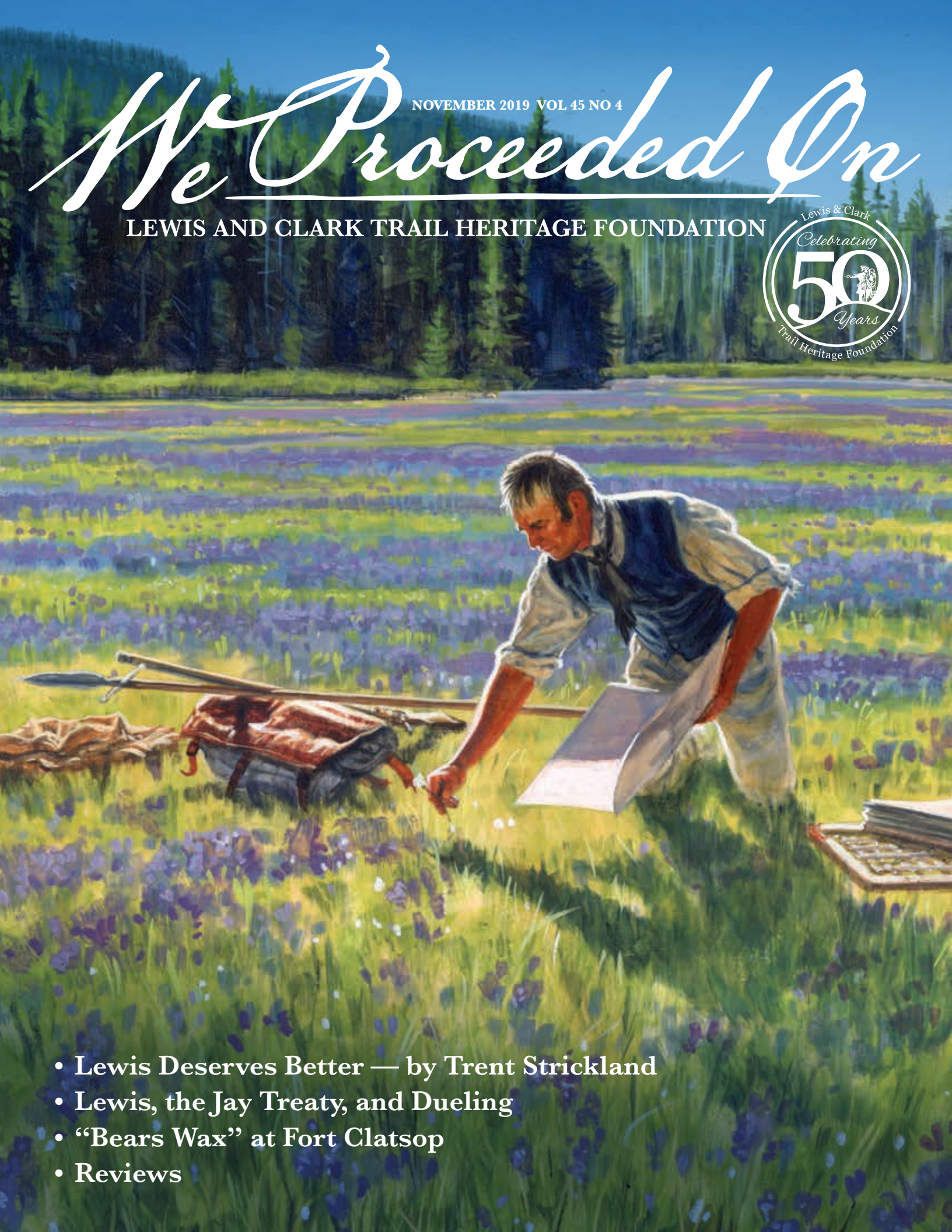


We Proceeded On

NOVEMBER 2019 VOL 45 NO 4

LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION



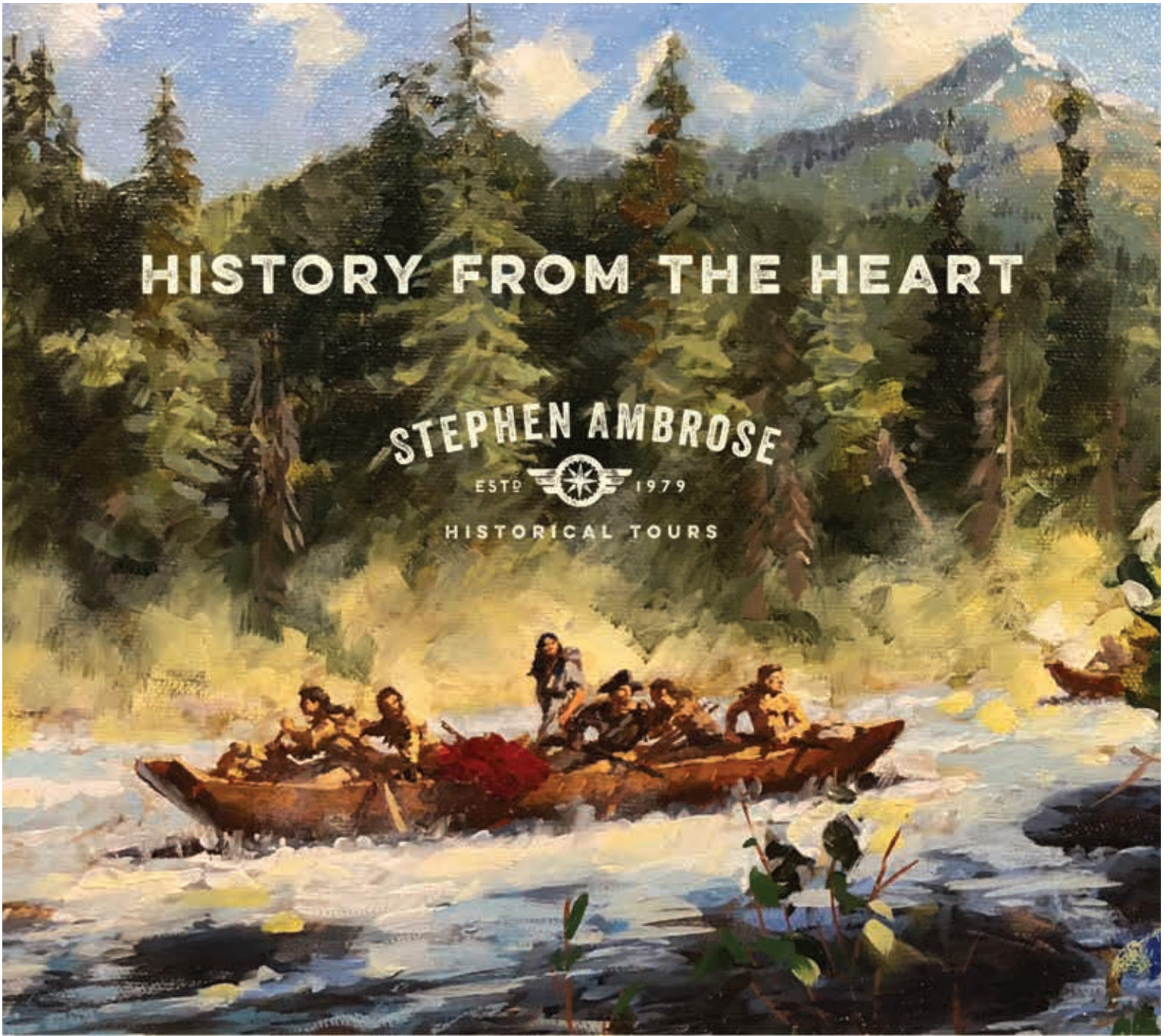
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Front: The list of Lewis' activities and duties on the expedition is nearly endless. Here, in Michael Haynes' superb portrait of Lewis among the camas at Packer Meadow, the president's Enlightenment explorer is in his element.

Back: Departure from Fort Mandan. Lewis and Seaman on shore alongside the “six small canoes and two large pirogues.” Painting by Michael Haynes.

We Proceeded On welcomes submissions of articles, proposals, inquiries, and letters. Writer's guidelines are available by request and can be found on our website, lewisandclark.org. Submissions should be sent to Clay S. Jenkinson, 1324 Golden Eagle Lane, Bismarck, North Dakota 58503, or by email to Clayjenkinson2010@gmail.com. 701-202-6751.



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

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A Message from the President



LCTHF President Louis Ritten

As I write this column, the 51st Annual Meeting in St. Louis has just ended. Principal planners Karen Goering, Tami Goldman, Mike Venso, Bob Moore, and Jerry Garrett are to be heartily commended for the wonderful meeting they put on aided by the support provided by the Missouri Historical Society and the National Park Service. From an up close viewing of the Elkskin Journal, to the terrific lineup of speakers and presenters, to two wonderful panel discussions, to fabulous bus trips to sites of interest together with a wealth of insights provided by the guides and participants, to a riverboat cruise to the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, to a visit to the new Gateway Arch Museum, to a showing of the 1950s movie *Far Horizons*, to the chance to renew old friendships and make new ones, and to a very surprising chance to see the actual NHL Stanley Cup championship trophy up close and personal, the meeting was a delight from start to finish.

We unveiled our new book, *Keepers of the Story, Stewards of the Trail: An Administrative History of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation*, which provides insight into LCTHF's history. Past President

Margaret Gorski led the effort to put this work together. Past President Steve Lee also created a companion book entitled, *We Walk in the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark Through Activities and Stewardship*, which features photos from his extensive collection. They are available for purchase separately or as a package for a discounted price. Please consider buying them as gifts or for your personal collection, and to help us defray the costs of making copies available to our friends and partners. Please contact the LCTHF office in Great Falls for details (406-454-1234).

I hope you will make the effort to come to next year's gathering in Charlottesville, VA, to be held from August 2 to 5, 2020. Led by the chief planners Malou Stark and Sally Thomas of the LCTHF Homefront Chapter and aided by Alexandria Searls and Becky Gildersleeve of the Lewis and Clark Exploratory Center, it promises to be another fabulous meeting. Much is new among attractions of interest to us in the Charlottesville area since the last meeting was held there in 2007. Please make plans to attend soon to avoid disappointment. It is good when any of us gather together and even better when large numbers of us show up to see the sites and enjoy each other's company.

Although to a degree they were helping out in their professional capacities at the Missouri History Museum, Karen, Tami, and Mike are also members of LCTHF and want to see our organization succeed in its mission. Along with Jerry and Bob, they all spent their considerable talent and untold hours of their free time on planning and executing the meeting, just as so many of our members

do as a matter of course in helping our organization function. It is our members who provide the lifeblood of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. I join with our volunteer Board of Directors in thanking each and every one of you for the generous contributions of time, talent, and treasure you see fit to bestow upon LCTHF. We truly appreciate all you do and will work diligently to get the most out of your generosity as we possibly can.



Attention Lewis and Clark Trail Stewards!

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- The Lewis and Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment
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A Message from the President

This issue of *We Proceeded On* is made up primarily of pieces conceived and created by volunteer members like you and me. We are proud to say that, through your past and present financial support by purchasing memberships and making outright donations, LCTHF can publish *WPO*. Besides breaking rigorous new scholarly ground with regularity, *WPO* also provides a forum for well researched and well written essays and stories created by our members and other amateur historians and storytellers who have a passion for the Lewis and Clark adventure and can express it in a readable way. This is a part of who we are.

If you have an idea for an article that you may be considering writing, please contact editor Clay Jenkinson or the chair of our Editorial Advisory Committee, Philippa Newfield, at philgor@aol.com for a set of guidelines and advice on how to proceed. We welcome well-reasoned, fresh perspectives and

informative material from all corners for editorial consideration.

At the St. Louis meeting, we began a dialogue with chapter leaders about ways in which we can be more effective. This might end up involving some changes in how we offer our memberships for sale as well as how we are structured organizationally. While we rightly celebrate the rich, fifty year history of LCTHF and all it has accomplished, we must also be mindful of a rapidly changing world and of being able to adapt in order to thrive under these new and different social and economic conditions.

As the Board grapples with these issues, we may come up with solutions that feel a bit alien to you. I urge you to keep an open mind, an eye on the future, and a perspective focused outside of our current membership. While the past and the lessons we can carry forward from it are rightly the focus of our foundation, we as an organization must confront the future

and adapt as necessary to ensure LCTHF is around for another fifty years or more. If we actively take sensible measures now to adapt, we have the opportunity to shape our own destiny into being the vibrant, relevant force we all want and expect it to be. As Abraham Lincoln once said, "The best way to predict your future is to create it." Please join with me and the Board of Directors in that effort.

This discussion will play out over the coming months. If you have ideas or suggestions on how we can improve what we do and how we do it, please do not hesitate to let me know. I want to hear from you. All ideas will be given due consideration and I thank you in advance for your contributions. ■

Let us proceed on together.

Lou Ritten

President

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

We Proceeded On

The Journal of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

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The Returned Lewis

By Trent Strickland

“The expedition. . . has had all the success which could have been expected.”

Thomas Jefferson (December, 1806)

The Two Captains

All students and enthusiasts of the Lewis and Clark Expedition would likely agree that the two captains, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, shared some personality traits but were overall very different people. Both were highly intelligent, courageous, and possessed excellent outdoor skills. Clark is considered the more steady of the two and seemed to be an excellent day-to-day commander of soldiers. Lewis, perhaps an introvert, might not have had an easy way with people as did Clark and, like many brilliant individuals, is thought by some to have an odd, moody personality. However different the two captains may have been, they were able to merge their strengths in a co-command that resulted in a supreme success for the expedition and lasting fame for themselves.

For a decade or more there has been a great deal of research on Meriwether Lewis, on the man himself and on his performance as co-commander of the expedition. Much of this scrutiny has been negative. In contrast, Clark's role in the expedition has received very little critical evaluation. This disparity between the two captains and the claims made against Lewis are a bit difficult to understand.

To better understand the negative accusations against Lewis and the absence of such against Clark, one must examine the circumstances surrounding Lewis' death on October 11, 1809, on the Natchez Trace in Tennessee. Clearly, Lewis was mentally ill and likely took his own life.¹ Given Lewis' tragic end of life, it is understandable that some researchers might theorize that his mental decline began during the expedition.

An incident during the return of the Corps of Discovery in early August of 1806 in which Lewis was accidentally shot in the buttocks may shed light on why he is looked upon in a negative light.² The accident, an indignity to Lewis, may lead some to think of him as problematic or weak and thus worthy of extra scrutiny.

A disappointment for all who love the story of the expedition is Lewis' poor performance as a journal writer. A superb writer, Lewis went long periods without writing in his journal, and these lapses may have led some to question his state of mind during these times of neglect.



Finding the balance between Lewis and Clark as “partners in discovery” and “competitors in terrestrial exploration” is one of the challenges of contemporary Lewis and Clark scholarship.

“This Very Strange Character”

Whatever the reasons for the extra scrutiny of Lewis' service as co-commander of the expedition, some of the claims are truly extraordinary. The claims/accusations are subjective, nit-picky, and at times mean-spirited. They have questioned Lewis' motives, judgement, and character.

What began as a stream has become a flood of criticism. Lewis has been found guilty of myriad shortcomings including “psychological immaturity . . . striking poses, both in deed and in text . . . engineered the course of the expedition so that the moments of greatest triumph were his alone.” His writings west of Fort Mandan have been described as “polished artificiality,”³ and he has been described as “a fractured soul.”⁴

These claims tell us that Lewis is a grandstander, quick to shove Clark aside so that the spotlight shines only on himself. Further, we learn that Clark “was disadvantaged by his relationship to Lewis.” Thus, he was reduced “to the status of crew.”⁵ It is not surprising then to learn that “Clark was often annoyed by, if not a little angry about, Lewis’ grandstanding attempts. . . .” The good news then is that “At long last Clark has been fully liberated from being Lewis’ ‘Tweedledum.’”⁶

Stronger still (if that is possible) is the accusation that “Lewis’ ultimate psychological dissolution was prefigured during his return from the Pacific . . .”⁷ Another author goes even further in stating “that Lewis was already dead (spiritually) when he came home.”⁸ Another account states that Lewis suffered “a kind of slow motion nervous breakdown on the return journey.”⁹ The attacks have continued until recently Lewis is described as “this very strange character . . . poor mixed-up,”¹⁰ “a little screwy in some ways.”¹¹

The piling on continues and we hear that more questions about Lewis’ shortcomings are in the works as we delve even deeper into the life of the leader of the best known expedition of discovery in the history of our nation.¹² All these attacks and claims raise an important question. How could a military mission of such importance and complexity be successful if led by such a wreck of a man? If Lewis had been so strange and troubled, then the expedition was doomed to fail from the very beginning. Jefferson would have made a colossal error in selecting Lewis and would have had to look elsewhere to find someone to command the expedition. But that is not the case, because Lewis was successful in planning, preparing for, and leading the Corps of Discovery to the Pacific and back to St. Louis.

There must be more to this epic story than Lewis’ defects and failings. Since most of the criticisms of Lewis concern his actions and writings west of Fort Mandan, perhaps it would be helpful to examine the Lewis who returned to St. Louis in September of 1806, as leader (or co-leader, if you will) of the Corps of Discovery. How did he go about

performing his duties in St. Louis and then traveling to the nation’s capital to report to the president and to arrange for the extra rewards for the members of the Corps of Discovery? How does this returned Lewis measure up to the Lewis west of Fort Mandan?

Triumphant Return

On September 23, 1806, the Corps of Discovery returned triumphant to St. Louis, thus completing its more than two-year exploration to the Pacific Ocean and back. The long overdue expedition party was “met by all the village and received a harty welcom [sic] from its inhabitants. . . .”¹³

The next day the commander of the expedition, Captain Meriwether Lewis, continued preparing his written report that was soon sent by mail to President Thomas Jefferson.¹⁴ Lewis also prepared a draft of a letter for Captain Clark who copied it in his own hand and sent it by mail to his brother George Rogers Clark who lived in Clarksville, Indiana, across the Ohio River from Louisville, Kentucky.¹⁵ The letter from Clark was subsequently published in the Frankfort, Kentucky, *Palladium* and was soon reprinted in other newspapers throughout the country and for many was the first news of the returned expedition.¹⁶ Why did Lewis write this letter for Clark that was published in many newspapers and for many was the first news of the expedition? Could it be that Lewis wanted Clark to receive the credit and fame, especially in Clark’s adopted state of Kentucky?¹⁷

It is noteworthy that in his letter to President Jefferson, Lewis gave high praise to “that esteemable [sic] man Capt. William Clark. . . I cannot say too much: if sir any credit be due for the success of that arduous enterprise in which we have been mutually engaged he is equally with myself entitled to your consideration and that of our common country.”¹⁸

Lewis remained in St. Louis for more than a month working to tie up the loose ends of the expedition—writing to family and to share the news with a proud nation and working to secure funds to pay the enlisted men an advance on the pay due them. Some funds were raised by selling at public auction the army-issued items that were brought back to St. Louis. Included in the auction were rifles, shot pouches, cooking utensils, and axes.¹⁹

Eager to report on the great success and to return to the East so that he could meet with the president, Lewis must have felt great pride and satisfaction for what he and the members of the Corps of Discovery had accomplished. He had done it! He had been successful in planning, organizing,



There is no incontestable evidence of a rift between the two captains of the expedition.

and leading an expedition of discovery to the Pacific Ocean and returning with the loss of only one white man. It was a great success, a supreme accomplishment, one that would fill any person with immense pride. But in his actions and writings at the end of the expedition, Lewis gives not even a hint of hubris. As mentioned earlier, he praises highly Captain Clark, and at the end of his report he informs Jefferson of the safe return in good health of the “whole of the party.”²⁰

It was not until early November that Lewis was able to set out traveling east to Washington, DC, where he would give a face-to-face report to the president. Lewis did not travel alone. The party also included Captain Clark and his servant York, the Mandan Indian chief Big White (Sheheke), the chief’s wife and son, his translator, Rene Jusseume, and Jusseume’s wife and children. The entourage also included the French fur trader and prominent citizen of St. Louis, Pierre Chouteau, who was leading a party of Osage Indians on their way to Washington, DC. Also in the group were two expedition sergeants—Gass and Ordway—and two privates—Labiche and Frazier.²¹

The party likely traveled east by horseback to Vincennes and then on to Louisville where they may have visited with George Rogers Clark and later were honored with a banquet and ball. After leaving Louisville the party split into

three groups with Chouteau leading the Osages on to Washington, DC, and Clark proceeding to Fincastle, Virginia, to visit friends, one of whom he hoped would be Miss Julia Hancock. Lewis, leading Big White and his group, planned to visit his family near Charlottesville, Virginia, before traveling on to the Capital.²²

As Lewis and his party moved through the Cumberland Gap, he paused in order to survey the Walker Line, the boundary line between Virginia and Kentucky that was in dispute. Lewis’ work resulted in the addition of a ten-mile strip of land for his home state of Virginia.²³

After his surveying work was completed, Lewis and his charges moved east into Virginia and reached his family’s home, Locust Hill, on December 13, 1806. Word spread to nearby Charlottesville that Lewis was expected there on December 15. Leading members of the community quickly organized a celebration dinner. A speech of praise by a local citizen was followed by Lewis’ reply in which he shared the credit with his “dear and interesting friend capt. Clark, and to those who were the joint companions of our labours and difficulties in performing that task.”²⁴ While in the Charlottesville area, Lewis, in response to Jefferson’s urging, likely treated Big White to a visit to Monticello where he could see the president’s “Indian Hall.”²⁵

After his visit with his family, Lewis moved on to Washington arriving there on December 28. On his arrival Lewis was greeted with joy and great acclaim. On the evening of the 29th he attended the theater in the national capital with the Big White party. During the intermission, some of the Mandan delegation came on the stage and danced for the audience.²⁶ There were no reports that Lewis forced his way on stage. He apparently was content to let the Native Americans have the limelight.

On New Year’s Day, 1807, Lewis met with the president in what is now called the White House. There is no written account of the meeting between Lewis and Jefferson but it must have been a joyous time as Lewis shared details and descriptions of the epic western exploration. Jefferson did share in an 1816 letter that he examined Clark’s map “as spread on the floor.”²⁷

Rewards and Compensation for the Corps of Discovery

Throughout the remainder of the winter, Lewis resided with Jefferson at the President’s House and very soon after his arrival began working to secure adequate compensation

and rewards for the members of the Corps of Discovery. In preparing the request for Congress there was some disagreement between Secretary of War Henry Dearborn and Lewis. Dearborn, who had never approved Clark's promotion to captain, recommended that each non-commissioned officer and private should receive their regular pay and 320 acres of land in the West. He further proposed that Clark receive a smaller grant of land than Lewis—1,000 acres for Clark and 1,500 acres for Lewis. Lewis disagreed with Dearborn and made it clear that whatever grant of land Congress approved, his and Clark's should be equal.²⁸



“828,000 square miles for \$15 million--as is?”

President Jefferson had considerable doubts about the constitutionality of the Louisiana Purchase.

The recommendations to Congress were sent together—Dearborn's dated January 14, and Lewis' the 15th. Lewis' letter included a roll or roster of the men (except York) who served with the captains on their “tour to the Pacific Ocean.” In his roster Lewis added comments about the service of some of the men and also requested extra pay for four of the men listed.²⁹

Often overlooked in Lewis' letter is the section in which he requests that two men, not members of the group who went to the Pacific and back, also receive grants of land. The two men were corporal Richard Warfington and private

John Newman. The cynic would easily question Lewis' judgement and decision-making ability. The all-important task at hand is to make a written request to the Secretary of War that will be forwarded to Congress and would hopefully result in much-deserved rewards for the enlisted men of the permanent party. Lewis chose to include long passages in the letter's body making the case for Warfington and Newman to be added to the list of men receiving rewards.³⁰

Who were these two men for whom Lewis so strongly argued? To better understand Lewis' effort on behalf of Warfington and Newman, an examination of each man's background and service is in order.

Corporal Richard Warfington

The only corporal to serve actively in the expedition, Warfington was a native of North Carolina and one of the four soldiers from Fort Southwest Point in eastern Tennessee who joined the expedition in late 1803 at its winter camp, located near the mouth of the Missouri River. In the spring of 1804, as the Corps of Discovery prepared to begin the ascent of the Missouri River, Warfington was named to command the white pirogue, one of the three vessels that made up the expedition's flotilla.³¹ Warfington was also assigned the command of one of the pirogues scheduled to return to St. Louis in late spring or fall with “communiques and specimens.”³²

In late September, 1804, as the expedition neared present day North Dakota, the captains made the decision to wait until the following spring to send one of the pirogues back to St. Louis. This decision presented a problem for the captains and for Corporal Warfington. The corporal's five-year enlistment expired on August 4, 1804. Lewis and Clark, believing that Warfington was the only one of the intended return group capable of leading the party safely back to St. Louis, asked the corporal not to take his discharge, in order to maintain his rank and authority until the return to St. Louis likely to be the following spring. As Lewis wrote in his letter to Secretary Dearborn, Warfington “cheerfully” agreed to continue to serve as a member of the Corps of Discovery.³³

In April of 1805, Warfington was in command of the keelboat as it left Fort Mandan and traveled south for almost six weeks to St. Louis. The keelboat was a treasure trove of what had been learned and collected the prior year.³⁴ Command of the keelboat was a huge responsibility for a corporal, but Warfington proved up to the task and was successful in leading the keelboat safely to St. Louis.³⁵

Private John Newman

John Newman was born in Pennsylvania and migrated with his family to Virginia and then on to Ohio. He was serving in Captain Daniel Bissell's company at Fort Massac on the Ohio River in late 1803 when he was recruited for the expedition.³⁶

Newman, described later by Lewis as "a man of uncommon Activity and bodily strength,"³⁷ initially performed well at winter camp at Camp Dubois and later as the expedition ascended the Missouri River in the spring and summer of 1804. However, in early October, Newman, for reasons unknown, made statements so insubordinate and threatening that he was placed under confinement. On October 13, Clark recorded that Newman was charged with "having uttered repeated expressions of a highly criminal and mutinous nature."³⁸

The charge led to a court martial at which Newman was found guilty and sentenced (under the Articles of War) "to receive seventy-five lashes on his bare [sic] back and to henceforth be discarded from the permanent [sic] party. . . ."³⁹ In addition, Newman was assigned as a laboring hand on the red pirogue and not allowed to carry arms or stand guard duty. The captains further stated that in place of guard duty Newman "shall be exposed to such drudgeries as they may think proper to direct. . . ."⁴⁰

After the sentence was carried out, Newman had a change of heart and began working to redeem himself in the eyes of Lewis and Clark. At Fort Mandan during the winter of 1804-05, Newman made every effort to atone for his previous behavior and asked Lewis' forgiveness and to be returned to the permanent party. Lewis was impressed by Newman's effort to redeem himself but in the end decided it would not be appropriate for him to rejoin the permanent party. Thus, Newman was assigned to the crew of the

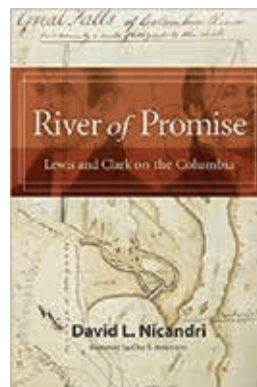
keelboat and returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1805.⁴¹

How does one explain Lewis' efforts on behalf of Warfington and Newman? Both men are thought of by some researchers as unimportant members of the expedition party. Indeed, one scholar leaves both men out in his listing of the members of the Corps of Discovery and relegates them to only "temporary members of the party."⁴² The Lewis critic would say that this is one more example of his "strangeness." But there is much more at work here and it is all to Lewis' credit. Warfington and Newman had not served directly under Lewis since April 7, 1805, when the keelboat left Fort Mandan on its way to St. Louis. There are no reports that Lewis met with either man in St. Louis prior to his traveling east to the capital. So, it is likely that neither man had been in Lewis' presence for more than a year and a half. If Lewis had never mentioned the two men, few would have known and no one would have objected. But as Lewis was working to take care of his men at the end of the great journey, he remembered Warfington and Newman and in his letter to Secretary Dearborn eloquently pleaded for them to be recognized along with the other members of the Corps of Discovery. His effort on behalf of these two men is an example of outstanding leadership and speaks volumes about his character. He owes the men who served under him a great deal and his goodness and generosity shine through in his efforts to make sure that all members of the Corps Discovery were appropriately rewarded, including two men who could easily be overlooked and forgotten. Clearly, this is not the act of a man who is experiencing mental problems.⁴³

The Returned Lewis

The Meriwether Lewis who returned to St. Louis in September, 1806, does not resemble the "very strange

**The culprits who have
been too hard on
Meriwether Lewis:
Slaughter,
Nicandri,
Jenkinson.**



individual” who has been portrayed for almost a decade. This “returned Lewis” seems to be a highly competent army officer who is reporting to his commanding officer (the president) and working diligently to look after the men who served under him. In every occasion he is quick to share the praise and adulation with his co-commander, William Clark. In his writings and his speeches he recognizes and praises the men who served under him. He reached Washington well before Clark but shares credit for the successful expedition on every occasion with his co-commander.

Where is the “poser,” “the strange character,” “the fractured soul,” “the spiritually dead Lewis,” and the man suffering a “slow motion nervous breakdown?” They are not present in this “returned Lewis,” and it is clear from his actions and his written words he is not suffering any mental instability.

This author’s opinion is that Lewis was a highly intelligent army officer who was assigned an important mission of great danger and complexity—a mission that he completed successfully. Today he would likely receive the highest possible medal of valor and be asked to address a joint session of Congress. Noted historian Clay Jenkinson states that Lewis was “the commander of the expedition and Jefferson’s personal representative in the wilderness. . . .”⁴⁴ As commander Lewis led from the front and took the initiative as needed. What some see as “posing” and grand-standing is nothing more than an army commander’s performing his duties well while on an important mission.

As leader of the expedition Meriwether Lewis is not a “strange character.” He probably was an introvert and it seems he was not able to talk easily to women. But throughout the planning, implementation, and follow-up of the expedition, he was a highly capable leader who successfully problem solved and made the tough decisions when needed. His leadership resulted in a successful expedition of discovery that is an important part of our nation’s history.

Lewis’ legacy is best summed up by President Jefferson in his December, 1806, annual message to Congress in which he stated, “The expedition . . . has had all the success which could have been expected.”⁴⁵ ■

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Notes

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William Diven, the Jay Treaty, and the Court-Martial of Meriwether Lewis

By Arend Flick

The Legion of the United States in which Lewis and Clark served during the mid-1790s on the Ohio frontier was a contentious body, especially during the long periods at Fort Greenville when there were no external enemies to fight. Writing to his brother Jonathan in 1794, three months before the Indian confederacy was defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Lieutenant William Clark said he was “sorry to inform you that [t]here has been contending factions in this cantonment.”¹ One of the ways in which officer disagreements manifested themselves was in frequent duel challenges, which (when accepted) sometimes led to the death of one (and occasionally both) of the participants.² A few months before Clark wrote to his brother, Major John Buell recorded in his diary that fifteen duels had been fought the previous year at Fort Greenville, “all by young officers” without the status that Revolutionary War experience would have brought them.³ Another sign of this contentiousness was the prevalence of frivolous courts-martial. Between April 1792 and November 1795, General Anthony Wayne’s Orderly Book records thirty-two officer courts-martial, many of them on the most trivial of charges.⁴ Wayne grew so angry at this practice that he used the Orderly Book to express his displeasure, directing his officers to desist from using courts-martial to resolve “private disputes . . . which are only Personal.”⁵ Buell, a Revolutionary War veteran, summed up the situation by writing, “There was the most quarreling, jargon and confusion throughout the whole legion that I ever knew in any army.”⁶

The soldiers in Wayne’s army must have quarreled for some of the same reasons that soldiers before and after them have. Many disputes would have been driven by some combination of emotional stress, immaturity, boredom, wounded ego, and basic evolutionary psychology that seems to make many young men prone to aggression, particularly when in uniform. Alcohol consumption certainly must have exacerbated these quarrels. George Washington worried about inebriation as a threat to discipline, as did General Wayne.⁷ But Wayne’s soldiers also had some grounds for contention that were more specific to 1790s America. Sectional pride



William Diven’s grave at Peekskill, NY. He died in 1817 after a tempestuous life. Photo by Jeff Canning.

seems to have played a role. Most were from Pennsylvania or Virginia, and a long-standing border dispute between the two states still embittered many citizens. Religious and ethnic differences, as between Protestant and Catholic, Anglo- and Irish-American, may also have caused some embroilments. Differences in age and experience must have been a factor as well: some veterans of the Revolutionary War in their thirties and forties served with the same rank as newly commissioned officers barely into their twenties. Meriwether Lewis was not yet twenty-one when he entered

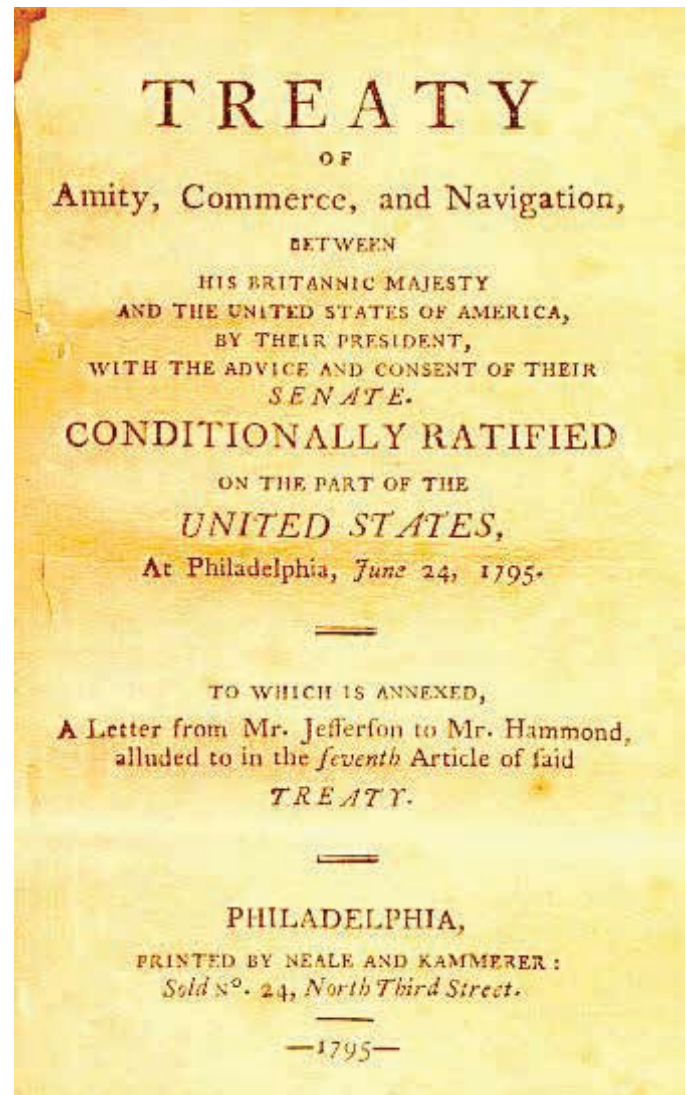
the Legion as an ensign in May 1795, and he had never fired a rifle in anger. Clark, four years older, had killed Indians while serving in the Kentucky militia and perhaps with the regular army at Fallen Timbers. Some of Lewis' brother officers, twice his age, had been wounded in the Revolution or barely escaped death at St. Clair's Defeat. That Wayne was able to create a cohesive fighting force out of such disparate and squabble-prone officers is remarkable.

When Clark spoke of factionalism at Fort Greenville, however, he was probably referring specifically to the political schisms that split the cantonment. The most obvious was between those officers who supported Anthony Wayne and those allied with his duplicitous second in command, James Wilkinson. Lewis and Clark were, like most Virginians, supporters of Wilkinson, whom no one recognized at that time as the spy and traitor he turned out to be. Clark had served directly under Wilkinson and greatly respected him. Many officers detested Wayne because he seemed to them an overly cautious martinet who appeared to prefer constant drilling to active engagement with the enemy. Wayne only became aware of this schism in late 1793 when various officers hinted about it in letters to him. Brigadier General Thomas Posey, in a letter dated December 8, 1793, told Wayne, "I am aware that you are not without your enemies who will be ready to lay hold of and take advantage of every mishap." He went on to suggest that "some whom you hold friendly inclined to you" are really not your friends.⁸ He was speaking primarily of Wilkinson, whom he had begun to suspect of working actively to undermine Wayne's authority.

But the schism between supporters of Wayne and supporters of Wilkinson mirrored a deeper political divide that split the entire country. An emerging Federalist party, led by Washington, Hamilton, and Adams (and to which most of Wayne's officers were sympathetic), favored a strong centralized government, supported the new Constitution that bound thirteen disparate colonies into a single nation, and, in historian Gordon Wood's words, "expressed horror at what was happening in France" as revolution led to the abolition of the monarchy in 1792 and regicide in 1793.⁹ An opposing group, with Jefferson, Monroe, and eventually Madison as leaders, began as egalitarian anti-Federalists who favored small government and the preservation of the individual rights of states, believed in the capacity of ordinary men to make good choices about their political lives, and welcomed the French Revolution as a necessary corrective to monarchy, aristocracy, and a rigid social hierarchy. As

these competing sensibilities hardened into political parties, the anti-Federalists became known as Democratic-Republicans—Republicans for short. Anthony Wayne, a friend and colleague of George Washington, was a Federalist; James Wilkinson, never easy to pin down politically because opportunism often dictated his apparent "beliefs," was more closely aligned with Jefferson and republicanism. Clark, like most but not all Virginians, was a republican sympathizer. Lewis was at times a republican zealot, particularly in his early support for the French Revolution as demonstrated by his salutation to his mother as "Cittizen [sic] Lucy Markes" in a letter dated May 22, 1795.¹⁰ That had not, however, prevented him from joining the Virginia militia to help quell the anti-Federalist Whiskey Rebellion in 1794.

This political schism came to a head between 1794 and 1796, as the United States and Great Britain seemed about to



The Infamous Jay Treaty. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

fight another war. Various issues divided the two countries, but the most significant had to do with trade: British restrictions and tariffs were blocking American exports. Washington sent John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, to England in May 1794 to negotiate a treaty, which was agreed to by Jay and his British counterpart in November. It opened some British ports in the Caribbean to American trade and settled other lesser issues that had been left unresolved by the 1783 Treaty of Paris. In America, the Jay Treaty became the subject of vituperative disagreement, with Federalists supporting it and Republicans vociferously opposing it. It was published in the summer of 1795 about the same time Lewis joined the Legion at Fort Greenville. Proponents and opponents clashed (sometimes physically) in the country's major cities. Jay was burned in effigy by those opposed to the treaty, and there were even calls for Washington's impeachment. After a protracted debate, the Senate barely approved it in June and then Washington signed it in August. But that didn't end the arguing. The House still needed to vote to fund the treaty, which it eventually did in April 1796. Federalists and Republicans then moved on to other (no less divisive) issues. War with Britain was averted for sixteen years.¹¹

Writing in 2009, Gordon Wood noted that except for the Civil War era, "the last several years of the eighteenth century were the most politically contentious in United States history."¹² Clearly, the officers in Anthony Wayne's army were not immune from this contentiousness. The summer and fall of 1795 must have been particularly divisive times at the cantonment, particularly after August 3, when the Treaty of Greenville brought an official end to most of the fighting on the Ohio frontier—and left the officers still assigned to the fort little to do but drill, drink, and debate. Meriwether Lewis was new to the Legion and even newer to the fort, having arrived from Pittsburgh in late June or early July, just in time for the Greenville treaty-signing ceremony. The events that tested him later that year are best understood in this broader context, with awareness of what his fellow officers were likely arguing about during that most disputatious of American times. If they were like most Americans, they were arguing about the merits of the Jay Treaty.

What led to Lewis' court-martial?

On September 24, 1795, Lieutenant Joseph Elliott gave a dinner party for four fellow officers at Fort Greenville. Elliott, around forty, was a South Carolinian by birth and a Revolutionary War veteran.¹³ He had been wounded and

taken prisoner in 1780 at the Siege of Charleston, where Jonathan Clark was also taken prisoner.¹⁴ Elliott spent time on the prison ship *Torbay* in Charleston Harbor under grueling conditions.¹⁵ In March 1792, Elliott received a commission in the newly formed Legion, a few days after William Clark did. Reduced in rank from the captaincy he had held earlier, he was assigned to the artillery and engineering corps of the third sub-legion. Elliott's time in Wayne's army was volatile. Shortly before Fallen Timbers, he was shot in a duel with another officer. By January 1795, however, he was well enough to act as a plaintiff in a court-martial case in which a sergeant under his command was convicted of "improper interference in the Police of the company." Before the end of the year, another incident occurred in which he thought he was challenged once again to a duel. Refusing the challenge, he became instead a plaintiff in the court-martial of his challenger.¹⁶ Had this challenger been anyone other than Meriwether Lewis, it would have been of little historical moment.

Elliott's guests that day, three of them from Pennsylvania and one from Maryland, were all younger men. Lieutenant Campbell Smith, twenty-seven, had been recently appointed by Wayne as judge advocate for the Legion. Born in Baltimore into a prominent family, he was the son of William Smith, a congressman from Maryland and (earlier) a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. John Francis Carmichael, thirty-four, had entered into service as a surgeon's mate in 1789, was honorably discharged a year later, then returned to the army in 1792, once again as a surgeon's mate. He was quickly promoted to surgeon and assigned to the fourth sub-legion. James Sterrett, still in his twenties, had received his commission in 1794 as lieutenant in the artillery and engineers corps, where he served with Elliott. William Diven, Elliott's fourth guest, was thirty-three, and a lieutenant in the fourth sub-legion, as were Lewis and Clark.¹⁷ As a sixteen-year-old, he had fought in the Revolutionary War with the eleventh Pennsylvania regiment. Military records indicate that he transferred to Lewis Nicola's invalid corps in September 1778, presumably after having been wounded or become unfit for combat.¹⁸

Although politics may well have been discussed at Elliott's dinner party, he had not intentionally gathered like-minded men together to conspire. His own political views can only be inferred from the scant historical evidence. South Carolinians during this period were as likely to be Federalists as Republicans, but the city of Charleston, from which Elliott almost certainly came, was primarily Federalist, particularly

suggesting that this was not the time or place for settling disputes. Lewis responded that he had no dispute with Diven to settle, and, after a further exchange between him and Elliott that grew more heated, he left Elliott's quarters in the company of Rand. Within minutes, however, he returned to tell Elliott that he felt insulted by Elliott's admonitions and that he desired "satisfaction." After indicating that he would return in two hours, Lewis left the room. Shortly thereafter, Carmichael and Diven also left, leaving Elliott alone with Sterett. After about a half hour, another friend of Lewis', Captain Andrew Marschalk, came to Elliott's quarters seeking Elliott's "friend"—presumably someone who could act as his second in a duel to be arranged. Elliott replied that he needed no friend and that Lewis would have to put his challenge in writing. Marschalk left and returned in a few minutes with a note from Lewis to Elliott that said, "Your treatment to me as an officer and a gentleman obliges me to call on you for satisfaction." Whereupon Elliott, calling Lewis intoxicated and believing himself to have been challenged to a duel (forbidden under the Articles of War) told Marschalk that he would reject the challenge and instead have Lewis court-martialed.

Nothing in the transcript of the court-martial proceedings indicates conclusively that, as Stephen Ambrose put it, Lewis and Elliott had "argued politics."²³ It does seem plausible that Smith, along with Elliott and Diven (the two Revolutionary War veterans) defended the Jay Treaty in conversation while Sterrett and Carmichael, both anti-Federalists, expressed their opposition. But Elliott's quarrel with Lewis seems, at least on the face of it, to have arisen because Lewis disrupted Elliott's dinner party, not because he disagreed with him politically. Lewis claimed to have had only friendly business to discuss with Diven, but by all accounts the discussion grew heated, and Elliott in effect interposed himself between Diven and Lewis, to restore peace and allow Diven to return to the dinner gathering. His principal desire was evidently to enjoy a harmonious dinner party on the western frontier. For his pains, he got a duel challenge from the much younger Lewis.

If Lewis and Elliott did not argue politics, though, it's likely that Lewis and Diven did. Lewis had sought Diven out earlier in the day, accompanied by a second man, Benjamin Rand. When Lewis discovered that Diven was dining with Elliott, he looked for him at Elliott's quarters. Both Diven and Lewis claimed at the trial that their "business" was friendly, but the dinner guests testified that their voices were

raised, and that Lewis was so over-wrought he actually shed tears. We cannot know with certainty, but the court-martial transcript suggests that Lewis and Diven had an intense argument that day. Rand's presence may even suggest that Lewis had sought out Diven (at Elliott's quarters) to demand satisfaction—and potentially to issue a duel challenge. If so, it's possible that Elliott intentionally worked to divert Lewis' ire from Diven, a fellow Federalist and veteran of the Revolutionary War, to himself. An examination of Diven's military career might help explain why Elliott would do that—and help us determine whether Diven and Lewis argued politics or something else.

Who was William Diven?

A Pennsylvanian by birth, William Diven was probably the son of Alexander Diven (born in County Tyrone, Ireland around 1715) and Margaret Smith Diven (born in England in 1720). The Divens came to Pennsylvania in the 1750s and eventually settled in Shermans Valley (then part of Cumberland County), where they raised a large family before Alexander died around 1763. William, with at least seven older siblings, was born in 1762; his younger brother James, born in 1763, was perhaps a posthumous child. Alexander Diven was Scots-Irish and the family belonged to the Presbyterian Church. Many of their descendants are buried in the Centre Presbyterian Churchyard in nearby Bixler. William and James, however, eventually became Episcopalians, perhaps because their mother remained Anglican. Diven's religious orientation matters because while most Scots-Irish Presbyterians were Republicans, Scots-Irish (and Anglo-Irish) Episcopalians were typically Federalists, as were most Irish-American Catholics.²⁴

We lose William Diven in the historical record from the end of the Revolutionary War until 1791, when, on April 4, he joined the New Jersey Battalion of the Second Regiment of Levies as an ensign.²⁵ With Indian raids increasing and land speculators eager to open the Ohio frontier to settlement, Secretary of War Henry Knox requested an expansion of the regular army that would include 1,200 volunteer soldiers—levies—to aid in the beginning of a new offensive against the Indians that summer. Probably because of his Revolutionary War service, Diven was made an adjutant to Colonel Robert Patterson's brigade in May. Six months later, he fought with distinction under Patterson's command at St. Clair's Defeat, at which nearly 1000 American soldiers were killed or wounded. Diven's heroism at what was

arguably the most disastrous battle ever fought by the United States Army was alluded to in his 1793 court-martial. Lieutenant Benjamin Strother reported a conversation he had heard “respecting W. Diven & his conduct in the action on the 4th of November 1791 in which Mr. Wallen [pack-horse master Elias Wallen] spoke of W. Diven’s bravery in very high terms. – He observed that W. Diven was a more valuable officer than the Levy officers generally were.”²⁶

Diven’s reputation for bravery at St. Clair’s Defeat must have helped him get his commission as an ensign in the regular army in March 1792. He was promoted to lieutenant later that summer and to captain in 1797. It must also have helped keep him in the army through a career in which he was frequently in trouble. Besides his dust-up with Lewis, he was court-martialed three times, a plaintiff in two other courts-martial, and involved in at least three duel challenges, one of which ended in his shooting a superior officer in the face. One possible explanation for this pattern is that he was simply truculent by nature. Another is that he was the victim of antagonists who were themselves hot-tempered. On closer inspection, though, we can see a more plausible explanation for Diven’s frequent quarrels.

His adversary was often (and perhaps always) an anti-Federalist Jeffersonian Republican. And this was at a time when Federalist army officers like him significantly outnumbered Republicans. Andrew Marschalk, for example, who charged him in August 1793 with conduct unbecoming an officer for making false accusations against him (and who later served as Lewis’ second in the duel challenge to Elliott), ended up founding a Republican newspaper in Mississippi.²⁷ In his 1801 evaluation of army officers, Lewis judged Marschalk to be a Jeffersonian. John Heiskell, the plaintiff in Diven’s mysterious court-martial of 1800 at Fort Wilkinson in Georgia, became the editor of a Republican newspaper in Virginia in 1813.²⁸ John Buell, whose views on Legion duels are quoted above and who himself challenged Diven to a duel in May 1793, was also an ardent Republican.²⁹ We cannot be certain that Diven’s arguments with these and other men were political. But his dramatic altercation with a civilian in 1799, reported throughout the country in many different newspapers, unquestionably had political causes.

In October 1799, Diven was on a recruiting trip to Maryland when a man named Arthur Rhodes attempted to interfere with his efforts by persuading new recruits to desert and civilians not to enlist. This was the time of the Quasi-War with France, when a Federalist-dominated Congress

authorized a fourfold enlargement of the army.³⁰ Republicans opposed this increase as they had opposed a standing army in the first place. Despite widespread (and legitimate) fears of a French invasion, they thought armies (as opposed to state militias) made war inevitable and were, in Madison’s words, an instrument “for bringing the many under the domination of the few.”³¹ Rhodes was clearly motivated by his republicanism to undermine Diven’s efforts. One Republican newspaper in Kentucky printed a letter from a Republican witness to the affair who conceded that Rhodes “had been guilty of a very unjustifiable piece of interference with the recruiting service in which capt. Diven was engaged[;] that [Rhodes] not only exerted himself to prevent enlistments but haunted the camp . . . and practiced all his arts to seduce the soldiers to desert.”³² A newly enlisted private named Ambrose Ross quoted Rhodes as saying, “I’ll be damned if I don’t get as many to desert as I can.”³³ Diven responded to Rhodes’ actions by having him detained and held overnight, then in the morning stripped naked and lashed twenty five times. Rhodes later challenged the right of an army officer to mete out punishment in this way to a civilian. Eventually, the issue of whether an active-duty soldier should ever be remanded to civil court for trial was debated at the highest levels, with letters exchanged between the Secretary of War and Attorney General. Diven, by then back at his garrison in Tennessee, agreed to return to Maryland for trial, where he was convicted and sentenced to pay a small fine.³⁴

All of the men whose political views can be determined and with whom Diven had altercations during this ten-year period were anti-Federalists. Diven was a devout anti-Jeffersonian Federalist. Logic therefore suggests that the basis for his dispute with Meriwether Lewis in September 1795 was, like his later dispute with Rhodes, political. According to Jay Treaty historian Todd Estes, “by the time of the treaty debate in 1795-96, the nation was clearly divided into two distinct political and ideological camps.”³⁵ He further characterizes the summer and fall of 1795 as marked by perhaps the most “intense level of political combat” in the country’s young history, with the treaty’s merits debated in newspapers, town meetings, and the halls of Congress. Ambrose and other Lewis biographers have been right to conclude that the incident that led to Lewis’ court-martial for drunkenness and conduct unbecoming was political. But his primary quarrel was with Diven, not Elliott. And it was almost certainly over the Jay Treaty.

Why then did Elliott get involved? Perhaps simply

because he was angry that Lewis disrupted his dinner party. But it's more likely that he saw a friend and colleague at risk of having to accept a duel challenge or, in rejecting it, of having to charge his antagonist, Lewis, with a violation of the Articles of War and serve as plaintiff in his court-martial. Diven seems to have been a respected officer and a good soldier, but he was on thin ice with Wayne, who had explicitly warned him not continue to trouble him with duels and courts-martial. Elliott saw Diven on a path toward expulsion from the army. Diven had spent his capital reserve from his heroism at St. Clair's Defeat in extricating himself from a series of altercations and squabbles; he could not afford another incident. Elliott, whom Wayne had recently praised for having arranged a Fourth of July celebration with fireworks, had not spent all of his.³⁶ My conclusion is speculative, but I believe Elliott inserted himself between Lewis and Diven because he feared that unless he did, Diven's army career would be over.

Was Lewis' army career in jeopardy?

Having been charged with multiple violations of the Articles of War, Lewis would have been arrested, relieved of his sword, and confined to his quarters until the completion of the court-martial inquiry. The trial was delayed until early November, at which time Lewis was acquitted "with honor" of the charges Elliott leveled against him.

How much danger was Lewis in during this period? It is common for historians to speak of this incident as having posed a grave threat to Lewis' military career. Certainly, if he had been found guilty of all charges, he would likely have been expelled from the army. More experienced colleagues would have told him that since July 1792, at least five officers in the Legion had been cashiered after court-martial convictions and others "allowed" to resign. Still others had been merely reprimanded when convicted, but reprimands were a public embarrassment that could affect an officer's career. Lewis' pride was such that perhaps he would have preferred dismissal to reprimand.

However, an examination of the officer courts-martial in Wayne's Legion suggests that Lewis was actually in little danger. The Orderly Book provides a somewhat incomplete record of officer courts-martial between April 1792 and November 1795, but we have a summary description of the vast majority.³⁷ Of the thirty-two officer courts-martial in the Legion in the forty or so months before Lewis', there were only nine full convictions and eight partial convictions,

in which defendants were exonerated on at least one count. The five officers who had been dismissed from service had all been convicted of more serious offenses than Lewis stood accused of. In many cases they were also repeat offenders. Drunkenness was a constant problem in the Legion, but it usually only got soldiers in trouble if they were found to be drunk during the performance of critical duties. Duel challenges were also common but rarely punished. Historian William B. Skelton notes that dueling during this period "was an accepted part of military life" and that before the War of 1812, "neither the War Department nor high commanders made the slightest effort to enforce" this section of the Articles of War.³⁸ Moreover, in the year immediately preceding Lewis' court-martial, there had been twelve officer courts-martial, with only one full conviction and two partial convictions. Post-Fallen Timbers courts were more lenient than earlier courts had been. Add to that the fact that Wayne was on vociferous record as opposed to the use of the court-martial system to settle personal disputes, and it seems clear that Lewis wasn't likely to be reprimanded, or even convicted.

Lewis, however, must have believed he was in great trouble: the court-martial transcript demonstrates how seriously he took his plight. But it will require additional essay-length studies to analyze his efforts to secure his exoneration—and to demonstrate the help he likely got from others, including almost certainly William Clark and Anthony Wayne, to achieve that outcome. As for William Diven, after leaving the army in 1802 he returned a third time to fight for his country, this time in the War of 1812, which eventually settled some of the British-American disputes that had not been resolved by the Jay Treaty. He died in 1817 and was buried in an Episcopalian cemetery near Peekskill, New York, where his younger brother owned and operated a tavern.³⁹ ■

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Notes

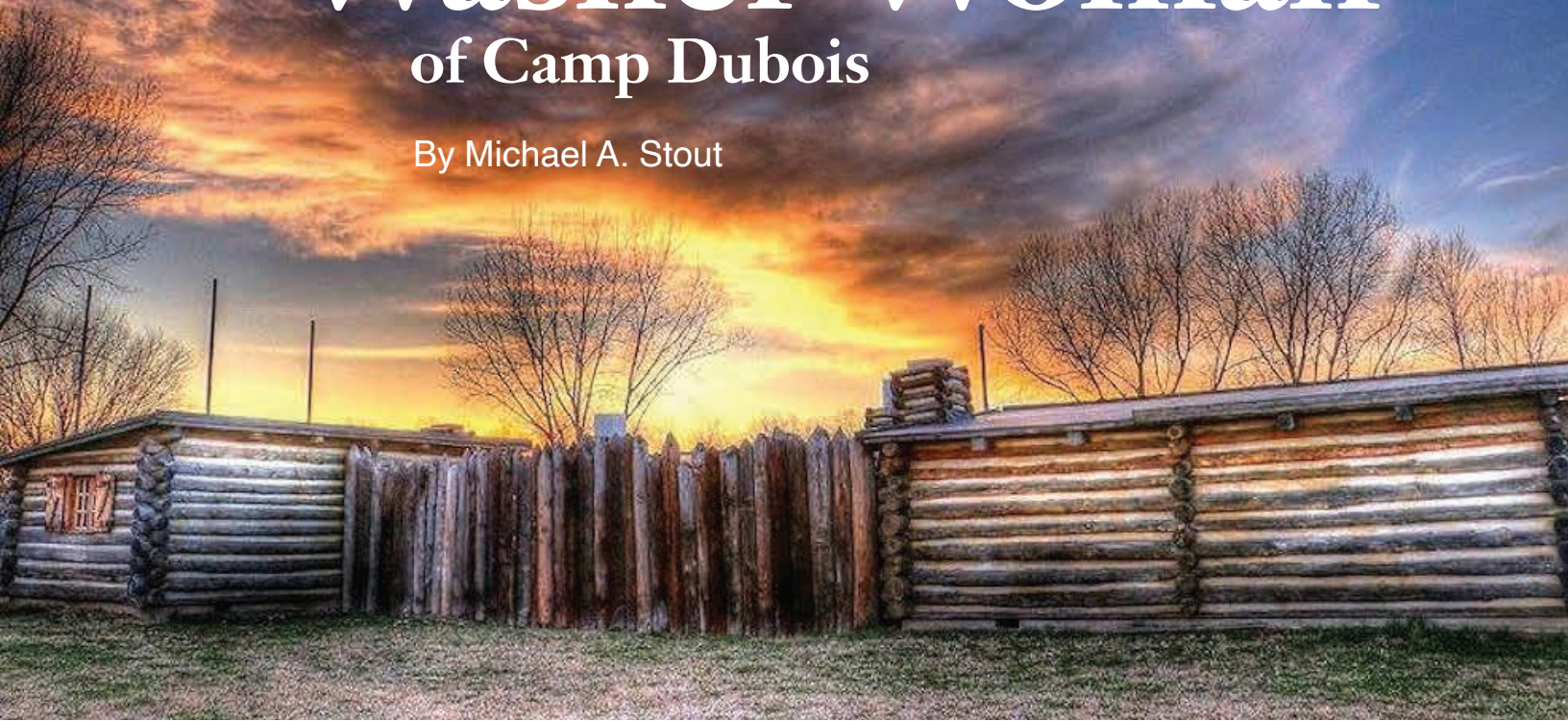
1. William Clark to Jonathan Clark, May 25, 1794, Draper Manuscript, 2L33.
2. In February 1794, Ensign John Bradshaw and Lieutenant Nathaniel Huston killed each other in a duel and were buried next to each other. See Alan D. Gaff, *Bayonets in the Wilderness: Anthony Wayne's Legion in the Old Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 199-200.

William Diven, the Jay Treaty, and the Court-Martial of Meriwether Lewis

3. John H. Buell, "A Fragment from the Diary of Major John Hutchinson Buell, U.S.A." *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* (January–March 1907): 107–8.
4. "General Wayne's Orderly Book," in *Collections and Researches Made By the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society* (Lansing, MI: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1905).
5. "Orderly Book," 474.
6. Buell, "Fragment," 108.
7. For Washington's views, see Gaff, *Bayonets*, 34. For Wayne's, see "Orderly Book," 459.
8. Gaff, *Bayonets*, 180.
9. Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 177.
10. Meriwether Lewis to Lucy Meriwether Lewis Marks, May 22, 1795, Meriwether Lewis Papers, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.
11. See Todd Estes, *The Jay Treaty Debate, Public Opinion, and the Evolution of Early American Political Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006). Republican newspapers, especially Benjamin Franklin Bache's *Aurora*, began what Estes calls a "full-scale attack" (108) on Washington beginning in late August 1795.
12. Wood, *Empire*, 209.
13. Elliott was almost certainly the Joseph Elliott who was the youngest son of Thomas (1723–1767) and Sarah (? – 1774) Elliott of St. Andrews Parish, Charlestown, South Carolina. His grandfather was Thomas Elliott (c. 1700–1738), an Assemblyman in the Carolina Commons House of Assembly. He was still a minor when his mother made her will in 1774, making his birth year likely to be around 1754. In her will, Sarah Elliott instructed her executors to have Joseph and his other minor brother Charles "educated to a trade." I'm grateful to Christina Rae Butler of the College of Charleston for her help in researching the Elliott family genealogy.
14. Another of William Clark's brothers, Edmund, was also captured at the Siege, as were several of Clark's future brothers-in-law (William Croghan, who married Lucy Clark in 1789, and Richard Clough Anderson, who married Elizabeth Clark in 1787). See John H. Gwathmey, *Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution* (Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1979; reprint of 1938 edition). James Holmberg of the Filson Historical Society alerted me to these curious facts.
15. Robert Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution, Volume 2* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1853), 74–77. Jonathan Clark was also imprisoned on the *Torbay*, as was Charles Pinckney, later a senator and governor of South Carolina. See William Fletcher Boucher, *Gleanings of Virginia History* (Baltimore: The Genealogical Publishing Company, 1976).
16. Unless otherwise noted, details about the military service of officers in the Legion are taken from Francis B. Heitman, ed., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 29, 1789 to March 2, 1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903). Additional details may be found in Wayne's Orderly Book. The January 1795 incident is described in "Orderly Book," 581. Elliott's earlier duel is described in Gaff, *Bayonets*, 266.
17. Diven's name is sometimes spelled Devin or Divin in various records.
18. For details about Smith, see Gaff, *Bayonets*, 135–136; and "Geni Page for Campbell Smith," accessed November 14, 2017, <https://www.geni.com/people/Campbell-Smith/6000000064806172966?through=6000000019485540602>. Diven's Revolutionary War record is referenced in Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *The Pennsylvania Archives* (Fifth Series, Volume IV), "Continental Line, Invalid Regiment," (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1906), 18–19.
19. Ulrich B. Phillips, "The South Carolina Federalists," *The American Historical Review* 14 (April 1909): 529–543.
20. "War Department, July 24, 1801, List of Army Officers," The Thomas Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress, accessed November 15, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/resource/mntj1.024_0268_0281?st=gallery. A good overview of the process by which Jefferson asked Lewis to evaluate his former colleagues is Donald Jackson's "Jefferson, Meriwether Lewis, and the Reduction of the United States Army," *Voyages of Discovery: Essays on the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, edited by James P. Ronda (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1998), 59–71.
21. Carmichael's papers are in the Kauffman Collection of Mississippi Papers at the University of Miami. He is described as a staunch Federalist in the biographical note by Esperanza B. Varona and Scotty B. Ford that accompanies the papers.
22. See Thomas C. Danisi, *Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2012). With the help of archivist Kaitlyn Pettengill, I obtained an electronic copy of the court-martial transcript from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (along with copies of other court-martial transcripts from this period), where it lay buried in the Anthony Wayne papers until Danisi had the ingenuity to look for it there.
23. Stephen Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 45.
24. Reliable death records (see footnote 39) indicate he was fifty-five when he died on December 22, 1817, making his probable birth year 1762. Military records indicate he was born in Pennsylvania. Virtually all Pennsylvanians named Diven who died before 1850 and for whom there are tombstones with legible dates are buried in the Centre Presbyterian Churchyard and descend from Alexander and Margaret Diven.
25. Richard M. Lytle, *The Soldiers of America's First Army, 1791* (Laneham MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 288. Lytle spells Diven's name "Devin." For additional information about Diven's service in the 1791 levies, see Charles K. Gardner, *A Dictionary of All Officers Who Have Been Commissioned in the Army of the United States, 1789–1853* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1860), 150. Gardner notes that Diven was "Adjutant of Patterson's Bn [Brigade] 'levies of 1791' under M. Gen. St. Clair agst Miami Indns."
26. Transcript of court-martial of William Diven (Andrew Marschalk plaintiff), August 21, 1793 in the *Anthony Wayne Papers 1765–1859*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
27. Charles S. Sydnor, "The Beginning of Printing in Mississippi," *The Journal of Southern History* 1 (February 1915): 49–55.
28. Gibson Lamb Cranmer, "The Heiskell Family," *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, (Madison, WI: Brant & Fuller, 1891), 316.
29. Lewis' 1801 evaluation of Buell calls him a Republican but unworthy of his commission. He resigned in 1802.
30. See Daniel Bradley to James McHenry, May 7, 1799, Papers of the War Department 1784 – 1800. Major Bradley writes to the Secretary of War that his recruiting party, which includes Captain Diven of the fourth regiment, has arrived at Staunton, Virginia (a Federalist stronghold) on its way to Winchester, Virginia. For a good treatment of the Quasi-War and the recruiting process, see William H. Gaines, Jr. "The Forgotten Army: Recruiting for a National Emergency (1799–1800)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 56 (July 1948): 267–279.
31. Wood, *Empire*, 263.
32. *Stewart's Kentucky Herald*, May 27, 1800.
33. *Alexandria Times*, May 20, 1800. Other accounts of the Diven-Rhodes affair appeared in the *Maryland Herald & Elizabeth-Town Advertiser*, April 15, 1800 and *The Times and District of Columbia Dailey Advertiser*, April 8, 1800.
34. I've pieced the details of this event together from letters in the War Department archives and newspaper accounts of the incident at the time. See James McHenry to Charles Lee, March 10, 1800; James McHenry to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, March 11, 1800; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to Charles Lee, March 20, 1800, Papers of the War Department 1784–1800, accessed April 3, 2018, <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/index.php>. Among the newspaper stories, see in particular the full-page article in the *Alexandria Times*, May 20, 1800. For access to American newspapers of this period, I am indebted to Carla Bogart of NewsBank for arranging access to its digitized and indexed archives.
35. Estes, *Jay Treaty*, 4.
36. "Orderly Book," 635.
37. There were many more courts-martial of enlisted men than of officers during this period, and the punishment meted out—particularly for crimes like desertion and sleeping while on guard duty—was often more severe. One hundred lashes was a common punishment, and a number of soldiers—usually deserters—were executed. Officers were usually not subject to physical punishment, however.
38. William B. Skelton, *An American Profession of Arms: The Army Officer Corps, 1784–1861* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 56.
39. The church record at Old St. Peter's Episcopal Church lists Diven as a Revolutionary War veteran and a captain in the army. His gravestone refers to him as a "Soldier of the Revolution" who died at age 55 years on Dec. 22, 1817. I am grateful to Jeff Canning, secretary of the Van Cortlandtville Historical Society, for help with Peekskill research. *The United States Register of Enlistments in the U.S. Army 1798–1914* listing for Diven indicates that he enlisted in the army in February 1810 for a five-year term. There was only one Captain William Diven in the United States army during the period between 1792 and 1810, making it virtually certain that the man buried as Captain William Diven in Old Van Cortlandtville Cemetery, in which Old Saint Peter's Episcopal Church is located, is the man whom Meriwether Lewis argued with in September 1795.

The Washer Woman of Camp Dubois

By Michael A. Stout



Camp Dubois at sunset. Photograph courtesy Riverbender.com.

This article provides circumstantial evidence that promotes one woman as a candidate for Camp River Dubois' laundress while the Lewis and Clark Expedition wintered near the mouth of the Missouri River in 1803-04, as well as to establish Mrs. Jane Mackle Murray as the "widdow woman"¹ referred to by Sergeant John Ordway on September 23, 1806. Other theories concerning the laundress and Ordway's "widdow woman" will be considered, but I hope the evidence presented will refute these ideas. Robert Moore, author of *Lewis and Clark—Tailor Made, Trail Worn: Army Life, Clothing & Weapons of the Corps of Discovery*, wrote, "At present there is not enough information to say with any certainty who this laundress was."² I do agree that the laundress cannot be directly identified, but my evidence will endorse Mrs. Murray as the best and most likely candidate for both the laundress and Ordway's "widdow woman." At present, there is only circumstantial evidence that indicates the "widdow woman" and the laundress are one and the same, but I believe that this was the situation.

Captain William Clark and the detachment arrived at Rivière à Dubois (Wood River) on December 12, 1803. The men constructed Camp Wood in about nineteen days.³

The camp was situated east of the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and south of what Captain Clark called the "mouth"⁴ of the Wood River. In 1803, the location of Camp Dubois was St. Clair County in the Indiana Territory. It was about twenty-six miles north of the county seat, Cahokia, and nineteen miles northeast of St. Louis. When Clark and the detachment arrived in 1803, there were between twenty and twenty-five Anglo and French American families living in the area.

Captain Clark records on January 1, 1804: "a woman Come forward wishing to wash and doe Such things as may be necessary for the Detachmt."⁵ He then writes on January 6, "I ordered those men who had fought got Drunk & neglected Duty to go and build a hut for a Wo[man] who promises to wash & Sow &c."⁶ During the 154 days the expedition encamped at Camp Dubois, Clark briefly documented the laundress twice, withholding her name.⁷

Sergeant John Ordway was the only detachment member to put into writing the expedition's return to Camp Wood prior to docking in St. Louis. Ordway provides a concise description of a woman who had homesteaded in the area

around or inside the compound of Camp Dubois during the time of the expedition. He wrote,

Tuesday 23rd Sept. 1806. a wet disagreeable morning. we Set out after breakfast and procd. on Soon arrived at the Mouith of the Missouri entered the Mississippi River and landed at River deboise where we wintered in 1804. here we found a widdow woman who we lift here & has plantation under tollarable good way Since we have been on the Expedition.⁸

As Ordway noted, the expedition landed briefly at the spot where they had wintered in 1803-04. They found the widow woman at the location they had left. From Ordway's statement, it can be assumed that the woman was living in close proximity to Camp River Dubois or she converted Camp Dubois to a "plantation"⁹ (i.e., farmstead). Ordway stated that the "widdow woman" had been at the camp since the formal commencement of the expedition on May 14, 1804. If the assumption is made that Ordway's "widdow woman" was the laundress, then she would have been at the camp much earlier, since January 1, 1804. If this were the situation, then she spent 996 days (2 years, 8 months, and 23 days) at Camp Dubois until the expedition returned on September 23, 1806.

When the expedition returned to Camp Wood, Ordway wrote only of the "widdow woman" and implied she was living there by herself. It is implied that she lived alone because Ordway made no references in regards to other people living at the site. The only help the Corps of Discovery provided to the laundress was indirect, through the construction of a hut at or near Camp Wood and her taking advantage of their departure in May 1804 by inhabiting the location after the expedition began its ascent of the Missouri. Ordway recorded that the "widdow woman" had Camp Dubois "under tollarable good way," which provided the evidence that she alone afforded the time, effort, and sweat to convert the army field post to a habitable homestead.¹⁰

Everett L. Sparks speculated that Ordway's "widdow woman" was one of the six Meacham sisters.¹¹ His conclusion was drawn from a series of articles by local historian Thomas E. Lippincott¹² that were published in the *Alton Telegraph* in 1864 and 1865. Lippincott wrote that the widow Meacham lived on the north side of the Wood River and was living there at the time of the War of 1812.¹³ Sparks speculated that this Meacham was the "widdow woman" referenced by Sergeant Ordway.¹⁴ Lippincott did not provide an exact location of her homestead, but placed it between the mouth of the Wood River and Milton (about one and a half miles

north of Camp Dubois).

In Raymond Hammes' *Population Centers 1807*, a Joseph Meacham was recorded living on the east side of the east fork of the Wood River in August of 1807.¹⁵ Meacham and other early settlers filed for land grants at the territorial land office, located in Kaskaskia, Illinois. Homesteaders were allowed to make claims to government lands as long as they were on that location prior to March 3, 1807, and if they had recorded their claims by January 1, 1808. This type of land grant was known as "The Act of Congress, March 3, 1807," and for this article it will be referred to as the Land Grant of 1807.¹⁶ Meacham recorded his homestead as,

Situate on the East side of the East Fork of Wood river beginning at an oak marked M 40 rods north and 100 East of a peach orchard and running South to another tree mark M standing on the East bank of said East Fork then West to a stump also marked M thence North to a hickory marked M to the place of beginning joining Jacob Pruit¹⁷ on the South.¹⁸

The presented evidence supports the argument that there was not a widow Meacham in 1806, as Hammes indicates that Joseph Meacham filed a land claim on August 31, 1807.¹⁹ Joseph Meacham's claim provides evidence that he was alive when Ordway writes about the "widdow woman" at Camp Wood in 1806. There was no evidence at the present to suggest that Joseph's relatives (Joel, Willeritt, Ethan, and Bart) had land claims or that they were squatters in the area in 1803. I will concede that the evidence provided could imply that the Meachams were perhaps in the area. There was possibly a Meacham widow sister-in-law, but at the present the evidence places the only Meacham (Joseph) and family 1.5-3 miles northeast of Camp Dubois after September 23, 1806.

I would like to consider, and then through circumstantial evidence refute, the theory that a Mrs. Cane was the woman who came forward to wash and sew for the men of the Corps. Furthermore, I will provide information that she was not the "widdow woman" to whom Ordway referred. While at Camp Dubois, Clark mentioned Mrs. Cane and possibly her family three times and spelled their name with both a "C" and "K." Clark first introduces Mrs. Cane on February 2, 1804, when he recorded "Mr's Hays & Hay Set out for Kohokia, Cap Lewis & my Self accompanied them one mile, & then went to Mr. [blank] & Kanés and returned to Dinner, very sick...."²⁰ When Clark writes "Kanés" he is implying that there is more than one member of the Cane family, assuming that there are a Mr. and Mrs. Cane and possibly

children. Editor of *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark*, Ernest S. Osgood, stated he could not identify this person, Kane.²¹ In *The Definitive Journals of Lewis & Clark*, editor Gary E. Moulton noted that Everett L. Sparks suggested that Kane could be Francis Koehn, who lived just about one mile southeast of Camp Dubois.²²

I believe Sparks' suggestion of Francis Koehn was incorrect and the strongest candidate for Clark's "Cane" reference was Jesse Cane and possibly his wife. On August 29 1807, Jesse was the only person with the last name of Cane to have recorded his property in the Land Grant of 1807. Jesse recorded that his land was "Situate on the sand ridge between the Mississippi and the Bluff on the side of Marais Pacanne."²³ Marais is the French word for pond, swamp, or marsh; and Pacanne (pronounced Pecan) was one of the Kickapoo chiefs who moved his people north along the Wabash River and into central Illinois in the 1780s. Cane might have been stating that his land claim was bordering a now forgotten location known as Pecan's Swamp, Marsh, or Pond.²⁴ Cane's description of his land made it virtually impossible to give an exact location, but Sand Ridge is defined as "a large sand bar, four or five miles in length, and about one and a half in breadth."²⁵ Another description states that Sand Ridge ran "along under the bluff, from Alton Junction to the old Salem Camp Ground."²⁶ Alton Junction was located in the old town of Milton and Salem Camp ground and later its cemetery was renamed Wanda Cemetery and located in the Wood River Township, southeast corner of Section 36. Martin Pruitt and his family also settled on "Sand Ridge"²⁷ and he stated his land was "Situate on Wood River joining the forks on the North and Whiteside's mill seat on the west."²⁸ Brinks & Company's *History of Madison County* stated that Pruitt's land was located on "Sand Ridge prairie, about three miles east of Alton."²⁹ Pruitt's land claim placed him in section 17 of the Wood River Township. His description may place the starting point of Sand Ridge at the confluence of the East and West branch of the Wood River, with it extending southeast through Wood River Township to the present day Wanda Cemetery. If Jesse Cane's land grant was in the proximity of these other northern land grants, then it would place the Canes between two to four miles from Camp Dubois. Jesse's land claim could also be around two unknown ponds to the south and southeast about one to one and a half miles from Camp Dubois.³⁰ Again, with nothing more than Cane's description of his land, it is virtually impossible to give an exact location.

On January 1, 1804, the laundress arrived first and then later that day the local men arrived to participate in a shooting match. If Mrs. Cane were Clark's laundress and Ordway's "widdow woman," then she would have introduced herself on January 1, 1804, and may have traveled with a group of local homesteaders who participated in the shooting match at Camp Wood that same day. It seems unlikely the laundress traveled with these people because of the way Captain Clark structured his sentences. He wrote that he met the laundress first and then stated, "Several men Come from the Countrey to See us & Shoot with the men...."³¹ If Mrs. Cane and her husband were part of those who visited the camp then Clark would probably have written it to show that men and women visited and arrived together just as he did on April 5, 1804. He stated "Several Country people came to Day to pay a visit, men and wimin."³²

Captain Clark wrote on Sunday April 15, 1804, that he had compensated Mrs. Cane when he recorded, "Settled with Mrs. Cane for all to this day & paid 12/c."³³ From this quotation an assumption can be formulated to suggest that Mrs. Cane could be Clark's laundress. In *Tailor Made, Trail Worn*, Robert Moore writes, "At Fort Wayne, Indiana, orderly books even carried the established prices for Washer Women, stating that when the woman provides the soap, twenty-five cents per dozen [items]; When the soldier provides the soap, fourteen cents per dozen."³⁴ The fact that Mrs. Cane was paid twelve cents is very interesting, but was it for washing and sewing? Was Clark paying for a woman to wash and sew for his troops or was he paying for only his own laundry services? Moore points out that the soldiers at Fort Wayne provided the soap, which implies that their laundry services were paid for by themselves and not by the Army or their commanding officer. It can probably be assumed at Camp Dubois that Clark was following a similar procedure as Fort Wayne and was not paying Mrs. Cane twelve cents for laundering his men's clothing.

If Clark is not paying for his men's clothing to be laundered, then it would seem logical to conclude that he was paying Mrs. Cane for doing his laundry. However, there is one very important point to consider: Clark would not need to employ a laundress because that task would be allocated to his slave, York. In his youth, York was assigned to a young Clark and schooled in his duties as a "body servant."³⁵ In all likelihood, Clark's appearance and wardrobe were among York's most important responsibilities. In Robert Betts' biography of York, he stated, "As a body servant, he not

only would have taken pride in Clark's appearance, but he also would have taken pains to make sure Clark's wardrobe was in perfect condition for his visit to the nation's capital."³⁶ Clark would not have recorded York's mundane task of washing, drying, sewing, and pressing his clothing, but he most likely would have recorded events concerning duties given to York that were not part of his normal responsibilities as a "body servant." Case in point: on December 26, 1803, Clark wrote, "Corpl White house & York Comce sawing with the whip saws."³⁷ Then on April 7, 1804, Clark stated, "Set out at 7 o'clock in a Canoo with Cap Lewis my servant york & one man, at ½ past 10 arrived at St. Louis, Dressed & Dined with Capt Stoddard, & about 50 Gentlemen, a Ball Succeeded."³⁸ Clark brought his "body servant" across the river to St. Louis because he specifically wanted help and trusted York's abilities to make himself and his wardrobe presentable for a formal occasion. Laundering and repairing Clark's clothing would have been one of York's primary responsibilities as a body servant, which would seem to negate the need to employ the Camp Wood "washer woman."

Could Mrs. Cane be Ordway's "widow woman?" Yes, if circumstances are arranged in a specific order. Ordway implied that the woman was already living at Camp Wood prior to the start of the expedition. He further stated that she was the woman they left there in 1804 and that they found this same woman homesteading when they returned.³⁹ This journal entry could be applied to Mrs. Cane only if she were attached to Jesse Cain as his widowed mother or as some form of widowed in-law, but not as his wife. It would also imply that she decided not to live with Jesse Cain, but move into the hut Clark had had built in the winter of 1804. This outcome seems unlikely because she would be giving up the comfort and security of a log house with family only to work alone at Camp Wood in a hut or crude cabin. Perhaps she wanted to be alone.

I suspect that the laundress's hut was a place to inhabit and not merely a place for a laundress to be employed.⁴⁰ On February 5, 1804, one month after the laundress hut was constructed, Clark recorded that several people visited Camp Dubois and "Mes. Cane als."⁴¹ This implied that Mrs. Cane was visiting and maybe came with others. It most assuredly demonstrates the fact that Mrs. Cane was not then living at Camp Wood.

The most convincing assumption for the identity of Ordway's "widow woman" and Camp Wood's laundress was Jane Mackle Murray. As cited previously, the US Congress passed

several land grant acts and "The Act of Congress, March 3, 1807," provided 320 acres to homesteaders recording their claim. Mrs. Murray filed for her land grant on October 24, 1807, and briefly summarized the location of her 320 acre entitlement. As recorded at the Land Office at Kaskaskia, the claim was "Situate at the mouth of Wood river joining Nicholas Jarrot on the South Daniel Grout on the North and the Mississippi on the west."⁴² Mrs. Murray's eastern boundary was adjacent to Samuel L. Kennedy's place and he applied for his land grant on October 27, 1807, and recorded "Situate on the south bank of Wood River about one mile from the mouth joining Shadrach Williams on the North and Jane Murray on the west."⁴³ Kennedy however, specifically stated that his land was located on the "south bank" of the Wood River.⁴⁴ Since Mrs. Murray shares Kennedy's western boundary that places the Wood River as Daniel Grout's and Mrs. Murray's boundary line between their properties.

If Mrs. Murray's husband were incapacitated, she almost certainly would have applied for their land grant in her husband's name and possibly made a note of their situation. In *The Population Centers 1807*, out of 405 land claims, thirteen claims were made by women. Of the thirteen women applying, no woman claimed her husband as an absentee or that she was just there to file his claim. Only Ann Carter living on Indian Creek (a few miles northeast of Mrs. Murray) identified herself as a "widow" when she filed, but that may only have been her preference.⁴⁵ The other twelve women (including Mrs. Murray) filed without declaring if they were married, widowed, or single. Only Mrs. Murray filed and included her maiden name, Mackle, along with her married name. The evidence that Mrs. Murray and the other women are widows (or single) is based on their filing their claims and not a claim for their husbands. There were no other documented men or women named Murray filing a land claim in 1807.

I agree with Moore's statement, "At present there is not enough information to say with any certainty who this laundress was."⁴⁶ However there is ample circumstantial evidence to hypothesize that Captain Clark's Mrs. Cane was related to Jesse Cane in some way and, in my opinion, his wife. It was improbable that Clark would employ Mrs. Cane as the laundress when his slave York would be performing this specific task as a component of his everyday responsibilities to Captain Clark. It is also unlikely that Clark was financially responsible for the washing and sewing of the other men's clothing. The money paid to Mrs. Cane was probably for some item(s) purchased or some other service(s) provided.

The evidence that Clark was not paying for his soldiers' laundering would not eliminate Mrs. Cane as the Camp Wood laundress. It can only be surmised that Mrs. Cane would find it impractical to relocate as the laundress and Clark does record after the laundress hut was constructed that Mrs. Cane and others visited Camp Dubois. If Mrs. Cane was not the detachment's or Clark's laundress, then it was most likely Jane Mackle Murray. When Mrs. Murray applied for her land grant, it again placed her at Camp Dubois thirteen months after the Lewis and Clark Expedition's return. Presently Mrs. Murray seems to be the strongest candidate for Ordway's "widdow woman" and the camp's laundress. If my speculations are correct, after Murray approached Captain Clark for that position in the winter of 1804, she lived in the hut constructed "for a Wo(man) who promises to wash & Sow &c."⁴⁷ ■

Note: The author would like to thank Benjamin Pollard, Ronald Goldsmith, and Allison Stout for editing my writing.

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Notes

1. Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 9:366.
2. Robert L. Moore, *Lewis and Clark—Tailor Made Trail Worn: Army Life, Clothing & Weapons of the Corps of Discovery* (Helena, MT: Farcountry Press, 2003), 43.
3. This period spanned Capt. Clark's arrival into the Wood River harbor on December 12, 1803, where he found a rise in the landscape for CRD, and to December 30 when Capt. Clark moved into his cabin.
4. James J. Holmberg, *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark* (New Haven & London: The Filson Historical Society and Yale University, 2002), 61.
5. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:144.
6. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:152.
7. Robert L. Moore, *Tailor Made, Trail Worn* (Helena, MT: Farcountry Press, 2003), 43. "On March 16, 1802, a law went into effect that allowed a limited number of women to legally accompany detachments of the army as laundress by a ratio of four washerwomen to each one hundred men. In addition, the captain of each company had the right to appoint specific washerwomen. This was the first legal recognition by the U.S. Army of laundresses and their function. The women were provided with quarters, fuel, one daily ration, and services of the post surgeon. Laundresses served at the captain's pleasure and were subject to military discipline. A laundress was the only woman who received any legal recognition in the military hierarchy of the period. At Fort Wayne, Indiana, orderly books even carried the established prices for "Washer Women," stating that when "the woman provides the soap, 25 cents per dozen [items]; When the soldier provides the soap, 14 cents per dozen."
8. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:366.
9. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:366.
10. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:366.
11. Everett L. Sparks, "Where the Trail Begins: The Illinois Legacy to the Lewis & Clark Expedition," in Robert A. Saindon, ed., *Explorations into the*

- World of Lewis and Clark*, 3 vols. (Great Falls: Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 2003), I:8.
12. Lippincott opened a store in Milton (Fig. 1, Wood River Township, Section 16 and 17), a small extinct settlement two and a half miles north of the historic confluence of the Mississippi and Wood River.
13. Sparks, "Where the Trail Begins," I:8.
14. Sparks, "Where the Trail Begins," I:8.
15. Raymond Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, Vol.59, No.5, (Springfield, Illinois, Illinois Libraries, May 1977), 336.
16. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 320.
17. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 337. Pruitt (Fig. 1) is one of 405 homesteaders who applied for his land grant by January 1, 1808.
18. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 336.
19. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 336.
20. Moulton, ed., *Journals* 2:172.
21. Ernest S. Osgood, *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark: 1803-1805*, (Yale University Press, 1964) 27.
22. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:172.
23. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 335.
24. There are a couple of other area locations using the French word Marais. Northwest of historic French St. Louis is "Marais Castor" or "Beaver Swamp." Southeast of Camp River Dubois located in Chouteau Township is Horseshoe Lake, but also known as "Marais Mensoui."
25. The Publishers, ed., *The History of Madison County, Illinois, 1882*, 414.
26. The Publishers, ed., *Illustrated Encyclopedia and Atlas Map of Madison County, Ill. 1873*, (Edwardsville, Illinois: W.R. Brink, McCormick & Co., 1873), 12.
27. The Publishers, ed., *Illustrated Encyclopedia and Atlas Map of Madison County, Ill. 1873*, 416.
28. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 335.
29. The Publishers, ed., *The History of Madison County, Illinois, 1882*, 78.
30. Today in St. Charles County, Missouri, across from the Melvin Price Lock and Dam is a pond known as Two Pond Pecan. It was named after the two old pecan trees that stood by the pond, but there is no evidence that this is Jesse's land claim.
31. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:144.
32. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:192.
33. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:202.
34. Moore, *Tailor Made, Trail Worn*, 43.
35. Robert B. Betts, *In Search of York*, (Colorado: The University Press of Colorado, 2000). 110.
36. Betts, *In Search of York*, 110.
37. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:141.
38. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:193.
39. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:366.
40. Moore, *Tailor Made, Trail Worn*, 43: "Not only did the woman live in camp, but also she was apparently provided with her own hut."
41. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:173.
42. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 338.
43. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 338.
44. Hammes, *Population centers 1807 in Illinois*, 338.
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47. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 2:152.

“Bears wax”

and the Wreck of a Spanish Galleon on the Oregon Coast

By Cameron La Follette

“Manila Galleon at Sea.” Courtesy Roger D. Morris.



Expedition Members First Hear of the Galleon Wreck

Sergeant John Ordway of the Lewis and Clark Expedition wrote in his journal entry of March 9, 1806, “Several of the Clatsop Indians came to the Fort with ... a little bears wax to trade to us.”¹ Private Joseph Whitehouse, in his journal entry for the same day, clarified this cryptic note by writing, “Several of the Natives came to the fort. They brought with them Some Small fish, Bees Wax &ca to trade with us.”²

Whether or not the Clatsop traders communicated to Lewis and Clark Expedition members where the beeswax

came from—a shipwreck on a beach some miles south, over what are now Tillamook Head and Neahkahnie Mountain—is unclear. But the expedition members recognized it for what it was. Wax-making bees are not native to the Americas. European settlers introduced them to the east coast of North America in 1622, but they did not colonize the west coast for 200 years.³ Spanish colonial empire officials in Central and South America had to import beeswax from Asia via the Manila galleon trade.

The north coastal peoples, including the Clatsop, Tillamook, Chinook, and others, were engaged in frequent local and long-distance trade between themselves and other



partners, as Lewis and Clark often noted: "...in this manner there is a trade continually carried on by the natives of the river each trading some article or other with their neighbours above and below them..."⁴ The journals make frequent mention of the Clatsop and nearby people's coming to Fort Clatsop to trade many different items, such as sweet roots, wapato, berries, fish, whale bone, woven items, sea otter skins,⁵ and elk skins. As Clark noted, the Chinook and Clatsop "are great higliers in trade and if they Conceive you anxious to purchase will be a whole day bargaining..."⁶ Clatsops, along with Chinooks and other coastal peoples, traded goods from some 160 miles upstream on the Columbia, and participated

in the great Native trade mart at what is now The Dalles, Oregon. Both peoples traded slaves and dentalium shells heavily all along the coast, as well as far inland.⁷

The Galleon In Early Explorer, Fur Trader, and Settler Writings

The next mention of the galleon and its cargo came only a few years after Lewis and Clark, in the journal of Alexander Henry "the younger" (to distinguish him from his uncle Alexander Henry "the elder"), a fur trader with the Northwest Company. In 1813, during the war of 1812 between England and the United States, the Northwest Company sent Henry to the Columbia River with instructions to remove the American foothold there, the fur-trading fort built by John Jacob Astor at the river mouth. Henry, among other travels in the Columbia region before his death there in 1814 by drowning, visited the remains of Lewis and Clark's Fort Clatsop near Astoria.⁸

In his time on the Columbia, Henry must have listened to Native traditions and Euro-American lore about the beeswax origins, because he mentioned for the first time in Northwest written history the fate of the wrecked ship from which the beeswax came. In the second volume of his renowned travel journal, he wrote, "Great quantities of beeswax continue to be dug out of the sand near this spot, and the Indians bring it to trade with us."⁹ A little further on he added, "They bring us frequently lumps of beeswax, fresh out of the sand, which they collect on the coast to the S., where the Spanish ship was cast away some years ago, and the crew all murdered by the natives."¹⁰

Native traditions of an early shipwreck on what is now Nehalem Spit, combined with early Euro-American settler recollections, continued to document the ship.¹¹ Reputable pioneers such as Warren Vaughn, who came to the Tillamook area about 1851, wrote of the Native traditions concerning the ship, and John Hobson, who visited the area in 1848, also reported Native tales of "the wax vessel lost on the spit."¹²

The most comprehensive account of the shipwreck and the fate of the mariners came from Silas Smith, a trained historian and grandson of Clatsop Chief Coboway, who hosted the Lewis and Clark Expedition in his territory in 1805-06.¹³ He wrote, "Sometime ago, before the coming of the whites, a vessel was driven ashore in the vicinity of where the beeswax is now found, just north of the Nehalem River. The vessel became a wreck, but all or most of her crew survived. The crew, unable to get away, remained there with the natives



“Manila Galleon Loading in Harbor.” Courtesy Roger D. Morris.

several months, when, by concerted action the Indians massacred [sic] the entire number, on account, as they claimed, that the whites disregarded their—the natives’—marital relations. The Indians also state in connection with the massacre, that the crew fought with slung-shots [sic]. It would appear from this that the [survivors] had lost their arms and ammunition.”¹⁴

Galleon Identification and History

Which Spanish ship the Nehalem wreck may have been was a subject of speculation for two centuries, beginning in the early nineteenth century. The Beeswax Wreck Project, an interdisciplinary team of archaeologists, geologists, and other professionals, recently determined that the so-called “beeswax wreck” was most likely the *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, which left Manila in the Philippines in the summer of 1693, and was never seen again. By geological investigation of Nehalem Spit soil layers, dating hundreds of Chinese porcelain fragments from the wreck’s cargo, and mapping the scattered locations of beeswax and timbers found by early American settlers, the team determined that the ship must

have wrecked prior to the 1700 tsunami that flooded the Northwest coast, including Nehalem Spit.¹⁵

Subsequent historical research in the Spanish Archives of the Indies in Seville, and Mexican archives, has revealed much about the unfortunate ship, its passengers, crew, and cargo. The captain was Don Bernardo Mathias Iñiguez del Bayo y de Pradilla, a Basque nobleman from Tudela in northern Spain. He had come to New Spain (Mexico) in 1686 at the age of forty, and began his career in the New World as mayor of the mining town San Luis de Potosí. There he was well-known for building, and largely paying for, the first stormwater project to carry away the recurring floodwaters that regularly devastated the town.¹⁶

Appointed captain of the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* by Viceroy Gaspar de la Cerda, the Ninth Count of Galve, del Bayo sailed the *Santo Cristo* back to the Philippines in the spring of 1691. Its first journey to Acapulco under del Bayo’s command, beginning in the summer of 1692, ended in disaster; the ship was battered by storms near the Mariana Islands, and forced to return to the Philippines for repairs. This triggered a lengthy investigation by Spanish officials,



Beeswax block with shipper's mark (67) from the Nehalem Galleon wreck. Courtesy of Tillamook County Pioneer Museum.

as the Philippine colony was dependent on the Manila trade for its well-being, and the loss of a year's cargo was economically devastating.¹⁷

The 1693 journey from the Philippines started badly. Del Bayo departed early and secretly, leaving some thirty crewmen, and many essential supplies, ashore. He apparently was trying to escape punitive fines and port taxes he was required to pay, as a result of the 1692 debacle, before the ship could leave port again.¹⁸ As on all Manila galleons, the officers were generally Basque or Spanish, but most of the crewmen (except perhaps the apprentices) were Filipino natives, who were often press-ganged into maritime service.¹⁹ The exact sequence of events that led to the wreck on Nehalem Spit cannot be determined, but we can make educated guesses. If the disaster occurred in the winter, as seems most likely, a gale, combined with the northward-flowing currents in winter along the Oregon coast, a ship weakened by earlier repairs after the 1692 disaster, and insufficient crew, undoubtedly all contributed to the tragedy.²⁰

The Nehalem Tillamook People

The Nehalem Tillamook people, the only witnesses to the shipwreck, were later decimated by European diseases and forced removal from their lands. Only a few ethnographic accounts survive to describe the contact period life-ways of this coastal people.

In the pre-contact era, their villages centered on estuaries, near the mouths of rivers and streams. The houses of cedar planks were rectangular and long, dug to varying depth into the ground, with gabled roofs and two or more fireplaces in the middle floor. A house with four families could be 45-50 feet long, with beds in bunk fashion along



Beeswax block from the Nehalem wreck. Courtesy Oregon Historical Society Research Library, photo file No. 97.

the sides.²¹ The Tillamook were skilled seafarers, building large canoes that held a dozen people or more, as well as food and belongings.²² The Tillamook hunted deer, elk, sea lions, and birds; they also gathered shellfish such as clams, caught salmon, and gathered vegetable foods like camas and berries.²³

The Tillamook economy included slavery and they sometimes raided, and were raided by, their neighbors for such purposes. Lewis and Clark noted a Clatsop man with a slave boy who had been acquired by the Tillamook in a raid and then sold.²⁴ A slave typically lived in his owner's house across the fire from his chiefly master, ate separately prepared food, and performed menial work such as housecleaning and gathering fuel.²⁵ The surviving accounts of the unfortunate galleon castaways indicate that some, or perhaps many, of them became slaves of the Tillamook.²⁶

The Beeswax Cargo Through the Centuries

The most visible cargo from the wreck was always the beeswax. Nehalem Tillamook and adjacent peoples used the wax as a waterproofing agent, ingredient of salves, and as candles;²⁷ and it became a prized trade good. Early settler John Hobson commented, "When I first came here, 51 years ago, there was beeswax among the Indians, from the Salmon River on the south to the Columbia on the north."²⁸ Beeswax has subsequently been found to the south of the wreck along the Oregon coast, and at least as far north as Quinalt, in Washington.²⁹ It also immediately entered the trade stream with explorers and fur traders, as the Lewis and Clark journals testify.

Early American settlers found enormous quantities of beeswax in the Nehalem Spit area. One, a Mr. Baker, made a

business of mining the beeswax from under the sand, where it was scattered all over the peninsula. As reported by Hobson, “Baker took his spade and would prospect the sand dunes.”³⁰ Pioneer E.H. Lane in 1906 found a chunk weighing 125 pounds. The Hudson family in 1912 located several hundred pounds of the beeswax.³¹ Much of the beeswax was melted, re-molded, and sold to Foard & Stokes, a general merchandise company of Astoria.³² Settlers who found quantities of beeswax made valuable additional income from this source.

The recent archival research in Spanish Archives unearthed a complete cargo manifest from the *San Francisco Xavier* of 1701. A similar manifest from the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* does not seem to have survived. But the 1701 manifest allowed researchers to find matches with four of the known shippers’ marks on Nehalem beeswax, as recorded by early Oregon researchers such as historian O.F. Stafford, and an expanded list subsequently published in an authoritative book on Oregon shipwrecks.³³ We thus have the probable names of the shippers (or perhaps the shippers’ sub-lessees) from these four identified marks: Capitán Francisco Manuel de Yrsgoria, Sargeant Major Francisco de Maya y Torres, Capitán Joseph de Ozcorta, and General Juan de Echevarria.³⁴

Spain’s source for honeybee wax for its American empire came principally from the Philippines and nearby regions. Archival documents confirm that Manila galleons often carried substantial cargos of beeswax. For example, the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* of 1695 carried 214 *marquetas* (blocks) of wax; the *San Francisco Xavier* in 1697 carried 124 *medias marquetas* (half blocks) of yellow wax; and the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* of 1698 carried ten *medias marquetas* of wax, three *arrobas* in each. One *arroba* weighed 11.5 kilos (25 pounds).³⁵ The *San Francisco Xavier* of 1697 also carried blocks of wax, matched to the measurements and weight of standard bales on board.³⁶ Beeswax was used for candles in Catholic liturgical rituals, as well as personal home illumination.

The Red-Haired Indian

There is one final matter concerning which the galleon wreck may shed some light. The expedition journals contain this entry by William Clark for December 31, 1805: “With the party of *Clât Sops* who visited us last was a man of much lighter Coloured than the natives are generally, he was freckled with long duskey red hair, about 25 years of age, and must Certainly be half white at least, this man appeared to understand more of the English language than the others of his party, but did not Speak a word of English, he

possessed all the habits of the indians.”³⁷

Ross Cox, a trader with Astor’s Pacific Fur Company, and then the Northwest Company after the War of 1812, who traveled in the area between 1812-1816, also mentioned a red-haired Indian: “His skin was fair, his face partially freckled, and his hair quite red. He was about five feet ten inches high, was slender, but remarkably well made...he was called *Jack Ramsay*, in consequence of that name having been punctured on his left arm. The Indians allege that his father was an English sailor, who had deserted from a trading vessel, and had lived many years among their tribe....”³⁸ Alexander Henry also described a red-headed individual among the Natives, whom he estimated to be about 30 years old.³⁹

There has been much speculation about the ancestry of these persons noted by early fur traders and explorers. On a genetic basis, it is likely that such red-haired individuals descended from two parents with European ancestry,⁴⁰ some of which could certainly have been provided by descendants of *Santo Cristo* castaways.

Conclusion

Without the journal notations by Sergeant Ordway and Private Whitehouse, and the trading of beeswax with the Clatsop peoples, we would not have understood so early the unintended role the Spanish empire played in shaping Northwest history and trade via the wreck of the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* on Nehalem Spit. It was almost certainly the first contact among Northwest Native peoples, Europeans, and Filipinos; and it left a signature cargo that was described, traded, and utilized by Natives, fur traders, explorers, and Euro-American settlers for centuries. It is fascinating to think of how even seemingly insignificant notations in the expedition’s journals can open up a world of interconnectivities. The story of the bear’s wax reminds us that no narrative trajectory, not even one so well-worn as the story of Lewis and Clark, is unconnected with a much wider, richer web of contacts, interchange, and at times, centuries of regional commerce. ■

Cameron La Follette is the Executive Director of Oregon Coast Alliance, a coastal conservation organization. She was the lead researcher and author on most of the articles for the Summer 2018 special issue of Oregon Historical Quarterly entitled “Oregon’s Manila Galleon,” about Oregon’s oldest known shipwreck. She continues to research and write on Oregon coastal history for such venues as Oregon Encyclopedia.

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Hardened to Hickory
By Tony L. Turnbow

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Reviews

Endeavour: The Ship and the Attitude that Changed the World

By Peter Moore

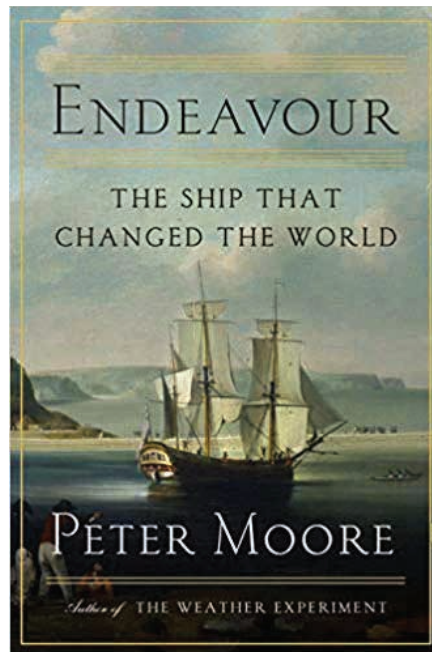
London: Vintage, 2019, 432 pp., 32 illustrations, 2 maps, bibliography and index. Hardcover, \$28.

Reviewed by David Nicandri

To memorialize his departure from Fort Mandan in April 1805 Meriwether Lewis inscribed one of his better known journal entries. Referencing the expedition's six canoes and two "perogues" he wrote: "This little fleet altho' not quite so respectable as those of Columbus or Capt. Cook were still viewed by us with as much pleasure as those deservedly famed adventurers ever beheld theirs."

One of Cook's vessels, his first-voyage craft *Endeavour*, is the subject of this study in material culture. Cook historiography tends to privilege his initial expedition and Moore's book is no different. He calls *Endeavour* "the most significant ship in the history of British exploration" (p. 10) even though Cook's *Resolution*, the flagship on the second and third voyages, engaged in exploration that was both more ambitious and significant in cartographic terms than *Endeavour's*. Nevertheless, it's even harder to break new ground in the study of Cook than in the study of Lewis and Clark, but Moore has managed to tell, dare I say, the too oft-told story of *Endeavour* in a new way.

Moore's inspiration was British travel writer John Dix's poem, "An Ocean Fragment." In 1852 Dix encountered a British ex-patriate in Newport, Rhode Island, who told him



that a wooden post remnant of Cook's *Endeavour* could be found on the local waterfront. Dix's poem related the story of a tree being felled in England, which then helped form the hull of a ship later captained by Cook and its travels around the world. Moore mirrors that premise with a four-part scheme divided into the ship's organic "Life," its initial role in Britain's coastal coal "Trade," followed by its use in the work of Enlightenment, "Exploration," concluding with its relatively little known role in the American Revolutionary "War." The "Ship" in the sub-title is certainly the major theme in the book but episodically Moore addresses the "Attitude" conveyed by the word endeavor, which he argues was the textual emblem for the Enlightenment age, representing its kinetic force.

Endeavour was initially launched as the *Earl of Pembroke*, the first of its three monikers, in 1764. A collier constructed in the Yorkshire port of Whitby, at that time one of Britain's most important shipbuilding centers, the *Earl of Pembroke* was part of the

sizable fleet of colliers that were loaded with coal from keelboats at Newcastle and then sailed to London with their cargo. The ship's important but nonetheless quotidian existence was transformed later that decade when it was purchased by the British Admiralty to conduct a scientific experiment in the South Pacific.

The experiment was the Transit of Venus (1761 and 1769), perhaps the most celebrated scientific endeavor of the late Enlightenment because of its multi-national, indeed global scope. Moore introduces the British aspect of the story through Benjamin Franklin, a figure who needs no introduction, and his friend Alexander Dalrymple, one of the most important but least appreciated figures in the history of North American exploration. (He inadvertently launched Cook's career, and later propagated George Vancouver's voyage of discovery to the Northwest Coast.) Dalrymple parlayed his role as a clerk in the East-India Company into becoming one of the most knowledgeable experts in world geography and eventually a membership, like Franklin, in the Royal Society, Britain's premier learned organization.

In January 1768, joining fellow scientists from other European countries and the United States (including Thomas Jefferson), the Royal Society decided to send teams of astronomers to three widely dispersed sites to observe the three hour-plus Transit of Venus across the face of the sun. Through a complex formula (the parallax calculation) developed by Johannes Kepler more than a century earlier, by timing the transit and distending trigonometric angles one could, among other things, calculate the sun's distance from the

earth. Because the June 1769 transit would not be visible in its entirety in Europe's mid-latitudes, the Society determined to set up observatories on Norway's northernmost cape, Hudson Bay, and the South Pacific.

Dalrymple was initially selected to lead the latter expedition. It has long been known in the literature of Cook that the Society appealed to King George III for a subvention, but Moore is here the first to relate (to my reading at least) that a theft of Royal Society funds by its office manager forced the organization to appeal to the Royal treasury. Franklin was one of these memorialists. But, as Moore relates, "with the king's money came a loss of independence" (p. 98). In the end, the British Admiralty refused to allow the *Earl of Pembroke*, rechristened *Endeavour*, to be commanded by any other than an officer of the Royal Navy.

It was at this point that James Cook enters the story. Cook was an up-and-comer fresh off the operation that resulted in Britain's wresting Quebec from France. More particularly he had conducted a noteworthy survey of Newfoundland's complex coastline, and was freshly promoted to lieutenant. Dalrymple refused to go unless he was in overall command, stipulating that a "divided campaign was incompatible with the public service." (p. 104). Lewis and Clark would seem to have disproved that proposition in due course, but the larger point is that Moore's discussion of the origin of Cook's *Endeavour* voyage is one of the most lucid written to date.

James Ronda once trenchantly advised that the only way to gain new insights about Lewis and Clark was to study the history of other

expeditions. Moore's *Endeavour* is a good place to start. Notwithstanding Dalrymple's demurral, Moore suggests that Cook's first voyage was effectively the *Cooks & Banks* expedition, the other half formed by a young nobleman and soon to be famed naturalist Joseph Banks. In terms of contemporary public perception in the wake of the voyage, it might be better put as the *Banks & Cook* expedition. As a team they reflected Enlightenment era exploration's strict adherence to empirical observation. By way of contrast, one can discern the transitional nature of Lewis and Clark's journals toward a more Romantic mode, thinking now of Captain Lewis' occasional introspective excursions (the birthday rumination) and emotional responses to external stimuli (the Great Falls of the Missouri memoir).

Several episodes document the worthiness of Ronda's encouragement of a comparative reading of travel literature. In this book we read that Cook left some nails and beads on a dead Maori man's body in New Zealand after a particularly violent encounter, which brings to mind Lewis' deportment after his fracas with the Blackfeet. In a more positive vein, on his subsequent landing in Australia, Cook adorned some Aboriginal children he met on the beach with ribbons and beads, the same strategy Lewis and Clark employed from time to time when trying to effectuate a positive encounter.

Lastly, Lewis is rightly touted for his discovery of 178 plant and 122 animal species and sub-species that were new to science. Moore documents that Banks and his team of naturalists recorded 1,400 plant novelties alone, which effort increased the Linnaean

catalogue by 20%. Though Cook's legacy properly emphasizes his cartographic accomplishments, which were in a class by themselves, one is staggered by the natural history contribution of all three voyages combined. It was for this reason, Moore notes, that "Whenever ships sailed on exploration voyages afterwards, they would carry a naturalist as a matter of course" (p. 258). French explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville was the first to carry one around the world (1766) but it is nonetheless true that Cook created a template that was normative for a century afterwards. As Moore notes, "Perhaps the Admiralty's greatest discovery on the *Endeavour* voyage was Cook himself" (p. 259).

Moore's concluding section covers the history of the ship post-Cook. When the great navigator shifted to the *Resolution*, *Endeavour* became a supply transport servicing the British establishment in the Falkland Islands. The Royal Navy sold *Endeavour* for a fraction of her original purchase price in March 1775 but the events of Lexington and Concord later that spring altered her fate. Repurchased from a Greenland whaler and renamed the *Lord Sandwich*, after the head of the Admiralty, the ship next became a part of the massive troop convoy that transported 16,000 troops, mostly Hessians who were picked up on the European continent, to North America. This was the largest land and sea force assembled prior to D-Day. Indeed, when Cook himself was about to depart on his final voyage in July 1776, he noted ships in neighboring slips bound for the rebellious colonies. After dropping off the troops, the *Lord Sandwich*, once filled with coal, and then plants, became a hulk for holding prisoners.

Stephen Ambrose once memorably remarked that no Hollywood writer would dare prepare a script as unlikely as Sacagawea and Cameahwait's reuniting after years of separation at mid-continent in the company of Lewis and Clark. Actually, such coincidences weren't all that rare in the history of North American exploration when one, per Ronda, studies the experiences of Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie, or David Thompson and the vast distances they covered. But Ambrose's larger point is sustained: fact is often stranger, at least more amazing, than fiction. Thus, in the pivotal event of the war, the American diplomatic delegation in Paris, led by Franklin, cajoled King Louis XVI into becoming an ally. As Moore documents, the *Lord Sandwich* was scuttled in the harbor of Newport, Rhode Island, in August 1778 to defend against the French fleet heading that way, including a ship commanded by Bougainville, whose paths Cook had previously crossed in the conquest of Quebec and later in the South Pacific.

Perhaps even more stunningly, Cook's *Resolution*, which became a French whaler under the moniker *La Liberté*, rotted on the same Newport waterfront in the 1820s. As Moore notes in his epilogue, by "an amazing coincidence *Endeavour* and *Resolution*, built on the same tiny patch of Whitby shoreline, both circumnavigators, both essential to the Cook story, had finished their lives yards from one another" (p. 352). Indeed, the wooden relic that inspired the poet whom Moore emulates was, in fact, from the *Resolution*, not *Endeavour*. This detective story continues under the auspices of the Rhode Island Marine Archaeology Program, which continues its

search "for one of the most significant objects of the whole Enlightenment Age" (p. 353). ■

David L. Nicandri is a frequent contributor to WPO. His Captain Cook Rediscovered: Voyaging to the Icy Latitudes will be released by UBC Press in 2020.

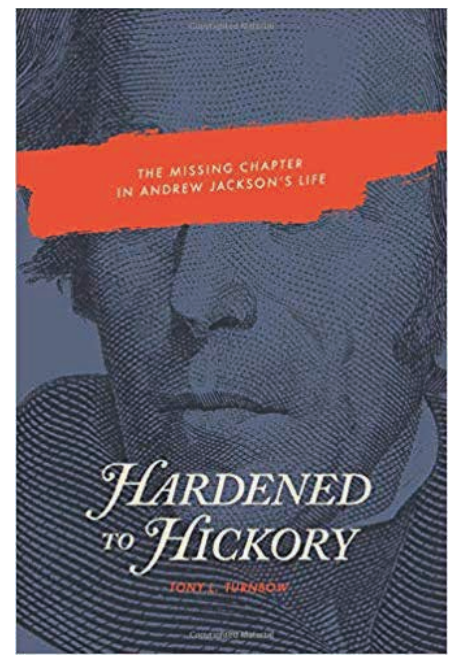
Hardened to Hickory: The Missing Chapter in Andrew Jackson's Life

By Tony L. Turnbow
Lexington, KY: Tony L. Turnbow,
2018, 602 pp., bibliography and index.
Hardcover, \$39.99.

Reviewed by Timothy Strain

Tony L. Turnbow's *Hardened to Hickory: The Missing Chapter in Andrew Jackson's Life* is an interesting account of one of the lesser-known episodes of Andrew Jackson's life. Every fan or critic of Jackson knows the legend that he received his nickname "Old Hickory" while leading Tennessee militia back from an abortive march to New Orleans early during the War of 1812. What's lesser known are the details of how the legend was developed. Mr. Turnbow's book brings those details out and demonstrates how the travails that occurred on this journey set up character traits that Jackson displayed later in the more famous portions of his life. The book is full of well-sourced facts and information that assist in building the story to its climax.

Fundamentally, *Hardened to Hickory* is a book about logistics. When war was declared in the summer of 1812, the United States was unprepared at best, and ill-equipped to deal with the numbers of men, food, money,



supplies, and transport services needed to move soldiers and militia across the country on primitive roads or rivers under brutal conditions. Jackson's orders to mobilize and lead approximately 2,000 newly signed recruits through the Mississippi Territory, across hostile Native American lands down the Natchez Trace, and eventually to New Orleans, were fraught with perils before the volunteers even departed Nashville. There were insufficient amounts of gold for payment to sign up. It was bitterly cold in December 1812 in Nashville when Jackson was initially organizing his men. Shelter was woefully inadequate, with three men sharing a blanket and six men sharing a tent. Jackson also had to train this disorganized mob of volunteers to be potentially combat-ready against the British, one of the strongest military powers on the planet, all the while consuming precious food and supplies. Mr. Turnbow opens this book with lengthy descriptions of daily life of the common soldier during this time and the travails Jackson, his officers, and his

friends overcame in supplying, nurturing, and developing such a group.

The book then focuses on the departure from Nashville. The army was split into two groups: some would proceed to Natchez by boat; the cavalry would travel by horse down the primitive Natchez Trace. The harsh and bitterly cold conditions obligated the boats to deal with ice in the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The cavalry led by John Coffee proceeded through Native American territory with 672 men, a force that could be hopelessly outnumbered at any moment while passing through the hostile Creek nation and the potentially volatile Chickasaw territory down the Trace. Mr. Turnbow does a fine job of giving the back story about why the Tennesseans were so concerned about the Native Americans. This includes delineating specific incidents that harmed relations between the groups along with describing the rise of Shawnee Warrior Tecumseh and his efforts to enflame the tides of war.

The next variable introduced into the web of calamity against Jackson is the notorious Agent 13 and Spanish spy, US General James Wilkinson, who was an early opponent of Jackson. Turnbow steadily builds the timeline and details of why these two men came to utterly detest one another even before the actions on this journey. Wilkinson, vividly described as “a general that never won a battle and never lost a court-martial,” could not allow Jackson to achieve his personal goal to lead the attack and capture the Spanish possessions of Mobile, Alabama, and Pensacola, Florida, both then part of Spanish East Florida. Wilkinson conceived of a plan to delay and remove Jackson from his command. First, Wilkinson offered desperately needed supplies at

Cantonment Washington outside Natchez, a place where he himself had lost 600 men to disease four years before. He also indicated that Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was infested with disease and the rogue general halted Jackson’s army’s progress. Once he had Jackson trapped there, he manipulated the Secretary of War into releasing Jackson from his men in the hope of absorbing them into the main American army. They could not stay there and, if they would not go on under Wilkinson’s command, he left Jackson and his men no choice but to return to Nashville with no supplies through the same difficult paths they had journeyed down.

One of the more interesting facets of the journey is the number of Jackson’s friends who assisted in fundraising to purchase whatever supplies could be had. Men like Washington Jackson, John Overton, and James Jackson are the primary reasons Jackson wasn’t ruined financially by the return trip. Their presence in the timeline was critical for Jackson’s return. Mr. Turnbow’s book details their efforts to assist.

The book ties all these facets into a booming ending. Just as Jackson was finally returning to Nashville, potentially ruined, and having not left one man behind in a wasted campaign, news arrives that Wilkinson is finally departing New Orleans to capture Mobile. The reception Jackson received on his return is a stark contrast to the patriotic celebrations held upon the original departure, but as Mr. Turnbow points out, the fates of these two men that were so intertwined on this journey become almost polar opposites afterwards. Two days after General Wilkinson revealed in Jackson’s dismissal, he was reassigned to the Canadian front of the war and became engaged in

two failed campaigns there. Although relieved of active duty at that point, he was cleared in yet another military inquiry. At the same time, Jackson’s star was rising.

Hardened to Hickory is well-detailed and painstakingly thorough in its research. From the conclusions developed in the book, one can see any number of permutations that resonate in Andrew Jackson’s future career. Any disdain for the federal bureaucracy Jackson evinced while he was US President can be traced directly to the savage blows politics had visited upon his men during this journey. The future controversies over Jackson’s actions with Native Americans are directly linked to the fears and concerns he noted during the campaign on the Natchez Trace. Mr. Turnbow’s work will make any reader impressed with the level of his scholarship and thirsting for more of the same kind of detailed timelines of other aspects of Andrew Jackson’s life. Given the importance of Wilkinson to the Lewis and Clark story, Lewis’ later troubles on the Natchez Trace, and Jackson’s role in the westward movement, this book is excellent background reading for anyone interested in the larger context of the Corps of Discovery’s adventures. ■

Timothy Strain is a Senior Risk Examiner for the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. He is also a lecturer and historical reenactor, specializing in the Battle of New Orleans, Napoleonic events, and Roman history. He resides in Chalmette, Louisiana, with his wife and two sons.

In Search of Lewis' Plant Press-Portfolio

By John W. Fisher

Though Meriwether Lewis collected hundreds of plant specimens, there is no record of exactly what he carried to collect and press his plants. We do know that many rotted while stored in a cache at the Great Falls and did not survive the expedition. The majority of plant specimens that survived were collected in the Northwest on the return journey in 1806. Inquiries to the Smithsonian and the Academy of Natural Sciences at Drexel University, the latter host to most of the surviving expedition specimens, suggest that no plant press-portfolios have survived from that era in the United States. The Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, in England provided a helpful response but no known contemporaneous examples of plant pressing devices.

The best clue to the probable design of Lewis's plant-press portfolio appears in the image of young Alexander von Humboldt, the era's greatest naturalist, who visited Jefferson shortly after the departure of Lewis' expedition in the spring of 1804. Humboldt was anxious to learn of Lewis' discoveries as was Jefferson, but both would later be disappointed, according to an article by Susan Buchel in *We Proceeded On*. The painting of Humboldt, a studio portrait, depicts him with a portfolio filled with pressed plants in his lap. The painting was probably completed shortly after his return to Europe in 1804.

By studying old paintings, engravings, and early photos, it is apparent that there was a great variation in portfolio-presses as no two seem to be exactly alike unless made by the same person. The Victorian botanists of the mid to late nineteenth century made a variety of presses that had separate cover boards or they fastened them together like a book (hence portfolio). The layers were strapped tightly or pressed down with weights. Sizes ranged from 11.5 by 15.5 inches to 12 by 18 inches.

The Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew alerted me to images of Asa Grey, one of the leading American botanists of the mid nineteenth century. An early photo shows Asa Gray with a variety of plant presses including the lattice style which is used today. There are also images of engravings and lithographs of naturalists' studios that show portfolios full of pressed plants. Of particular interest are the image



President Jefferson deeply admired Humboldt, shown here with his plant press. Painting courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

of Humboldt's library later in his life and the image of a young Asa Grey examining a plant with a large portfolio in the background.

Journalist John Bradbury who traveled on the Wilson Price Hunt expedition in 1810 collected plant specimens and left this statement in his journals: "Besides my rifle and other equipments, similar to those of the rest of the party, I had a portfolio for securing specimens of plants."

David Douglas spent a number of years in the Northwest collecting plants to send back to England. He carried 106 pounds of paper and noted having his guides change out damp paper to dry paper to prevent rotting. Though he left extensive journals he never mentioned the style of his press or portfolio. ■

John Fisher, an international traveler and award-winning high school science teacher, has devoted the last 20 years to assembling period artifacts or accurate replicas of every Euro-American cultural item carried by the Corps of Discovery. Fisher downsized over the past year by distributing almost all these objects to museums and interpreters across the country but he is continuing with his research, writing, and presentations. Most recently Fisher discussed "Keelboat vs Barge: If Only Clark Had Drawn the Vessel On End" on the stern wheeler "Becky Thatcher" at the LCTHF's 51st Annual Meeting in St Louis in September 2019.

Re-Centering Meriwether Lewis in the Post-Bicentennial Era

Trent Strickland's important and thought-provoking essay in this issue of *We Proceeded On* invites us all to step back and rethink Captain Meriwether Lewis. Mr. Strickland believes that recent scholarship has gone too far in emphasizing the problematic aspects of Lewis' life and achievement, and that we need to re-center Lewis as a talented, responsible, and highly-competent commander who was hand-picked for the assignment by America's Enlightenment exemplar Jefferson, who knew Lewis well and would not have entrusted a project he had been contemplating for decades to an unstable or troubled individual. In this Mr. Strickland echoes the views of Gary Moulton, who in the introduction to his most recent contribution to Lewis and Clark studies, *The Lewis and Clark Expedition: Day by Day*, makes the case for a more measured interpretation of Lewis and a more measured assessment of the relationship between the co-leaders of the expedition.

For much of the literary history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1900-2000), the two captains have been seen as interchangeable American heroes, paired in the phrase *Lewis & Clark*, even to the point of becoming fused as *Lewis&Clark*, best friends in buckskin, frozen on a highway sign standing together on a prominence looking west for the path to the western sea. A good deal of the recent scholarship on the expedition has attempted to de-couple the captains, to insist that they were quite different sorts of men, with quite distinct personality types—and destinies. They may have gone on the same trip, so this line of argument goes, but they had remarkably different journeys.

Meriwether Lewis was an intense, tightly-wound individual who took his role as the president's chosen explorer extremely seriously, while Clark was a more down-to-earth man who was more level-headed, calm, and steady in whatever situation he found himself. Lewis was better educated and he was a masterful prose stylist when he chose to keep his journal. Most of the best journal entries of the twenty-eight-month trek were written by Lewis. Clark was grammatically and orthographically challenged, much less prone to high-flown prose or romantic effusion, but nevertheless highly-intelligent and an excellent

communicator of the daily rhythms, incidents, and encounters of the expedition. He was, all of his life, a more reliable and more responsible keeper of records than his partner in discovery. He's the one you want to share a gill of whiskey with at the end of the day.

Historians who look for evidence of tension between the captions during and after the expedition can find a handful of plausible moments, but you have to go in search of them and the temptation to read into the journals rather than just read them is, for some, irresistible. This is one of Trent Strickland's objections to recent scholarship. The overwhelming sense one gets from reading everything that Lewis and Clark wrote between 1803-1809 is of harmony, mutual respect, shared purpose, friendship, and affection. The number of times the most critical reader senses tension or disagreement in the journals can be tallied on one hand. Even for one who goes looking for moments of tension, it is a pretty thin gruel.

It would be perverse to suggest that a few moments of tension in an 863-day transcontinental trek had more than very minor significance. Some of the recent scholarship that explores these incidents represents, I believe, a reaction to the previously prevailing notion (most dramatically articulated by the late Stephen Ambrose), that Lewis and Clark were the "best friends in American history." The urge to de-couple Lewis and Clark and to explore their individuality, to let them emerge from the accumulated expedition mythology as quite different men who had somewhat different experiences and did not invariably see eye to eye, is wholly admirable, I believe, so long as it does not distort the truth and replace one inaccurate narrative with another based on even less evidence.

Here's the problem. All we have is the evidence of the journals, and whatever post-expedition documents we still possess to study. Surely not everything William Clark (or Lewis) felt, saw, or experienced in the course of the journey found its way into the journals. The journals were not private diaries. They were public documents. Everyone knew from the beginning that when the journey ended the diaries would be collected by Captain Lewis to serve as the basis for his public report on the expedition's travels,



Original photo by Ryan Stavely.
Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

travails, and discoveries. If Whitehouse or Gass or Ordway or Clark was homesick, infatuated with a Native American woman, hostile to some other member of the expedition, overcome with self-doubt, angry with his mother for her child-rearing style, questioning the existence of a supreme being, or wishing he were anywhere but in coastal Oregon, such private thoughts and feelings were not going to make their way into the official records of the expedition. As historians, we would be thrilled if the journal keepers had occasionally written in a “dear diary” manner. But they were hard-working men with plenty of other things to do who somehow took the time to jot down important information in journals they were keeping on behalf of the United States government.

Scholars like James Ronda and David Nicandri have called for a new era of very close textual readings of the journals to see what such close scrutiny might reveal. This makes perfect sense, but the urge to be original, to tease out previously unnoticed insights can lead to over-statement. Did Lewis really have a slow-motion nervous breakdown on the return journey? In the context of the book in which that argument makes its first appearance, it makes perfect sense to me, but when you lift that phrase out of context and let it wriggle in the dry air of skepticism, it seems a bit over-the-top. When Thomas Slaughter says that by the time the expedition returned to St. Louis, Lewis “was already dead; only his body was still alive,” he is certainly making a metaphoric, not literal, assessment. Did he overstate the case? Almost certainly, but we understand what he was trying to explore.

A week with the expedition in Montana would dispel a lot of Lewis and Clark myths, I believe, and we would probably have to revise our portraits of almost every member of the expedition, including especially Sacagawea and Meriwether Lewis, and every relationship of the expedition, including the principal one between Lewis and his old friend Clark. There is so much more that is not written up in the journals than what we find there. As John Adams said of the American Revolution, a true history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition can never be written. The omissions in the journals are every bit as important as the words that found their way to paper. More important, perhaps.

Trent Strickland’s second point is equally significant. Recent scholars have spent so much time exploring Lewis’ eccentricities, problems, and self-destructions that they have tended to ignore the captain’s extraordinary achievements.

It is common understanding now that Meriwether Lewis was silent for extended periods during the twenty-eight month journey. He does not have a journal entry for a full 441 days. Since President Jefferson instructed Lewis (June 20, 1803) to record his observations (and copy them in

moments of leisure!), Lewis’ silences have to be made sense of by everyone who studies the expedition. Were some of his journals or journal entries lost along the way? Did Meriwether Lewis and William Clark agree early on that as long as one of them was writing every day, they were, as co-captains and partners in discovery, fulfilling the president’s requirements? In other words, do the combined journals of Lewis and Clark represent a “captain’s log” of the journey? Did Lewis have bouts of depression in the course of the journey when he just could not bring himself to write? Did he regard some parts of the journey as more important to chronicle than others? We don’t know.

But for all of that remember what Lewis was doing during those unaccountable silences. **He was taking weather data twice a day**, at dawn and in mid-afternoon, in the manner of his patron Mr. Jefferson. **He was making painstaking and repeated celestial observations**, with complicated and persnickety instruments including an artificial horizon, often in the middle of the night and in cold weather, to determine latitude and longitude. Just how many hours Lewis spent in this thankless and complex work is uncertain, but it was one of the most time-consuming things he did, and it was virtually the prime directive in President Jefferson’s instructions. **He was observing the flora and fauna** of the landscapes through which the expedition traveled, looking for new or rare plants and animals and minerals. If he saw a new species of animal he needed to kill one or more specimens; measure the claws, the teeth, the reproductive organs; eviscerate the critter to study its innards; preserve the bones (or at least skull) and the pelts; number, label, and catalogue the dismembered objects. **He had to dig up plants** carefully so as not to damage their root structures; eviscerate the parts that would quickly spoil; drape the specimen over blotter paper in a plant press; open the plant press frequently to make sure that each specimen dried out properly and without spoiling. And he had to write out painstaking descriptions of each specimen in his field notes, attach labels that indicated where and when he harvested the specimen; and sometimes place the accumulated collection carefully in an underground cache to preserve it from travel damage. **He was taking down vocabularies** of many of the Indian tribes the expedition encountered. This involved a long chain of transmission/translation that required a number of individuals to act in close coordination. In performing this task, Lewis had to try to render non-Indo-European languages, often guttural and quite alien to northern European languages, into the Roman alphabet. **He was engaged in frontier diplomacy** with scores of Native American nations, trying to communicate the president’s policies and America’s supervisory sovereignty to peoples who had never heard of the United States before, who had

fundamentally different ideas about property, sovereignty, national boundaries, cultural identity, war and peace, leadership hierarchies, and social rites. All of this across seemingly insurmountable language barriers and employing individuals who were not professional linguists.

Meriwether Lewis may not always have been keeping an active journal, but he was always fully occupied with tasks that no other member of the expedition, even Clark, could have fulfilled successfully. Perhaps more to the point, in addition to all of the duties I have just outlined, he was, in the end, personally responsible for the success of Jefferson's pet project, and one that Lewis himself called "one of those great objects on which my mind has been unalterably fixed for many years," and, earlier, "a voyage which had formed a darling project of mine for the last ten years." On any given day, Whitehouse or Godrich or Colter could concentrate on the duties and challenges right before him, but Lewis had to think about the over-arching success of the mission, his relationship with one of the great men of history who was also the President of the United States, the Jefferson administration's relations with the Federalists of Congress, and what the expedition presaged for the future destiny of the American republic. No wonder Lewis could write, among the Shoshone, "I slept but little as might be well expected, my mind dwelling on the state of the expedition which I have ever held in equal estimation with my own existence." Whatever else is true, Lewis was no slacker.

We are all haunted, I believe, by Meriwether Lewis' death. To die so young (just 35) with so much left unfinished—his book, his relationship with Clark, his relationship with Jefferson, his relationship with fame—is not only tragic in the full Aristotelean sense of the word, but it deprives us of a more complete understanding of the great expedition he led, a fuller understanding of his unique perspective on what was going to become the "manifest destiny" of the American republic, and a full understanding of how the great journey would have shaped the course of his development as a Jeffersonian leader and a man of thought. Whether he was killed by a ruffian or assassin or took his own life in the face of what he regarded as insurmountable problems doesn't alter the fact that Lewis left the stage before he could explain himself fully and give the great journey the intellectual closure it deserved as the harbinger of all that was to follow for the wilderness, for Native Americans, and for the nation's destiny.

Because he appears to have committed suicide, all students of the expedition have to wonder if something happened "out there" to destabilize his consciousness. Some believe (and Jefferson lends himself to this view) that Lewis was somewhat unstable before the expedition, more after it, and the journey did not, as Jefferson seems to have

hoped, solve the problem. Others believe that everything was fine (or fine enough) until sometime in 1807-08, when Lewis' life began to come apart, particularly after he finally took up his duties as the territorial governor of Upper Louisiana. And still others—all of us, really—search the journals for anything that could be construed to be a clue to the tragedy.

This need we have to try to explain or understand the mystery of Lewis' disintegration distracts and distorts. It distracts us from the simple fact that the Lewis and Clark Expedition was astonishingly successful. They went all the way out and all the way back with the loss of only one expedition member, of natural causes, and two Native Americans. Relations with Native peoples were on the whole very positive. The amount of accurate information Clark and particularly Lewis gathered and brought back safely was staggering. Jefferson was only slightly exaggerating when he said, "The expedition of Messrs. Lewis & Clarke for exploring the river Missouri, & the best communication from that to the Pacific ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected." Our focus on Lewis' death distorts the picture of the expedition because that shadow has a way of retrospectively hanging over everything and robbing the great adventure of some of its innocence. My point is that if Lewis had lived to a ripe old age and died in his bed in Albemarle County, Virginia, we would see the journey differently. We would certainly read Lewis' journals, letters, and occasional writings differently. As we read the journals we need to try to put out of our minds the tragic end of the Lewis story. We cannot do it entirely, of course, but we should try not to let the end of the story damage our appreciation of Lewis' greatness.

Irresistible as it may be to fixate on the death of Lewis and its implications, and legitimate as I believe it is to try to make sense of his death by exploring every perplexing aspect or moment of his life, including before the expedition, it is important that we now begin to turn away from the suicide or murder debate and return to the expedition itself, from the moment Jefferson chose Lewis for the mission to the moment when Lewis and Jefferson got down on their hands and knees in the White House to study the maps, artifacts, and documents. It is, as James Ronda says, America's first great road story. It is an adventure so compelling in every way that it has eclipsed all other exploration stories in American history, including the Apollo Moon program. The University of Nebraska definitive edition of the journals invites us to take a fresh look at the journey itself and gives us the reliable textual base we need to do so with confidence and comprehensiveness.

In other words, to paraphrase James Carville, it's the journey, stupid!

— Clay S. Jenkinson



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