which was too far west. As Howe noted, "...on Soulard's map, there's no mention of Siouxs or Tetons along the Missouri River." If Lewis and Clark were closely following Soulard's map, they would not have any reason to believe that they would meet the Teton Sioux.¹²

In addition to Soulard's failure to place the Sioux along the Missouri River, Howe cited the shortcomings of Nicholas King's 1803 map, which was created specifically for the expedition. On March 14, 1803, before the Louisiana Purchase and in the early planning stages for the Corps of Discovery, Secretary of the



A map of western North American, created in 1803 by Nicholas King, a War Department copyist, from published and manuscript sources, at the request of President Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin.

Treasury Albert Gallatin wrote to Jefferson that he "requested Mr. King to project a blank map" extending from 88 to 126 degrees west longitude and from 30 to 55 degrees north latitude. Gallatin further explained that he intended to insert details onto King's map by using information from several other regional maps composed during the eighteenth century.¹³ Lewis and Clark took King's piecemeal map with them, and, according to John Logan Allen, author of *Passage through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American West*,

it represented the best information about the area as was known in 1803.¹⁴ King's map, however, depicted much of the Missouri River to the Mandan villages as simply a dotted line lacking geographic details along the Missouri, and it made no mention whatsoever of the Teton or Sioux.¹⁵ If Lewis and Clark were relying on the Soulard and King maps, they undoubtedly knew nothing about the presence of the Teton and would not have anticipated the September 1804 encounter.

Finally, Howe focused on the gifts that Lewis and Clark packed in anticipation of holding meetings with various Indian nations. "Mandan Miscellany, Part 6 – Baling Invoices" lists the bales of gifts packed and the nations for whom they were intended. The designated tribes, in order, were the Otoes, Pawnees, Poncas, Omahas, Arikaras, and Mandans. Noticeably absent from this list is any reference to the Sioux. Had the Sioux been included, they would have appeared, based on geography, between the Omaha and the Arikara, yet in a document intended to be seen by the president of the United States, there is no mention of any Sioux – Teton or other bands. According to Howe, "If they knew they were gonna encounter these Siouxs or Teton, why didn't they pack gifts for them?" After all, as Jefferson stated in his January 22, 1804 letter to Lewis, the Sioux nation was a nation with whom he wanted to make a "friendly impression."¹⁶ This failure to include gifts specifically for the Sioux may reflect the fact that Lewis and Clark simply did not envision a council with any noteworthy Sioux parties.

A NATION OF "IMMENSE POWER"

A great deal more evidence supports the contrary notion that Lewis and Clark were expecting to meet the Teton. Lewis and Clark communicated in writing and in person with individuals who warned them that the Teton Sioux might very well be unfriendly. Jefferson knew of the Sioux and how important their role was to the future success of the American fur trade. Although his January 22, 1804 letter to Lewis mentioned that the expedition would not pass through any Sioux settlements, he also qualified this statement by adding that the expedition would "probably

meet with parties of them." Furthermore, his reference to "their immense power" certainly reflects his awareness of the Sioux, and perhaps more significantly, the fact that this was the only Indian nation specifically mentioned in this particular letter says a great deal.¹⁷

By the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, a variety of British, Spanish, and French accounts of the people and geography related to the northern plains of Upper Louisiana existed. While Soulard's and King's maps were included in the material available to Lewis and Clark,

they were not the most recent, or most important, sources of information available to the explorers. Soulard once claimed to have traveled as far as the Mandan villages, but there is little to support this claim, and if he did, a man with his surveying background would have realized the shortcomings of his 1795

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map.¹⁸ Similarly, Lewis and Clark knew that the King map was a compilation of maps and not an original piece of work and would have immediately recognized the lack of information regarding the Missouri to the Mandan villages. Although Lewis and Clark may not have been privy to all of the available information, they certainly had access to more than enough to become well-informed about the Sioux.¹⁹

EARLY EXPLORERS: FROM JEAN BAPTISTE TRUTEAU TO DAVID THOMPSON

In 1794, the newly established Spanish fur trading company, the Missouri Company, sponsored the first of three exploratory expeditions up the Missouri River in hopes of creating positive trade relations, especially with the more northern tribes that were known to trade with the British. Under the leadership of Jean Baptiste Truteau, the first expedition left St. Louis with a small party of eight employees and a pirogue loaded with trade goods. Unfortunately, a band of Sioux stopped Truteau's group and seized a great deal of his cargo. Truteau later recorded in his journal that the Teton Sioux were "a ferocious people" who had "barbarous customs and manners." After successfully avoiding any further confrontations with the Sioux, Truteau eventually made his way back to St. Louis.²⁰ In his journal, Truteau reported that traders coming up the Missouri would have a difficult time, not

because of the Arikara or Mandan, but because of the Sioux “whose very name causes all of the people of this continent to tremble.”²¹ Jefferson felt that Truteau’s journal contained information that was important enough that he sent excerpts of it as an enclosure to Lewis in a letter dated November 16, 1803. Among the excerpts that Jefferson included was Truteau’s description of the Sioux as being hostile to the Arikara, Mandan, and other Indian nations.²²

On the heels of a second, and also shortened, expedition in 1795, the Missouri Company prepared for a third expedition for later that same year. The James Mackay and John Evans Expedition started up the Missouri River in August 1795.²³ Mackay and Evans, however, did not travel upriver oblivious to the reputation of the Sioux. Rather, Truteau warned Mackay and Evans in a letter beforehand that the Sioux should be avoided as much as possible out of concern for the goods that they carried as well as the lives of the expedition members. True to this warning, when Evans and a small party attempted to scout the region ahead, they were abruptly turned back by a Sioux hunting party.²⁴ Eventually, Evans successfully made his way to the Mandan villages and returned with a wealth of information including maps, journals, and detailed notes about the physical features of the country as far as the Mandan villages. This information, along with information from Mackay’s more limited travels, also became an important source about the Sioux Indians as Lewis and Clark made their 1803-1804 preparations.²⁵



Karl Bodmer (Swiss, 1809-1893), *Wáh-Menítu, Teton Sioux Man*, watercolor on paper.

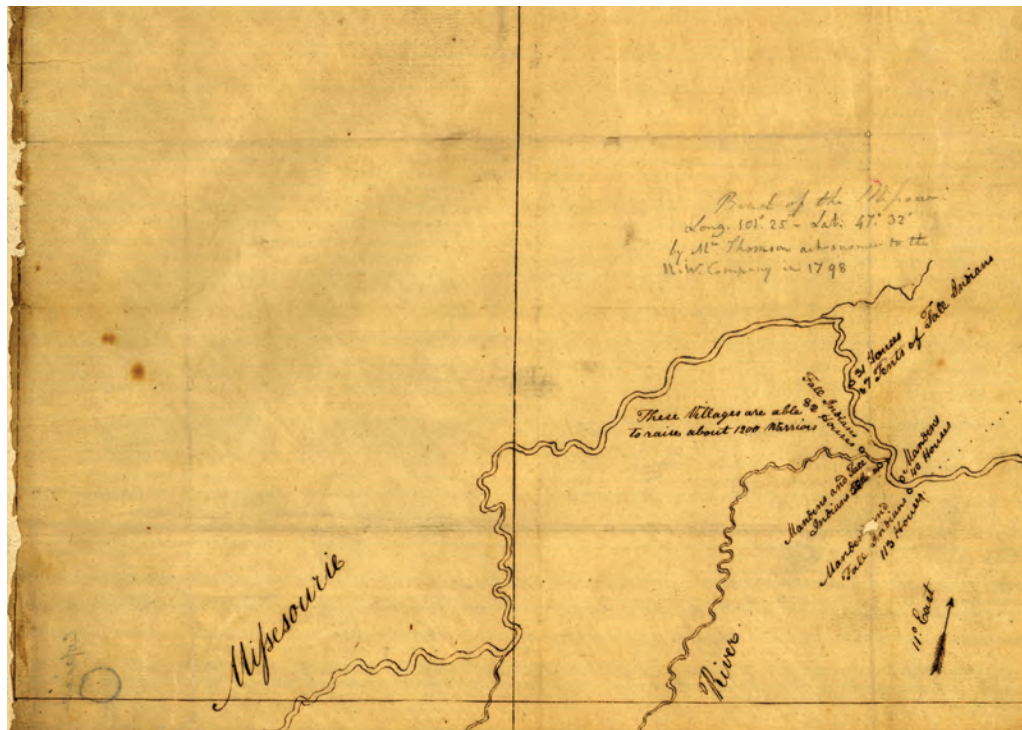
In his journal, Truteau reported that traders coming up the Missouri would have a difficult time, not because of the Arikara or Mandan, but because of the Sioux “whose very name causes all of the people of this continent to tremble.”

than anybody else.²⁶ According to James Ronda, of all the material regarding Indian nations, the Mackay-Evans journal and notes were the most valuable concerning American Indians on the northern plains.²⁷ With such information at their disposal, it is hard to imagine that Lewis and Clark were not aware of the Teton Sioux’s presence along the Missouri River.

The British fur agent and surveyor David Thompson also provided valuable information about the Teton. Thompson, who served with the Hudson’s Bay Company before joining the North West Company in 1797, extensively explored the area. When Nicholas King devised his 1803 map, he included Thompson’s 1797-1798 map, which showed the upper Missouri valley.²⁸ Jefferson knew of Thompson’s explorations that straddled

In early December 1803, Lewis met John Hay, a local businessman and postmaster at Cahokia, who provided Lewis with the journal written by Mackay and Evans and a copy of a map drawn by Mackay. In his December 28, 1803 letter to Jefferson, Lewis acknowledged that the Mackay and Evans journal was written in French, but noted that Hay promised to translate it. While Hay’s translation of the journal provided extremely important information, Clark noted that James Mackay himself arrived at Cahokia in January 1804 so the two captains were able to gain a wealth of firsthand knowledge from Mackay. Furthermore, Lewis wrote that he prepared a form with thirteen or fourteen subject headings regarding Indians and circulated it among some of the fur traders as they “possess with more accuracy many interesting particulars in relation” to that people

JOSLYN ART MUSEUM, OMAHA, NEBRASKA, GIFT OF THE ENRON ART FOUNDATION, 1986.49.247



David Thompson 1798 map, "Bend of the Missouri River."

the northern boundary of Louisiana Territory and forwarded much of Thompson's findings for the benefit of Lewis and Clark.²⁹ Some of this information concerned the Sioux. One particular instance occurred in December 1797 when the Assiniboine warned Thompson not to go to the Mandan villages because of the hostile Sioux. According to Thompson's journal, the Sioux resented whites (i.e., British traders) who supplied guns and ammunition to the Mandan, and according to the Assiniboine, the Sioux would plunder and scalp Thompson's party if they were to apprehend them.³⁰

The Sioux's reputation was spreading. Between the information that was directly gained from traders, maps, and miscellaneous accounts that were forwarded to Lewis and Clark in St. Louis, it is easy to understand why Ronda wrote that "no other city could have provided Jefferson's explorers with such a range and quality of information about the Indians."³¹ Additional information about the Teton Sioux continued to become available even as the Corps of Discovery began its journey. On May

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and Clark that the Sioux upriver, namely the Teton Sioux, would not be as receptive to their words. Clark recorded Half Man's speech in which he cautioned that "I fear those nations above will not open their ears, and you cannot I fear open them."³⁴ Such a grim warning coming from a Yankton Sioux concerning the Teton Sioux was information that Lewis and Clark simply could not ignore

Given the wealth of evidence, it is obvious that Lewis and Clark were well aware of the Teton Sioux. Yet, the failure to include a bale of gifts specifically for the Teton remains curious. Jefferson adamantly stressed to Lewis that the Sioux's friendship and power were crucial for American commerce on the Missouri River. So, why was a Sioux bale not packed and included on the baling list of the

25, 1804, the expedition met trader Regis Loisel who was on his way to New Orleans to present his report on Missouri tribes to the Spanish governor of Louisiana. Loisel had occupied a post on Cedar Island in present-day South Dakota, which he described as being in Sioux country, and according to Clark, Loisel provided a great deal of information.³²

"THOSE NATIONS ABOVE WILL NOT OPEN THEIR EARS"

After proceeding up the Missouri River for nearly four months, the Lewis and Clark Expedition conducted a two day council with the Yankton Sioux on August 30-31, 1804. The captains felt that the meeting went well, and the Yankton appeared committed to a peaceful relationship with future American traders.³³ On the last day of the council, one of the Yankton chiefs, Half Man, warned Lewis

“Mandan Miscellany”? Historian Clay Jenkinson believes that the list of baled gifts was prepared in St. Louis and then later included in the items to be sent back from Fort Mandan more as an official invoice of goods purchased.³⁵ This could mean that the list was valued more for accounting purposes than a list of what was intended for whom. Lewis and Clark definitely packed more than the bales intended for the Otoe, Pawnee, Ponca, Omaha, Arikara, and Mandan. This became evident when they offered assorted articles to the Yankton.³⁶ Perhaps

Lewis and Clark emphasized designated gifts for those Indian nations with whom a more established trade already existed. Perhaps the unfavorable reputation of the Teton caused Lewis and Clark to focus on the other Missouri tribes at the expense of establishing favorable trade connections with the Teton despite Jefferson’s wishes. Whatever their reason for not designating Sioux gifts, the absence of the Sioux from the list does not in itself mean that the Corps of Discovery did not expect to see any Sioux whatsoever. Indeed, there is a great deal more evidence indicating that Lewis and Clark knew of the Sioux’s presence along the Missouri, that the Teton had a reputation of being hostile, and that Lewis and Clark had good reason to anticipate the Teton encounter. One can only wonder what the outcome might have been had Meriwether Lewis and William Clark not been aware of the Teton Sioux. ❁

Brad Tennant is an associate professor of history at Presentation College in Aberdeen, South Dakota and a member of the LCTHF’s Encounters on the Prairie South Dakota Chapter.



Karl Bodmer (Swiss, 1809-1893), Psidjä-Sáhpa, Yankton Sioux Man, watercolor on paper.

JOSLYN ART MUSEUM, OMAHA, NEBRASKA, GIFT OF THE ENRON ART FOUNDATION, 1986-49-277

NOTES

¹In addition to the encounter with the Teton, Meriwether Lewis, along with Joseph and Reuben Field and George Drouillard, had a confrontation with Blackfeet Indians in July 1806. For more information on the Blackfeet encounter, see: John C. Jackson, “The Fight on Two Medicine River,” *We Proceeded On*, 32:1, (February 2006), 14–23 and Robert A. Saindon, “The ‘Unhappy Affair’ on Two Medicine River,” *WPO*, 28:3, (August 2002), 12–25.

²Although “Teton” and “Teton Sioux” are commonly used in connection with Lewis and Clark, Teton is actually a derivation referring to the Tetuwan/Titowan Lakota. For more information on the Teton encounter, see: Brad Tennant, “Reading Between the Lines,” *WPO*, 35:1 (FEBRUARY 2009), 6–11 AND JAMES P. RONDA,

“TOUGH TIMES AT THE BAD,” *We Proceeded On*, 28:2 (MAY 2002), 12–21.

³Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 3:104.

⁴Tennant, “Reading Between the Lines,” 6.

⁵Moulton, 3:111–12.

⁶*Ibid.*, 115–16.

⁷*Ibid.*, 418. Clark’s statement appeared in the “Fort Mandan Miscellany, Part 2: Estimate of the Eastern Indians,” which included descriptions of numerous tribes east of the Rocky Mountains.

⁸James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 30.

⁹The phrase “Oceti Sakowin” refers to the “Seven [Council] Fires,” which is a reference to the seven Sioux tribal divisions included among the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota dialectic groups. Coordinated by the Alliance for Tribal Tourism Advocates and hosted by the Great Sioux Nation, the Oceti Sakowin Experience became the first Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Signature Event to be hosted by a tribe. For more information, see *Lewis &*

Clark Trail - Tribal Legacy Project digital archives at: <http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/nse-8>.

¹⁰Donald Jackson, ed., "Jefferson to Lewis," *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, 2 volumes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 166; Craig Howe, "No Evidence that Sioux Would be Encountered I, Part 3 of 10, *Lakota Sioux*, TOMV 2004, <http://lc-triballegacy.org/ftp/transcripts/CHoOS3A-evidencept1.txt> (accessed May 23, 2012).

¹¹Jackson, "Lewis to Jefferson," 148-50, 155.

¹²Craig Howe, "No Evidence that Sioux Would be Encountered II, Part 4 of 10, *Lakota Sioux*, TOMV 2004, <http://lc-triballegacy.org/ftp/transcripts/CHoOS3A-evidencept2.txt> (accessed May 23, 2012).

¹³Jackson, "Albert Gallatin to Jefferson," 27-28.

¹⁴James P. Ronda, *Finding the West: Explorations with Lewis and Clark* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 51.

¹⁵Howe, "No Evidence that Sioux Would be Encountered II, Part 4.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Jackson, "Jefferson to Lewis," 166.

¹⁸W. Raymond Wood, *Prologue to Lewis and Clark: The Mackay and Evans Expedition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 52, 54.

¹⁹For example, in 1790, Jacques D'Eglise received a license to hunt along the Missouri River valley and eventually traveled as far as the Mandan villages. D'Eglise is considered the first Spanish subject to reach the Mandan. Upon his return to St. Louis in 1792, he provided a report of his travels and experiences to Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor. In 1793, D'Eglise attempted another trip to the Mandan, but he was prevented from doing so because of the hostility of the Sioux and Arikara. This was one of many instances during the 1790s in which individuals reported the hostility of the Sioux. A.P. Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804*, 2 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 82.

²⁰Wood, 31; Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau on the Missouri River, 1794-1795," 269.

²¹Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau on the Missouri River, 1794-1795," 301.

²²Jackson, "Jefferson to Lewis," 138.

²³Lecuyer led the second expedition in April 1795, but his poor leadership is generally cited as the main reason for his expedition's failure to advance beyond the Ponca nation. James Mackay, a Scotsman, and John Evans, a Welshman, both became

Spanish subjects and were assigned the task of taking a thirty person crew and four pirogues of goods to Indian nations on behalf of the Missouri Company. One pirogue was for the Sioux, one for the Arikara, and one for the Mandan, with the fourth pirogue intended for other western tribes. After unforeseen dealings with the Otoe and Omaha nations, Mackay decided to establish Fort Charles as an anchor post for trade farther up the Missouri. Evans' goal was to continue to the Arikara where he hoped to win their trade while ousting British traders who were trespassing in Upper Spanish Louisiana. Kevin C. Witte, "In the Footsteps of the Third Spanish Expedition: James Mackay and John T. Evans' Impact on the Lewis and Clark Expedition," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 26:2 (Spring 2006), 86-87; Bernard DeVoto, *The Course of Empire* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1952), 374-76. For more information about Evans, see: W. Raymond Wood, *John Thomas Evans and William Clark: Two early Western explorers' maps re-examined*, 9:1 (March 1983), 10-16.

²⁴Wood, 89.

²⁵Witte, 88.

²⁶Lewis' December 28, 1803 letter is when he also acknowledged interviewing Soulard. Jackson, 135; "Lewis to Jefferson," 145; "Lewis to Jefferson," 148-50, 154-56.

²⁷It is believed that Lewis and Clark also gained a copy of Mackay's twelve page report titled "Notes on Indian Tribes" and likely carried this with them on the expedition. Ronda, 11-12.

²⁸In addition to the King map, Lewis and Clark carried a copy of Thompson's map titled "A sketch of the North Bend of the Missouri." Jack Nisbet, "Companion Journeys," *We Proceeded On*, 34:3 (August 2008), 6, 8-9, 11.

²⁹DeVoto, 420.

³⁰John C. Ewers, *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 30; J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916), 212, 214.

³¹Ronda, 11.

³²Loisel's Cedar Island trading post was located in what is now Lyman County, South Dakota. Moulton, 2:252-53.

³³Ronda, 26. The Yankton Sioux belong to the Dakota dialectic group.

³⁴Moulton, 3:30.

³⁵Clay S. Jenkinson, *A Vast and Open Plain: The Writings of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in North Dakota, 1804-1806* (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2003), 442.

³⁶Moulton, 3:23.

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION AND THE PARTISAN DEBATE OVER WESTERN EXPANSION

BY ALICIA DEMAIO

In the extremely divisive party politics of the early American republic, the choice of Republicans as senior members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was a deliberate decision. President Thomas Jefferson placed his neighbor and personal secretary, a Republican like himself, in charge of the expedition. Meriwether Lewis then chose another Republican, his friend and army colleague William Clark, to be his co-captain for this military venture. Despite the fact that the Lewis and Clark Expedition was a government-produced and sponsored enterprise, historians have not explained or analyzed the politics behind the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The expedition is important as a topic of political interest in the early nineteenth century when placed within the partisan debate over western expansion and its significance for the future of America. The voyage of the Corps of Discovery played an essential part in Jefferson's political agenda to create an ever-growing America that would provide acres of land for his agrarian vision of the United States. Republican support of the expedition and

the Louisiana Purchase—another hotly contested topic related to western expansion—was rooted in this ideal. The Federalists, on the other hand, wanted the banks and industry of the Northeast to dominate America's

hereafter and feared a loss of power due to citizens moving westward, away from the center of industry. With a few exceptions, Federalists and Republican views on western expansion generally coincided with support of or distaste for the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition created such partisan debate because it helped facilitate Jefferson's ideal republic, of which western expansion was a necessary part. Jefferson

built his vision for the future of America around his admiration and appreciation for farmers and the practice of agriculture. Farmers, he wrote in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, were “the chosen people of God, if he ever had a chosen people,” and perfect examples of “substantial and genuine virtue.”¹ Jefferson envisioned a nation of independent agriculturalists, each tilling his own fields. To make this vision a reality, America needed enough

The voyage of the Corps of Discovery played an essential part in Jefferson's political agenda to create an ever-growing America that would provide acres of land for his agrarian vision of the United States.

land to provide for these farmers. The Louisiana Purchase conveniently provided this acreage, and the Lewis and Clark Expedition explored it and evaluated its potential for settlement. Lewis and Clark also served as physical representatives of American expansion with their walk across the continent. Because they were travelling through land recently acquired by the United States, the explorers needed to solidify the United States' hold on the territory. They needed to stake an American claim on land that did not belong to any European power but remained in the hands of the Native Americans who lived there.

Lewis and Clark expressed the expansionist policies of the United States while conversing with Native Americans along the route. In their diplomatic meetings, Lewis and Clark continually reminded native peoples that the land they lived on belonged to America, not the French, Spanish, or the natives themselves. The United States obtained sovereign control over the territory; native peoples were to retain title to traditional homelands. The captains handed American flags and medals with Jefferson's image to chiefs they appointed and forbade British traders from distributing similar goods.² Their speeches to Native Americans featured paternalistic language informing the natives that they had a new father (Jefferson) whom they needed to obey in order to gain American goods. The native peoples would only receive these benefits if they lived "in peace with all the *white men*, for they are his children" and "the *red men* our neighbors, for they are equally his children."³ The Native Americans, on the other hand, paid little attention to the supposed sovereignty they lived under and instead worked to cultivate trade relationships with the Americans, as they did with all other foreign powers.⁴

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE: FELLOW CITIZENS OR "A WILDERNESS UNPEOPLED?"

The Louisiana Purchase provided a realistic way for Americans to expand westward and live the agricultural dream that Jefferson desired. With the purchase, the United States doubled in size, acquiring all of the land from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, north to Canada and south to the present-day border between Oklahoma and Texas. The Republicans furthered their expansionist vision by lauding the Louisiana Purchase in newspapers as "perfectly successful" and "eminently beneficial." They

ridiculed the Federalists for the "malignancy of the[ir] opposition."⁵ Many of the celebratory addresses given in honor of Louisiana also pointed to the fertility and beauty of the country. One of the orations frequently referred to the territory as an Edenic garden or paradise; another praised "the exuberant fertility of the soil."⁶ David Ramsay, early American historian of the Revolutionary War, spoke of the earth's bounties in terms of items necessary for settlement, such as timber. He correctly predicted the existence of many new scientific species of plants and birds, species that, unbeknownst to him, the Lewis and Clark Expedition would discover.⁷

Republicans also quickly connected the new territory to the United States by adopting all of the inhabitants as "fellow citizens" rather than foreigners, emphasizing the freedom that American ownership brought to the new territory.⁸ William C. Claiborne, the governor of the Mississippi Territory, announced that the residents of Louisiana would "be incorporated into the Union of the United States," and the territory would form states as soon as possible "according to the principles of the Federal Constitution."⁹ Reporting on the celebration of the acquisition, the *National Intelligencer* expressed joy because, without bloodshed, Louisiana's addition to the United States "extended the blessings of liberty to an [sic] hundred thousand beings who were added to the population."¹⁰ The Republicans' immediate incorporation of the Louisiana Purchase into America and their recognition of the land's prospect for settlement supported Jefferson's vision of an expanded agrarian republic.

The Federalists' anxieties about Jefferson's policies of western expansion manifested themselves in critiques of Louisiana. Federalists were appalled at the amount of money the government spent on the new territory. One party member declared in shock, "FIFTEEN millions ... For WHAT? Wild land."¹¹ Newspapers emphasized the wild, and therefore uninhabitable, aspect of the space. Leading Federalist Fisher Ames described the new territory as "a great waste, a wilderness unpeopled with any beings except wolves and wandering Indians." Voicing the Federalists' fear of being overpowered by these future Western states, Ames predicted that this expanse would eventually split into numerous states and have "*two votes in the Senate*" just like the eastern states.¹² Ames also believed that the addition of the Louisiana territory to

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MICHAEL HAYNES

Start For the Western Ocean depicts the beginning of the Lewis and Clark Expedition on May 14, 1804.

the United States would divide the republic. The nation, he predicted, would become “an Empire so unwieldy” and “uncivilized” that it could not possibly “be subject to *one* Government.”¹³ Federalist responses to Louisiana also repeatedly asserted that the United States contained plenty of land and therefore did not require any additional acreage. In an article in the *Connecticut Courant*, the reporter stated that America did “not *want* this immense tract of country” because it already contained hundreds of millions of acres that had not been cultivated.¹⁴

Republicans responded to these worries, especially in the celebratory orations for Louisiana. Early American historian David Ramsey argued that, because of population growth, America did need more land, and St. George Tucker, law professor at the College of William and Mary, explained that the acquisition of Louisiana would ultimately preserve the union because it helped eliminate the presence of European powers on the North American continent.¹⁵ The Republican rebuttals to Federalists’

concerns reveal the widespread circulation of Federalist ideas on western expansion.

PARTISAN RESPONSES TO LEWIS AND CLARK’S HOMECOMING

Many of the partisan sentiments expressed in the debates over the Louisiana Purchase and western expansion resurfaced in responses to the expedition. Just as Republicans celebrated the acquisition of Louisiana with delight because of the opportunity it presented to spread liberty across the American continent, so too did they rejoice in the Corps of Discovery’s return. At the celebrations for Captains Lewis and Clark in Saint Louis, Missouri and in Washington, D.C., Republicans raised a series of toasts praising Jefferson as the patriarch of the enterprise and lauded the explorers for their efforts to promote liberty and knowledge in this new American space. Toasts to the federal government specifically connected these celebrations to the Republicans in power and to early American partisan politics.¹⁶





DAVID RUMSEY MAP COLLECTION

This 1804 relief map of Louisiana, the lands comprising the Louisiana Purchase, was created by Samuel Lewis.

Republicans also noted the Federalists' frequent discussion of Lewis and Clark and were displeased at their negative reactions to the cross-continental trek. In an article in the *Salem Register*, the reporter expressed happiness that "the great success" of the expedition "rescued it from that intemperate ridicule which has been spent upon it," presumably by Federalists.¹⁷ Another writer felt angry because of the "federal ridicule" spouted by the opposing party. The article explained how "expeditions for discovery" were always "deemed worthy objects of governmental patronage," which implied that the Federalists were upset with the government's role in the journey. Perhaps this comment reflected a Federalist belief that the Lewis and Clark Expedition wasted more of the government's money, after the expensive and useless Louisiana Purchase. This response to the President's policies, however, was "such an essential characteristic of Connecticut federalist[s], that we should not recognize them as such without it. A body of federalists conversing on our natural government" resembled "men who smell carrion."¹⁸ These two lines,

especially the final sentence with its image of the parasitic party members, implied that, according to Republicans, Federalists attacked all aspects of Jefferson's administration because they disliked him, rather than considering the merits and drawbacks of each issue. Even Jefferson's greatest successes, such as that of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, could not escape the malignant stain of partisan politics.

Just as the party saw Jefferson's expenditure on the Louisiana Purchase as a pointless use of funds for an expansive and desolate tract, the Federalists viewed an enterprise that used government money to explore this purchased territory in a negative light. Federalist newspapers printed fewer of the circulating stories about Lewis and Clark. They voiced their dislike of the project and its relationship to Jefferson, the de facto leader of the Republican party and therefore an emblem of its policies.¹⁹ In response to Jefferson's message to Congress in December 1806, one Federalist expressed disgust that the political concerns of the eastern states were being sacrificed for "the favored projects of the *West*." This anonymous author derisively called Jefferson a "philosopher" who comically

"bound[ed], like a *Mammoth*, away to the *Pacific*, and feast[ed] himself with panegyrics on the useless, and to us, very unimportant discoveries of Lewis & Co."²⁰ This Federalist commentator feared that Jefferson's expansionist policies would result in the West overpowering the East, a fear present in the commentary on the Louisiana Purchase. Federalists also frequently lampooned Jefferson's love of science as an example of frivolous thinking and a trivial intellectual indulgence.²¹ Another newspaper article printed in the *Luzerne Federalist* ridiculed Lewis and Clark's naming of the river Jefferson by exclaiming, "What similitude they found between the *river* and the *man* ... I cant [sic] conceive, unless it is because both are addicted to *running*."²² The pun on "running" most likely referred to Jefferson's disastrous tenure as governor of Virginia during the Revolutionary War in which he fled both the capital at Richmond and his home at Monticello in order to avoid capture by the invading British. The Federalists used their attacks on Lewis and Clark to decry Jefferson's expansionist policies and personal character.

Federalists also criticized the expedition, and by extension Jefferson, before the explorers departed. In

December 1803, before the expedition left its winter camp near St. Louis, Missouri, rumors about a “considerable lake of pure *Whiskey*,” discovered by Lewis “in the interior of Louisiana,” swirled in eastern newspapers. If such a lake existed, the newspapers believed, Americans would “speedily remove to that country for the sake of securing the free navigation of those *waters*.”²³ This rumor mocked the discoveries of the travelers before they began their work and indicated that the Federalists did not view the journey as a serious intellectual enterprise. Thomas Jefferson admitted as much in a letter to Lewis, when he wrote of “the Feds” who thought of the expedition “as a philosophism and would rejoice in it’s [sic] failure.” To Jefferson, this “bitterness” of opposition sprang from the Federalists’ concern over “the diminution of their numbers and despair of a resurrection.” Determined to prove them wrong, Jefferson implored Lewis to “take care” of himself “and be the living witness of their malice and folly.”²⁴ Jefferson’s theory that the Federalists objected to the expedition due to their political weakness was probably accurate, considering the apprehensions they expressed in response to the Louisiana Purchase about the west overpowering the east. Lewis and Clark, as emissaries

Jefferson’s theory that the Federalists objected to the expedition due to their political weakness was probably accurate, considering the apprehensions they expressed in response to the Louisiana Purchase about the west overpowering the east.

of American sovereignty in the west, held the power to transform that fear into reality.

During the expedition, the Federalists turned the scientific successes of the expedition into objects of ridicule directed at the president. Upon Jefferson’s receipt of Lewis’s scientific specimens from Fort Mandan, the *Salem Register* reprinted an article that sarcastically proclaimed, “It would seem that Mr. Jefferson begins to realise something for his fifteen million dollars. He has already got from Louisiana a magpie, and a *Prairie dog*.” Lewis sent four magpies from North Dakota, but only one survived the long trek to Washington, D.C. According to the article, the living magpie killed the other three because of “the bloody notion which they have imbibed from the former despotic government of Louisiana.”²⁵ This Federalist commentator used Lewis and Clark’s specimens to satirize Jefferson’s scientific interest while also criticizing the Louisiana Purchase and the Republicans’ excitement at the effortless spread of liberty through the American acquisition of Louisiana.

FEDERALIST POETRY: “HE NEVER WITH A MAMMOTH MET”

The most lengthy and detailed Federalist criticism of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was a poem, “On the Discoveries of Captain Lewis,” by John Quincy Adams. In the poem, Adams used the expedition to attack various policies and ideologies of Jefferson and the Republicans as a whole. A spoof on the honorific of the same name by Joel Barlow, Adams published his poem anonymously in *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, a Federalist literary magazine that catered to elite American readers. The poem was then reprinted in two Massachusetts newspapers, the *Hampshire Federalist* and the *Berkshire Reporter*. The former paper, as its name indicates, was a Federalist-affiliated publication. The latter, located in Pittsfield,



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Although the subject of this political cartoon is actually President Thomas Jefferson’s (foiled) plan to purchase West Florida, it reflects Federalists’ distaste for expansionism.

Massachusetts, probably leaned toward the Federalist side because of its location in a predominantly Federalist state. Adams identified himself as a Federalist when he wrote the poem in early 1807, changing his allegiance to the Republicans in early 1808 after he supported the Embargo Act. Adams's views were notably malleable, depending on the company he kept.²⁶ Such changeable opinions could have led him to write this poem as a reflection of Federalist thought, despite his misgivings about the party on certain issues. He also may have been attempting to prove his loyalty to Federalists who questioned his political beliefs.

The poem ridiculed many of the same aspects of the expedition used by other Federalist accounts to poke fun at the president. Though Adams claimed that the poem did not intend “to deprecate the merits of Captain Lewis’s public services,” the first half of the poem mocked Lewis’s supposed scientific discoveries, or lack thereof.²⁷ Adams pointed out what Lewis did not find on his westward voyage: “He never with a Mammoth met ... nor” did he see a “Mammoth’s bone, / above the ground or under.”²⁸ Though they did not uncover any mammoth remains during the expedition, Lewis and Clark did visit well-known archaeological sites such as Big Bone Lick in Kentucky that had been yielding the remains of prehistoric animals for decades. The idea that living or dead mammoths could have resided out West, however, did not seem quite as ridiculous as Adams wanted his readers to believe.

Adams ridiculed early American scientists’ expectations for Lewis and Clark’s findings. Lewis also did not discover “an Indian tribe / From Welchmen straight descended,” or “a Mountain, sou’d in pickle.”²⁹ Here, Adams referred to two seriously regarded scientific theories disproved by Lewis and Clark: neither a band of Welsh Native Americans nor a mountain of salt existed in the Louisiana Territory. Thomas Jefferson himself spoke of the purported salt mountain in his report to Congress about the state of Louisiana.³⁰ To further mock American scientists, including Jefferson, Adams declared that Lewis did not find “the hog / With navel on his back,” a reference to the fantastical creatures mentioned in sixteenth-century travel narratives to America.³¹ Adams concluded his attack on Jefferson and American science by claiming that the expedition so precious to the president was unimportant because it discovered nothing: Captain Lewis “could discover nought

/ But Water in the Fountains? / Must Forests still be form’d of Trees? / Of rugged Rocks the Mountains?”³²

As the poem progressed, Adams began using his attacks to expose the dangers of having a Republican government in power. If Barlow, Jefferson and Lewis—representatives of the Republican party in the poem—“cannot alter *things* / By G--, we’ll change their *names*.” This line refers to Barlow’s desire to change the name of the Columbia River to Lewis River. Adams equated this name changing with the ability to “turn inside out / Old Nature’s Constitution,” which could be a reference to the Louisiana Purchase and the use of presidential power not strictly defined in the constitution.³³

It also hearkened back to the politics of the 1790s, when Federalists viewed Republicans as wanton destroyers of the Constitution.³⁴

Adams also recalled imagery from the political battles of the 1790s when he equated the Republicans with bloodthirsty revolutionaries. The Republicans “no more / Can overturn a nation; And work, by butchery and blood, / A great regeneration.”³⁵ This allusion to

Republican support of the French Revolution was common in political literature of the 1790s.³⁶ Historian John Greene has also claimed that Federalists connected Jefferson’s scientific enthusiasm to his fervent appreciation of the French Revolution.³⁷ Perhaps Adams was drawing a similar parallel between Jefferson’s interests. The poet used science and the French Revolution to show that the fundamental extremism of Republicans and their sanction of unproductive and unhealthy movements did not change over time from the 1790s to the early 1800s.

Adams continued his poem with more personal attack on Jefferson and other Republicans who supported the expedition. The press often painted Monticello as a symbol of Jefferson’s philosophical and scientific pursuits, with him as its “Sage.”³⁸ Adams played with this allusion in a derisive way, equating Monticello with the fictional “mountain, all of salt,” thereby discrediting Jefferson’s scientific pursuits.³⁹ Poet Joel Barlow became, under the poet’s scathing pen, “the Prairie-dog / Which once was call’d a Skunk.”⁴⁰ The mention of the prairie dog was an allusion to the specimen that Lewis and Clark sent to Jefferson, which admittedly does not look much like a dog and was often referred to as a barking squirrel. By calling the prairie dog a skunk, Adams intentionally discredited

Though Adams claimed that the poem did not intend “to deprecate the merits of Captain Lewis’s public services,” the first half of the poem mocked Lewis’s supposed scientific discoveries, or lack thereof.

Lewis and Clark and their scientific fieldwork to support his argument.

Through these attacks on prominent Republicans and by using Federalist political tactics from the previous decade, Adams revealed the true purpose of his poem: to use the Lewis and Clark Expedition to expose the danger of Republican supremacy. The Republicans, Adams implied, wasted money on a pointless voyage sent to explore a worthless tract of land. Their willingness to change well-established American geographic features showed that they were a danger to the United States Constitution and had not developed much from the radical French revolutionaries they admired in the 1790s. All of these negatives portrayed the Federalist party as a better form of government for America. Adams did not merely criticize the Lewis and Clark Expedition with his poem—he used the journey as a propaganda tool for the advancement of the Federalist party. While the other Federalist texts that ridicule the expedition touched on the same issues as Adams’s poem, he utilized them to the fullest extent and in a way that would ideologically most benefit the party. Keeping Lewis and Clark within the debate surrounding western expansion, Adams used that debate and what he perceived as Republican flaws to expose the folly of the party’s leadership.

PARTISAN POLITICS & PAYMENT

Not all Federalists and Republicans adopted a position on the Lewis and Clark Expedition that aligned with their party’s ideas about western expansion. Even when expressing the opposing party’s views, however, politicians kept the expedition in its expansionism context. Federalist

Timothy Dwight, when commenting on the presidencies of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, stated that the two men had not created any policies that “produced the least benefit to the United States,” with the exception of “the Missions of Pike, Lewis, and Clark, to explore the *Mississippi* and *Missouri*.”⁴¹ Dwight’s appreciation for the expedition and his acknowledgement of its usefulness for the nation stands in marked contrast to those Federalists who used the trek to attack Jefferson’s personality, his political ideals, or both. This comment appeared almost a decade after Jefferson’s presidency; perhaps the time between the two events allowed Dwight an opportunity to reflect more deeply on the expedition and its benefits for the American nation.

The debate over the compensation bill for Captains Lewis and Clark as well as the members of the Corps of Discovery also involved politicians who dissented from their party’s typical stance on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The House of Representatives organized a committee in January 1807 to prepare a report on an adequate amount of monetary compensation for the services of the captains and the enlisted men. The head of the committee wrote to Henry

Dearborn, the Secretary of War, who recommended that each of the thirty-one enlisted men and non-commissioned officers receive double pay and 320 acres of land, to be located anywhere in the United States at the discretion of the recipient. Dearborn recommended a grant of 1,500 acres to Lewis and 1,000 to Clark, but admitted that Lewis asked for “an equal division of whatever quantity might be granted to them.”⁴² In the final bill, the house accepted both Dearborn’s suggestions for the enlisted men and Lewis’s request, giving the co-leaders 1,600 acres each. Everyone received double pay and the ability to choose the location of their land anywhere west of the Mississippi, or they could sell their land back to the government for two dollars an acre.⁴³



Captain Meriwether Lewis, Full Dress Uniform

The record of the debate over the bill in the House reveals that the committee may have initially recommended more land for compensation, a package that some members of Congress thought too extravagant. The *Annals of Congress* recorded that the bill granted 24,960 acres as of February 20, 1807, but the final version only granted a total of 13,120 acres. Several Congressmen objected to this bill, including Republican Matthew Lyon of Kentucky. Of the representatives who protested the compensation, four were Republican and three were Federalists. Lyon, who led the opposition to the bill, disagreed with the generosity of the compensation. He described the double pay as “liberal” and the land grants as “extravagant.” These awards, Lyon contended, would be “equivalent to taking more than \$60,000 out of the treasury” or up to “three or four times that sum, as the grantees might go all over the Western country and locate their warrants on the best land.” The *Annals* state that “after considerable debate” the bill passed in its final form, though the details of the debate are unfortunately not preserved.⁴⁴ Considering Federalist objections to the expedition as a waste of government funds, a Republican espousing the same sentiments and refusing to generously reward explorers who party members usually praised for their “boldness, perseverance ... judgment, and success” certainly did not align with traditional party ideology.⁴⁵

Votes in the House and Senate on the compensation bill tended to align with party politics. In the House, the majority of the votes approving the compensation bill came from Republican representatives, while the majority of negative votes came from Federalists. Considering each group’s perspective on western expansion and the Lewis and Clark Expedition, these results correspond with each party’s stance on the issues. Some Federalists strayed from their party ideology and voted their approval. Some Republicans expressed their displeasure in contradiction to most other party members. The majority voted along partisan lines.

The Senate’s votes on Jefferson’s nomination for Clark’s military promotion revealed a similar pattern. In March 1807, the president nominated Captain Meriwether Lewis as governor of the Louisiana Territory and Captain William Clark as a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army. Lewis’s nomination gained the Senate’s approval, but Clark’s did not. All of the nine senators who voted for Clark’s advancement were Republican.

The naysayers consisted of a mix of Republicans and Federalists, since the Republicans held a majority, but no Federalists approved Clark’s nomination.⁴⁶ According to a contemporary news report, the senators did not assent to this nomination because they did not wish to promote Clark, whose technical rank of lieutenant was “junior in commission to many other subalterns, and inferior in rank to all the captains and majors of the army.”

Despite Clark’s meritorious service on the expedition for Northwestern discovery, the officers who outranked him were rightfully next in line for higher military commands, and the dissenters believed that he should not be allowed to advance ahead of them. This report praised the senators for “adhering to their sense of duty and independence” by declining Clark’s promotion, and blamed Jefferson for insulting

other officers by attempting to advance Clark over them.⁴⁷ Opponents of Clark’s nomination saw this as favoritism on Jefferson’s part, another special reward for a leader of his pet project. The Senate executive journal does not provide details about who voted to approve Lewis’s nomination; either the Republican majority outnumbered Federalist disapproval, the vote was unanimous, or the group voting their approval consisted of Republicans and Federalists. Lewis was not being nominated to a military position, and it is possible that, due to his role as personal secretary to Jefferson before the expedition, the Senators knew him and regarded him as the true leader of the expedition and therefore more worthy of accolade, if such merits were to be bestowed on the leader at all.



Captain William Clark and the Circumferentor

TESTING NATIONHOOD

At the crux of Federalist worries and Republican support of western expansion and the Lewis and Clark Expedition were questions of expanding ideas of American nationhood. Historian Peter Kastor explains that the citizens of early nineteenth century America viewed the acquisition of Louisiana as a “test” to the strength of the nation. How would the United States incorporate, not only its new land, but the new people, European and Native American, that suddenly joined its population, people who had been governed by two different monarchies in the span of a few decades?⁴⁸ The Federalists clearly did not acknowledge Louisiana as part of the United States, with their anxieties about disunion and their inability to recognize the valuable contributions made by the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Acceptance of new additions to the nation proved easier for Republicans, with their strong beliefs in the sovereignty of states over the strength of the federal government.⁴⁹ Those who understood the territory of Louisiana as part of the union, who viewed the population as brethren and not foreigners, could conceptualize why discovering information about the newly bought land was important. Naturally, farmers needed land to cultivate, so discerning whether land was fertile and habitable was crucial for the future prosperity of a specific type of American life—republican (and Republican) America, the yeoman farmer tilling his plot of soil and living, through his occupation, as a virtuous citizen. Federalists’ conceptions of the American lifestyle were not structured around this idealized farmer, and therefore westward expansion and the Lewis and Clark Expedition were not essential for their vision of America.

While not all Federalists agreed with the perception of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as something unimportant to America’s future, most members of the party held this view, which coordinated with their perspectives on other Jeffersonian policies such as the Louisiana Purchase. Most Republicans, on the other hand, supported the purchase and other westward expansion efforts because these were essential to creating their ideal of the United States. Support of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was directly linked to concepts of expanding American nationhood. Federalists attempted to use the Lewis and Clark Expedition to attack Jefferson’s character, leadership, and policies, in order to give more legitimacy to their political ideas and their image of America. Ultimately, those attempts fell short as the nation continued to expand and settlers moved west in the footsteps of the Corps of the Discovery to claim their own pieces of land and fulfill the Republican dream. ✿

Alicia DeMaio is a senior history major at the University of Pennsylvania. This piece is part of her undergraduate honors thesis, “All the Success Which Could Be Expected: Contemporary Responses to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1803–1817.”

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¹⁰*National Intelligencer*, 30 January 1804, 3.

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¹⁶*Western World*, 11 October 1806, “Arrival of Captains Lewis and Clark at St. Louis,” reprinted in *Voyages of Discovery*, ed. James Ronda (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 1998), 204–205; *National Intelligencer*, 16 January 1807, 2. See Chapter 1 for a more lengthy discussion of the toasts and how they reflect Jeffersonian politics.

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¹⁹For an excellent statistical analysis of which partisan newspapers printed stories about Lewis and Clark, see Carol Sue Humphrey, “The Overlooked Legend: The Failure of the

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²⁸Adams, “On the Discoveries,” 143.

²⁹Adams, “On the Discoveries,” 143.

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³³Adams, “On the Discoveries,” 144.

³⁴James Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 74.

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³⁷John C. Greene, *American Science in the Age of Jefferson* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1984), 34.

³⁸Furtwangler, 249, note 19.

³⁹Adams, “On the Discoveries,” 144.

⁴⁰Adams, “On the Discoveries,” 144.

⁴¹Timothy Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Ichiquin’s Letters, Published in the Quarterly Review, Addressed to the Right Honourable George Canning, Esq, By an Inhabitant of New England* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1815), 170.

⁴²“Henry Dearborn to Willis Alston,” 14 January 1807, Jackson, *Letters*, 1.363 and 364. Clark technically held the rank of second lieutenant in the artillery for the duration of the expedition, despite Lewis’s initial promise that he would be named a co-captain. When army bureaucracy refused to cooperate with Lewis’s wishes, he decided to keep the truth of Clark’s rank from the enlisted men and pledged to Clark, “Your compensation,...by G—d, shall be equal to my own.” (“Lewis to Clark, 6 May 1804, Jackson, *Letters*, 1.179.)

⁴³“The Act Compensating Lewis and Clark,” Jackson, *Letters*, 2.377.

⁴⁴Annals of Congress, 9th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, January and February 1807, 591.

⁴⁵“Henry Dearborn to Willis Alston,” 14 January 1807,” Jackson, *Letters*, 1.363.

⁴⁶Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America, 1805–1815. Library of Congress American Memory, A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875. Accessed 30 Sept 2012. <[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(ej00296\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(ej00296)))>.

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THE DEATH OF SERGEANT CHARLES FLOYD:

Was it the Water or the Cure?

BY R.T. RAVENHOLT

As they ascended the Missouri River during the summer of 1804, the members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition routinely drank water from the Missouri River. Although we may think of river water in the early nineteenth century as clean and pure, it actually contained human and animal waste. It was contaminated by virulent microorganisms such as shigella and salmonella from the human wastes of Indian tribes that lived on the Missouri watershed—the Osages, Sioux, Arikaras, Hidatsas, Mandans, and Blackfeet. The waters of “Big Muddy” also contained numerous micro-organisms—perhaps including pathogenic E. Coli and staphylococci—from the vast herds of buffalo and other animals that grazed on the watershed. Drinking polluted water caused many gastrointestinal illnesses among the members of the Corps and was likely a precipitating, though not the principal, cause of Sergeant

Drinking polluted water caused many gastrointestinal illnesses among the Corps and was likely a precipitating, though not the principal, cause of Sergeant Charles Floyd’s terminal illness and death near present-day Sioux City Iowa, on August 20, 1804, just three months into the expedition.

Charles Floyd’s terminal illness and death near present-day Sioux City, Iowa, on August 20, 1804, just three months into the expedition.¹

Floyd took ill on August 18, 1804, although he does not mention it until July 31, 1804, that he was “very sick.” On that day, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and the Corps were greatly occupied. They hosted a party of Indians arriving for council, to whom they gave presents and food; they dealt with the captured deserter Moses Reed, held his court martial trial

and meted out his punishment, which consisted of running the gauntlet four times through the party and dismissal from the Corps. Because April 18 was Lewis’s thirtieth birthday, each corps member was given an extra gill (four ounces) of whiskey in addition to the standard provision of a gill of whiskey for each of the men. Moreover, a dance that night lasted until 11 P.M. Because of the stressful nature of the day, members of the Corps may have drunk



more than one “extra gill” of whiskey that night, and Floyd’s illness may have included a hangover from that alcoholic celebration.

In any case, the next day, Sergeant Floyd was “taken violently bad” as Clark observed. He diagnosed Floyd with “Beliose Cholick” and tried “in Vain to releive him.” As Clark wrote, “I am much concerned for his Situation—we could get nothing to Stay on his Stomach a moment nature appear exosting fast in him every man is attentive to him (york prlly) [York principally?].”

The next day, Sergeant Floyd, after all of these ministrations, died. Clark recorded the sad event on August 20, 1804.

I am Dull & heavy been up the greater Part of last night with Serjt. Floyd, who is a [s] Bad as he can be to live the [motion?] of his bowels having changed &c. &c. is the Cuase of his violent attack &c.&c.

we Came to [to] make a warm bath for Sergt. Floyd, hoping it would brace him a littlek, before we could get him in to this bath he expired. with a great deel of compusre, haveing Said to me before his death that he was going away and wished me to write a letter— we (took) Buried him to the top of a high round hill over looking the river & Countrey for a great distance Situated just below a Small river without a name to which we name and call Floyd’s river, the Bluff’s Sergts. Floyd’s Bluff— we Buried him with all the honors of War, and fixed a Ceeder post at his head with his name title & Day of month and year Capt Lewis read the funeral Service over him after paying every respect to the Body of this desceased man (who at All times given us proofs of his impartiality Sincerity to ourselves and good will to Serve his Countrey) we returned to the Boat & proceeded to the Mouth of the little river 30 yd. wide & Camped a butifull evening.²

In my 1994 paper, “Triumph Then Despair: The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis,” I casually attributed Floyd’s demise to appendicitis with peritonitis. However, as I



This painting, *With All the Honors of War*, by Michael Haynes, was commissioned by the Sioux City Museum and Historical Association. It recreates the scene of the burial of Sergeant

have subsequently studied this matter more fully, I have gained a different understanding of the principal cause of Floyd’s death. My thinking was guided by many relevant experiences in the medical field, including: admitting and diagnosing a woman with burst appendix, supra-inguinal mass, and peritonitis during my externship (she died a week later); surgical performance of a number of appendectomies in my internship; investigations of a cluster of appendicitis/appendectomy cases at the American School in Vienna; perusal of many appendicitis case reports and death records,



MICHAEL HAYNES

Charles Floyd, the only member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to die on the journey.

and investigation of many food poisoning incidents in Seattle; an active investigation of a large typhoid epidemic at Zermatt in 1963 with examination of typhoid patients hospitalized in the school house there; and studies of cholera occurrence along the Ganges and Bramaputra rivers in India and Bangladesh in the 1970s. I vividly recall seeing a man on a river boat near Dacca toss a bucket on a rope into the water below, then he hauled it up and drank from the bucket—drank Bramaputra water contaminated with intestinal wastes from millions of persons living on the

watersheds above, a way of life that the lower Ganges and Bramaputra rivers—the endemic home of cholera since time immemorial.

When I analyzed Floyd’s illness and death on August 19 and 20, 1804, I realized that Captain Clark’s and York’s ministrations to Floyd didn’t prevent his death, they very likely were the principal cause of it. The course of Floyd’s illness from onset until death was more abrupt than is normally expected with appendicitis/peritonitis; and his illness and behavior during his terminal two days clearly indicate that he was experiencing of vascular shock rather than peritonitis. Clark noted that on the morning of the day Floyd died, “Floyd, has no pulse, nothing will stay on his bowels.”³

Fortunately, I found *Doctors in the Wilderness*, written by Bruce Patton, who is himself a physician and experienced vascular surgeon. Patton also write that Floyd’s illness and rapid death were not typical of appendicitis/peritonitis, but, was highly indicative of vascular shock. Patton wrote that Floyd’s illness did not characterize appendicitis/peritonitis because he went into shock so quickly.

If the infection is virulent, it may weaken the wall of the appendix, causing the organ to rupture. Rupture is rarely a spontaneous, explosive event, but rather starts with a slow leak and the development of an abscess around the appendix over a couple days. Sometimes the infection spreads throughout the entire abdominal cavity with development of peritonitis (an inflammation of the abdominal cavity lining), a potentially catastrophic illness. This, however, is a process that takes time, and in its early stages, the patient is very uncomfortable, obviously very sick, but not about to die within hours. Something quick and disastrous happened to Sergeant Floyd “taken verry bad all at once”. The rupture ... of an infected appendix is a slower, less dramatic affair. ... Floyd’s illness not only started instantaneously, but it also proceeded to induce shock and death in twenty-four hours.⁴

The course of Floyd's illness smacks of vascular collapse and sudden death from shock, as commonly seen in persons dying of cholera. But there was no cholera in the Missouri Valley in 1804 (cholera was not in evidence in the United States until 1829), so there must be another explanation. The most likely cause of Floyd's death was inappropriate care given Floyd by Captain William Clark and York during his last 36 hours. Although they were well-meaning, their blundering treatment of repeated purging with "Rush's Thunderbolts" would have been sufficient to kill Floyd from vascular shock. Clark's diary entries on August 19 and 20, 1804, are tellingly supportive of this diagnosis.

Sergt Floyd was taken violently bad with Beliose Cholick and is dangerously ill we attempt in Vain to relieve him ... Floyd has no pulse and nothing will stay on his stomach or bowels... before we could get him to his bath he expired, with a great deal of composure⁵

When Charles Floyd developed abdominal illness on August 18, 1804, it would have been out-of-character for Clark not to have dosed him with "Rush's Thunderbolts" (10 grains of calomel plus 15 grains of jalap), a harsh purgative which, repeated, could readily have caused rapid loss of fluid and electrolytes from his gastrointestinal tract, resulting in blood pressure collapse with shock and rapid death on August 20, 1804. And because of the dire outcome of Floyd's illness, when writing in the diaries after Floyd's death Clark may not have detailed the desperate purging treatments he had performed, as he may have felt discredited by Floyd's death.

I deeply empathize with Clark's difficulties in treating Floyd. He had no thermometer; stethoscope; blood pressure cuff; flashlight; receptacles for accurate measurement of fluid losses by mouth, anus, or venesection. He had no watch with which to measure pulse rate or IV fluid capability. He had poor (if any) lighting, and had to depend upon York for assistance rather than a trained nurse. Clark's vain attempts to relieve Floyd would surely have included repeated purging with Rush's Thunderbolts, called Thunderclappers by Corps members. When dealing with a dying patient and desperately seeking to help, even the most eminent physicians in those years did blatantly destructive acts—as did the three attending physicians at George Washington's bedside at Mount Vernon in 1799, according to Bruce Patton.

At 7:30 A.M. Washington was bled 12 to 14 ounces, about a pint, and asked that he be bled more. At 9:30 he was bled another pint and a half, and again at 11 A.M. After awhile he felt well enough to get out of bed and walk in the bedroom. During the afternoon Dr Dick, the youngest physician, argued that Washington would be weakened by more bleeding. Nevertheless, another 2 pints were removed at 3 P.M. At 4 P.M. the President was given a laxative and an emetic ... At 10:20 P.M. he died.⁶

I deeply empathize with Clark's difficulties in treating Floyd. He had no thermometer; stethoscope; blood pressure cuff; flashlight; receptacles for accurate measurement of fluid losses by mouth, anus, or venesection.

Average-sized bodies contain about 5 quarts of blood, but George Washington at 6 feet 5 inches would likely have had 6 or seven quarts of blood; of which his run-amok physicians removed roughly half. Rapid withdrawal of half of a seriously sick person's total blood supply would likely kill the patient.

Lewis was busy with a dozen visiting Indians on August 18 and 19, 1804, and the court-martial of Moses Reed demanded his full attention, so the care of Floyd fell to Clark

and York. This was most unfortunate because Lewis was better educated in medical matters than Clark. He had received a great deal of guidance from his herbalist mother Lucy Marks; much wise health counsel from Thomas Jefferson, who was widely read and experienced in medical matters; and from Dr Antoine Saugrain in St Louis that winter, who opposed bloodletting. All of this education and experience might have reduced—but not extinguished—Clark's dependence on the unwise bleeding and purging teachings of Dr. Benjamin Rush. Clark had little such in-depth knowledge of medical matters, and was likely overwhelmed by the rapidly worsening nature of Floyd's illness, aggravated by his clumsily aggressive attempts at alleviation.

Historical studies have clearly established that the two foremost mainstays of crude medical practices during many centuries—the bleeding of patients for febrile illnesses, and dosing them with harsh purgatives for diverse abdominal and general disorders, were virtually devoid of therapeutic benefit and often destructive of patients' health and lives. The widespread use of such hazardous therapeutic practices continued throughout nineteenth-century America, nonetheless. It was not until the twentieth century that the average patient with an average disease, encountering an average medical practitioner, stood better than a 50 percent chance of benefiting from the encounter.

There were numerous occasions where Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark did exercise appropriate medical and surgical skill. Most notable was Lewis's diagnosis and treatment of Sacagawea's pelvic inflammatory disease when the corps neared the Great Falls of the Missouri in June 1805, which probably saved her life. They effectively cared for traumatic wounds and lanced abscesses. Clark effectively handled eye diseases among the Nez Pierce Indians in August 1806, without benefit of specific therapeutics. In general, however, their enthusiasm for bloodletting and harsh cathartics rarely improved on Nature's handling of bodily disorders and, in some cases, their treatments threatened the health and lives of the Corps. ❁

R. T. Ravenholt, a physician, is president of the Population Health Imperatives and lives in Seattle, Washington; his work on food poisoning can be seen on www.ravenholt.com.

NOTES

¹R. T. Ravenholt, "Historical Epidemiology and Grid Analysis of Epidemiologic Data," *American Journal of Public Health* May 1962;52:766-90. "History, Epidemiology and Control of Typhoid Fever," *Seattle Medical Times*, April 1964. Ravenholt, Mulhern M, Watkins R.B., Eelkema R.C. "Staphylococcal Infections of Meat Animals and Meat Workers," *Public Health Reports* 1961; 76:879-888

²Gary Moulton, ed. *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001, 2:494-495.

³*Ibid.*, 2:493-495.

⁴R. T. Ravenholt, "Triumph Then Despair: The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis" *Epidemiology* May 1994; 5:366-379.

⁵Moulton, 9:493-495.

⁶B. C. Patton, *Doctors in the Wilderness*. (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2001).



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Red and White Pirogues: Travelling the Missouri with the Discovery Expedition

BY LARRY KLUESNER

Imagine standing on the bank of the Missouri River and, amidst the barges and fishing boats, the rafts and the tugboats, two pirogues appear. You look closer. One is red, the other white. Aboard are men dressed in buckskins or nineteenth-century military uniforms. No, you are not imagining things. You have just witnessed the Discovery Expedition of the St. Charles, travelling 600 miles northwest up the Missouri River from the Mississippi River to Plattsmouth, Nebraska.

This nonprofit group of re-enactors has been recreating the Lewis and Clark Expedition since 1996, when boat builder Glen Bishop first sailed his handcrafted keelboat from St. Charles, Missouri to St. Joseph. When Stephen Ambrose, author of *Undaunted Courage*, first saw Bishop's boat, he declared, simply, "What a triumph." The boat was also filmed by Dayton Duncan, for the PBS documentary which he wrote and filmed with Ken Burns. After the initial keelboat burned in 1997, dozens of volunteers, aided by donations, help to re-build the keelboat and also build the red and white pirogues. During the bicentennial commemoration from 2003 to 2006, expedition re-enactors retraced the entire expedition from Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, to the Pacific and back to St. Louis, introducing more than 150,000 children and 300,000 adults to the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition along the Missouri River. The organization runs several major programs each year, including river trips on the Ohio, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers as well as a summer paddling programs with the National Park Service and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Re-enactors set out August 17, 2012 near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and landed in Plattsmouth, Nebraska, on August 29, 2012, where they spent several days resting and working on their two boats. On September 1, 2012, with the current to their stern, they began their return trip to St. Charles. At fourteen



John Potts (Larry Kluesner) demonstrating flint and steel fire-starting in Lexington, Missouri on September 18, 2012.



The DESC crew arriving at Kaw Point on August 26, 2012 during the two week upriver training trip.

communities along the river, they dressed in Lewis and Clark period clothing and taught more than 3,800 school children who visited the encampment about pirogues, period medicine, rope-making, trade goods, furs, fire-making, military weapons and uniforms, period music, flintlock demonstrations and Lewis and Clark history.

The trip on the Missouri River was also rewarding for training new and seasoned members to become future boat captains. They learn skills ranging from how to navigate rivers to how to give successful school demonstrations. In addition to meeting old friends or making new ones and reacquainting the expedition with the river communities that treated them so well during the Bicentennial celebration, the re-enactors were happily reunited with the grand old Missouri River itself.

The trip was not only a demonstration of the effectiveness of living history, but also of the effectiveness of partnerships. More than sixty expedition members contributed more than 5,000 hours of work and significant donations for food and fuel, and a National Park Service Challenge Cost Share Program provided \$7,600 in supporting funds. Most of the communities provide stipends to off

set a portion of the program expense.

The best part of the journey, according to phase leader Tom Ronk, was to discover that the Lewis and Clark story is alive and well. "There is a hunger for history in kids, especially for history that you can demonstrate in a reenactments," said Ronk. "They realize that these men worked hard for everything they had, whether it was making the rope for the keel lines or hunting for meat to eat."

Larry Kluesner retired from Nestle Chocolate and Confections in 2003 after 35 years. He and his wife Betty joined the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles, MO, where he has been chairman since 2006.

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Evening of Ceremony with the Teton Sioux—September 26, 1804, by Charles Fritz.