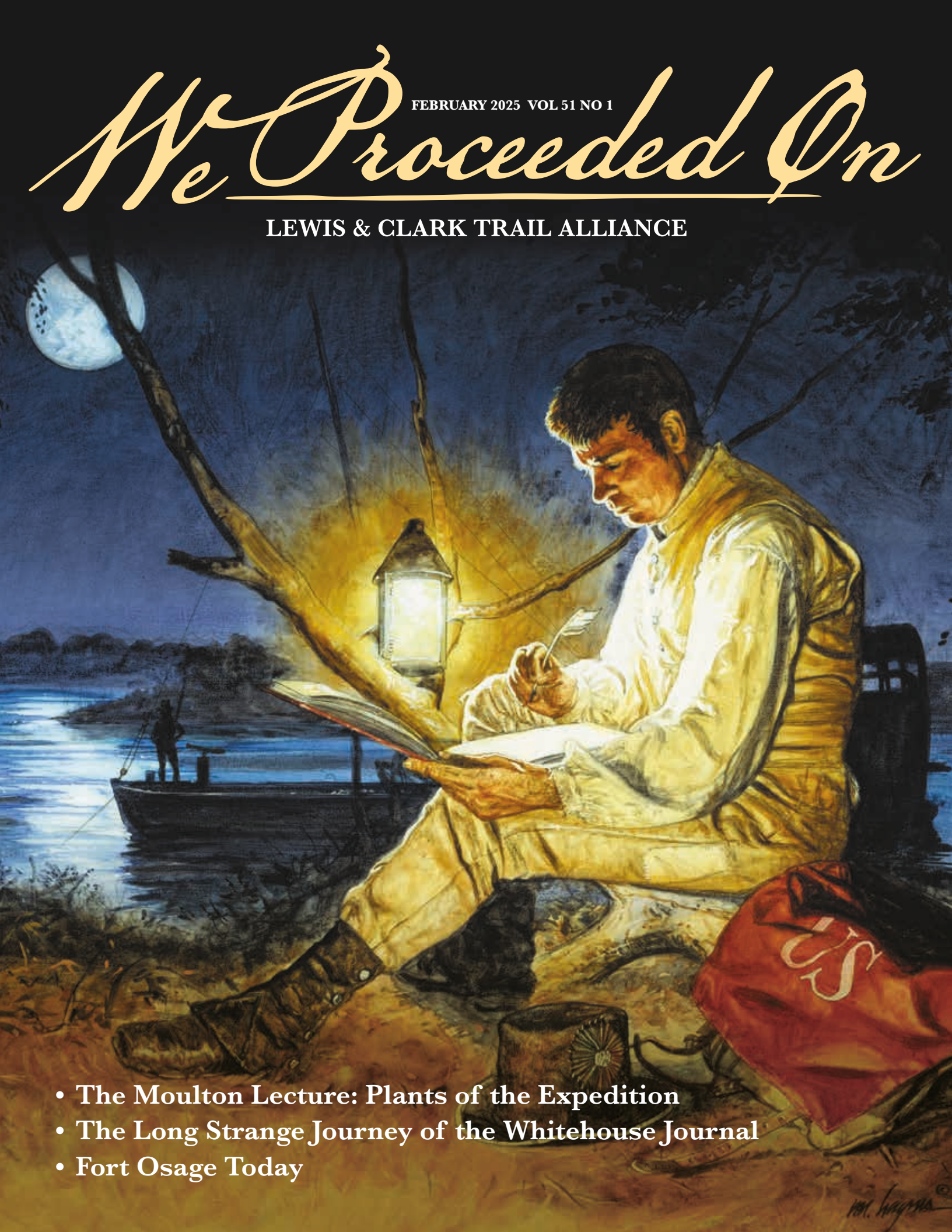
FEBRUARY 2025 VOL 51 NO 1

We Proceeded On

LEWIS & CLARK TRAIL ALLIANCE



- The Moulton Lecture: Plants of the Expedition
- The Long Strange Journey of the Whitehouse Journal
- Fort Osage Today

The Old History and the New

I know this sounds a bit like applying recent Chinese history to the affairs of the United States, but I do believe that we have undergone a national Cultural Revolution since 1960. If you read Bernard DeVoto's account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition[1] or David Freeman Hawke's, or even David Lavender's, you get a good picture of the state of the story a generation or more ago. They were excellent historians; they were men of their times. It was a simpler, less perplexed era in American history. Much has happened since then in the way we think about history, including the history of the American West.

Since 1960 we have seen a formal and insistent rise in Women's studies, African American studies, Chicano studies, Environmental studies, Native American studies, Gender studies, Postmodernism, Semiology, and Conservation studies. Partly as a result of these new disciplines, the way we saw the history of the American West in 1960 has undergone a breathtaking change. Meanwhile, the literary "canon" has undergone fundamental review and some of what we once regarded as non-problematic texts (*Paradise Lost*, Yeats' "Leda and the Swan," *Huckleberry Finn*, the *Iliad)* have been retired (or at least flagged) for one reason or another, sometimes if only to accommodate alternative texts that men like DeVoto and Lavender probably never heard of. This has been the source of intense debate in the academic world – and a potent blowback from some parts of the non-academic population.

Bilingual Salish/English road sign in northwestern Montana. M.P. Sharwood, Wikimedia Commons.

More recently we have witnessed the #MeToo Movement, "wokeness," and "cancel culture," the Black Lives Matter movement, trigger warnings, and some stunning intolerance. Some of these new lenses and perspectives have implications for the Lewis and Clark story, and some do not. As with all waves of new outlooks, some of these insistences will stick; others will slip away over time.

Back in 1960, oral tradition, especially Native oral tradition, was often dismissed as unreliable. Today it is taken seriously, even when it (as in the case of the view that Sacagawea was *always* Hidatsa or Crow and never Shoshone) disrupts what we thought we knew about that extraordinary eighteen-year-old woman who brought her firstborn child across the western half of the continent and back again. The principle is simple enough: a people has the unchallenged right to tell us what they want to be called (Sahnish not Arikara); to insist upon their own origin stories, even if they contradict the "western" Bering Strait Land Bridge narrative; to "own" their responses to the coming of Lewis and Clark into their homelands; to maintain their own view of the life and contribution of Sacagawea/Sakakawea/Sacajawea/Janey; and to protect their sacred places and sacred traditions, some of which they may choose to withhold from non-Indigenous outsiders.

I'm on the whole very glad for the revolution in the ways we think about the past. But I admit that in some respects the story we all share and treasure was simpler, less complicated, less unsettling, less problematic back then. Back then Lewis and Clark were seen as nearly identical American heroes, almost LewisandClark. They successfully led a party of men (and one woman) across the continent and back again. As we used to say back then, "Only one man died." They were seen as earnest, high minded, and idealistic. Back then all scholars acknowledged that the Expedition met dozens of Native tribes, of course. It was nearly universal then to call the Natives "Indians," and Native women the s-word, enterprising Native warriors and hunters "braves," the Lakota the "Sioux," the Nimiipuu the "Nez Perce," the Salish "Flatheads," etc. When there were conflicts

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On the Covers
Front: *The Journal*. Courtesy Michael Haynes.

Back: The Whitehouse Journal. Edward Everett Ayre Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. Courtesy of Clay Jenkinson.

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

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E. G. Chuinard, M.D.,
Founder, *We Proceeded On*

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We Proceeded On, *the quarterly journal of the Alliance, is mailed to current members who opt to receive it in February, May, August, and November. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in* Historical Abstracts *and* America: History and Life.

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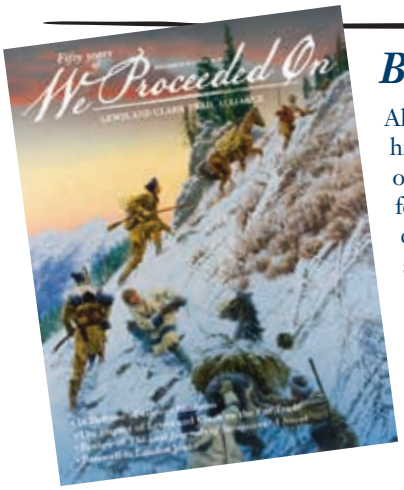

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The Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance

P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403
406-454-1234 / 1-888-701-3434
Fax: 406-727-3158
www.lewisandclark.org

Our mission:

As Keepers of the Story~Stewards of the Trail, the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance provides national leadership in maintaining the integrity of the Trail and its story through stewardship, scholarship, education, partnership, and cultural awareness.

The views and opinions expressed in articles and features published in *We Proceeded On* are those of the authors and contributors, and do not necessarily reflect those of the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance, its officers and Board, or staff.

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A Message from the President

LCTA President Bill Bronson

Hopefully, none of you believes the job of Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance president entails making speeches, thinking grand thoughts, and otherwise sitting in some high place expounding words of wisdom to all. While I frequently aspire to such a station in life, the work of the president is little different than what I have done in my 40+ years of law practice, as well as a career in public service. It actually entails acknowledging that people have practical problems and issues, and that we will roll up our sleeves and do our best to help solve them.

Yes, the Alliance does have some problems and issues to confront. Perhaps the most challenging one is membership. It's no secret our membership has been declining in recent years. Retaining current members and adding new ones is problematic for organizations like the Alliance. At least once a week, one or more current members ask me, "What is the Alliance going to do about membership?" When asking this question, no one has offered a solution or has even suggested some possibilities. This reminds me of an experience in another aspect of my life that at least offers the genesis of an answer to the question about our membership.

A few years ago, as I began winding down my law practice, I accepted an offer from our local bar association, with the support of our district court judges, to oversee and manage a pro bono legal assistance program in our judicial district. This program does its best to make sure people who cannot afford to hire an attorney are matched with a local lawyer willing to take on their case at no charge. Finding attorneys willing to help in this way is not always easy. Moreover, there are times when the particular legal problem raised by an applicant for services may itself present unusual challenges for an attorney willing to tackle the case for no fee.

Given these considerations, it should be no surprise that sometimes people come to my office to discuss a problem and then ask me what I am going to do about their problem. The implicit assumption is that I alone am the one to solve their problem for them.

When confronted with these situations, I often times pull out a small toy magic wand from a drawer in my desk, wave it in the air, and then exclaim, "Poof! Here is the answer to your problem!"

This exercise is usually met with an uneasy laugh and an acknowledgment that I'm "pulling their leg" just a bit, but it's the perfect opening for me to explain that most of the problems they present are not easily resolved, and there's no magic wand out there to solve them. Resolution requires thoughtful analysis, a willingness to contribute to the effort, and time – elements not conjured up by an act of prestidigitation.

Recent inquiries about our declining membership remind me of those times when people would come to my office expecting me to pull the proverbial rabbit out of the hat. I agree the problem is there and it must be solved, to the extent that a solution, or some alternative, can be found. What the person or persons asking for the solution need to accept is that they must be part of the solutions process. Acceptance, followed by thoughtful analysis, presents a great opportunity for problem solving. So long as there is a willingness to follow through, there is also a great opportunity for success.

The Alliance board and staff are now engaging in that process. We expect you, our current members, to offer your suggestions and feedback. I can say that right now, without even knowing all the details of a final plan, part of the answer lies in something the late American folksinger Pete Seeger said when asked about resolution of the world's many crises: "If there's a world here in a hundred years, it's going to be saved by tens of millions of little things." Among those "little things" we can all do right now are the following:

-When your region or chapter sponsors a public lecture or other presentation on a Lewis and Clark topic, make sure you tell your attendees about the Alliance, offer them a membership brochure, or maybe even a copy of *We Proceeded On*, and ask them to join the Alliance.

-Ask the national office for a list of those members in your region who

are at risk for non-renewal of their membership. We generate that list every three months, and it's available for review. Call those individuals on the list and ask them why they are not renewing and do your best to secure a renewal.

-Talk up this organization in your service clubs, like Rotary, Lions, and Optimists, to name just a few. Offer to present to the group. Explain the advantages of membership.

These and similar approaches will most certainly be part of any grander design fashioned under board leadership, but you don't need our permission to take on these tasks. Become part of the solutions process now.

And now, a few words about some other items of interest:

Hopefully, you are receiving and reviewing the bi-weekly, on-line publication, *Lewis and Clark Trail News*, prepared by CEO Richard Hunt. This publication keeps you informed on news and information of importance to our members. If you are not receiving it, go to our website, click on "About Us," and scroll to the bottom of the page, where you can sign up for the newsletter. Share it with someone you know who is not a member. It's also a great recruiting tool.

The Alliance board and I extend best wishes to Board member Alexandria Searls of Charlottesville, Virginia, who resigned this past November to allow her more time to attend to academic pursuits. Alexandria contributed much to our conversations these past few years. She will be missed on the board, but she hopes to remain active with the Alliance in other ways.

Following Alexandria's resignation, our Governance Committee was charged to seek out and recommend a replacement. I'm pleased to announce that Mark Meyer of Kalamazoo, Michigan, has agreed to complete Alexandria's term. Mark, a retired physician, is a relatively new member of the Alliance, but he has immersed himself in the organization, including participation in annual meetings and the Alliance's annual "White Cliffs Canoe Trip." He brings extensive leadership experience in both business and service organizations. Please join us in welcoming Mark to the leadership team.

This edition of *WPO* features selected pages of the Alliance's Annual Report, with links to the full flipbook. This new format for the Report is another example of the several innovations underway that improve our capacity to remain "Keepers of the Story, Stewards of the Trail" in the 21st century.

Thanks for reading. Enjoy our latest issue. And if you ever come to Great Falls, stop by my office, and I'd be pleased to show you the infamous magic wand.

Until next time,
Bill Bronson
President
Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance
Great Falls, Montana

Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance (LCTA)

2025 Photo Contest!

Celebrate the beauty and history of the Lewis and Clark Trail by sharing your unique perspective through photography!

Contest Dates:

- Entries must be received by May 31, 2025.

Eligibility:

- Open to non-professional photographers only.
- Photos must be taken within the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail corridor, at a Lewis and Clark historic site, or at a public place displaying Lewis and Clark-themed art.

Contest Categories:

Limit of two photos in each of the five categories. Ten photos maximum.

- Landscape
- People on the Trail
- Historic Lewis and Clark Sites
- Public Lewis and Clark Art
- Flora and Fauna

Winning photos will be included in LCTA's 2026 Calendar!

Photo Submission Guidelines:

- The preferred aspect ratio (w:h) is 4:3. Others, such as 3:2 and 16:9, may be accepted but will be subject to cropping. Please submit in JPEG format, saved at maximum quality, and not exceeding a file size of 10MB.
- Images should be individual photos and not include collages or assemblies.
- Post-processing is acceptable if the content of the photo is not changed.
- Each photo must be an original image taken by the person submitting it.
- Photos must be labeled with the site and location where they were taken. Title the file name accordingly (e.g., "Sunset over Cape Disappointment, WA.jpg").

Usage Agreement:

- By submitting photos, participants agree to grant the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance (LCTA) and the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) the right to use their photos for promotional, membership, and social media purposes without charge.
- Submitted photos become the property of LCTA/LCTHF and may be edited, altered, copied, exhibited, published, or distributed for lawful purposes related to the organization's programs.
- Participants agree to hold LCTA/LCTHF harmless from any liabilities arising from the use of their photos.

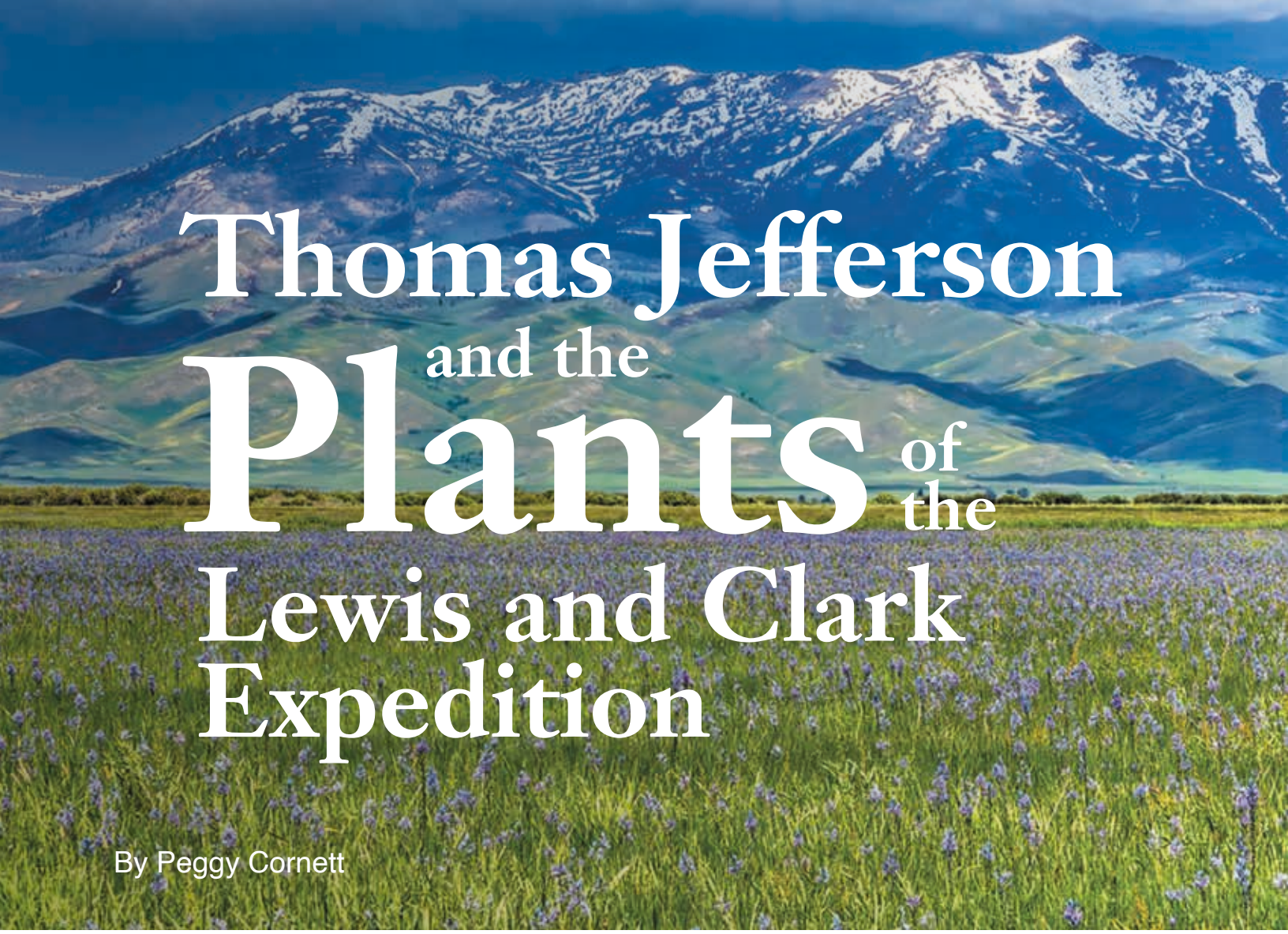
How to Submit:

- Submissions must be made through the designated Google Form webpage. To access go to the URL below and click the "online entry form" button.
  By submitting the form, participants confirm their agreement to the contest rules.

https://lewisandclark.org/photo-contest/

or scan to enter

Photos used in this contest notice, courtesy Wikimedia Commons.
Pacific Ocean rock pillars by U.S. Forest Service; Lewis & Clark sign image by Magnus Manske; Balsamroot flowers by Forest Service Ranger Alyssa Thornburg; Rooster Rock, Columbia River Gorge by U.S. Forest Service - Pacific Northwest Region.



Thomas Jefferson and the Plants of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

By Peggy Cornett

*Common Camas (*Camassia quamash*). The flowers bloom in such profusion as to appear as lakes. Lewis described this at the Weippe Prairie: "the quamash is now in blume and from the color of its bloom at a short distance it resembles lakes of fine clear water." Sheila Sund, Wikimedia Commons.*

It has been said that, at least until recent times, the mythic journey in the heart of Americans has been a movement from east to west. This is no more evident than at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the accounts and journals of countless naturalists we get a sense of a pure desire to chart the course of rivers and the extent of mountains, to describe and gather data about the American continent's natural history, and to name and collect the flora and fauna of its various regions.

By the end of the eighteenth century, renowned naturalists and plant explorers such as John Clayton, Mark Catesby, John and William Bartram, and André and Francoise André Michaux had already searched, collected, and documented much of the woodlands, swamps, fields, and savannahs of eastern North America. It was time to move to the next frontier.

Indeed, at that time the lure of the West, with its promise of untold discoveries, was irresistible even to armchair plant explorers, and Thomas Jefferson, who never traveled beyond the Blue Ridge, was no exception. Monticello, his mountaintop home, stood at the edge of the Virginia frontier with commanding views of the Blue Ridge Mountains and a glimpse of the immense territory beyond.

Jefferson's lifelong love of the natural world was well respected and evident through his only published book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, which came out in 1785 while he was living in Paris and serving as America's minister to France. This book is considered a literary and intellectual landmark and was the first comprehensive treatise on the topography, natural history, and natural resources of the United States. The book was written in part to refute

an erroneous belief of natural degeneration that was promoted by the French scientific theorist Georges-Louis Leclerc, the Comte de Buffon. Jefferson's book attempted to account for the flora, fauna, geology, and topography of the region of North America considered as Virginia at that time.

Thus, it is no wonder that Jefferson dreamed of explorations westward with feverish enthusiasm. By the time of the American Revolution, he was preparing directives for trans-continental scientific journeys and doggedly pursuing this idea with like-minded men, including members of the American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia. The mission and purpose of this elite and prestigious group of gentlemen, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1743 (the year of Jefferson's birth), was essentially to promote scientific understanding and the ideals of the Enlightenment. Jefferson served as president of the society for seventeen years and was the only American president to do so.

At the May 1792 meeting of the American Philosophical Society, Jefferson received perhaps one of the highest honors from Philadelphia botanist Benjamin Smith Barton, who assigned the wildflower known as twinleaf to a new genus, *Jeffersonia*, to acknowledge "Thomas Jefferson, Esq. Secretary of State to the United States." Barton went on to note, "I have no reference to his political character, or to his reputation for general science, and for literature. My business was with his knowledge of natural history. In the various departments of this science, but especially in botany and in zoology, the information of this gentleman is equaled by that of few persons in the United-States."[1]

Alexander von Humboldt *1806, by Friedrich Georg Weitsch. Wikimedia Commons.*

Botanist Asa Gray with his plant press. Courtesy Harvard Herbaria & Libraries.

Before finally realizing his dream, Jefferson had made three attempts to launch some kind of western expedition into the Missouri country. In 1783 he approached George Rogers Clark, Revolutionary War hero and older brother of William, but Clark declined. In 1786, while minister to France, he encouraged John Ledyard (who had been with Captain James Cook on the third voyage) to travel east across Russia through Siberia, crossing the Pacific and then east to Virginia. Ledyard was stopped by the Russians. And finally in 1793, while president of the APS, he hired André Michaux to find the Northwest Passage to the Pacific, but this attempt also ran into political complications with U.S. relationships with the French government and Spanish settlements west of the Mississippi.

Jefferson publicly voiced his long-held desire for exploration of the West in his 1801 presidential inaugural address when he dared to envision, "A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye."[2] Two years later, he sent a confidential message to Congress requesting appropriation of $2,500 for an exploration to the "Western Ocean." With this quiet, clandestine arrangement, Jefferson commissioned Meriwether Lewis who invited William Clark to join him in leading a Corps of Discovery on what would become a three-year journey across America's vast, unexplored regions. For its day, this ambitious undertaking is likened to our present attempts to travel to the Moon and even Mars, and Jefferson himself understood and believed in the undaunted courage this mission would entail.

On the eve of the venture, before the explorers set off from St. Louis in 1804, Jefferson predicted, "We shall delineate with correctness the great arteries of this great country: those who come after us will fill up the canvas we begin."[3]

Lewis and Clark, as Paul Russell Cutright's seminal book points out, were true "pioneering naturalists," making collections and observations across the continent for the advancement of science.[4] Their three-year journey led them through the central prairies, the Great Plains, the arid Rockies, windswept deserts, and seasonally moist, temperate West Coast regions. The diverse climatic and geographic environments they encountered obviously had immensely disparate growing conditions from the woodlands, swamps,

fields, and savannahs of eastern North America. Recognizing this, Jefferson wrote to Philadelphia nurseryman and author Bernard McMahon in 1807, at the conclusion of the mission, "Capt. Lewis has brought a considerable number of seeds of plants peculiar to the countries he has visited."[5] At the time, it was difficult to recognize or sort out the plants that might prove amenable to gardens from those requiring very specific and difficult-to-reproduce environmental conditions. Although Jefferson, McMahon, William Hamilton, and many others were enormously interested in cultivating these rare new introductions, determining which would survive required years of experimentation and trial and error.

While still at their Wood River encampment, Camp Dubois, near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, Meriwether Lewis sent "some slips of the Osage Plums, and Apples" to Jefferson on March 26, 1804.[6] The slips were collected from a garden in St. Louis owned by Pierre Choteau, a prominent merchant and fur trader. This tree species, which is native to the southern Mississippi valley, might have been the most significant horticultural "discovery" of the Expedition. It had come to Choteau from an Osage Indian, who had in turn obtained specimens 300 miles away. The fate of these "cuttings" was likely unsuccessful. Lewis himself said it was too late in the season, but, on his return journey in 1806, he collected seeds from the same but more mature specimens, and personally brought them back with him to Washington and Philadelphia. These were distributed and successfully grown by Philadelphia nurseryman Bernard McMahon and wealthy plantsman William Hamilton.

*Osage Orange (*Maclura pomifera). *Arlington National Cemetery, Wikimedia Commons.*

*Indigo Bush (*Amorpha fruticosa*). Dalgial, Wikimedia Commons.*

Seventeenth-century French explorers described the tree as "bois d'arc" or bow wood, a term later corrupted by the Americans to "bodark." Indigenous Americans exploited the exceptional strength and elasticity of the wood for tomahawks and especially bows. One Osage bow was worth a horse and blanket in trade. The convoluted, grapefruit-sized fruit, formidable thorns on young shoots, yellow-colored bark, and lush, healthy foliage distinguish this tree. Robert Carr, proprietor of Bartram's Garden in Philadelphia, was one of the tree's first commercial sources in 1828; and by the mid-nineteenth century, it had become the most planted shrub in America. Osage orange can be sheared effectively into impenetrable hedges, giving it another common name: "hedge apple." Sixty thousand miles of bodark hedging were reportedly planted in 1868 alone. The invention of barbed wire soon made Osage orange hedges obsolete, however.

The Expedition left Camp Dubois on May 14, 1804. Indigo bush, *Amorpha fruticosa*, was Number 3 in Lewis' plant collection. On the transmittal list he wrote: "No. 3. Was taken on the 23rd of May 1804, near the mouth of the Osage Woman's Creek … it is a shrub and resembles much in growth the bladder senna. It rises to height of 8-10 feet and is an inhabitant of moist rich soil usually on the verge of the riverbank … a handsome shrub."[7] Later Lewis collected indigo bush on the Great Plains at the lower end of Big Bend of the Missouri River in South Dakota. Today a large shrub is growing along the East Front post and chain at Monticello and was likely planted when the Garden Club of Virginia restored the Monticello ornamental gardens in 1939-1941.

As the Expedition crossed the plains, they encountered vast roaming herds of American bison and the expansive openness

*Big Blue Stem Grass (*Andropogon gerardii). *Matt Lavin, Wikimedia Commons.*

*Snow-on-the-Mountain (*Euphorbia marginata).

Twinleaf (Jeffersonia diphylla). *Krzysztof Ziarnek, Kenraiz, Wikimedia Commons.*

of the tallgrass prairie. Big blue stem, *Andropogon gerardii*, was one of the most abundant grasses in the tallgrass prairie, which the explorers encountered when traveling beyond their White Catfish Camp above the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. Lewis noted "No. 23 is the most common of any other grass, it rises to the height of 4-8 feet and never bears any flower or seed that I ever observed and suppose that it just be propagated by means of the root: common to all praries in this country."[8]

Snow-on-the-mountain – *Euphorbia marginata* Pursh

Lewis first described a specimen of snow-on-the-mountain in his No. 27 transmittal list: "it is a beautiful plant with variegated leaves, encompass[ing] the flowers which are small and in the center of them. A small distance they resemble somewhat a white rose. The leaf near the large stem is green and is edged white."[9] No. 27 was lost but a second specimen was collected in Rosebud County, Montana, July 28, 1806, along the Yellowstone River, by William Clark. This species was new to Western science in 1806 and was described by the German botanist Frederick Pursh, who first published the plants of the Expedition in his *Flora Americae Septentrionalis*. Pursh noted it as being found "on the Yellow-stone river" and that it was "a very handsome species; the white margin of the involucres and white petal-like appendices have a fine contrast with the elegant soft green leaves."[10]

Snow-on-the-mountain soon became a common annual in nineteenth-century seed catalogues. Although its natural distribution is along the west side of the Missouri River in North Dakota, it proved adaptable to a wide range of soil types and growing conditions and likely spread into farmlands from Minnesota to Texas and New Mexico.

Botanical Namesakes

Just as Jefferson was honored by the naming of *Jeffersonia diphylla*, a plant species new to science, so too were individuals associated with the Expedition. Frederick Pursh would name several plants documented and collected by the Expedition's leaders, Meriweather Lewis and William Clark. These botanical namesakes, much like Jefferson's twinleaf, would attain varying degrees of recognition and popularity.

Lewis' Prairie Flax – *Linum perenne lewisii* Pursh

According to the records of the Expedition, the delicate prairie flax was collected July 9, 1806, "in the valleys of

the Rocky-mountains and on the banks of the Missouri."[11] It is believed Captain William Clark made the collection, for Clark's party was hunting for lost horses and repairing canoes this day while Lewis' party experienced an entire day of rain. This charming, clump-forming perennial produces clear blue, funnel- shaped flowers on slender, somewhat nodding stems in mid-summer. Frederick Pursh originally considered it a distinct species and named it *Linum lewisii*, but it was later classified as a slightly more robust subspecies of its European cousin.

Lewis' Prairie Flax (Linum perenne lewisii). *Cephas, Wikimedia Commons.*

Bitterroot – *Lewisia rediviva* Pursh

Pursh honored Lewis by naming this genus in 1814, writing: "This elegant plant would be a very desirable addition to the ornamental perennials, since, if once introduced, it would be easily kept and propagated, as the following circumstance will clearly prove."[12] Pursh went on to explain that the reason for the missing root of the specimen was because there was an attempt to propagate a living plant from the herbarium: "The specimen with roots taken out of the herbarium of M. Lewis Esq was planted by Mr. McMahon of Phila. and vegetated for more than one year; but some accident happening to it, I had not the pleasure of seeing it in flower."[13]

On this specimen's label Pursh wrote: "The Indians eat the root of this Near Clark's River [Bitterroot River]."[14] August 22, 1805, at Camp Fortunate, Lewis tasted bitterroot that came from a bushel of roots … and later wrote, "this the Indians with me informed were always boiled for use. I made the exprement, found that they became perfectly soft by boiling, but had a very bitter taste, which was naucious to my pallate, and I transfered them to the Indians who had eat them heartily."[15]

Bitterroot (Lewisia rediviva). *Matt Lavin, Wikimedia Commons.*

Clarkia or Elkhorn Flower – *Clarkia pulchella* Pursh

This showy western North American annual wildflower with delicate, bright pink to lavender blossoms, was first noted June 1, 1806, when Meriwether Lewis wrote, "I met with a singular plant today in blume of which I preserved a specemine; it grows on the steep sides of the fertile hills near this place,"[16] northeast of Kamiah, Idaho. Lewis described the flower, which was new to science, in great detail and regretted that the seed was not yet ripe. Frederick Pursh named it *Clarkia pulchella* for Captain William Clark in *Flora Americae Septentrionalis*. Its common names include ragged robin and elkhorn flower.

Clarkia or Elkhorn Flower (Clarkia pulchella).

Oregon Grape (Mahonia aquifolium). *Meggar, Wikimedia Commons.*

*Mandan Corn - Pani (*Zea mays*). inkknife_2000, Wikimedia Commons.*

*Arikara Bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris variety).
Courtesy commonrootfarm.com.

By the 1860s, two species were recognized in gardens: *Clarkia elegans* (now *C. unguiculata*, native to California), which has triangular-shaped, lavender-pink petals, and *Clarkia pulchella* (Rocky Mountains to California) with smaller, brighter pink to lavender, lobed petals.

In 1861, Thomas Meehan, editor of *The Gardener's Monthly*, reported a "New Double White Clarkia Elegans" offered by the French seed producer Vilmorin. Many cultivars of both single and double forms were offered by the 1870s in both species.

The British, because of their more amenable climate, were more successful with the flower than eastern North Americans. Accounts of London exhibitions in which clarkias received first-class certificates appeared in American magazines of the 1860s. After traveling to Britain, James Vick of Rochester, New York, wrote enviously of "immense fields ablaze with the bright colors, acres each of pink, red, white, purple, lilac" which he encountered in a country village of Essex. Although, like most seedsmen, he offered a broad selection of cultivars, he readily admitted, "The clarkia is the most effective annual in the hands of the English florist. It suffers with us in hot dry weather."[17]

Oregon Grape Holly – *Mahonia aquifolium* Pursh

An individual closely related to the Expedition's plant collections, Bernard McMahon, was later acknowledged by the naming of a shrub from the West Coast. McMahon was well known to Thomas Jefferson through his book, *The American Gardener's Calendar*, which McMahon shared with Jefferson upon its publication in 1806. Pursh first described and illustrated the plant from the original Lewis and Clark specimen brought to Philadelphia, initially naming it *Berberis aquifolium* and noting that the dark purple berries were edible. The English botanist Thomas Nuttall changed the genus to *Mahonia* in 1818 to honor McMahon. Lewis and Clark first collected this West Coast evergreen shrub, which they called "Mountain-holly," along the Columbia River on April 11, 1806, probably in present-day Hood River County, Oregon.

McMahon was the first nurseryman to successfully grow Oregon grape-holly from seeds brought back by Lewis and Clark. The Prince Nurseries of Long Island, New York, later played a leading role in making this extremely ornamental and desirable species commercially available. According to Stephen Spongberg in *A Reunion of Trees*, the demand for this novel shrub was staggering. "By 1825, when the plant had become widely known up and down the Atlantic seaboard,

the Prince Nursery firm … listed plants in their catalogue at twenty-five dollars each, in today's currency doubtless equivalent to several hundreds of dollars!"[18]

Mahonia bears bright yellow flowers in terminal clusters in spring, followed by dark purple fruits. The lustrous dark green leaves change to purplish bronze in the fall. It prefers moist, well-drained, acidic soil and a shady location protected from sweeping winds.

Potential Food and Economic Crops

Botanical discovery, including new agricultural crops, was one of the key goals of the Expedition. As the Corps of Discovery traveled along the Missouri River in the fall of 1805, they encountered the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa tribes. Their horticulture was based on the cultivation of bean, corn, and squash varieties, which had evolved through selection to thrive in the severe climate of the northern Plains. The Expedition constructed Fort Mandan, forty-three miles north of present-day Bismarck, North Dakota, and spent the harsh winter of 1804-1805 when temperatures plummeted briefly to minus forty-five degrees Fahrenheit.

Mandan Corn – *Pani*

As supplies of bison and deer meat diminished, the Corps was sustained through the winter by trading for Mandan corn or *pani*, which were among the seeds brought back by Meriwether Lewis in 1806 and grown at Monticello until 1820. The corn grown by the northern tribes was notable because of its short season of ripening, which was as brief as six weeks from planting. It produces a bushy, two-to-three-foot-high plant bearing three- to eleven-inch-long ears. Jefferson compared it favorably to the quarantine, or forty-day corn, he received from André Thoüin, Superintendent of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris. *Pani* was planted among the fruit trees in Monticello's South Orchard at least eight times. Frederick Pursh wrote that "it produced as excellent ears as any sort I know."[19] According to the English naturalist John Bradbury, "It is a wonderful instance of the power given to some plants to accommodate themselves to climate."[20] Bernard McMahon sold Mandan corn through his 1815 Philadelphia catalogue.

Arikara Bean – "Ricara"

The Arikara or "Ricara" bean was also among the seeds brought back by Lewis in 1806. Five rows were planted in Square V of the Monticello nursery in 1809, and beans were harvested and brought to table on July 1. Jefferson noted that the beans were "very forward," meaning they ripened earlier than other beans. He also observed that the "Ricara bean is one of the most excellent we have had: I have cultivated them plentifully for the table two years." But he then added: "I have one kind only superior to them, but being very sensibly so, I shall abandon the Ricaras."[21]Although Jefferson discontinued growing the Arikara bean, it was later sold by McMahon in 1815, and it was one of the first Lewis and Clark introductions to be made available commercially.

Squashes – *Cucurbita pepo* var.

Both summer and winter squash varieties were cultivated by the Dakota tribes, and many are commercially available today. The Mandan winter squash is particularly attractive, with deep orange skin with green stripes. Like the corn and

Native Winter Squash (Cucurbita pepo). *George Chernilevsky, Wikimedia Commons.*

Tobacco (Nicotiana quadrivalvis). *Rachel Whitt, Wikimedia Commons.*

Golden Currant (Ribes aureum var. aureum). *Stan Shebs, Wikimedia Commons.*

Snowberry (Symphoricarpos albus). *Tsyganov Sergey, Wikimedia Commons.*

bean varieties, the squashes were selected for early ripening in the short summer season of the northern plains.

Tobacco – *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* var.

Tobacco was important to the Indigenous tribes as part of their sacred ceremonies, but it was also smoked by most of the men of the Expedition. When supplies were short at Fort Clatsop, members of the Corps chipped up their pipes to suck out the nicotine residue. The Native tobacco cultivated by the Mandan and Arikara was considered mild and pleasant by Lewis, and Sergeant Gass remarked that it was unlike any tobacco he had ever tried. Seed of this tobacco was brought to Jefferson who sent it on to Philadelphia where it was successfully cultivated by both Bernard McMahon and William Hamilton. Jefferson considered it "a very singular species, uncommonly weak & probably suitable for segars [cigars]."[22] This variety is believed by many to be extinct today.

Golden Currant – *Ribes aureum* Pursh

On July 17, 1805, Lewis commented on the great abundance of "red yellow perple & black currants" which were ripe in great perfection, adding "I find these fruits very pleasent particularly the yellow currant which I think vastly preferable to those of our gardens."[23] The golden or yellow-flowering currant was originally brought to the attention of Lewis and Clark by Sacagawea. On August 2, 1805, in present-day Gallatin County, Montana, Lewis wrote, "we feasted suptuously on our wild fruit particularly the yellow courant and the deep purple servicebury which I found to be excellent."[24] Bernard McMahon considered it an important shrub, writing that the dark purple fruit was very large, and the yellow flowers were showy and extremely fragrant. He sent plants to Jefferson who planted them in the South Orchard berry squares below the vegetable garden. By 1817, Jefferson was sharing yellow currants with his son-in-law John Wayles Eppes. Within twenty-five years of the Expedition, it became the most widely sold of all the Lewis and Clark plants. Numerous early American nurseries sold the yellow currant, including the William Prince Nursery on Long Island, New York, in 1822, and Philadelphia's Bartram's Nursery offered "Lewis's Missouri ornamental currant" in 1828.[25]

Snowberry - *Symphoricarpos albus* L.S.F. Blake

Thomas Jefferson sent seed of the snowberry, brought back by the Expedition from the Pacific Northwest, to Bernard McMahon who successfully cultivated it. In 1812, McMahon sent Jefferson young plants, saying, "This is a beautiful shrub brought by Captain Lewis from the River Columbia; the flower is small but neat, the berries hang in large clusters and are of a snow-white colour, and continue on the shrub, retaining their beauty all the winter, especially if kept in a greenhouse . . . I have given it the trivial English name of Snowberry-bush."[26] Jefferson promised the shrub to his Parisian friend, Madame de Tessé, and plants were sent to General John Hartwell Cocke, of Bremo Plantation on the James River in March 1817. Monticello was one of the first American gardens where this shrub was grown, and it became a popular garden novelty in England after it was first exported in 1817. The tiny pink blossoms form in

late spring and are followed by the large white berries that are especially striking after the leaves drop.

Pawpaw - *Asimina triloba* L. Dunn

Although no known plant specimen was collected, pawpaw fruit was an important food source, especially on the final days of the Expedition. On September 11, 1806, while camped on the Nodaway River in Missouri, Clark observed: "The papaws nearly ripe–."[27] Four days later, below the Kansas River, Clark said: "we landed one time only to let the men geather Pappaws or the Custard apple of which this Country abounds, and the men are very fond of."[28] On September 18 Clark wrote, "our party entirely out of provisions Subsisting on poppaws. we divide the buiskit which amounted to nearly one buisket per man, this in addition to the poppaws is to last is down to the Settlement's which is 150 miles the party appear perfectly contented and tell us that they can live very well on the pappaws."[29] On September 20 they came in sight of "civilization" at the little French village of La Charette and arrived in St. Louis at noon on September 23, 1806, two years, four months, and nine days after the voyage began.

Conclusion

During the nineteenth century, yet other intrepid men, including William Baldwin, Thomas Nuttall, David Douglas, and the great Texas explorer Thomas Drummond, would retrace the Jefferson-inspired Lewis and Clark Expedition time and again in various ways. Their travels led them across the Mississippi River, through Texas and the Great Plains, over the Rocky Mountains, and on to the Pacific.

The late author, editor, and horticulturist Carleton B. Lees wrote in *Wildflowers Across America*, "There may be in this world no souls more generous than those of plant explorers, be they Scotsmen, Englishmen, Germans, Swedes, Frenchmen, or Spaniards: the fascination of the New World bred feverish enthusiasm that carried them through earthquakes, floods, Indian wars, famine, boat-swamping rapids, mosquitoes, infections and disease, searing heat, and penetrating cold in the search for new plants. And their patrons at home … lived their days in excited expectation of each new shipment, of each new root, bulb, or cutting and the germination of each new seed…."[30]

Throughout his life, Thomas Jefferson was just such a patron who waited in "excited expectation" for the arrival of native plants from a variety of sources, including the most notable plant explorers of his day. It is fitting that we understand what inspired Jefferson as he looked to the West from his mountaintop home, Monticello. As Jefferson himself wrote, "nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight."[31] ∎

Pawpaw (Asimina triloba). *Scott Bauer, Wikimedia Commons.*

Peggy Cornett is Curator of Plants at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello where she has worked since 1983. Director of the Thomas Jefferson Center for Historic Plants for seventeen years, she edited the Center's annual journal, Twinleaf, from 1993-2009. During Monticello's commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial, Cornett disseminated information and created educational materials on the flora collected by Lewis and Clark. The flower and vegetable gardens at Monticello continue to display and interpret Lewis and Clark-related flora and agricultural crops, and the Center for Historic Plants offers seeds and plants to the public. Cornett created a master plant list for the natural area at the Missouri River Basin Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center in Nebraska City, Nebraska. She edits Magnolia, the scholarly publication of the Southern Garden History Society, and serves on the Historic Garden Advisory Committee at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest near Lynchburg, Virginia. Cornett has received numerous awards and commendations for her generosity in sharing her knowledge and dedication to preserving Thomas Jefferson's botanical legacy including honorary memberships in the Garden Club of Virginia and the Garden Club of America.

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Correction: Fort Osage National Historic Landmark in Sibley, Missouri, stands above the Missouri River and not the Ohio River as was erroneously stated in the November 2024 issue of *We Proceeded On*.

Frederick Traugott Pursh

By Philippa Newfield

Frederick T. Pursh (nee Friedrich Traugott Pursch) was born on February 4, 1774, in Grossenhain, Saxony. He studied botany, worked in the Royal Botanical Garden of Dresden, and published Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker's manuscript entitled *Der Plauische Grund bei Dresden, mit Hinsicht auf Naurgeschichte und schone Gartenkunst* (The Plauische Grund near Dresden with Respect to Natural History and Beautiful Garden Art) in 1799 to which he contributed a "List of Wild Plants in the Plauischen Grunde and the Adjacent Areas." Pursh came to the United States in 1799 and worked in New York and then Baltimore before being employed in Philadelphia in 1801 as a gardener for Samuel Beck, writing to Benjamin Smith Barton, Meriwether Lewis' botany instructor in 1803, that he was a "slave" to Beck. He also worked for botanist William Hamilton and the Reverend Gotthilf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg of Lancaster and then became Barton's part-time curator and collector which took him on collecting trips from North Carolina to Vermont.

Pursh was also significantly involved with the plant specimens that survived the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Meriwether Lewis had sent the first group of sixty plants to President Thomas Jefferson with the returning keelboat (barge) in 1805. Jefferson inventoried them and sent them on to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. There they were again inventoried and, along with Lewis' notes and other material, sent on to Benjamin Smith Barton, who would, it was expected, prepare a scientific report about the plants. Thirty of those plants disappeared, and their fate in still unknown. Two other groups of specimens were lost to flooding where they were cached during the Expediton (save for the wild currant).

The fourth group of plant specimens Lewis brought with him upon his return from the Expedition in 1806. As Lewis was thinking about preparing the specimens for publication, he received a letter from gardener and seed merchant Bernard McMahon who recommended on April 5, 1807, that Lewis have the specimens evaluated by "a young man boarding in my house." McMahon was referring to Pursh whom he described as "better acquainted with plants, in general, than any man I ever conversed with on the subject." Modern scholars, among them James L. Reveal and Donald Jackson, believe McMahon was instrumental in bringing Pursh's abilities to Lewis' attention and that his subtext was: Don't leave this responsibility to Barton…

Clarkia pulchella *1814 by Frederick Traugott Pursh. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.*

Lewis traveled to Philadelphia, met with Pursh in mid-April 1807, and turned all the plant specimens over to Pursh, intending to describe the material himself with Pursh's help. He paid Pursh sixty dollars "for assisting me in preparing drawings and arranging specimens of plants for my work." He also retrieved the specimens in Barton's possession and gave them to Pursh. In 1809, Pursh, who had been working on drawings and descriptions of Lewis' collection, left Philadelphia to take a position in New York with Dr. David Hosack at the Elgin Botanical Garden and gave all the plant specimens to McMahon – except for the many he removed from the collection including whole specimens and parts he cut from intact specimens. When William Clark came to Philadelphia to arrange for the publication of the Expedition journals in 1810, following Lewis' death, he took the specimens back from McMahon and gave them to Barton, who died in 1815 without having described them. At this point, the specimens went to the American Philosophical Society along with some of Pursh's rough drawings and even some of Lewis'.

Pursh left New York for London in 1811, taking the Lewis specimens in his possession with him. He obtained the patronage of Aylmer Bourke Lambert, which enabled him to complete his *Flora Americae Septentrionalis or, A Systematic Arrangement and Description of The Plants of North America*, published in late 1813 (official date is 1814), which contained descriptions of 470 genera and 3,076 species. The peripatetic Pursh did not stay in London, turning down an opportunity to develop a botanical garden at Yale University in favor of traveling to Canada in 1816 to serve as botanist to the Red River settlement in present-day Manitoba at the invitation of Lord Selkirk. The expedition leader Robert Semple was murdered shortly after Pursh arrived in Canada, however, and the project never materialized. Hoping to publish a book on the flora of Canada, Pursh did collecting in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1818, but his notes and specimens were destroyed in a fire in Montreal the following winter. A confirmed alcoholic, Pursh died, drunk and destitute and alone, in Montreal on July 11, 1820. His remains were moved from the Papineau Road Cemetery in 1857 to the Mount Royal Cemetery. His monument, paid for by donations, reads: "Frederick Pursh, Obt 1820, AEt. 46. Erected By Members of the Natural History Society of Montreal 1878." His herbarium was purchased by his former patron Lambert, many specimens from which were later returned to the U.S.; forty-six have been located in the herbarium of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. His name is commemorated, fittingly, in the genus *Purshia*, the bitterbush.

Lewis and Clark's specimens were well and carefully evaluated by Pursh. A gifted observer, careful judge of what a species should be, and proper curator of the specimens in his possession, he proposed ninety-four new names in *Flora Americae Septentrionalis*, based in part on Lewis and Clark's specimens. He also named two of the new plants in honor of the captains: *Lewisia rediviva* and *Clarkia pulchella*. Had Pursh not published his *Flora*, the Lewis and Clark plants would probably never have been used to describe new species, and the captains would never have received credit for finding them. To accomplish this, Pursh appropriated the Lewis and Clark specimens and made no arrangement to return them, but he did credit Lewis for all of the 132 Expedition plants he included in the *Flora*. ∎

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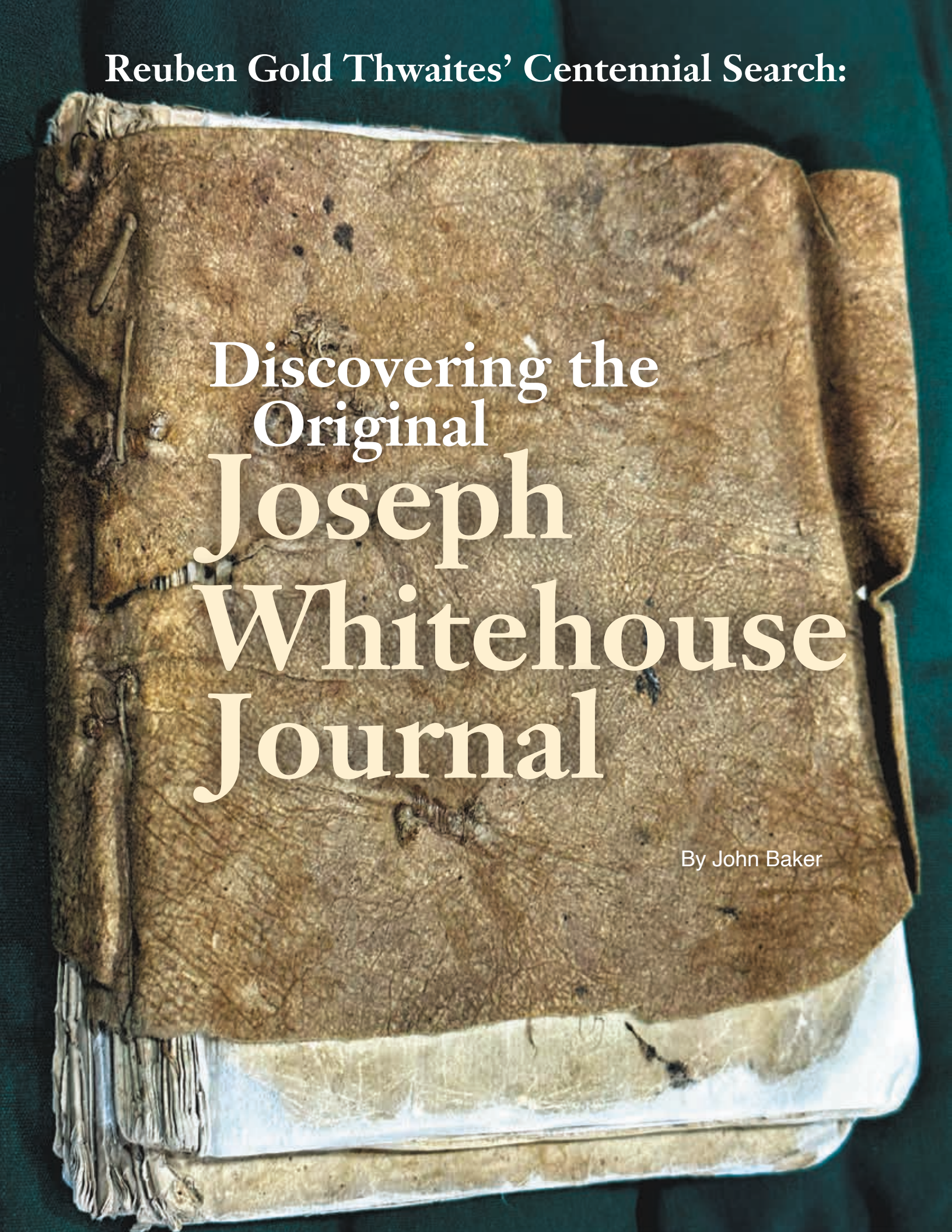
Reuben Gold Thwaites' Centennial Search:



Discovering the Original Joseph Whitehouse Journal

By John Baker

The 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition was searching for the most feasible water route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. What quickly followed at the end of the Expedition was the dispersal of the journals, letters, artifacts, plant and animal specimens, and members of the Expedition across the United States and its new Louisiana Territory. In 1814, Nicholas Biddle needed the help of William Clark and George Shannon in his search for Expedition documents in preparing his edited narrative edition of the Lewis and Clark journals.

Elliott Coues' 1893 four-volume remake of the Biddle narrative also required a search for the Expedition journals. Coues (1842-1899) found the Lewis and Clark journals in the archives of the American Philosophical Society where they had lain undisturbed for seventy-four years. He not only found the journals but organized them into the Codex system still in use today. In an 1893 speech at the annual meeting of the American Philosophical Society, Coues explained the structure of the Codex system he had developed and closed his speech by stating, "If the actual texts of Lewis and Clark are ever published, they should be printed word for word, letter for letter, and point for point. This would make a wonderful book, and I am inclined to think it should be done."[1]

The Centennial Search

In 1901, the American Philosophical Society (APS), under the leadership of Secretary Issac Minis Hayes, decided to produce a new edition of the Lewis and Clark journals to coincide with the 100th anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition.[2] Perhaps remembering Elliott Coues' recommendation, the 1904 edition would be the first based on the actual words in the journals and not an edited narrative version.

Their first task was to select a reputable publisher. The APS selected Dodd, Mead & Company of New York and agreed to a royalty based on the sale price of the books. Their office in 1902 was on prestigious Fifth Avenue in New York City. Frank Dodd was the company contact for negotiations with Secretary Hays for the APS.[3] These negotiations proved to be contentious as new documents were located, and the publication was increased from the planned five volumes to eight volumes. Dodd Mead & Company had the responsibility for selecting and contracting with an editor. After a review of candidates, they selected Reuben Gold Thwaites (1853-1913), the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

At left: The original Journal of Private Joseph Whitehouse donated to the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, by Edward Everett Ayre who also donated the fair copy of Whitehouse's journal discovered in Sessler's Book Shop in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1966. Photo by Clay Jenkinson.

Reuben Gold Thwaites. Courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society.

In 1902, Thwaites was in his fifteenth year as Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He succeeded the noted historian Lyman Draper in 1887 and was slowly establishing his own reputation as a premier editor of western historical documents. His seventy-three volume *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* published from 1895 to 1901, the thirty-two volume *Early Western Travels,1748-1846*, a biography of Daniel Boone, and fifteen years as editor of the *Wisconsin Historical Society Review* are a few of the publications that contributed to his reputation as an outstanding editor.[4] He had also canoed 600 miles down the Rock, Fox, and Wisconsin rivers as part of his research, a more modest version of Lewis and Clark.[5] A significant concern when the publisher selected Reuben Thwaites was that he had never traveled to the western states and had not experienced the Lewis and Clark Trail, such as it was at the time.

Thwaites' first task when he started the editing process was to search for any and all documents that were associated with the Expedition. As the new edition was going to use the actual words written during the Expedition, he wanted

to gather all the original documents he possibly could. That search would produce significant new documents that would be incorporated in the eight-volume *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804-1806* published by Dodd, Mead & Company in 1904.[6]

Thwaites was aware that significant documents were still in the possession of William Clark's family. Julia Clark Voorhis was the daughter of William Clark's fourth son George Rogers Hancock Clark. Her daughter was Eleanor Voorhis. Thwaites met with Julia Clark Voorhis and Eleanor Voorhis in New York City to review the treasure chest of William Clark papers that included five notebooks, an orderly book, and over fifty maps, letters, field notes, and other Expedition items.[7] This Expedition material had never before been available to historians. Thwaites determined that much of the information he viewed in the Clark treasury was included in the journals and documents at the American Philosophical Society, but several items such as all the maps, letters, and the scientific information would be important for his new edition. Eleanor Voorhis was a tough negotiator requiring a percentage of the royalty for the use of the Clark material.[8] The outcome of negotiations with Dodd, Mead & Company and the American Philosophical Society was that she agreed on a percent of the royalties and retention of copyright to the Voorhis materials. Thwaites used more than fifty maps from the Voorhis papers to produce Volume 8 of the 1904 journals.

Thwaites was aware that Nicholas Biddle had used Sergeant John Ordway's journal in 1814 to produce his paraphrased narrative of the Expedition. Lewis and Clark had jointly purchased the journal from Ordway and Clark gave it to Nicholas Biddle for use in preparing the 1814 edition. Thwaites assumed Biddle had returned the Ordway journal to William Clark but was unable to find it among Clark's papers held by Julia Voorhis and Eleanor Voorhis. This was a great frustration to Thwaites, knowing as he did the importance of the Ordway journal, which included an entry for all 863 days of the Expedition.

Thwaites did not have to search far for the journal of Charles Floyd since it was already in the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Former Wisconsin Historical Society Secretary Lyman Draper had acquired Floyd's journal from the Floyd family during one of his document-hunting trips to Kentucky. Thwaites included the Floyd journal as part of Volume 7.

Thwaites was convinced his search for and use of the original documents in his edition of the journals represented a significant advancement. He wrote: "Not only are they much more extensive than the Biddle narrative, and the voluminous scientific data – in botany, zoology, meteorology, geology, astronomy and ethnology – an almost entirely new contribution; but we obtain from the men's notebooks, as written from day to day, a far more vivid picture of the explorers and their life than can be seen through the alembic of Biddle's impersonal condensation."[9]

Discovering the Joseph Whitehouse Journal

One of the significant outcomes of Thwaites' search for documents was the discovery of the original journal of Joseph Whitehouse, the only extant journal written by a private on the Expedition. Thwaites must have been excited when he learned that someone had attempted to sell the Whitehouse journal to the Library of Congress, but LOC Director Herbert Putnam declined to buy it. Thwaites wrote a letter on November 28, 1902, to the seller's representative Dudley Evans, President of the Wells Fargo Express Company, asking about the Whitehouse Journal.

Dudley Evans' letter of December 5, 1902, from San Francisco described the provenance and condition of the journal. He wrote that it belonged to Mrs. Gertrude Haley, who he said was now living in his family. He explained that she did not know anything about Whitehouse. She came into possession of the journal from a Italian priest by the name of Canon de Vivaldi who had receive it from Whitehouse on his deathbed about 1860. Vivaldi was ordered to Patagonia and during a temporary return to the United States, Mrs. Haley was in a position to render him some service. In return he gave her the Whitehouse journal which was on deposit with the New-York Historical Society for safe keeping.[10]

Evans stated that the previous spring he received the manuscript from the Library of Congress at his New York office. He described it as not over eight inches long by six inches wide and about one- and one-half inches thick. He wrote, "It is closely written in a small legible hand, and intelligently composed – kept evidently by a man fairly well informed for those times."[11] He said he re-wrapped it and placed it in his New York safe. Mrs. Haley was asking 500 dollars for this valuable relic of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Thwaites' reply on December 9, 1902, is interesting. He thanked Dudley Evans for the information and then said, "I am extremely busy just now in connection with the annual meeting of the Society but will look into the matter and correspond with you further concerning it."[12] In a June 30,

Canon De Vivaldi 1891 Buenos Aires. Archives of Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, St. Paul, Minnesota.

1903, letter to Olin D. Wheeler, who was also writing a book on Lewis and Clark, he stated that Dodd Mead & Company, through his negotiations, has succeeded in purchasing the Whitehouse journal. He added additional information about the journal and Mrs. Gertrude Haley. The letter defined Vivaldi as an Italian priest and stated that Mrs. Haley had loaned him money; the Canon owned a newspaper in Arkansas; and the journal had been kept in the Archives Department of the New-York Historical Society for twelve to fifteen years.[13]

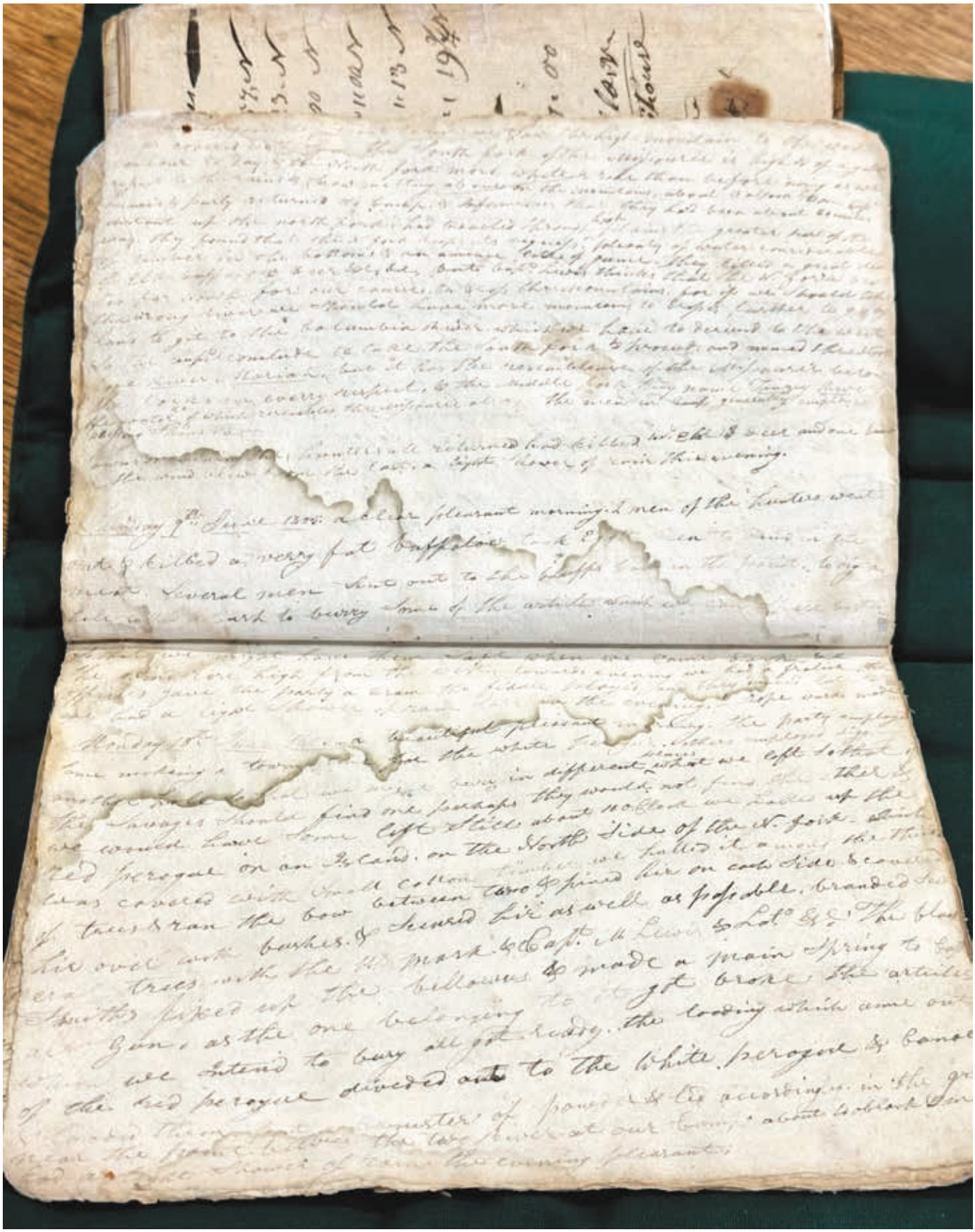
Thwaites had direct communication with Mrs. Haley, trying to learn more about the provenance of the journal. In a footnote in the introduction to Volume 1, Thwaites provided additional information on Mrs. Haley, which he had "gathered after a protracted correspondence with her."[14] She lived in San Francisco and was the widow of Captain John Haley. They had met Canon de Vivaldi at a hotel in Los Angeles at which they were both staying in 1893. Captain Haley gave him money, and in return Vivaldi gave them the journal then in the New-York Historical Society Archives. The Haleys obtained the journal from the New-York Historical Society in 1894. They consulted with the well-known California historian Hubert Bancroft who told them about its value and historical significance. They then tried to sell it to the Library of Congress.[15] Despite an extensive search of the Wisconsin Historical Society records, none of Thwaites' extensive correspondence with Mrs. Haley was found.

Thwaites' discovery of an important journal from the Lewis and Clark Expedition is also a story of how the paths of the Catholic priest Canon de Vivaldi, John and Gertrude Haley, and Dudley Evens crossed to finally bring to print the only extant journal by a private on the Expedition. The next sections will profile the lives of the three and how they may have intersected.

Canon de Vivaldi

There is no available information about the existence or location of Joseph Whitehouse after a February 1817 army record at Fort Pike, Sacketts Harbor, New York.[16] The letter from Gertrude Haley indicating that the Catholic priest Canon de Vivaldi provided the Sacrament of the Dying to Joseph Whitehouse on his deathbed generated hope that we might be able to locate Whitehouse. To find him will require reconstructing the location and movements of Canon de Vivaldi. He left an extensive record of activities and interactions in the United States and other countries, but this analysis will focus on the locations that could have involved Joseph Whitehouse.

Mission at Chubut, Argentina. Papers of Kenneth Boyd Tanner, Archives: Wisconsin Historical Society.



Whitehouse, June 9, 10, 1805. The stains and wear and tear indicate what a genuine field journal looks like. Photo by Clay Jenkinson.

Charles Albert Francis Jules de Vivaldi was born in Nice, Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, on January 12, 1824, the child of a family from the lesser nobility, his father a colonel in the Royal Army. He was ordained a priest at the Cathedral of Turin, Italy. His early life as a priest was at the Cathedral of St. Michael at Ventimiglia on the northwest coast of Italy. He acquired the title of Canon based on his responsibilities at the Cathedral.[17]

Vivaldi was an active supporter of the losing side during the 1848 revolutionary activities of the Italian Risorgimento and participated in the publication of an opposition newspaper that resulted in his expulsion from Italy, taking refuge in Lyon, France.[18] While in Lyon, he joined the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, one of the major mission societies of the Catholic Church.

Bishop Joseph Cretin, the first Bishop of the Diocese of St. Paul, Minnesota, was in Lyon at the Society recruiting priests to staff his new diocese in Minnesota. Canon de Vivaldi was one of the new priests he recruited. They left Le Harve, France, aboard the ship *SS Humboldt* on June 4, 1851, arriving at New York on June 17, 1851, and at St. Paul, Minnesota, on July 2, 1851.[19] This is the earliest date for an interaction with Joseph Whitehouse.

In August 1851, Vivaldi started his mission work at the Winnebago Indian reservation at Long Prairie, Minnesota, about fifty-five miles northwest of St. Cloud, Minnesota. During his stay at Long Prairie, he acquired forty acres of land which would become very important in 1892. Vivaldi remained at Long Prairie until 1854 when the Winnebago Reservation was moved to Blue Earth, Minnesota, in the southern part of the state. He had conflicts with Bishop Cretin about debt he had accrued at Long Prairie and his attempt to create a new order of nuns using women from the Winnebago tribe.[20] Although he did many good things at Long Prairie, the Bishop was not happy because of Vivaldi's debt and several unauthorized activities at the mission. Bishop Cretin sent him on a four-month trip east to the major cities to raise money for the new mission in May 1854. Available records have him stopping at St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Philadelphia and returning to Minnesota in August 1854.[21]

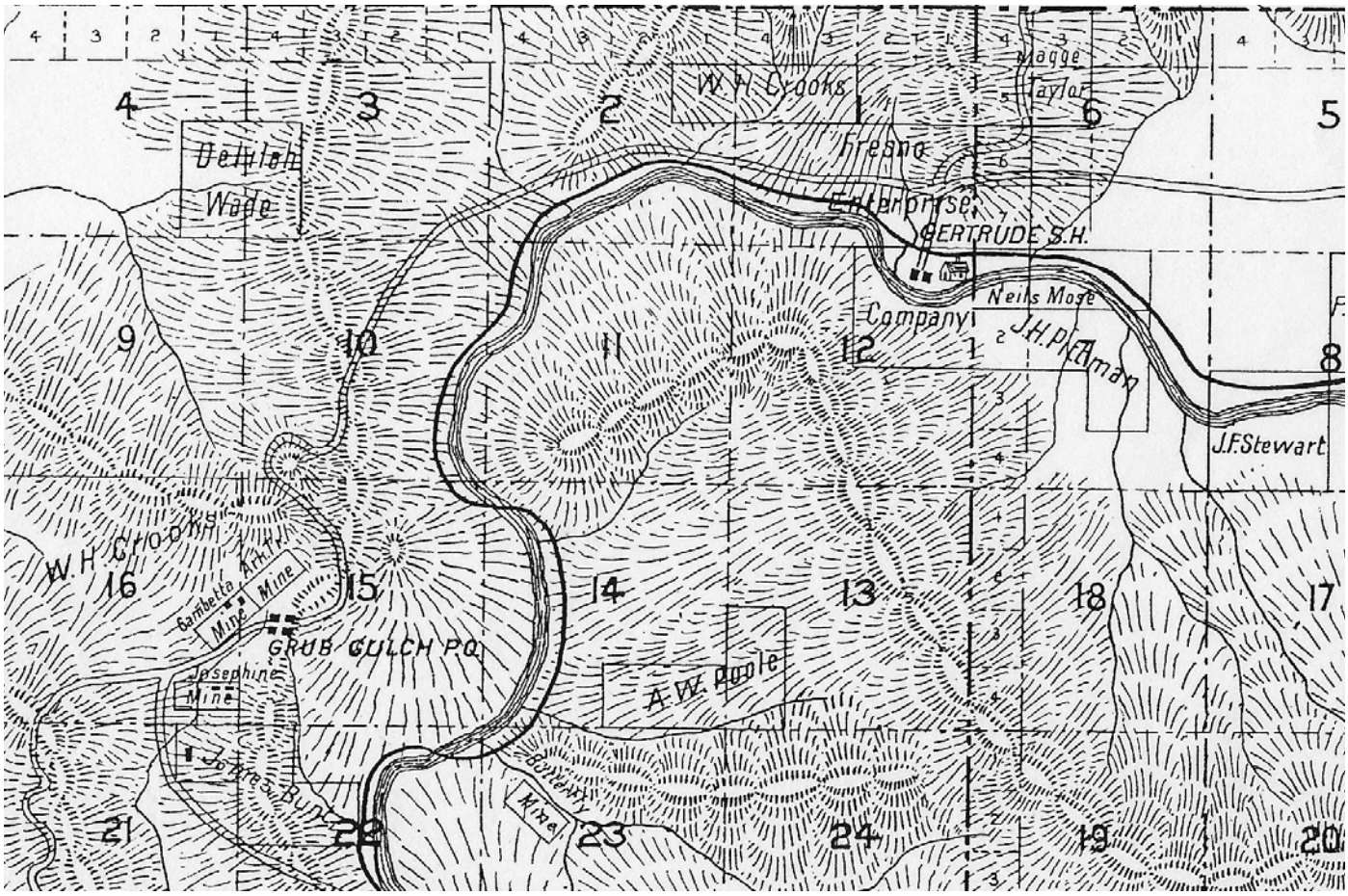
With the move to Blue Earth in 1856, Father de Vivaldi was again in trouble with Bishop Cretin. He advertised in the January 10, 1856, edition of *The Pilot*, the official newspaper of the Archdiocese of Boston, the creation of a new town called Piopolus named for Pope Pius IX on Lake Elysian near Mankato, Minnesota, which he said would be a haven for the persecuted Irish from New England.[22] When several Irish families arrived after travelling hundreds of miles, they found only a hut, woods, and swamps.[23]

In May 1856, Vivaldi made a trip to New Orleans to raise money for the Blue Earth mission.[24] When he returned from New Orleans, he transferred to the Diocese of Milwaukee under Bishop John Henni. He spent time in Milwaukee and Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, on his way to his new assignment starting June 17, 1856, as pastor of St. Mary's Church in Platteville, Wisconsin, which also served mission churches in Cassville and Potosi, Wisconsin. His next assignment in October 1857 was as Pastor of St. John the Evangelist Parish in Green Bay, Wisconsin, which also served De Pere and Oconto, Wisconsin. Bishop Henni discharged him as pastor at Green Bay on May 24, 1858.[25] Canon de Vivaldi left the Catholic Church and two months later in Green Bay married the widow Mary Lawe Meade on July 15, 1858.[26] The couple left for New York City the next day.

Vivaldi had during his time in Green Bay acquired 320 acres at Little Sturgeon Bay in Door County, Wisconsin, perhaps using the money he had collected on the New Orleans trip.[27] This would have been the site of another new town modeled after Piopolus at Blue Earth, Minnesota.

If Canon de Vivaldi had administered the last rites to Joseph Whitehouse, it had to have been between July 1851 and May 24, 1858, when he was still an active parish priest. With Vivaldi's time in Minnesota and Wisconsin, plus his travels east and south to raise money, there are many possible sites for him to have met Whitehouse. To date, all attempts to find a record of Joseph Whitehouse at these possible sites have been unsuccessful.

The story of Canon de Vivaldi between 1858 and his interaction with John and Gertrude Haley in 1892 reflects one description of him as a man with "impetuous zeal which he never learned to regulate."[28] The newly married couple stayed in New York for a short time where Vivaldi worked as a writer for the *New York Daily Express* newspaper. He was offered an opportunity to become the owner and publisher of a startup newspaper in the growing town of Manhattan, Kansas, and may have used his experience with the newspaper in Italy as part of his resume. The offer also included the purchase of thirty lots in Manhattan.[29] On the way to Manhattan, his daughter Corinne was born in Wyandotte City (Kansas City) on April 18, 1859. Vivaldi purchased a Hoe Printing Press for Manhattan, Kansas. Robert Hoe, whose



Fresno County Map/Enterprise Mine/Gertrude/Gambetta Mine 1891 – Thomas H. Thompson Atlas of Fresno County, 1891. Public Domain.

company in 1859 was the largest manufacturer of printing presses, was the uncle of Robert Dodd and Edward Mead of Dodd, Mead & Company on whose Hoe press the Whitehouse journal would be printed forty-five years later.

Now known as Charles F. de Vivaldi, he started publication of *The Kansas Express* in March 1859. On August 20, 1859, he advertised for people to subscribe to the paper with the inducement that the subscription would allow them to read the serialized edition of the Joseph Whitehouse journal.[30] This is the first confirmation that Vivaldi actually had the original Whitehouse journal and was ready to print it in his newspaper. If he had printed it, it would have been the first printing of the Whitehouse journal.

Vivaldi became active in Manhattan and Kansas Territory politics and was elected mayor of Manhattan in 1860. His republican free-state paper supported Abraham Lincoln which led to his appointment on August 7, 1861, as Consul to the Port of Santos, Brazil.[31] During his trip to New York for the move to Brazil, he deposited the Whitehouse journal with the New-York Historical Society. Vivaldi arrived in Santos in December 1861 and served as Consul until the U.S. government closed the consulate in April 1870.

He then moved to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where he developed several business ventures importing machinery and merchandise from the United States. He also published an English- language newspaper, the *American Mail*, with the first issue on December 25, 1873, and a popular weekly illustrated magazine, *Illustracao do Brazil*.[32] His daughter Corinne became a writer and editor and worked on the paper.

In 1883, Vivaldi decided to return to the priesthood. Letters confirm he made the decision with the full knowledge of his wife, but she did not tell their daughter who had married Jose de Visconti Coaracy in 1880; they had a son Vivaldo in 1882.[33] Vivaldi moved to a Salesian Order Monastery in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in January 1883, did his penance for a year, and returned to the priesthood on March 8, 1884. The Salesian Order assigned him to an Indian mission at Chubut, Patagonia, in a remote part of Argentina. His wife Mary Lawe de Vivaldi died July 5, 1885, at Rio De Janeiro.

In 1890, his daughter Corinne, who had not heard from him in six years, learned he was in Patagonia and began correspondence with him. In their letters they discussed the land he and his wife owned in various states. Corinne started the process of selling and recovering real estate in Kansas, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. She went to the United States in 1890 and one of her efforts was an attempt to recover the forty acres of valuable property in St. Cloud, Minnesota, but she lost the case.[34]

In 1891, Vivaldi left Argentina and went to Rome to visit Pope Leo XIII in a very bold attempt to receive an appointment as Vicar Apostolic (Bishop) of Chubut, another example of his "impetuous zeal." The request was denied by the Pope since this was a position already held by the Salesian Order in Argentina who opposed his request.[35] In Rome, he met Bishop John Ireland from St. Paul, Minnesota, who was a successor to Bishop John Cretin. As a young man, Ireland had met Vivaldi in St. Paul in the 1850s. Bishop Ireland told him about his daughter Corinne Coaracy's losing the land case in St. Cloud.[36]

In April 1892, Vivaldi left France aboard the ship *SS Veendam*, arriving in New York City on April 28, 1892.[37] The people in St. Cloud, Minnesota, were quite surprised when Canon de Vivaldi appeared in the town on May 23, 1892, with attorneys seeking to recover the forty valuable acres from Mr. H. C. Waite.[38] The judge did not find any merit in his case and ruled on July 6 that the defendant Mr. Waite had a valid deed. Canon de Vivaldi left Minnesota after visiting friends in St. Paul. An incredibly sad part of this story is that his only daughter Corinne had been in Green Bay, Wisconsin, in late 1891 with a land case involving her mother's property, and on her way home to Brazil she died in Thibodaux, Louisiana, on March 24, 1892.[39] Father and daughter never met again.

If Reuben Thwaites' footnotes are correct, Vivaldi was on his return trip to the mission in Argentina when he met John and Gertrude Haley at a hotel in Los Angeles in the summer of 1892. Evans' letter said 1893, but Vivaldi was in the U.S. in 1892. As a writer, editor, and newspaper owner, Vivaldi may have had a special feeling about the historical significance of the Whitehouse journal and trusted the Haleys to keep it safe.

Thwaites most likely had no information that the original journal had almost been published in *The Kansas Express* in 1859. He would have been very surprised to learn that fifty-two years after he published the original Whitehouse journal, an edited version of the manuscript was unexpectedly located in a Philadelphia bookstore in 1966. It is unlikely that he knew that this edited version was almost published by the *August Herald* in Augusta, Georgia, in 1808.[40] It would not be until 1997 that Gary Moulton would combine the original and edited Whitehouse journals into one volume.

John and Gertrude Haley

It took millions of years for geological forces to deposit gold in the Sierra Nevada and other mountains in California. The discovery of these deposits in 1848 created an immigration of thousands of people from across the globe, ready to make their fortune mining for gold. John Haley from Canada and his wife Gertrude Haley from England would become significant participants in the gold mines of California.

The family footprint of the 1838 Canadian birth of John Haley to parents from Ireland could not be determined, but the 1880 census records have his naturalization as a U.S. citizen in 1869 at New York City.[41] He is frequently referred to as Captain Haley, but no military or naval record for this title was found.

Gertrude Haley was born on October 25, 1850, to John Standford Williams and Susan Dorothy (nee Webber) Williams, the fifth of seven children, at Marleybone, London, England.[42] Her official birth name was Susan Gertrude Williams. John Haley (age 34) and Gertrude (age 22) married on August 3, 1872, at Marleybone.[43] John Haley was a partner with London investors in California gold mines. The Haleys left for California shortly after the wedding.

The next available record from January 1873 has John Haley as Superintendent of Mines for the Holcomb Valley Mining Company.[44] Holcomb Valley is in the San Bernadino Mountains of southern California. This area was a major site of both placer and quartz gold mining after gold was discovered there in 1860. The Holcomb Mining Company had over 100 people working at their mines. They were mining quartz and had erected a stamp mill to reduce the quartz. John Haley was one of the organizers of the company and maintained a residence at Tenth and Charity streets in Los Angeles.[45] In 1876, he obtained an additional $100,000 from a London investor for new machinery to process the quartz.[46]

John Haley made regular trips to San Francisco in the 1870s, always staying at the Palace Hotel. Those visits resulted in the establishment of the Fresno Enterprise Mining Company headed by John Haley with several stockholders with offices

Postcard ca. 1902 of the Arcadia Hotel, Santa Monica, California. Courtesy Werner von Boltenstern Postcard Collection/William H. Hannon Library.

in San Francisco. In 1878, Judge James Grant, who had purchased the Enterprise Mine in an area known as Fresno Flats in Fresno County (now Madera County), had made a good return on his investment and sold the Enterprise Mine to John Haley and the Fresno Enterprise Mining Company of San Francisco. The mine had been profitable for several years under Judge Grant's ownership, but the yield was decreasing. When Haley purchased the mine, he dug another shaft exposing a new vein of quartz with significant gold. By 1880, the mine employed thirty people and was very profitable.[47]

It was common for a boomtown to develop around a profitable gold-mining location. The area of the Enterprise Mine was first called Stringtown, but with the success of the Enterprise Mine and other local mines, the town experienced rapid growth. John Haley changed the town name to Gertrude in honor of his wife. Gertrude Haley became the first postmistress of the town, receiving her appointment on September 28, 1881.[48] She served in that position for six months. The town's population was large enough to erect its own school in 1878 called the Gertrude School.

In 1879, John and Gertrude Haley moved from Gertrude to the community of Crane Valley (later Bear Lake) in Fresno County.[49] The Enterprise Mine continued to be profitable, and new shafts and improvement in the machinery were made. One problem they faced was a consistent supply of water to run the steam generators and to wash the ore after it had been crushed. Fresno County was a major area for logging and the lumber companies were diverting water from the Fresno River to operate the flume that brought lumber down the mountains to the sawmills.[50]

In 1882, John Haley had purchased and filed a land patent to expand the Gambetta Mine, also called the Arkansas Traveler, in the area called Grub Gulch, three miles south of the Enterprise Mine.[51] He continued to oversee the Enterprise and Gambetta mines which remained profitable during the 1880s and 1890s. He was also developing new opportunities in Holcomb Valley, California.[52]

The Haleys disposed of some of their property in Los Angeles but stayed in the city. The voter registration records of Los Angeles for 1892 and 1893 list Haley's residence as the Arcadia Hotel in Santa Monica.[53] This beachfront hotel, one of the top resort hotels in California in 1892, is the most likely place where they met Canon de Vivaldi when he was in California in the summer of 1892 on his return trip to his mission in Argentina. Thwaites' footnote states the Haleys met him at a hotel in Los Angeles.

In September 1893, Haley sold a major interest in the Gambetta Mine to an English company. He continued with the mine and also retained ownership in other Fresno County mines. His domestic situation was apparently in conflict over in the next few years, resulting in divorce in February 1898. In January 1897, Gertrude sold her property in Los Angeles for $12,000.[54]

John Haley moved to San Francisco in 1899 and continued with his mining-business activities. Gertrude Haley

Gertrude Haley Gravestone - Cypress Lawn Cemetery, Colma, California. Courtesy of John Baker.

moved to San Carlos, south of San Francisco, where she found employment with the Southern Pacific Railroad Company as a clerk. John Haley died in 1902, and Gertrude Haley died in 1913. Both are buried at Cypress Lawn Cemetery in Colma, south of San Francisco.

Dudley Evans

Dudley Evans was Gertrude Haley's agent for the sale of the Whitehouse journal. He was one of only a few people who had read the journal since 1806. Evans was born in Morgantown, Virginia (now West Virginia), in 1838. He attended Monongahela Academy and at age 15 enrolled in Washington College in Washington, Pennsylvania (now Washington and Jefferson College), graduating in 1859. His first job was as a schoolteacher in Tallulah, Louisiana. At the start of the Civil War, he enrolled in the Confederate Army, joining the 1st Virginia Infantry. He fought in the Battle of the Seven Pines in 1862 and was then promoted to captain. After the 1864 campaign in the Valley of Virginia, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in command of Company A of the 20th Virginia Cavalry. Captured near the end of the war, Evans spent time in the Union prison at Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio.[55]

After the war, he wrote a fellow southerner John Valentine who was at the time general superintendent of the Wells Fargo Express Company in San Francisco about opportunities in California. He was hired by Wells Fargo and in 1866 was working in San Francisco as a bookkeeper for the company. His first major assignment was as the agent in charge of the operations at Victoria, British Columbia. After success in Victoria, he was appointed manager of the Portland, Oregon Territory, office where he eventually became the Superintendent of the Northwestern Division. He married Nellie Seelye from St. George, Charlotte, New Brunswick, Canada, on September 17, 1878, in Chicago. Their three children would be born in Portland, Oregon Territory. Nellie Evans would become a well-known poet.

Evans' career advanced rapidly: he became superintendent of the Omaha office, then Kansas City, and eventually moved to the headquarters in New York City.[56] During his early years, Dudley Evans was responsible for moving people, mail, and goods across the northwestern United States, the same territory first explored by Lewis and Clark. Seventy years after Lewis and Clark, Thomas Jefferson's hope for commerce in the new Louisiana Territory was being implemented by Dudley Evans and others.

Wells, Fargo President Dudley Evans, agent for the sale of Gertrude Haley's Whitehouse journal to Dodd, Mead & Company. Courtesy Wells, Fargo and Company.

In 1902, Evans was appointed president of Wells Fargo after the death of then President John Valentine. Wells Fargo Express Company in California was known as a trusted place for miners to exchange their gold or have it transported. They had established offices in several locations in the Sierra Nevada Mountains to serve the miners. John Haley may have been a regular customer of Wells Fargo and interacted with Dudley Evans when doing business. There may have also been a connection between John Haley from Canada and Dudley Evans' wife Nellie Seelye Evans who was also from Canada. During the 1902 negotiations with Reuben Thwaites, Dudley Evans stated that Gertrude Haley was living in his family. Although the letter is addressed from San Francisco, the Evans home for many years had been in Englewood, New Jersey, across the Hudson River from New York City.

Postscript

The expectation is that Canon de Vivaldi would return in July 1892 to his Indian mission in Chubut, Argentina, with the money provided to him by the Haleys. However, a letter dated August 22, 1892, that Vivaldi sent from the Convent of Franciscan Friars, Trenton, New Jersey, to Bishop John Ireland at St. Paul, Minnesota, said he would be returning to Rome in a few days.[57] He most likely used the Haley money to buy a train ticket from Los Angeles to New York and a voyage to Rome.

On February 2, 1897, Vivaldi sent a letter from Rome to Bishop Ireland at St. Paul requesting a position as a pastor in a country parish in Minnesota.[58] In December 1897, he sent another letter to Bishop Ireland in which he describes being in an Italian jail at Regina Colli for two months for bad debts and that he was now in Paris hoping to find employment.[59] A priest from Minnesota studying in France in 1911 met a Catholic seminarian Joseph Courtade who had been a social worker in Paris and met Father de Vivaldi in 1901. He described Vivaldi as living in poverty and saying mass for the Sisters of Saint Thomas of Villanova. In describing his meeting with Vivaldi, he said, "He had the air of a distinguished person. He was old but one could still call him handsome. His clothes were threadbare, but he still wore them well. In fact, it was almost suave the way he wore them … almost like a courtier to be exact. There was something in his bearing despite his difficult steps, in fact something about his entire person which clashed with the grim, almost lurid circumstances under which I found him. Taking the situation at a glance; that is, fitting him into the sight which met my eyes just then, I felt that priest or no priest, here I had encountered a real man, 'un homme chic,' a Nobel man, but at the same time a broken man."[60] Joseph Courtade, the social worker who knew Bishop Ireland, wrote to him in 1901 that Vivaldi was living in poverty and the Bishop sent Vivaldi money. Canon de Vivaldi died on January 15, 1902, at age 78 and is buried in an unmarked grave in Paris. The man with "impetuous zeal which he never learned to regulate," who had so many opportunities to succeed, in the end died alone and in poverty.

Reuben Thwaites' search for original documents can be considered a successful effort, especially as he sold the original Whitehouse journal to Chicago book collector Edward Everett Ayer who donated it to Chicago's Newberry Library. Thwaites did not, however, locate all the Lewis and Clark documents. It would be another eighty years before Gary Moulton would begin his search and start a twenty-year effort to edit the next version of the Lewis and Clark journals.[61] He had a major challenge in his search to include all the new information gathered since Thwaites' discovery and to find all the Lewis and Clark sites based on their current name and location. His thirteen volumes would also include the edited fair copy of the Whitehouse journal located in Sessler's Bookstore in Philadelphia in 1966,[62] which now also resides in the Newberry Library. Both volumes extend our knowledge about the Expedition as it was experienced by Private Joseph Whitehouse. Like Thwaites, Gary Moulton's search efforts may not be the end. If we keep searching, we may find new documents, artifacts, or journals that could add to the Lewis and Clark story. ∎

John Baker joined LCTA in 2001. He is a retired Professor of Health Policy and Management at the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences. He lives in Conway, Arkansas, with his wife Patricia, rescue dog Annie, two married daughters, and four grandchildren.

Lewis and Clark students Dennis McKenna of Santa Fe and Russ Eagle of Salisbury, North Carolina, examine the Whitehouse journal at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Photo by Clay Jenkinson.

WPO Editor Clay Jenkinson admires the aesthetics of the field-tested leather binding of the Whitehouse journal at Newberry Library, June 2024 . Photo by Dennis McKenna.

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My Lewis and Clark Trail Travel Plans and My Request for Your Help

My friends,

Beginning about May 1, 2025, I will be following the entire Lewis and Clark Trail from Monticello in Virginia to Astoria in Oregon, and back again, at least as far as Lewis' grave in Hohenwald, Tennessee. I'll be pulling a twenty-three-foot Airstream trailer. My plan is to be on the road through the entire summer. This is part of a five-year initiative I've undertaken for Listening to America (LTAmerica.org).

My journey is a personal quest, not funded in any way by the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance. Although I have canoed parts of the trail, flown over several states' segments in Cessna airplanes, viewed the White Cliffs from a helicopter, hiked through the Bitterroots, ridden horse three times in the Bitterroots, and driven from St. Louis to Astoria several times along the Trail, I have never driven (as Stephen Ambrose put it and Kathrine Lee Bates before him) from "sea to shining sea." I could not be more excited!

I need and want your help. My plan is to visit every Lewis and Clark interpretive center from Charlottesville to Fort Clatsop, and every more general museum or interpretive center with significant Lewis and Clark exhibits. Ideally, I would give talks at as many of them as would wish for that.

I want to visit every possible Lewis and Clark site in all the states along the way. I don't know where they all are: houses, taverns, reconstructed forts, campsites, etc. This includes Blennerhassett Island and Big Bone Lick on the Ohio River; the Illinois forts from which the captains recruited their men; a myriad of sites up and down the Missouri River; ditto on the Lochsa, Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia rivers.

My plan is to take many thousands of photographs along the way. Among other things I am wanting to build up an archive of high-resolution Expedition-related photographs for WPO, so that we always have images for any article we may publish. I need your help in determining the best places to photograph.

And I want to interview (on audio and video) Lewis and Clark scholars, artists, experts, and adventurers along the way. Your suggestions will be much appreciated.

Many of you know semi-hidden places and sites related to the Expedition. If possible, I would very gladly meet you to explore these places.

I plan to get "on the water" on each of the major rivers, perhaps for only an afternoon or a full day: the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Missouri of course, the Clearwater, the Snake, the Columbia; and then the Marias and the Yellowstone on the return journey. Perhaps you have suggestions about that.

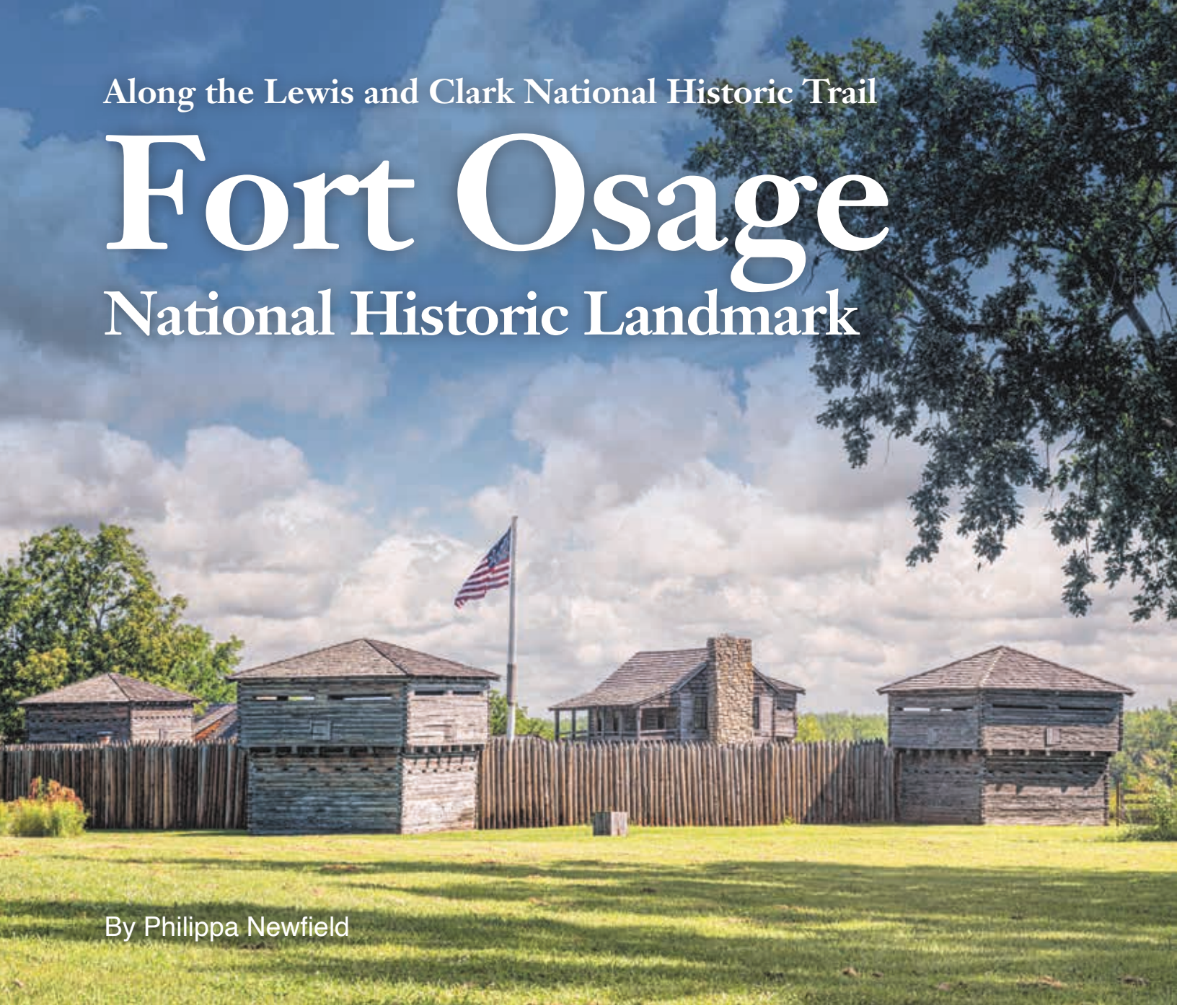
If my journey interests and you want to help make it successful, I will be most grateful. You can write to me at clayjenkinson2010@gmail.com. Please put **"YOUR JOURNEY"** in the subject line so that I don't accidentally miss your email.

The journey will culminate in several major writing projects and – no doubt – articles in WPO.

Clay Jenkinson

Along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail

Fort Osage
National Historic Landmark



By Philippa Newfield

Fort Osage, a National Historic Landmark on the Missouri River in Sibley, Missouri,was originally established by William Clark in 1808 through a treaty he negotiated - his first - with the Osage Nation. All images courtesy of Missouri State Parks.

High above the Missouri River in Sibley, Missouri, stands Fort Osage, the military outpost and government trading factory established in 1808 under the direction of William Clark and Captain Eli B. Clemson. The Corps of Discovery first passed through the area on June 23, 1804, although no mention regarding the site's suitability as a fort was noted in Clark's original journal entry for that date.[1] At the time, Clark had only documented an island that was then across the river from the later site of Fort Osage. However, when he returned in 1808 as a Brigadier General of the Militia in Upper Louisiana and U.S. Agent for Indian Affairs, Clark referenced his initial undocumented impression of the location, writing on September 5 that he "examined the Situation and the points of a small Island which is opposit, found the River could be completely defended and Situation elegant, this Situation I had examined in the year 1804 and was delighted with it and am equally so now, ordered the Boats to be unloaded and the tools got ready for work, and fixed on the spot for the fort and other buildings. . . ."[2]

The buildings at Fort Osage National Historic Landmark were reconstructed to render the fort as it appeared in 1812 from plans of other forts of the same era. The location of the buildings was determined by archaeologic excavation of their foundations.

Nicholas Biddle, in preparing the Expedition journals for publication, visited with Clark in Virginia in 1810 and made notes in two volumes of the Lewis and Clark journals (now at the American Philosophical Society) that are included in Donald Jackson's *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*.[3] Based on information provided by Clark at this time, Biddle's notes show that he revised Clark's original June 23, 1804, entry, which had not mentioned the narrowed channel, the high ground, or a fort, to read "This little island is separated from the northern bank of the Missi. by a narrow channel which cannot be passed in boats being choked by trees &c. which have been deposited by the stream. Directly opposite to it on the southern shore of the river is a high commanding position 95 feet high, 72 above high water mark which overlooks the river which is here very narrow. The situation is highly favorable for a military position – and a post for trading with the Indians." The Biddle edition of the Journals, published in 1814, revised the note for June 23, 1804, to read: "Directly opposite on the south, is a high commanding position, more than seventy feet above high-water mark, and overlooking the river, which is here but of little width; this spot has many advantages for a fort, and trading house with the Indians.*" The asterisk indicates a note at the bottom of the page: "The United States built in September, 1808, a factory and fort at this spot which is very convenient for trading with the Osages, Ayauways, and Kansas."[4]

Clark was involved in negotiations for the treaty of 1808 with the Osages which made an area available for the fort's construction. The Osage tribe agreed to relinquish 200 square miles of land between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers in exchange for peaceful trade relations and protection from enemy tribes. They were granted an annuity of $1,000 for the Great Osages and $500 for the Little Osages, access to a blacksmith shop and smith, a mill, some plows,

Fort Osage NationalHistoric Landmark, the fort established by William Clark in 1808 as a military outpost and trading house, occupies a strategic location above the Missouri River in Sibley, Missouri.

and a house for each of the two great chiefs. The federal government said it would maintain a permanent trading post for the Osages. The treaty was officially "between Pierre Chouteau, esquire, agent for the Osage, and specially commissioned and instructed to enter into the same by his excellency Meriwether Lewis, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory [of Louisiana], in behalf of the United States of America, of the one part, and the chiefs and warriors of the Great and Little Osage, for themselves and their nations respectively, on the other part."[5]

The mission of Fort Osage was to provide a military presence to protect the newly acquired Louisiana Territory and maintain the political stability of that part of the new territory through trading and military alliances with the local tribes, especially the Osages. The fort housed soldiers and the United States Factory Trade House (trading post) to encourage the Osages to settle nearby for economic benefits. The fort also offered Missouri's first Euro-American residents a safe place from which to proceed farther west.

The design of Fort Osage reflects its combined function

Staff and volunteer interpreters at Fort Osage National Historic Landmark demonstrate woodworking skills of yore. The fort has a robust program dedicated to enriching the experience of student groups and other visitors. The Fort Osage Education Center offers exhibits and programming to visitors and student groups.

as military garrison and trade center. The fort's current buildings are reproductions of the original structures that were rebuilt according to documentation from plans of similar forts preserved in the War Department as well as Clark's detailed drawings. Builders used original features identified by the archaeological excavations as foundations.

George Sibley[6] developed strong trading ties with the Osages, keeping track of the monetary value of the exchanges in his capacity as the fort's "factor." The Factory, housed in a three-and-one-half story trade house in the French Colonial architectural style, was one of the few operated by the U.S. government that did not lose money.

Private traders, however, were angry that they had to compete with the government for trade as the government traders frequently undersold and outbid them. The private traders lobbied Congress to end the Factory System in favor of private entrepreneurs whose business was regulated by the trade and intercourse laws. The lobbying efforts succeeded, and a law was passed on May 6, 1822,[7] as described by President James Monroe in his sixth Annual Message,[8] abolishing the Factory System. Fort Osage was abandoned in 1827 when the government stopped trading and the military moved up the Missouri River to Fort Leavenworth in present-day Kansas as pioneers moved farther west.

The fort deteriorated until an article published in *The Kansas City Star* in 1908 led to a protracted effort to reclaim the fort, which became a county park in 1941.[9] That same year, Jackson County, with the support of the Native Sons of Kansas City and other local organizations, undertook to locate and reconstruct the fort as it appeared around 1812. This was accomplished through research conducted by George Fuller Green, architect for the construction, and James Allen, historian for the Native Sons, into the history of the fort and archaeology of the area. Blockhouse No. 1 was dedicated in September 1948. The Factory building and the remaining four blockhouses, officers' quarters, soldiers' barracks, and surrounding log stockade were completed in the 1950s and 1960s.

Fort Osage became a National Historic Landmark in 1961. The fort is also listed on the National Register of Historic Places as an archaeological district because of nearby Hopewell and Osage Indian sites. The National Park Service designated Fort Osage a certified site along the Lewis and Clark and Santa Fe National Historic trails. The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail also identified Fort Osage as a high-potential historic site,[10] the designation for "those historic sites related to the route … which provide the opportunity to interpret the historic significance of the trail during the period of its major use" as per the National Trails System Act of 1968 amended in 2023.[11]

Staff and volunteer interpreters in period dress offer the fort's visitors insight into the daily life of the military and civilian population at Fort Osage as it might have been in 1812. An annotated building guide is also available at the fort. The Fort Osage Education Center, opened in 2007, offers interpretive exhibits and educational programming to visitors and student groups. The building was designed and constructed to meet the environmental standards established by the United States Green Building Council's LEED Program.

Fort Osage National Historic Landmark, administered by the Jackson County Park + Rec's Historic Sites Division, is located at 107 Osage Street in Sibley, Missouri 64088. Open year round, the hours are Tuesday to Sunday, 9:00 AM to 4:30 PM. Admission: adults $8.00; seniors (62 and older) $4.00; youth (5-13) $4.00; under 5 free. Phone 816-650-3278 or visit https://fortosagenhs.com ∎

Philippa Newfield, past president of the LCTHF and co-editor of the LCTHF's newsletter The Orderly Report, *has traveled the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail from Pittsburgh to the Pacific and is dedicated to encouraging people to, in the words of James Ronda, "get out of the river" and explore all that the Trail and the people living along it have to offer us.*

Notes

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11. www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-1727/pdf/COMPS-1727.pdf. As stated in the National Trails System Act of 1968 amended in 2023, 19: "To qualify as a national historic trail, a trail must meet all three…criteria: (A) It must be a trail established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. (B) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history…To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant to the history of native [sic] Americans may be included. (C) It must have significant potential for public…historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater…at historic sites associated with the trail."

Donor Roll

In Honor of Jerry B. Garrett
Jeff McElroy

In Honor of Kathryn Schaefer
Ellen Chociej

In Honor of LuAnn Hunter
Jerry B. Garrett

In Honor of Mimi Jackson
Jerry B. Garrett

In Honor of Patti Malvern-Frick
Jerry B. Garrett

In Honor of Richard Hunt
Philippa Newfield

In Memory of Charles "Rock Chuck" Knowles
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In Memory of Charles "Wes" Clizer
John W. Fisher

In Memory of Ellie McClure
Robert P. Guard
John W. Fisher

In Memory of Gerald Lloyd Boullester
Gerald Boullester

In Memory of Judith Ann Laughrun
Steve Laughrun

In Memory of Tom Strauss
Deb and Rich Hall-Reppen

Donations to the Lewis and Clark Trail Alliance to honor individuals, activities, or the memory of a friend, family member, or colleague are deeply appreciated, and may be designated for the alliance's general fund or earmarked for a particular purpose.

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

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor,

I read with interest the November 2024 article entitled, "State of the Trail: Violent Winds in the Bitterroot Mountains." I have a few thoughts about this issue.

The Forest Service has not maintained the Wendover Ridge trail since the Bicentennial. I camped at Wendover Campground in July 2023 and went looking for the trail during an evening of light rain. I could not find it in the overgrowth of small fir trees. I did find the trail from Powell built down river for the Bicentennial.

The whole state of the Lolo Trail has been going downhill since the Bicentennial, and it's gotten worse recently. I feel like the Lone Ranger riding into the sunset and no one cares about what is being lost.

The 1987 Clearwater National Forest plan called for a riding and hiking trail across the mountains from Musselshell Meadows on the west edge of the forest to Lolo Pass and by inference on the Lolo National Forest down to the trailhead at Lolo Campground just above the Hot Springs. That meets the 100-mile goal in the National Historic Trails Act. The agency held several volunteer work weekends trying to get the trail reopened in the late 1980s and 1990s. But by 2005 there were still forty miles of trail closed by downed trees and brush, mostly between Saddle Camp and Packer Meadows. In most places the trail exists, but is just covered with ninety years of downed trees. When you add in the side trails like Wendover Ridge there is a lot more to maintain.

The Nez Perce Tribe has reopened two pieces of trail, Saddle Camp to Howard Camp (about two miles) and another two or three miles from Moon Saddle to Indian Post Office. But today, most of the Lolo Trail has been abandoned, and winter storm damage, especially hard spring winds, can completely close trails the next summer.

The Idaho Chapter was always very interested in the Lolo Trail, which is what attracted me when I joined, so when I became Chapter President in 2007 we continued that interest with chapter tours, camp outs, and talks at chapter meetings. In 2009 we started the twenty-five-person Lolo Work Week, which maintained thirty-five miles of trail each year. The Forest Service loved it because twenty-five people x eight hours per day x seven days + miscellaneous hours x the Federal Minimum Wage = about $35,000 of donated work the agency could show Congress.

But our program died with Covid. Last summer I convinced the Idaho Trails Association to do a work party and promised to be a guide and provide historical info. They came with ten people but no chain saws. Two of us "Clarkies" met them and helped get them oriented and tried to add some history. We did get the Smoking Place trail cleared when we two "Clarkies" got out our chain saws and cut the 175 trees that were down on the three miles of trail.

Twenty-five years ago, the Clearwater National Forest started to revise the forest plan. I tried to bring the plan to the attention of LCTHF (now Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance) leadership and was told that I should stay involved and keep them informed. This was hard to do with our revolving-door leadership system. Concerned about trail stewardship, I commented to the forest plan people about the existing trail condition and stayed involved with the many stages of the plan. Of historically minded people, only I and the Idaho Governor's Lewis and Clark Committee participated in the last fifteen years of planning. They dropped out at the time of the final plan, which was published in October 2023 with comments due in January 2024, followed by three days of Zoom

A large tree, blown over in the wind storm on Wendover Ridge, and others similarly affected, have made this stretch of the Lolo Trail virtually impassible. Courtesy of Clay Jenkinson.

meetings in May. I spent at least 100 hours dealing with the plan in the last year alone, and all without achieving any positive results.

More importantly, Forest Service personnel changes and budget changes demonstrated a decline in agency interest in maintaining the trail as available for the American public's use. The 1987 plan called for the traditional "Lolo Trail" across the mountains to represent the two National Historic Trails: the Lewis and Clark and the Nez Perce 1877 War Trail which used adjacent routes. A few years ago, a weeklong "Recreation Review team" visited the forest. The team was led by the Chief of Recreation from the Regional office. The Forest invited the Chapter to attend one day and show our support for their program. During that day the recreation officer refused to even talk about the trail. I believe they fear the cost. To do it right would take an annual budget of at least $100,000 (or more) just for trail work. Probably it would cost a half million to reopen the trail blocked by ninety years of downed trees. Under the existing budget the agency can't maintain the trails they have, so the idea of adding 100 miles of new and very expensive trail is not something they are willing to consider. Unless the public becomes interested, we are going to lose the trail as something that our young people can follow and gain insight into our history.

Last summer LCTA's Chief Executive Officer Richard Hunt visited the Idaho Chapter in Lewiston, Idaho, and we talked about the whole Lolo Trail system. He is looking for a project that the Alliance might highlight. I tried to write an enlightened document to make people excited to join us. However, a lifetime of working in a bureaucracy did not make me an exciting writer. I did come up with some descriptions and goals in four pages of "stuff." I then sent it to the Idaho State Historian, and to several members of the Idaho Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee asking for comments and ideas. To date I've received nothing back. As a person who spent forty years in an agency, I know having strong and visible public support for agency programs is very important. In my view the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance is dropping the proverbial ball. ∎

Chuck Raddon
Idaho Chapter
Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance

Editor's Note:

On December 19, 2024, the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance Board of Directors approved a trail stewardship grant of $7,500 to Wayne Fairchild of Lewis and Clark Trail Adventures in Montana. Although this is not nearly enough to open all 7.5 miles of the Wendover Ridge trail, Fairchild intends to begin at the top of the trail and work down as far as possible before the climbing season of 2025. He will begin about May 20, 2025. The U.S. Forest Service is aware of his planned trail grooming and in full support. Much more will be needed across the Bitterroot Mountains, but the Alliance grant is a start.

2024 Annual Report

Abbreviated

Introducing the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance

A New Identity for the Future

In response to direction from members at the 2023 Annual Meeting in Missoula, Montana, our 13-member Board of Directors unanimously approved a new public-facing name for our organization: the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance. This name will appear on our website, logo, brochures, press releases, and public communications. The corporate name, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, will continue to be used for legal purposes.

Board President Jim Sayce outlined the rationale: "The new name reflects our focus on creating alliances to share the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition more broadly and effectively. It emphasizes the Trail and the names of both Expedition captains while providing a more memorable and impactful identity."

The decision follows years of feedback that "Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation" was too lengthy and did not fully convey the organization's mission or aspirations. At the 2023 Annual Meeting, Past President Dan Sturdevant proposed the name update in a motion passed unanimously by more than 100 attendees.

The Branding Workgroup, formed early in 2024, explored options for enhancing our public image. Drawing on 75 member-submitted suggestions, the group evaluated 35 potential names and recommended five finalists to the Board. Over six months, extensive research and consultations with members, partners, and public groups further guided the selection process.

CEO Richard Hunt emphasized the significance of this change: "The Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance name aligns with our vision of using alliances and education to preserve and promote the legacy of the Expedition. This rebranding energizes our mission and positions us for the next 50 years."

The enthusiasm for this new identity has been overwhelming, reflecting broad support for the fresh, focused direction the Alliance is taking. Together, we are poised to strengthen partnerships and advance our mission as never before.

View the full report https://publuu.com/flip-book/561309/1581409

Bringing the Trail to Life

Nothing exemplifies the spirit and intent of "The Alliance" more than our latest website, the Lewis and Clark Trail Experience: lewisandclark.travel

With 2,000 affiliated sites, including 200 historic and cultural centers, LCTE fosters partnerships with tourism bureaus and museums, encouraging exploration of the Trail's scenic and historic routes and recreational possibilities while supporting local economies.

Lewis and Clark Trail Experience

Digital Growth and Innovation: Expanding Our Reach

The Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance now operates three robust digital platforms: lewis-clark.org, lewisandclark.travel, and lewisandclark.org. Together, these sites provide engaging educational content, valuable resources, and vital exposure for connecting with the next generation of Trail enthusiasts. Combined annual viewership exceeds 600,000, more than doubling in the past year and growing steadily each month.

We continue to build on the efforts of contributors to lewis-clark.org, We are very fortunate and thankful for the vision of Joe Musselman and David Borlaug and their early work on the website. Kris Townsend began advancing their excellent efforts several years ago and has evolved the site into a digital treasure used by scholars, researchers, and the public.

With the National Park Service's transfer of the Lewis and Clark Trail Experience website to our stewardship, we've enhanced its offerings with digital Trail Travel magazines, affiliate-partner listings, and a mobile app that guides travelers on the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail while showcasing its attractions. The platform includes over 2,000 tribal and small-business listings that support local economies.

A $120,000 Google Ads grant furthers public awareness by promoting Alliance events, trip inspirations, and interpretive centers. Our reinvigorated YouTube channel now reaches approximately 400 viewers daily with fresh content published each week. Our twice-monthly digital newsletter reaches 3,000 readers per edition, sharing updates on events, videos, Trail news, and interpretive opportunities.

Download the App via the QR code here.

And not to forget our most recent digital platform, we now have a Mobile App available for iOS and Android which brings the LCTE to your mobile device. Trail enthusiasts on the go can access historical site listings, commercial attractions, a full range of events, and trip inspirations to help them explore new places to visit along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

FY 2024 Financial Report

	9/30/2024	9/30/2023
Statement of Activities		
Revenues and other support		
Contributions, gifts, and donations	$35,396	$86,276
Merchandise sales and publications	16,212	1,570
Memberships	35,807	45,060
Investment return	813,732	371,086
Grants	0	3,870
Miscellaneous income	10,818	37,216
Total revenues and other support	$911,965	$545,078
Expenses		
Program services		
Library	$9,046	$12,072
Trail/Field programs	69,871	18,212
Merchandise/Publications	36,696	43,567
Total program services	$115,613	$73,851
Supporting services		
Management and general	$240,241	$249,045
Total supporting services	$240,241	$249,045
Total expenses	$355,854	$322,896
Decrease/Increase in net assets	$556,111	$222,182
Statement of Financial Position		
Assets		
Cash	$128,607	$126,869
Investments	3,934,578	3,323,284
Other current assets	56,512	2,986
Capital assets, net	6,682	8,976
Right of use asset, net (leases)	5,638	7,752
Library books and collections	189,163	189,163
Total assets	$4,321,180	$3,659,030
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	$67,537	$18,334
Current portion leases payable	2,084	2,005
Leases payable - noncurrent	3,660	5,744
Deferred revenue and memberships	52,015	42,173
Total liabilities	$125,296	$68,256
Net assets		
Without donor restrictions	$823,599	$564,393
With donor restrictions	3,372,285	3,026,381
Total net assets	$4,195,884	$3,590,774
Total liabilities and net assets	$4,321,180	$3,659,030

2024: A Busy Year for Lewis and Clark Events

More than 130 events focusing on the Lewis and Clark Expedition were held across the nation in 2024. Most were in-person events—speakers, festivals, field trips, social gatherings, monthly meetings or dinners—but some were live online programs attended by audiences living throughout the world. Some were sponsored by communities or universities, but, by far, the overwhelming majority were held by volunteer members of the regions or chapters of the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance.

Beyond the common topic of Lewis and Clark, the events had three similar components: a lot of time and effort devoted by volunteers who love the story of the Expedition. "What we have found," said Dan Sturdevant, president of the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance's Missouri-Riverbend Chapter and Southern Prairie Region, "is that people enjoy seeing their Lewis and Clark friends and making new friends while learning about the Expedition."

Some events were annual affairs such as the weekend Lewis & Clark Festival during the summer in Great Falls, Montana, or Arrival Weekend, hosted by the Lewis and Clark State Historic Site, Hartford, Illinois, to celebrate the arrival of the Expedition in December 1803 to its winter encampment at Camp River Dubious. Festivals are typically packed with visitors who come to see living history re-enactors and experts talking about the Expedition. There is always an essential component: fun interactive games and displays for children.

How do you find out about the 2025 Lewis and Clark events? Visit the Lewis and Clark Trail Experience Events page.

2024 Trail Stewardship Grants Awarded

Organization	State	Project	Amount
Discovery Expedition of St. Charles	MO	Interpretive Staff	$ 7,500
Discovery Expedition of St. Charles	MO	Lewis and Clark Film Series	$ 7,500
Salmon Valley Stewardship	ID	Pioneer 4th Grade Tipi Program	$ 3,200
Waterville Historical Society	OH	Battle of Fallen Timbers 230th Anniversary	$ 4,700
Travelers' Rest Connection	MT	Strategic Interpretive Plan	$ 7,500
Sacajawea Historical State Park	WA	Viewshed Restoration and Access	$ 6,306
Lewis & Clark Exploratory Center	VA	Keelboat and Pirogue Repair	$ 7,500
Shenandoah Center for Immersive Learning*	VA	Student Video Trip Project	$ 7,500
J. Greg Smith Company*	NE	Auto Tour Brochure Printing	$ 7,500
Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center USFS*	MT	Agents of Discovery	$ 10,000
		TOTAL	$ 69,206


Setting Out


Fort Mandan

Trail Stewardship Grant Supports Students on the Trail

In 2024, Lee Graff, an instructor at Shenandoah University's Center for Immersive Learning (SCIL)—home to Virginia's first Virtual Reality bachelor's degree—approached the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance (LCTA) with an innovative proposal. He envisioned a project where SCIL students would travel the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, documenting their journey through videos and social media.

Over several months, this idea became reality with LCTA's support. The Alliance provided a suggested itinerary, coordinated interpretive opportunities along the Trail, and awarded a Trail Stewardship Grant to help fund the modern-day expedition.

Four SU students, under Mr. Graff's guidance, embarked on a 13-day, faculty-led road trip as part of an independent study project for academic credit. They retraced the historic Expedition's path, traveling from SU's campus in Winchester, Virginia, to Fort Clatsop, Oregon. Daily stops allowed the team to gather content and conduct production work, creating a series of short videos, including a highlight reel presented at LCTA's 56th Annual Meeting in Charlottesville, Virginia.

This project combining immersive storytelling and historical exploration offered students a transformative educational experience. Watch their highlight video on the LCTA YouTube channel, inviting viewers to join the adventure.

Ocian in View


Dugout Canoe with Tom Elpel

Agents of Discovery: New Ways to Learn About the Expedition

In partnership with the U.S. Forest Service and the Portage Route Chapter (PRC) of the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance, our Trail Stewardship Committee provided a grant for the purchase and installation of *Agents of Discovery* at the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls, Montana.

Agents of Discovery is an augmented reality educational software game allowing a user to combine digital information with the real-world environment for learning purposes. The free to users program reflects today's trend of how people rely more on digital education and is designed to engage users of all ages in fun exploration while learning about the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Visitors at the center can play two engaging missions: "Travel the Lower Trail" and "Travel the Upper Trail." The missions guide users through outdoor trails, teaching about the Expedition's routes, local flora and fauna, and the surrounding environment. Available in both English and Spanish, the missions culminate with players' claiming a treasure chest reward upon completion.

The collaborative effort on acquiring and installing *Agents of Discovery* was guided by Duane Buchi, Interpretive Center Site Manager; Carol Bronson, PRC President; Norm Anderson, PRC Vice President; Kimberly Clark, Great Falls Public Schools; and Richard Hunt, LCTA CEO. Based upon the program's success, the LCTA applied for and received a $49,000 National Parks Foundation grant for expansion.

The $49,000 grant from the National Park Foundation will be used to install the program at more sites rich in Lewis and Clark history: in Kentuckiana (which is what locals call the region of Clarksville, Indiana, and Louisville, Kentucky) and at sites in Oregon and Washington near the mouth of the Columbia River.

Playing the game

Picking a prize

New Townsend-Ritten Award Announced

At the 56th Annual Meeting in Charlottesville, the Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance (LCTA) announced the establishment of a new organizational award. The Board of Directors voted to name it the Townsend-Ritten Award after two exemplary and devoted long-time volunteers. The award will be presented from as appropriate to deserving individuals who have engaged in exemplary volunteer service to our organization over an extended period of time.


Kris Townsend

Kris Townsend has for several years served the organization in many roles, most importantly as technology advisor and webmaster. He masterminded and implemented redesign and integration of our three websites: Discovering Lewis & Clark (lewis-clark.org), Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance's main website (lewisandclark.org), and our newest site, the Lewis and Clark Trail Experience (lewisandclark.travel), which assists members, affiliates, and the public in traveling the Trail and enjoying all it has to offer.

Kris has been integral in providing pictorial, editorial, and technological expertise to these sites as well as to social media and to our new mobile phone app. Kris lives with his wife Joann in Spokane, Washington.


Lou Ritten

Lou Ritten has also volunteered in many capacities over the years. He was the principal planner and host for three regional LCTA meetings and served on the Board of Directors for eight years, including four as president and seven on the Executive Committee.

Lou was a founding member of the Illini Chapter, serving as president or vice president throughout its existence. He has been vice president the Great Lakes Region since its establishment a few years ago. Lou has twice accompanied new executive directors on long road trips to introduce them to members, friends of LCTA, and others, and to acquaint them with the physical landscape along the Trail countrywide. He has been a driving force in modernizing our organization and making it relevant for the future. Lou and his wife Carolyn maintain residences in La Grange, Illinois, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

The Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance encourages its members and affiliates to become actively involved and to make a lasting volunteer commitment to the organization. The Townsend-Ritten Award serves as an incentive to do just that. The Board hopes that it has good cause to name a recipient of this award on a regular basis. If you feel someone is deserving of consideration for the Townsend-Ritten Award, please notify the LCTA CEO Richard Hunt at director@lewisandclark.org.

Lewis & Clark Trail Alliance

57th Annual Gathering
Kansas City, Missouri - September 14-17, 2025

Full Information and Online Registration lewisandclark.org/annual-gathering/

Preliminary Schedule (subject to change)


Lewis and Clark Point

Registration
$475 Early Bird Member
$525 Member (after 7/31/25)
$525 Non-Member


Fort Osage

Sunday
Board Meeting
Registration
Silent Auction
Opening Reception

Monday
Morning Wellness Walk
Hosted Breakfast
Opening Ceremonies
Annual Business Meeting
Keynote Speaker
Lunch
Field trip to Fort Osage

Tuesday
Morning Wellness Walk
Hosted Breakfast
Speakers
Lunch
Kaw Point Chautauqua
Lewis and Clark Point

Wednesday
Morning Wellness Walk
Hosted Breakfast
Speakers
Moulton Lecture
Silent Auction
Dinner and Awards

Host Hotel
Kansas City Marriott
Country Club Plaza
4445 Main Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64111


Marriott Hotel


Kaw Point

continued from inside front cover

with Natives on the Expedition, it was nearly universal among historians to assert that it was the Natives' fault, that they were arbitrarily hostile or irrationally apprehensive of the sudden appearance of thirty-some bearded and heavily armed (and odorous) White people in their midst. In that paradigm the White Americans were never wrong; the Natives were often, in Lewis' odd and famous words, capricious "imps of Saturn."

That has all changed. The Natives are no longer bit players in the narrative. Greater and greater efforts are being made to make sure that their voices are an essential element of the story, not merely exotic ornament or impediments and that they are not merely reactive, but full partners in mutual cross-cultural discovery.

The historical paradigm I have been describing (what I call the Old History) was what we now sometimes regard as *triumphalist*, *Eurocentric*, *imperialist*, *monocultural*, and even *colonialist*. In addition to that, the African American enslaved man (now we usually avoid saying slave, because that is too narrow a descriptor for people for whom "slave" was not a job description, but a status imposed on them by an American economic and social system that was – whether we like to admit it or not – fundamentally racist).

In the Old History, York was seen as a jester or minstrel figure and a sexual athlete even as his survival skills were acknowledged. Sacagawea was mostly known as Sacajawea back in 1960 and she was the "guide" to the Expedition. Now the Sacagawea story is getting very complicated as different Native peoples insist upon a revisionist understanding of her role, her origins, her contributions to the Expedition, her pre- and post-Expedition life, and her attitude toward individual Expedition members, perhaps especially Captain Lewis. James Ronda famously limited his mention of Sacagawea in his seminal 1984 *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*[2] to an afterword, at the insistence of his wife Jean, he confessed. David Nicandri, in his acclaimed *River of Promise: Lewis and Clark on the Columbia* (2010),[3] demoted Sacagawea even more aggressively, arguing that there were indeed Native "conductors" who made it possible for Lewis and Clark to work their way through the Columbia basin (think of Tetoharsky), but they were Nimiipuu men, not the celebrated and legendary Sacagawea – and she did not, Nicandri argued, really guide them except over Bozeman Pass on Clark's return trip. Nicandri has more recently softened this argument a little and made the case that Sacagawea "guided" (conducted) more often that he had previously insisted.

I remember when I first heard the great (and essential) James Ronda give a revisionist lecture on the Expedition's confrontation with the Lakota near today's Pierre, South Dakota. This was around the year 2002. The gist of his argument was that we needed to try to see the encounter also (not exclusively) from the Lakota point of view, that Brule had every right to be edgy about a large body of strangers (aliens) huffing and puffing their way through the sovereign Lakota homeland with three large boatloads of what the Lakota took to be merchandise. Ronda believed that the impasse (September 24-28, 1804) was finally resolved when the Lakota leader Black Buffalo declared that they were going to let Lewis and Clark pass upriver, but they would only do so if the Expedition handed over some minor but nevertheless significant token of acknowledgement that the Lakota had the right to determine who passed through their territory. The tariff turned out to be nothing more than a carrot of tobacco, which one of the captains hurled at Black Buffalo with considerable hauteur. In Ronda's view it was Black Buffalo who was the more reasonable leader in this crisis, that the two U.S. Army captains were unnecessarily inflexible – being 100% certain that they had an indisputable right to move through the American West at will and no "Indians" ("savages") had the right to impede them.

Not everyone will agree with Ronda's analysis. Nor would he expect that. But these days all of us see the Expedition's dozens of encounters differently *because* of the work of Ronda, Nicandri, Thomas Slaughter, Gary Moulton[4], and others. Editor Moulton's insistence on providing Native nam es in his magisterial footnotes, not just for individuals but for places, rites, and concepts is one of the greatest contributions to Lewis and Clark studies of our time. He would be the first to say he had significant help in that enterprise, but he made it happen.

The Old History and the New

Stephen Ambrose's blockbuster *Undaunted Courage* (1998)[5] played a key role in shaping the Bicentennial of

the Lewis and Clark Expedition. His narrative is superb; it really does read like a novel. It would be foolish to try to quibble with Ambrose's achievement and his success. But he was a man of his times, too, like the rest of us. It would be possible to raise some concerns about his book, if we were disposed to do so. For example, *Undaunted Courage* can be seen as a largely triumphalist book. According to Ambrose, Lewis and Clark were the best friends ever. Their journey must be seen in epic terms and magnitude. They were carrying the Enlightenment into *terra incognita*. Few sentences in Ambrose's book explore the subsequent destabilizing effect the Expedition (and what it presaged) had on the American West. There is also a dearth of Native American oral tradition in *Undaunted Courage*.

I remember once hearing Ambrose talk about the Expedition's famous encounter with the Lakota in South Dakota. After the captains hurled a plug of tobacco at Black Buffalo, Ambrose – in his characteristic way – concluded that the Expedition proceeded on unmolested and the "Sioux were just beggars again." If Steve were alive today, he would not dream of speaking or writing such a sentence, of course. The Old History and the New. As we come to terms with all of these important cultural "adjustments," we need to be generous to all the great writers and scholars who have kept the flame of this great story alive for the last hundred years. Perhaps some small thing here, or something there, in their books today makes us cringe a little; but that in no way discredits their work. We are all evolving, individually and together, puzzling over new ways of seeing the story we thought we knew so well, and adapting (sometimes cheerfully, sometimes grudgingly, sometimes grumpily) to new ways of seeing.

I will freely admit that learning to see the Expedition in new light has not always been easy or comfortable for me (and I am guessing for some of you, too). It takes time to emancipate ourselves from deeply embedded perspectives and narratives that were laid down in our brains decades ago when we were more impressionable than we have since become. At times I have chafed at some of these new perspectives, especially when they are impatient or insistent. I still do occasionally. Once in a while, when I happen on a strong new assertion, I find myself getting up from my desk muttering, "Oh come on!" And yet, frankly, I have a harder time with "barge" replacing keelboat than Salish replacing Flatheads or accepting that the Shoshones have the right to see their favorite daughter, including the spelling of her name, in their own ways. When during the Bicentennial Jack Gladstone and other Piegan historians first argued that Lewis seriously (and nearly disastrously) over-reacted to being shot at at Two Medicine Creek in the last days of July 1806, and that the eight young Piegan men who grabbed their rifles were just late adolescents attempting to pull off a spectacular coup (against people trespassing in their sovereign territory without passports!), and that the confrontation could have ended without bloodshed, I was seriously skeptical considering the danger to Lewis and his men of being left without horses or guns. But now I think Gladstone, et al. certainly have every right to see the famous encounter story in their own way.

I believe it is incontestable that – thanks to this Cultural Revolution – the Lewis and Clark story is more interesting, more compelling, more challenging, more nuanced, richer, and more fundamentally fair and just today than ever before. But less straightforward and tidy.

And I still read *Undaunted Courage* once a year with great joy and satisfaction. ∎

Clay Jenkinson

Notes

1. Bernard DeVoto, *The Course of Empire* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt,1952); David Lavender, *The Way to the Western Sea: Lewis and Clark Across the Continent* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); David Freeman Hawke, *Those Tremendous Mountains: The Story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1980).

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

3. David Nicandri, *River of Promise: Lewis and Clark on the Columbia* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

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

5. Stephen Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

Lewis & Clark
Trail Alliance
PO Box 3434
Great Falls, MT 59403