
THE
AMERICAN
WEST

On May 10, 1869, a jubilant America celebrated the wedding of the rails at Promontory Summit, Utah. Adventurous spirit, hard work, federal concessions, and a certain amount of high-handedness had combined to forge a transcontinental railroad link. Pictured on our cover is the handsome replica of the Central Pacific's "Jupiter" which steamed to that famous meeting with Union Pacific's No. 119 over one hundred and ten years ago. At the Golden Spike National Historic Site in northern Utah, visitors may admire the big red driving wheels and festive brass trim of the duplicate "Jupiter" as well as the replica of 119 and other evidences of an unusual engineering accomplishment. For the story of Promontory in 1869 and today, turn to page 34.

COVER PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANK JENSEN, SALT LAKE CITY

Her life shrouded in myth and mystery, Sacagawea (interpreted below in bronze by sculptor Harry Jackson) has become an appealing figure in the history of the American West. Romantic legend has credited this Shoshoni woman with a heroic role in the accomplishments of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. After truth has been sorted from fiction, Sacagawea emerges as a courageous and admirable person in her own right, with no need of embellishment. An account of the legends and facts surrounding the lives of Sacagawea, her French-Canadian husband Toussaint Charbonneau, and their son Jean Baptiste begins on page 4.

CASTING FROM THE FIRST WORKING MODEL FOR A HEROIC BRONZE TO BE UNVEILED AT THE BUFFALO BILL HISTORICAL CENTER ON JULY 4, 1980. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF WYOMING FOUNDRY STUDIOS

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ART of Thomas Moran introduced countless Americans to the grand natural beauty of the West. Moran's own acquaintance with the western landscape began in 1871 when he accompanied a survey party headed by Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden to the Yellowstone country. Impressed with the unique wonders of the region, Moran made numerous watercolor sketches that, along with photographs by fellow survey member William Henry Jackson, were influential in persuading Congress to designate Yellowstone the first national park in 1872. Moran's painting above depicts a spectacular eruption of Castle Geyser, a thermal feature that continues to impress visitors today at Yellowstone's Upper Geyser Basin. For a portfolio of Moran's dramatic and inspiring watercolors of the American West, turn to page 40.

PRIVATE COLLECTION; FROM THE FORTHCOMING AMON CARTER MUSEUM EXHIBITION "THE MOST REMARKABLE SCENERY: THOMAS MORAN'S WATERCOLORS OF THE AMERICAN WEST"

THE AMERICAN WEST
THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY

PUBLISHED BY THE BUFFALO BILL HISTORICAL CENTER

March/April 1980 Volume XVII, Number 2

SPONSORED BY THE WESTERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION

THE AMERICAN WEST (ISSN 0003-1534) is published in January, March, May, July, September, and November by the American West Publishing Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association, a nonprofit educational organization, Mrs. Henry H. R. Coe, chairman. Editorial, circulation, and advertising offices are located at Suite 160, 20380 Town Center Lane, Cupertino, California 95014. Single-copy price: $3.00. Subscriptions: one year $15.00; two years $25.00; three years $35.00 (outside U.S. $1.00 extra). Manuscripts and communications from subscribers should be sent to the above address; however, members of the Western History Association should address communications regarding subscriptions to William D. Rowley, Department of History, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada 89557. THE AMERICAN WEST will consider, but assumes no responsibility for, unsolicited material.

Second-class postage paid at Cupertino, California, and additional post offices.

"UP THE JEFFERSON": AN ORIGINAL PAINTING BY JOHN CLYMER

DETAIL OF THE ORIGINAL

PROFILES OF THE AMERICAN WEST

A CHARBONNEAU FAMILY PORTRAIT

by Irving W. Anderson

EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, a humble and vigorously resourceful family of the American frontier, comprising father, mother, and son, left a record of unusual historical interest. They were the Charbonneau family of Lewis and Clark Expedition fame: Toussaint, the French-Canadian interpreter, father; Sacagawea, the legendary Shoshoni Indian woman of the expedition, mother; and their son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, American's infant explorer whom destiny would later mark as an educated, cultural anomaly of the American West. The Charbonneau family accompanied Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on the trek across the continent from Fort Mandan (North Dakota) to the Pacific (Fort Clatsop, Oregon) and return, a distance of nearly five thousand miles, in the years 1805 and 1806. Each contributed unique but varying dimensions to the exploring enterprise, and, similarly, each left lasting marks upon the pages of American history through activities both correctly and erroneously attributed to him.

With this issue, The American West *inaugurates a new series* of *articles on notable men and women of the Old West. Forthcoming 1980 issues will feature biographies of California pioneer John Augustus Sutter, Texas patriot Sam Houston, and frontier photographer William Henry Jackson.*

The Lewis and Clark Expedition represents the nation's epic in documented exploration of the trans–Mississippi West. Inspired by President Thomas Jefferson's desire to expand U.S. influence and to gather knowledge about the vast reaches west of the Mississippi River, the expedition was authorized and funded by Congress. Lewis and Clark planned to ascend the Missouri River to its source and then to follow a westward-flowing stream to the Pacific. The intrepid group left the mouth of the Missouri near Wood River, Illinois, in May of 1804. By the end of October, they reached the Mandan and Hidatsa (Minne-

Text continues overleaf.

During 1804–1806 Meriwether Lewis and William Clark carried out their epic journey of exploration from the mouth of the Missouri to the Pacific and back. Among their Corps of Discovery were the Charbonneaus—Toussaint, Sacagawea, and their infant son—whose lives have become controversial among historians of the West. In the painting above, artist John Clymer depicts the expedition's progress up the Jefferson River in mid-1805. Clark leads the way, followed by Charbonneau, Sacagawea carrying her papoose, and the black servant York. Earlier, near the Three Forks of the Missouri, Sacagawea had identified the spot where she had been taken prisoner by the Hidatsa five years previously.

DETAIL OF THE ORIGINAL

COLLECTION OF THE THOMAS GILCREASE INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND ART, TULSA, OKLAHOMA

taree) villages near the mouth of the Knife River in present North Dakota. There, Lewis and Clark directed their men to build Fort Mandan for their winter quarters. During a five-month stay, the group acquired helpful information from the Indians about the course of the upper Missouri and arranged for the services of Charbonneau and Sacagawea as interpreters. (Sacagawea was not paid for her services, as she was considered an unofficial member of the expedition.)

In April of 1805 Lewis and Clark broke their winter camp and once more set forth on their western journey. The permanent party of the "Corps of Discovery" comprised persons of widely diverse age and racial, social, and national heritage. In the Fort Mandan to Fort Clatsop cadre, the members reflected white, black, and red racial origins, plus mixtures of the three. On leaving North Dakota, the oldest of the thirty-one men was forty-seven years; teen-aged Sacagawea carried her papoose of fifty-five days who had been born at Fort Mandan during the party's winter encampment. Contributions made by this remarkable group have been a proud legacy of Americans for more than a century and three-quarters; yet incredibly, persistent contradictions cloud the facts surrounding the deeds and personal lives of many of the group's members, including the Charbonneau family, both during and after the expedition.

Sketchy historical documents and the passage of time make it inevitable that the Charbonneau family must remain veiled in mystery and speculation to a considerable degree. But information unearthed during recent decades substantially supplements the earlier record and corrects some long-accepted misinformation. The following pages present the significant, known facts regarding the lives of Sacagawea, Toussaint, and their son Jean Baptiste, along with other conclusions based on the best available information.

SACAGAWEA

As the Corps of Discovery entered the territory of the Shoshoni in the Bitterroot Range, one of the most poignant scenes of the entire expedition transpired. Sacagawea joyfully encountered members of her own tribe, among them a young woman who had been taken prisoner with her five seasons before but who had escaped from the Hidatsa. In the scene above, artist Charles M. Russell depicts the emotional reunion of the two Indian women, with Captain Clark looking on.

OF THE THREE CHARBONNEAUS, Sacagawea has emerged as the dominant historical figure, enjoying fame and recognition for legendary accomplishments far exceeding those of her actual role. In effect, she has become an enigma of history, a circumstance traceable directly to conjectures by many of her latter-day biographers. Some of the most prominent of these writers have ignored, rejected, or distorted vital primary documents contributed by Sacagawea's frontier contemporaries, so that Sacagawea's life and that of her son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, have become the focus of controversy during the twentieth century. Contention has centered around the question of whether Sacagawea was guide or interpreter for the expedition, of the importance of her contributions, of the spelling and meaning of her name, and of the date and place of her death.

The best reconstruction shows that Sacagawea was born about 1788. Her people were a seminomadic tribe of Shoshoni (Agaiduka) Indians whose activities centered in today's Lemhi River Valley, Idaho, immediately west of the Continental Divide. The precise place of her birth may never be determined, but very likely it was in a village near present Tendoy, Idaho, approximately seventeen miles

"LEWIS AND CLARK IN THE BITTERROOTS": AN ORIGINAL PAINTING BY JOHN CLYMER

DETAIL OF THE ORIGINAL

The Bitterroot Range posed a difficult obstacle to westward-bound Lewis and Clark in the fall of 1805. A successful crossing of this barrier was accomplished, using horses purchased with Sacagawea's aid from her own Shoshoni tribe. Heavy snows obliterated mountain trails, while intense cold and a shortage of food threatened the health of the expedition members. In the scene above, John Clymer convincingly portrays the hardships overcome by the explorers during this most arduous portion of the journey.

southeast of Salmon. Primary documentation of Sacagawea's childhood is limited exclusively to entries in Captain Lewis's journal on July 28 and August 19, 1805. Lewis wrote that when Sacagawea was about twelve years of age (in approximately 1800), she was taken prisoner near Three Forks, Montana, by the Hidatsa Indians and transported with other slaves to the Hidatsa village of Metaharta on the Knife River near the present town of Stanton, North Dakota.

Sacagawea's first encounter with white men was during her captivity at Metaharta. There, sometime in the five-year interim between her capture and the arrival of Lewis and Clark, she and another Shoshoni slave girl were purchased by Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian fur trader. From the record of Charbonneau's employment, it is learned that he was engaged by the North West Company, a Canadian fur-trading enterprise formed in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company. Having been headquartered as a free agent among the Mandan and Hidatsa from 1796, Charbonneau was well established on the upper Missouri at the time of Lewis and Clark's arrival there on October 26, 1804.

Virtually upon reaching the Mandan and Hidatsa villages, Captain Clark wrote the first journal entry concerning Touissaint Charbonneau and his Indian wives. The

entry of November 4, 1804, indicates the role that Sacagawea would play in the expedition:
a french man by Name Chabonah, who Speaks the Big Belly [Grosventre] language visit us, he wished to hire & informed us his 2 Squars were Snake [Shoshoni] Indians, we enga[ge] him to go on with us and take one of his wives to interpret the Snake language.

Sacagawea and Charbonneau represented vital links in an involved chain of interpretive measures that would be required to communicate with Indians whom the captains expected to encounter on the westward journey. The interpretive process would be complicated, however, because of the limited language knowledge of the parties involved. The Frenchman Charbonneau was conversant in Hidatsa, but spoke no English, which was a handicap to the English-speaking captains. Sacagawea spoke both Hidatsa and Shoshoni but neither French nor English. The matter was resolved by securing the services of an expedition member of French and Omaha Indian extraction, Private Francois Labiche, who spoke French and some English. As later described by Clark when the expedition was among the Tushepaw (Flathead) Indians, the interpretive process went as follows: "I spoke . . . to Labieche in English—he translated it to Charboneau in French—he to his wife in Minnetaree—she in Shoshone to the [Shoshoni Indian] boy—the boy in Tushepaw to that nation."

Among the information that Lewis and Clark learned while wintering at Fort Mandan was that high mountains lay between the Missouri and any westward-flowing river. Therefore, upon reaching the headwaters of the Missouri, the expedition would have to cache its dugouts and obtain horses to carry the men and heavy supplies and equipment over the mountains. The commanders also learned from Sacagawea that her Shoshoni people had horses and realized how helpful she could be if the expedition encountered her tribesmen and needed to negotiate with them.

FOREMOST AMONG THE MISCONCEPTIONS about Sacagawea is the folklore that she guided the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Pacific and back. Scores of textbooks, serious historical works, and encyclopedias, as well as statuary, have popularized Sacagawea pointing the way west, across mountains, through forests and river valleys. Eva Emery Dye was the first to romanticize the deeds of the expedition's Indian woman in her novel *The Conquest*, published in 1902. Dye portrayed Sacagawea as the guide to the expedition, an image that has subsequently been expanded by many other writers, resulting in an erroneous but lasting conception of Sacagawea by generations of Americans.

The late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, once professor of political economy at the University of Wyoming, was responsible more than any other writer for magnifying the role and virtues of Sacagawea beyond the realm of credibility and for adding more than seventy years to her lifespan. (A recent novel has presented another apocryphal version of the Shoshoni Indian woman, taken largely from Hebard, and at this writing is listed among the nation's top fifteen best-seller paperbacks.) Hebard's writings have served as the popular authority on Sacagawea in libraries and schools throughout the world. Thus, her writings will be the principal references which this author will cite in contrasting conjectured versus documented versions of Sacagawea's life.

Very early in her writings, Hebard embellished the Lewis and Clark Journals with counterfeit accounts of her own, under the pretense that they were based on historical research. For example, in an article titled "Woman Who Led the Way to the Golden West: Pilot of the First White Men to Cross America" (1907), Hebard stated: "In journeying west with Lewis and Clark from the Mandans, in the spring of 1805, Sacajawea became more and more conscious that the country over which they were going was that over which she had been taken when in captivity five years previous, and when, after travelling many days, no one of the expedition knew where he was or the true direction to pursue, the party depended entirely upon the instincts and guidance of the Indian woman. The homing bird knew the direction."

To the contrary, Sacagawea had never before seen most of the route travelled by the expedition west-bound to the Pacific, including the Missouri River route from Fort Mandan to the Three Forks of the Missouri (Montana). When Sacagawea's captors took her from Three Forks to the Mandan villages in 1800, they did not follow the Missouri River, but selected a path parallel to the Yellowstone River, past its confluence with the Missouri, and then southeast to Metaharta. But when the expedition reached Three Forks and neared Sacagawea's homeland straddling the Continental Divide in the present states of Montana and Idaho, she did identify significant landmarks that she remembered from her childhood. Actually, the most important guiding service credited to Sacagawea by the captains was performed during the return journey when she recommended to Captain Clark certain mountain passes in today's Big Hole Divide and the Bridger Range (Montana). Leading a detachment on a side exploration, Clark was then en route from the Bitterroot Valley to the Yellowstone River. His journal entries for that period praise Sacagawea's knowledge of that section of the country, citing her "great service to me as a pilot."

The captains' first attempt at spelling the Indian woman's name occurred on April 7, 1805, the date the expedition left Fort Mandan for the Pacific. Here, Clark listed all thirty-three members of the westward-bound party, including "Shabonah and his Indian squar . . . Sah-kah-gar-We a." A month and a half later, in naming a tributary of the "shell" (Mussellshell) River in Montana after Saca-

Continued on page 58. Additional text continues overleaf.

"VISITORS AT FORT CLATSOP": AN ORIGINAL PAINTING BY JOHN CLYMER

DETAIL OF THE ORIGINAL

Soon after reaching the Pacific, that "emence Ocian," in mid-November of 1805, the Corps of Discovery constructed winter quarters near the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon. Here at Fort Clatsop they passed the rainy winter season, gathering information about the countryside and its inhabitants. In John Clymer's painting above, neighboring Clatsop Indians approach the fort with articles for trade, while Charbonneau, Sacagawea, and others cautiously assess the mood of their visitors.

JEAN BAPTISTE CHARBONNEAU

THE LIFE OF JEAN BAPTISTE CHARBONNEAU has been controversial among American historians. Baptiste's story, long interwoven with that of his mother in Grace Hebard's erroneous Wind River theory, has now been clarified. A complete chronology of his activities dating from the Lewis and Clark Expedition to his death on May 16, 1866, is of record. Considering the facts of his mixed French-Canadian and Indian blood, and his meager economic, social, and cultural background, Baptiste led a remarkable life indeed.

The infant member of the expedition obviously was a delight to his exploring companions. Although his presence with the party is referred to throughout the journey, only a few events underscore the role he occupied in the expedition and the affectionate place he held in the hearts of the explorers. Among the most notable was his birth on February 11, 1805, while the party was wintering at Fort Mandan; another was his uncertain fate during his mother's nearly fatal illness at the Great Falls of the Missouri, and concern over his illness during the return journey; a different dimension was the memorializing of Baptiste in American history by Clark's naming a prominent geologic formation in his honor during the descent of the Yellowstone River on the return trip; and lastly, Clark's fondness for the boy in offering to "educate him and treat him as my own child."

Lewis's concern for Baptiste during his mother's illness is referred to elsewhere in this article. Baptiste's own illness was a severe infection of the jaw and throat, incurred while the returning party was encamped near present Kamiah, Idaho, awaiting the melting of the deep snows of the Bitterroot Mountains which then barred their passage over the Lolo Trail. Responding favorably to the unusual pharmaceutical preparations of the expedition leaders, Baptiste recovered within two and one-half weeks. Among the treatments given him were poltices of wild onion and a "plaster of sarve [salve] made of the rozen of the long leaf pine, Beaswax and Bears oil mixed."

During the course of the expedition, the boy was nicknamed "Pomp" or "Pompy" by Captain Clark, apparently for Baptiste's ostentatious "little dancing boy" demeanor. On July 25, 1806, Clark named an unusual rock formation on the south bank of the Yellowstone River (Montana) "Pompy's Tower" in honor of the boy. On the north bank of the river, opposite Pompy's Tower, Clark named a stream "Baptiests Creek," also perhaps for the boy. As to the latter, however, Reuben Gold Thwaites editorialized that the creek was named for "Baptiste Lepage, one of the party." In editing the 1814 narrative of the journals, Nicholas Biddle displayed his classical education by amending Clark's name for the rock formation to that of the granite column which stands in Alexandria, Egypt. Thus, today, the two features, located twenty-eight miles east of Billings, Montana, are called "Pompey's Pillar" and "Pompey's Pillar Creek." William Clark's name and the date, July 25, 1806, carved by Clark, may still be seen

Continued on page 61. Additional text continues overleaf.

A PROBABLE TOUSSAINT CHARBONNEAU LIKENESS

OUR MENTAL IMAGES of Sacagawea, Toussaint Charbonneau, and Jean Baptiste Charbonneau are clouded by the fact that no authenticated contemporary portraits of any member of the family are known to exist. Strong circumstantial evidence indicates, however, that the aquatint engraving below, by Swiss artist Karl Bodmer, depicting a scene at Fort Clark on the Missouri River in June 1833, includes the figure of Toussaint Charbonneau.

In the picture, Prince Maximilian of Wied, then on a private expedition through the region, is being presented to local Minnetaree Indians by a gesturing interpreter at right center. Although none of the figures was specifically identified by the artist, Toussaint Charbonneau—then well into his seventies—is the only interpreter known to have been at the fort at that time, and it is probable that he is the interpreter whom Bodmer pictured here.

"THE TRAVELERS MEETING WITH MINATAREE INDIANS NEAR FORT CLARK": AQUATINT AND ETCHING WITH STIPPLE — COLLECTION OF THE AMON CARTER MUSEUM OF WESTERN ART, FORT WORTH

TOUSSAINT CHARBONNEAU

TOUSSAINT CHARBONNEAU, the "husband" of Sacagawea and the father of Jean Baptiste, was a French-Canadian fur trader living among the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians when Lewis and Clark made their winter encampment at Fort Mandan in North Dakota near the end of 1804. Little is known of Charbonneau's early life except that he was born in the vicinity of Montreal, Canada about 1759. Touissaint apparently led an itinerant life during his apprenticeship in the fur trade, shuttling from one post to another on the Canadian frontier. Fragmentary records show him employed as an *engagé* (common laborer) with the North West Company between 1793 and 1796, when he moved to Metaharta Village on the Knife River (North Dakota), and established himself as a free agent among the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians. At Metaharta, Charbonneau purchased two slave girls to be his wives, one of them being the Shoshoni, Sacagawea. When the Lewis and Clark Expedition left North Dakota in April of 1805 on its westward trek, Charbonneau was engaged as interpreter, accompanied by Sacagawea who was to act as interpreter through Toussaint.

Except for some episodes during the course of the Lewis and Clark Expedition that drew attention to certain of his undesirable traits, Toussaint Charbonneau apparently discharged his prescribed duties in a satisfactory manner. Notwithstanding, virtually every recorder of the journey and the lives of its members, including producers of both fiction and non-fiction, has cast Toussaint as a ne'er-do-well scoundrel. Upon closer examination of the context of time, place, and social values under which he lived, it is apparent that this characterization of Toussaint is overly critical. Instead, it appears that he was merely a product

FOLLOWING THE TRAIL OF LEWIS AND CLARK

READERS of this article who have a special interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition and its accomplishments may enjoy participating in the activities of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, a national organization founded in 1969. Comprised of enthusiasts from a wide range of backgrounds, including federal, state, and local government officials, professional historians, and interested laymen, the nonprofit foundation is dedicated to stimulating interest in all matters relating to the expedition and to America's heritage resulting from it. A successor to the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, established by Congress in 1964, the foundation complements and supplements the activities of associated regional and local groups in the eleven states through which Lewis and Clark traveled on their trail-blazing journey.

Four times a year members receive the foundation's modest but informative quarterly, *We Proceeded On.* (The publication's unique name is derived from the phrase which appears repeatedly in the collective journals of the famous expedition.) It features articles regarding little-known facts about the expedition and its members, news of present-day activities along the Lewis and Clark Trail, editorials by recognized scholars, and reviews of relevant books and periodicals.

Members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Foundation gather for an annual meeting each August (the birth month of both Meriwether Lewis and William Clark). Sites for the meetings are rotated among the eleven Lewis and Clark Trail states, and tours are arranged to locations associated with the expedition. Events at the 1979 meeting in Glasgow, Montana, included participation in a traditional Assiniboine dance, visits to a buffalo jump and tipi rings near Hinsdale, and a picnic at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. The foundation's 1980 meeting (August 20-22) will be in Omaha, Nebraska. Scheduled events include a visit to the Joslyn Art Museum, whose western collections include the famous Maximilian-Bodmer art work, and a one-day trip to the Sergeant Charles Floyd Monument in nearby Sioux City, Iowa.

All interested persons are eligible to join the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. Several classes of membership, with varying annual dues, are offered: general, $10; sustaining, $25; supporting, $50; contributing, $100; and student, $5. Send remittance to Mrs. Hazel Bain, Secretary, 1950-33rd Avenue, Apt. 1, Longview, Washington 98632.

of his time, an opportunist who, throughout his life, took advantage of favorable situations and turned them to his own personal gain.

Among the points consistently cited by writers in downgrading Toussaint is the journal entry of May 14, 1805, showing him as having been responsible for the near disastrous capsizing of a pirogue; the August 14, 1805, entry in which he is depicted as a wife-beater; and the appraisal of Toussaint as "a man of no peculiar merit" by Lewis when summing up Toussaint's worth to the expedition upon completion of the journey. In the boating accident there is little doubt that Toussaint, who could not swim, showed deep fear of drowning, panicked, and under stress was unable to function rationally. Afterward, Lewis did not seem to fault Charbonneau's behaviour excessively in the boating accident, as he wrote: "Charbono cannot swim and is perhaps the most timid waterman in the world . . . the waves [were] so high that a perogue could scarcely live in any situation."

With respect to his image as a wife-beater, and Lewis's appraisal of him, Dennis R. Ottoson, in his article "Toussaint Charbonneau, a Most Durable Man" (1976), puts these two matters in perspective, in defense of Toussaint. As Ottoson notes, there is only a single entry in the expedition journals which refers to Charbonneau's striking Sacagawea. It was a domestic quarrel and, in the circumstances of that time and place, has been blown out of proportion by romanticists. Similarly, Ottoson observes that only the two Canadian members of the expedition, Jean Baptiste LePage and Toussaint Charbonneau, who were recruited at Fort Mandan, were found by the "intensely xenophobic Lewis" to be entitled to "no peculiar merit."

Toussaint may be unpopular in the minds of his present-day critics for his unseemly antics, but in one pursuit,

Continued on page 63

SHAPED FROM EARTH, IMMORTALIZED IN BRONZE:

SCULPTOR HARRY JACKSON'S SACAGAWEA

by Donald Goddard

AT HARRY JACKSON'S STUDIO in Camaiore, Italy, northwest of Florence on the Ligurian coast, a massive clay figure of Sacagawea towers within the room like a peak of the Rockies she crossed and recrossed with the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1805–6. The nine-foot monument is made of earth and seems to emerge from it. In the still, studio air she seems created by the wind, which sweeps her hair and the enshrouding blanket into diagonal ridges and contours that suggest geological formations within the great triangular configuration. All the lines and broad planes of the work merge into a single, solitary being. She is herself a landscape, a promontory of primordial human consciousness shaped by the elements.

On July 4 of this year, after the series of steps in the lost-wax bronze-casting process that lead from the original clay to the finished work, the final painted bronze of Sacagawea will be unveiled and dedicated at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, thus appropriately memorializing a figure significant to Indian and western American history. The statue will stand in the garden of the new Plains Indian Museum, where it will be visible from the glass-enclosed passageway that connects the old and new buildings of the museum.

Left: Famed western sculptor Harry Jackson stands by his dramatic portrayal of Sacagawea in his studio in northern Italy. Soaring nine feet tall, this commanding clay figure is the model for a bronze monument which will be unveiled and dedicated at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, next July.

Above: Jackson views the twenty-one inch wax working model that was the starting point for the heroic bronze.

The Center already displays several works by Jackson, including *Range Burial* and *Stampede*, the large paintings that were commissioned for the Whitney Gallery of Western Art in 1958. In May 1981 the Center will offer a major retrospective of Jackson's work, documenting the career to date of one of the foremost artists of the American West.

Jackson's *Sacagawea* has a long history, almost as circuitous as that of Sacagawea herself. It was originally conceived in late 1975 as a project for two sculptures, a smaller one for Wyoming's niche in the Hall of Sculpture at the Capitol in Washington, D.C., and a larger version, nine feet in height, for the grounds of the capitol in Cheyenne. Jackson made a small working model in August 1976, based on his studies of a young Shoshoni mother named Marie Varilek, and had it cast in 1977. Both projects eventually ran into a political roadblock and were dropped in March 1978. Later in that year the plan for a large monument was revived when the Buffalo Bill Historical Center expressed interest and a patron came forward to cover the cost. Finally, work was begun on the nine-foot clay version in January 1979, using the twenty-one-inch original model as a starting point.

Although Jackson noted in his daybook that the "general lines and the basic masses of the Sacagawea are simple and essentially monumental," and the model "states the basic concept," there were a great many changes to be made in the new large-scale work. The heads of Sacagawea and the infant were made smaller in relation to the body to achieve the correct proportions, and the faces were more clearly defined to make them visible from a distance. The more-rounded, fluid volumes of the small version were now modeled in broad, flat planes. Jackson went through a constant process of simplifying and bringing out the inner structure of the forms in order to achieve "the overall sweep of the entire, all-inclusive sculptural volume from her toes to the top of her head."

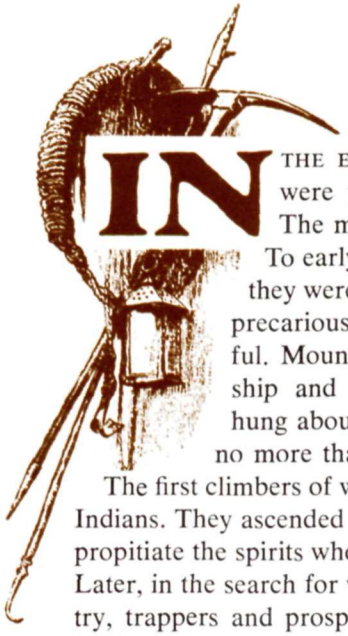
The preliminary task back in 1975 was intensive historical research in which Jackson was assisted by historian Larry Pointer. That placed her firmly in time and place at the crossroads of the American frontier. Now Jackson's aim was to bring the image into the present, to "work from the inside, from one's own center. Use outside perceptions to stimulate, but

Continued on page 56

PHOTOGRAPHS ON BOTH PAGES COURTESY OF WYOMING FOUNDRY STUDIOS

PIONEERS OF THE WESTERN PEAKS

by Anita Nygaard Strickland



IN THE EXPLORATION OF THE WEST there were pioneers of the mountains, too. The mountains were inescapably *there*. To early scouts and trappers and settlers, they were obstacles to be turned or crossed precariously, often brutal, seldom beautiful. Mountain passes were scenes of hardship and danger. If a pervasive mystery hung about these tall barriers, it was worth no more than a hurried glance in passing.

The first climbers of western American mountains were Indians. They ascended the heights to hunt or possibly to propitiate the spirits who hovered among the misty peaks. Later, in the search for wealth and gold in this new country, trappers and prospectors climbed the alluring hills, leaving only casual records of their journeys. Some of the first men to look speculatively on the mountains were the explorers and cartographers who made early geographical and geological surveys of the land. Adding zest to their work, some became serendipitous climbers, often scrambling up summits as a matter of course.

Army Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, at twenty-seven, ambitious and persevering, set out on his epochal journey of western exploration in 1806. In Colorado he sighted a dim, far-off summit, "Highest" or "Grand Peak." His effort to climb it failed, but today the mountain is called Pikes Peak. Fourteen years later, in July 1820, amateur mountaineers from a second government survey of the West—that commanded by Major Stephen H. Long—succeeded where Pike had not. Dr. Edwin James, botanist and physician for the expedition, and two companions attained the summit of Pikes Peak after a three-day effort. At 14,110 feet, the crest fell short of being the highest in the Rockies, but the climb was nevertheless a touchstone: James and his comrades were the first white men to scale a major mountain peak of the American West.

In 1825 another adventure-minded botanist, Scotsman David Douglas, made the first recorded ascent of a mountain in the Pacific Northwest. Collecting plant and tree specimens as a guest of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, Douglas ascended the Columbia River to the point where it cuts through the uplifted strata of the Cascade Range. Then, accompanied only by an Indian guide, and after three days "of the most laborious undertakings I ever experienced," Douglas succeeded in reaching the crest of the range a few miles north of the river; with two more days of effort he repeated the feat on the south side.

Less than two decades later, another pathfinder left his imprint on the pages of pioneer western mountaineering. Young and dashing John Charles Frémont, mapping an emigrant route through the Rockies in 1842, sighted what he believed to be the crest of the continent in Wyoming's Wind River Range. On August 14, after nearly reaching the limit of endurance, Frémont and five others raised the American flag over the mountain that today bears his name. (Like his predecessors, Frémont erred; more than fifty other peaks in the Rockies exceed Mount Frémont's elevation of 13,730 feet. The highest summit in the continental divide is that of Colorado's Mount Elbert at 14,431 feet.)

Opposite: Epitomizing the lively spirit of pioneer western mountaineering, Judge E. C. Winchell christens Mount Winchell in the California Sierra in 1868, naming the 13,749-foot peak in honor of his geologist cousin. After addressing "formal salutations to the witnessing mountains" while standing atop the peak, Winchell "fired double-charges of gunpowder over the canyon and forest, arousing crashing reverberations that leaped from cliff to distant cliff, swiftly redoubling in the morning air."

W. A. and H. Douglas Langille, pioneer guides on Oregon's Mount Hood, reflect the Alpine flavor of western climbing during the second half of the nineteenth century. Long-handled pickaxe, metal-tipped alpenstock, hobnailed boots, and a few coils of lifeline comprised the primary climbing aids during this golden era.

Following the Civil War, still other government explorers contributed to the romanticism of mountaineering. Credit for the first substantiated conquest of Longs Peak (14,255 feet) in Colorado in 1868 goes to the party of one-armed Maj. John Wesley Powell, the geologist who gained fame for his exploration of the Grand Canyon. In 1871, Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden caught his first glimpse of the great basin of the Yellowstone from the summit of Mount Washburn. And on his scientific survey of the fortieth parallel during 1867–78, redoubtable Clarence King enthusiastically chronicled his feats among western peaks.

PIONEER WESTERN CLIMBERS were in part following the tradition of manly Victorian exploits. In Europe, the golden age of mountaineering—roughly 1854–65—climaxed with the ill-fated first ascent of the Matterhorn, a multiple loss of life that brought queenly rebuke but did nothing to check the vigorous new sport. Westerners had their European models. But there were differences, too; mountain climbers in the frontier states developed, out of necessity, a hardy and stubborn individualism. Here, there were few guides (sometimes untrustworthy), no predetermined routes, and only scarce and improvised equipment. Every climb called for an arduous approach-march through untamed forest and brush; it was an unlikely opposition of nerve and nature.

Climbers ventured into the wilds with little more than rough boots, crude manila rope (if any), and a bedroll, blankets, and beans. Bedding was sometimes eiderdown quilts and calico "of a color that would not crock." Enthusiasm substituted for technique. These pioneers got along without ice axes, depending upon alpenstocks. Climbers relied on the "life line," a handline held by leaders. (Actually, the life line was seldom used, as to ask for the protection of a rope was considered less than spunky.) Western climbers, in particular, had to cope with loose, rotten rock, handholds that gave way when most needed, and violent and sudden rainstorms. With few skills and little more than audacious premise, these men pioneered the western style of mountaineering.

The mid-nineteenth century signaled vintage years for conquest of the glittering Cascades in the Pacific Northwest. In Washington, Mount Saint Helens (9,677 feet), frail and ethereal looking, insubstantial in fog, was an alluring target. For all its look of simplicity, Saint Helens can kill, with concealed crevasses and lethal fogs; skiers and climbers have vanished on its symmetrical slopes, some under mysterious circumstances. The legendary Sasquatch or ape-man was said to inhabit brooding Ape Canyon and scattered lava caves, and to pursue his victims. In 1853 Samuel Dryer of Portland's newspaper *The Oregonian* successfully led a party up the innocent-looking mountain. Four men climbed Mount Adams, a broad-shouldered, glaciered mountain east of Saint Helens, in 1854. From its lofty height (12,307 feet), one looks down today on a guileless pastoral scene; in 1854, forests were splendidly uncut, a green richness of seemingly inexhaustible resources spreading for miles, interrupted only by the great rivers that led to the ocean. In 1868, on a third try, Edmund T. Coleman achieved the top of Mount Baker (10,778 feet), a landmark of the North Cascade range. Fresh from his exploits in the Alps, Coleman was a stalwart climber and an ardent advocate of mountaineering.

The great Mount Rainier (14,410 feet)—noble Takhoma—was challenged in 1857 by a party led by Army Lieutenant August Kautz. After a strenuous eighty-mile approach from Fort Steilacoom on Puget Sound, Kautz succeeded in reaching the upper snow dome, just short of the summit. Kautz wrote of this attempt, "We sewed upon our shoes an extra sole . . . took with us a rope about fifty feet long, a hatchet, a thermometer, plenty of hard biscuit, and dried beef such as the Indians prepare." Not until August 18, 1870, was the summit itself finally conquered by General Hazard Stevens and Philemon Beecher Van Trump. Their Indian guide Sluiskin led them on a long and circuitous approach, warning of hostile spirits and retribution in a melancholy dirge that lasted all night. Gaining the summit-crater late in the day, Stevens and Van Trump

Continued on page 65

HIGH SIERRA PASS, CIRCA 1904

COLLECTION OF THE SIERRA CLUB, SAN FRANCISCO

THE LURE OF THE HIGH COUNTRY

THE EARLY MOUNTAINEERS of America lacked the common background of all those guided British gentlemen who stormed the summits of Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century, then returned home to write their own history. Most Americans climbed mountains unconscious of the fact that anyone would care, a hundred years later, about their ramblings in the clouds. They did not leave this world with their lives ordered for biographers, and the implements they used for climbing sometimes resembled something out of an archeological dig more than the classic tools of Alpine climbing.

The American brand of mountaineering was not rooted in tradition but in the very lack of it. It was not a brand at all, but an amorphous happening taking place sporadically in different locales at different times by people who, until the advent of the outing club late in the century, had no contact with one another. They climbed toward the heights out of a pioneer morass of ethnic, educational, physical, and cultural backgrounds in which there was little glory for a conquistador of the useless.

Innovation was the hallmark of these times, but many a wonderful idea never saw common use because of the isolation in which mountaineers performed. Here was an activity, a sport, sometimes almost a way of life that was outside the realm of custom and society. Without rules or traditions to follow, a man was free to muse about himself. Rugged individualism reigned on the heights not only because of the frontier ethic below but also because of the mountains themselves. Unlike the sheer peaks of the Alps, most of the high summits of the West required no technical skill or special equipment. Guts and strength sufficed—unless, as was often the case, the would-be climber lacked the rudiments of route-finding ability.

Dauntless Clarence King was a case in point. A member of the California Geological Survey, he tried for years to reach the top of 14,495-foot Mount Whitney, the highest summit in the nation before Alaska was acquired. A companion called him "wonderfully tough" with "the greatest endurance I have ever seen." On his first quest for Whitney in 1864 he used a rope that he knew was safe because he "had seen more than one Spanish bull throw his whole weight against it without parting a strand." (Modern climbers retire far stronger ropes immediately after the stress of mere human falls.) He climbed the wrong mountain, naming it Mount Tyndall after discovering his error. On another attempt he scaled what he believed to be Whitney, claiming to see "the rocky tower of Mount Tyndall" to the north. Failing to realize that "the rocky tower" was not the mountain he had previously climbed, but Whitney itself, he returned home to claim the first ascent of the top of America. His error was discovered more than a year later by a Mr. Goodyear, who found King's name left triumphantly on the gentle summit of the wrong mountain, and reported to the California Academy of Sciences that he and his companions had reached the very top of King's peak—Mount Langley—on the backs of their mules. King heard the news in 1873 and rushed from the East Coast to climb the real Whitney only to discover that several ascents had been made in the previous month, the first by three fishermen who proposed the name "Fisherman's Peak" to un-dignify the mountain over which there had been so much tub-thumping.

King was not a loser because of his failure in sporting achievement. He began to recognize that there was something more to be found in mountain experience than glory. He wrote that "after such fatiguing exercises the mind has an almost abnormal clearness: whether this is wholly from

Text continues on page 57; pictures continue overleaf.

AN ALBUM OF EARLY WESTERN MOUNTAINEERING

by Galen Rowell

SIERRA TRAILS

THE SIERRA CLUB, SAN FRANCISCO

"WHY WE BACKPACK", CIRCA 1902

SIERRA CLUB COLLECTION, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

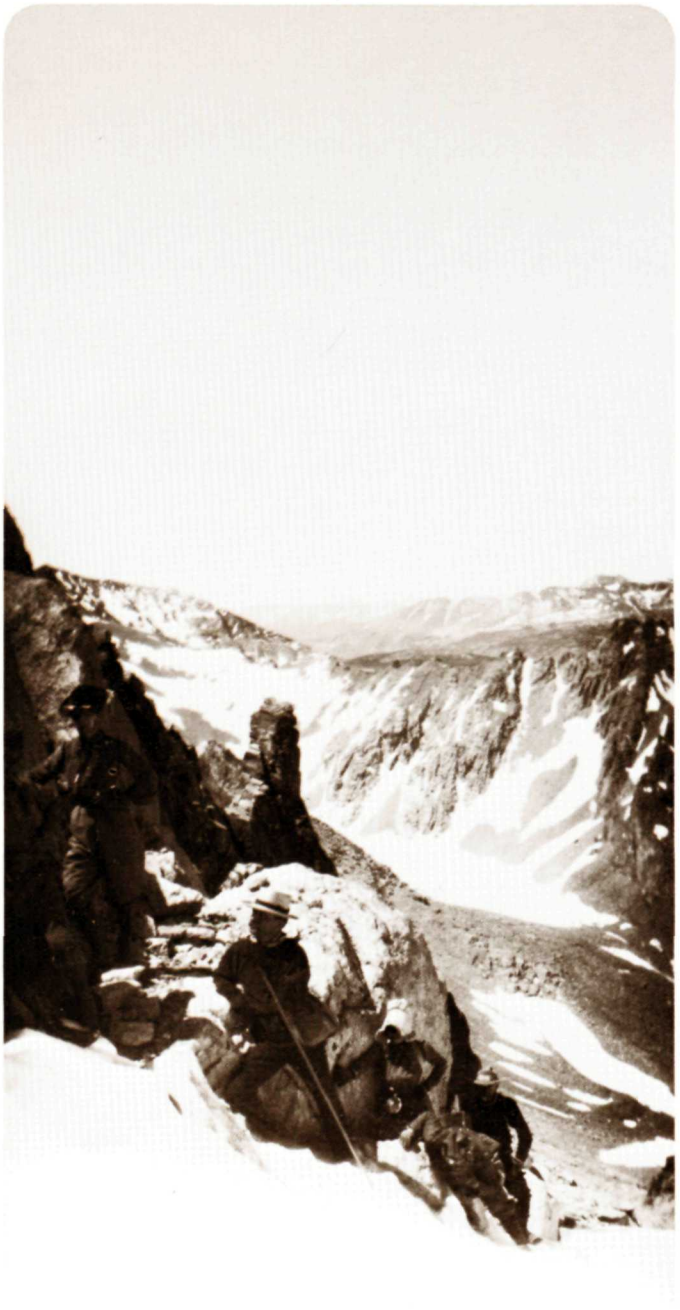
YOSEMITE, CIRCA 1909

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SAN FRANCISCO/LOS ANGELES

Venturing into mountains for pleasure at the turn of the century required strength and determination. (At times the beasts of burden balked at hazards en route with equal determination.) Those who passed this test often said that life began at ten thousand feet. Long summer weeks were spent in mobile shantytowns of canvas like the one at left, where Emma did not count calories as she "annihilated a flapjack" by the edge of the Kings River.

THE SIERRA CLUB, SAN FRANCISCO

SCRAMBLES IN THE SIERRA



PHOTOGRAPHS ON BOTH PAGES COURTESY OF THE SIERRA CLUB, SAN FRANCISCO

From a technical standpoint, reaching most summits in the High Sierra required little in the way of special skills or equipment. Snow and ice could almost always be avoided in what John Muir called "the Gentle Wilderness." Women in full skirts climbed the Grand Sentinel in 1896 (opposite page, bottom). Men like Joe LeConte, an early president of the Sierra Club, used nailed boots to climb Mount Whitney in 1895 (opposite page, top), but ran into considerable trouble in Tenaya Canyon (above), where their hard boots skidded, as the ice had done before them, on the glacier-burnished granite. Above the reach of the ancient ice, easy rock staircases led the way up most peaks on the Sierra crest (right), and any footgear sufficed. For steeper rock faces, summer scramblers soon began using tennis shoes, which marked the beginning of a new branch of mountaineering—rock climbing. Rigid boots and heavy clothes were shed, thus permitting gymnastics on the heights. Yosemite Valley, the heartland of the Sierra, was destined to become the world's Mecca for rock climbers.

SECOND ASCENT OF MOUNT MEANY, 1907

ASAHEL CURTIS COLLECTION, WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The mountains of Washington presented a snowy challenge much like that of the Alps. To reach summits in the Olympic Range, such as those of Mount Meany (left) or Mount Queets (below), required an ascent over both rock and snow. Here, as well as on the volcanoes of the Cascades, pioneer climbers found the rock more crumbly than in the Rockies or the Sierra Nevada. They favored snow travel wherever possible. Norman Clyde, a ubiquitous mountaineer who made thousands of climbs throughout the West, remarked that he could always tell where a person learned to climb. "Given a choice of routes, the Northwesterner will choose the snow while the Sierran scrambles up the rocks alongside." Few early climbers, however, traveled as widely as Clyde. Strong regional prejudices developed. Northwesterners called the Sierra and the Rockies mere desert peaks, while visitors to their home ranges, in kind, spread tales of wet piles of rubble rising out of jungles.

FIRST ASCENT OF MOUNT QUEETS, 1907

ASAHEL CURTIS COLLECTION, WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN THE WAKE OF THE PIONEERS

The storybook volcanoes of the Northwest, rising in perfect pyramids above the horizon of every major city, attracted more than the rare mountaineer. Adventurous citizens began hiring guides to lead them over crevassed glaciers to mystical summits above the clouds. Portland's magnet was Mount Hood; Seattle's, Mount Rainier. Improvisation was the order of the day, from repairing boots in a tent (below), to climbing with an ordinary hatchet and straight alpenstock (opposite page). On these mountains, climbers traveled roped together to safeguard against crevasse falls (right). For many, the ascent of a volcano visible from their hometown was a once-in-a-lifetime experience, unlike the every-summer outings of early climbers elsewhere in the West.

MOUNT RAINIER, CIRCA 1906

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

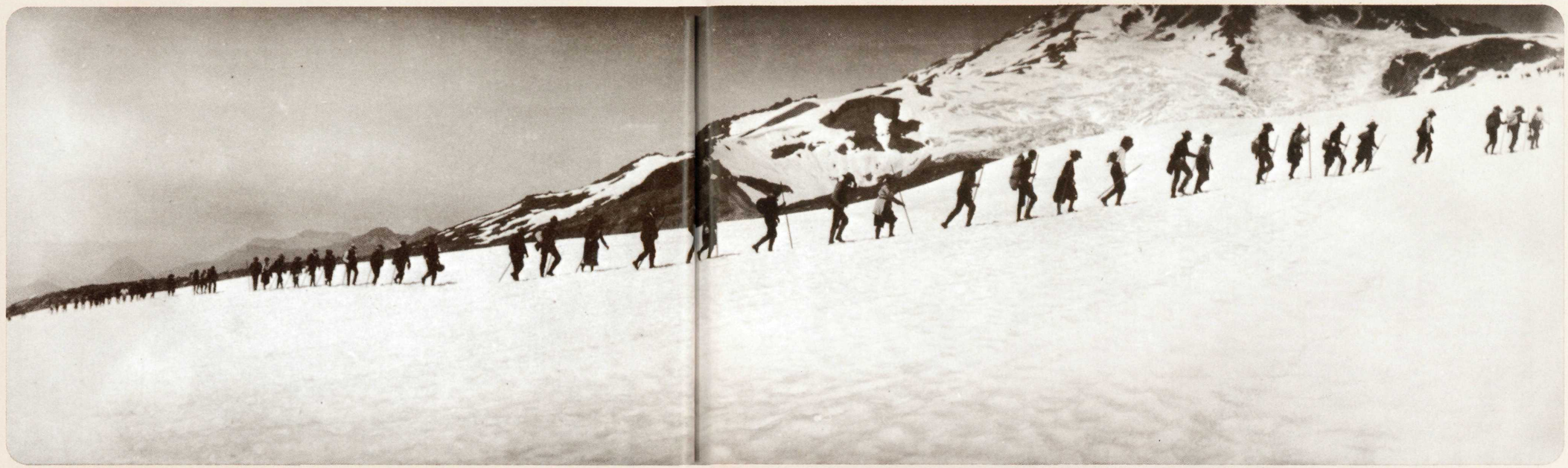
MOUNT RAINIER, 1905

ASAHEL CURTIS COLLECTION, WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CIRCA 1908

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

CLUB OUTINGS



BOTH PHOTOGRAPHS: SIERRA CLUB COLLECTION, BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

The outing club became an essential element in early western mountaineering. Even the most solitary of climbers belonged, for the planning of a new adventure without guidebooks, rapid transportation, or mass communications made personal contacts through a club a near necessity. Although organized for high-minded objectives that were indeed pursued with vigor, the unspoken purpose of these clubs was social. Like a small-town parish, the club became a place not only for meetings, dinners, and outings, but also new friendships and marriages within the fold. A rest stop on Mount Hood (left) during a 1905 joint outing of the Sierra Club and the Mazamas provided an ideal time to begin a new friendship.

LIFE ON THE HEIGHTS

CIRCA 1905

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ON SUMMIT OF PINNACLE PEAK, NEAR MOUNT RAINIER, 1905

ASAHEL CURTIS COLLECTION, WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Because the rigors of most ascents were not great, the art of climbing was rarely an individual pursuit. In camps that were far less spartan than today's—and even on mountaintops (left)—the sound of music or the inflections of Shakespearean drama pierced the still mountain air. The ever-present blend of culture and physical experience influenced the development of both wilderness ethic and sport. A teen-aged piano student from San Francisco paid for his lessons by washing photographic prints of mountain outings in his teacher's bathtub. The student, Jules Eichorn, joined his teacher on the next summer's outing and eventually participated in the first technical rock climbs in the West. The teacher, Ansel Adams, set the course of his remaining life by his mountain visions.

CIRCA 1918

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

PHOTOGRAPHS ON BOTH PAGES COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

THE PRESENCE OF THE PAST

PROMONTORY SUMMIT

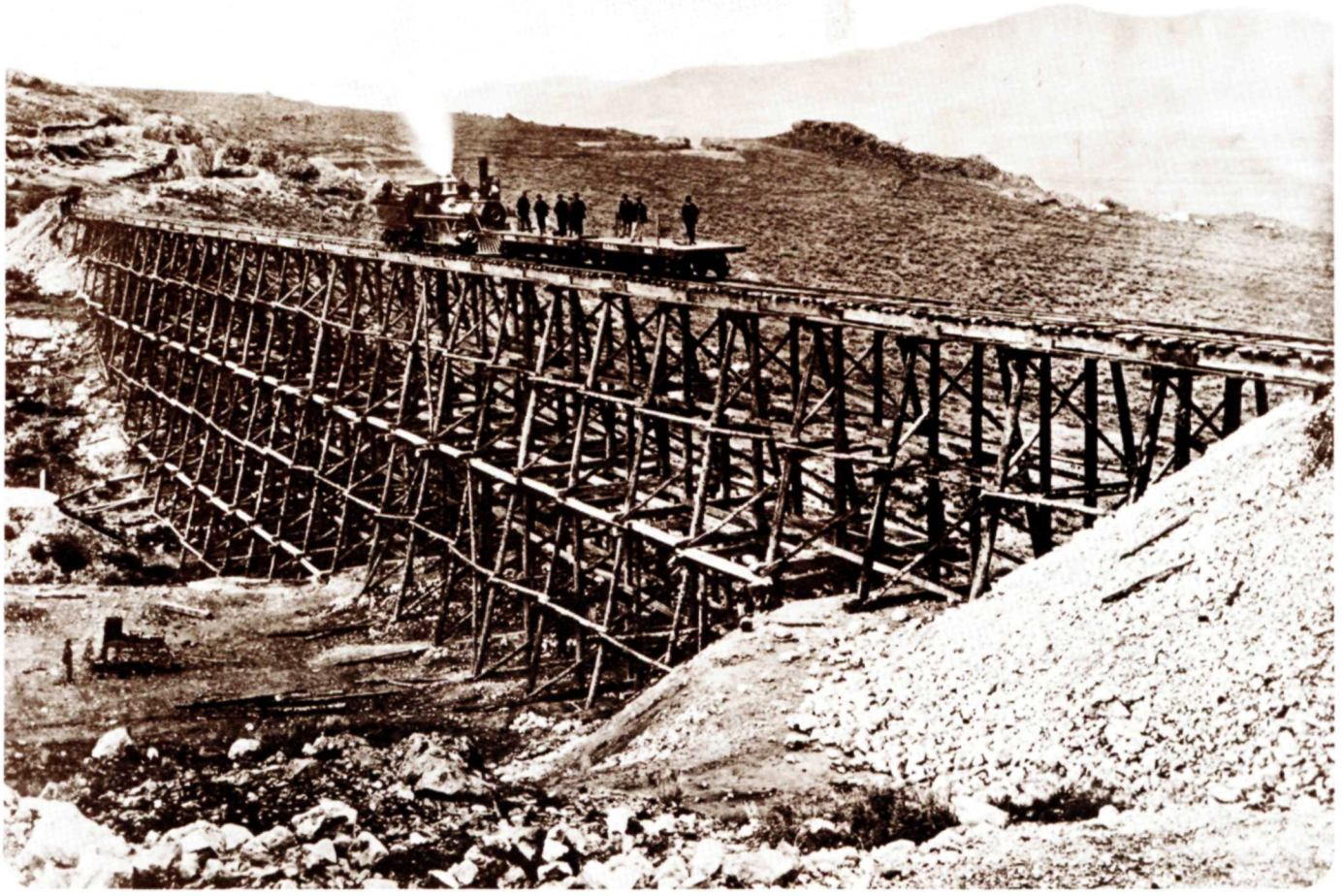
by Robert M. Utley

MAY 10, 1869, broke bright and chill over Promontory Summit, Utah—a welcome change after several days of soaking rain. Two trains from the east and two from the west puffed up the slopes, bearing railroad officials and other dignitaries. Construction workers and assorted camp hangers-on milled about the bleak basin lying between low mountains to the north and south. By noon some five hundred had gathered. Boisterous and unruly, they crowded in on the gap between the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railheads, anxious to witness the laying of the last rail in the line that would connect the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

Engineer Sam Bradford throttled U.P.'s 119 up to the gap while Engineer George Booth eased C.P.'s "Jupiter" into facing position on the opposite side. Spectators climbed over both locomotives seeking better vantage points. A battalion of infantry, fortuitously present en route to a new station, formed ranks along with two marching bands. The officials arranged themselves in a semicircle. W. N. Shilling sat at a small table, manning a telegraph key. It was connected to the transcontinental wire and also to a maul and a spike. The impact of the very blows that drove the last spike would be carried instantly to a nation waiting to celebrate the completion of the Pacific Railroad.

As a Massachusetts clergyman ended a two-minute invocation, Shilling tapped out a message: "We have got done praying. The spike is about to be presented."

Actually there was more than one "last" spike. Dr. W. H. Harkness of Sacramento presented U.P. Vice President Thomas C. Durant with two gold spikes engraved



Opposite: A famous Andrew J. Russell photograph records the scene at Promontory Summit, Utah, on May 10, 1869. The last rail and last tie have been laid, and the final spike has been driven, joining 1,800 miles of track and completing "the greatest railroad enterprise of the world." With official ceremonies ended, the Central Pacific "Jupiter" (left) faces the Union Pacific No. 119 at the historic point. As celebrants brandish bottles of champagne, engineers Grenville M. Dodge and Samuel S. Montague shake hands.

with suitable sentiments, one a gift of San Francisco construction magnate David Hewes, the other sent by the San Francisco *News Letter*. Durant slid them into holes already augured into a polished laurel tie. U.P. Chief Engineer Grenville Dodge delivered the response. Then U.S. Commissioner F. A. Tritle presented Nevada's contribution, a silver spike, and Governor A. P. K. Safford of Arizona presented a spike of iron, silver, and gold. C.P. President Leland Stanford made the response as these two spikes slid into their prepared holes. Next, L. W. Coe, President of the Pacific Union Express Company, presented Stanford with a silver-plated maul with which he symbolically "drove" the four precious spikes.

At last came the actual driving of the last spike. With the wired maul, Stanford swung at the wired spike. He missed, and the crowd whooped in delight. Durant tried his hand but also missed. Even so, Shilling rose to the occasion and at exactly 12:47 P.M. clicked out to the expectant nation the dots that spelled DONE. The two construction superintendents, the C.P.'s James Strobridge and the U.P.'s Samuel Reed, finished the task —with an ordinary maul and an ordinary iron spike.

Amid noisy jubilation, the two engineers nosed their locomotives to the point of junction, men on the two pilots reaching to grasp hands. A bottle of champagne was smashed against the laurel tie as christening, and the army officers gave the precious spikes ceremonial taps with the handles of their swords. Photographers exposed and developed their wet plates. The two engines steamed back and forth over the junction. Still at his table, Shilling tapped out a message dictated by Stanford and Durant: "General U.S. Grant, President of the U.S., Washington, D.C. Sir: We have the honor to report the last rail laid and the last spike driven. The Pacific Railroad is finished."

Despite a certain lack of decorum, the ceremony at Promontory Summit, Utah,

Above: A few miles east of Promontory, Locomotive No. 119 poses midway across Union Pacific's "Big Trestle" in May, 1869. Central Pacific's "Big Fill" stands 150 feet to the left of the spindly-appearing trestle, just out of the picture. Parallel cuts for both railroads are visible on the far side of the ravine.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Above: Today a park road, accessible to visitors from spring through fall, runs along the top of Central Pacific's "Big Fill," still intact. Approaches and footings (right center) are all that remain of Union Pacific's "Big Trestle." (This recent photograph was taken from a viewpoint about 200 feet to the left of that used for the picture on page 35.)

on May 10, 1869, marked an event of momentous significance in American history, the dramatic realization of a long-cherished national dream. The Pacific Railroad, together with the trans-continental rail network that it spawned, peopled the trans-Mississippi West, hastened the collapse of the Indian, decreed the disappearance of the frontier, and forged a continental nation in fact as well as name. It is therefore fitting that the place where it happened has been set aside as the Golden Spike National Historic Site.

Promontory Summit is a low gap in the Promontory Mountains, a rugged peninsula extending some thirty-five miles southward into the Great Salt Lake and ending at Promontory Point. As the setting for the comic-opera climax of the story, the last-spike site is the focus of initial interest. It lies in a circular basin, hot in summer and cold in winter, bleak, windswept, virtually featureless. Full-size replicas of "Jupiter" and 119 face each other on a strip of track, and at a nearby visitor-center the National Park Service tells the story of the Pacific Railroad.

By contrast, the slopes on either side of the basin are not featureless, and the scars left on them by the railroad builders recall the final exciting chapters of the great construction race between Union Pacific and Central Pacific. With every mile of line went government subsidies and huge land grants, and in addition each company strained hard to capture the lucrative Mormon markets of the Salt Lake Valley. The battle raged both in Washington and in the field, with neither side overly concerned about ethics. Surveyors and graders of both companies labored to drive their claims as deep as possible into the other's territory. From Wyoming to Nevada intermittent stretches of parallel grade bore witness to the effort. Not until a month before the last-spike ceremony was the point of junction finally agreed upon, and even then the momentum of rivalry slowed but little.

The marks of the great race still lie prominently on the land—grades, cuts, fills, and trestle footings snaking side by side up the slopes rising to Promontory Summit. The rails themselves are gone, pulled up for scrap during World War II. The line here was abandoned in 1904 with completion of the Lucin Cutoff across Great Salt Lake.

The stories of rivalry between the C.P.'s Chinese laborers and the U.P.'s Irishmen are true, but on the Promontory both companies relied chiefly on Mormon contractors, a matter of no small satisfaction

A VISITORS GUIDE TO GOLDEN SPIKE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

FOR YEARS, all that marked the completion of America's first transcontinental railroad in 1869 was a plaque set in a small concrete pyramid. Erected upon the windswept Promontory Summit by Southern Pacific Railroad in 1919, it withstood the elements and the bullets of passing hunters until a more appropriate memorial could be created. That belated recognition came in 1965 when Congress commemorated this remarkable engineering feat of the nineteenth century by creating Golden Spike National Historic Site.

Impetus toward preservation of the last-spike site was slow but certain. Beginning in the 1940s, public-spirited citizens annually reenacted the driving of the last spike. Gathering every May 10 from communities near and far, they stood before the monument at Promontory and reenacted the roles of Leland Stanford, Thomas Durant, and other officials present in 1869. As participation grew each year, so did awareness. Lobbying efforts increased, and finally paid off. With the generous donation of fifteen and one-half miles of abandoned transcontinental right-of-way by Southern Pacific, the National Park Service acquired a site of significance in the history of American expansion.

Today the park encompasses 2,200 acres and includes the former Hell on Wheels town of Promontory, the Big Fill, and the site of the Big Trestle. These attractions as well as parallel grading, Carmichael's and Clark's cuts, and other examples of railway construction are accessible to visitors. Indeed, from spring to autumn one may drive over the actual grade snaking through the park, and marvel at the ingenuity and perseverance that made the railroad a reality.

At Promontory, every day is May 10, 1869. While a visitor-center interprets the impact of the railroad by means of exhibits and a multi-media program, the visitor is eventually drawn outside. There, reconstructed from photographs, stands the tent city of Promontory as it appeared at the time the rails joined. The grade is rebuilt, and paralleled by strung telegraph-poles, rails reach for the horizons. Although there are only one and one-half miles of track and thirty poles, the scene is so convincing that visitors frequently ask how often the trains go by. In summer, this re-created, rough-and-tumble town is brought to life by National Park Service interpreters clad in period clothing. They occupy the Red Cloud Saloon and railroad ticket office, relating to visitors the story of the transcontinental and its influence upon the West.

The most dramatic development undertaken by the park culminated in 1979 with the arrival of two steam locomotives from Costa Mesa, California. Built by O'Connor Engineering Laboratories at a cost of $750,000 each, they are nearly exact duplicates of the Central Pacific "Jupiter" and the Union Pacific No. 119. When Chadwell O'Connor accepted the contract to replicate the last-spike locomotives in 1976, he faced two sizable handicaps. First, there were no plans extant. Secondly, the original locomotives were also nonexistent: the 119 was scrapped by Union Pacific in 1903, the "Jupiter" by the Gila Valley, Globe and Northern in 1906. The only guides were photographs, from which O'Connor's associates made over 750 drawings.

Last May, the remarkable results of O'Connor's endeavors rolled off semi-truck trailers onto the newly laid rails at Promontory Summit. The handsome new "Jupiter" and No. 119 differ in only minor details from the originals. For public safety, air brakes were installed and the boilers welded, albeit camouflaged by false rivets. Modern steel replaced the unreliable alloys of an earlier day. And for economy, the locomotives are fueled with diesel rather than wood or coal. Nevertheless, they are fully operational steam-powered engines, and huff, blow, and whistle like their predecessors. Daily from May to October, they steam to the last-spike site from their storage shed off the rebuilt Union Pacific wye, and assume the regal positions of their namesakes to the delight of onlookers.

Although remote, the Golden Spike was visited by over 73,000 people in 1979. The site is a two-hour, ninety-mile drive from Salt Lake City on Interstate 15 through Ogden to Brigham City, then via State 83 on a well-marked route. Open the year around except on Christmas day, the park's hours are 8:00 A.M. to 8:00 P.M. in summer, and 8:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. the rest of the year. Potential visitors are advised that the nearest gas stations, restaurants, and overnight accommodations are in Brigham City and Tremonton, each thirty-two miles distant.

The highlight of 1980 will be the traditional May 10 anniversary celebration. This event drew over 2,000 participants in 1979, and an even bigger turnout is anticipated for this year. Historian Robert Utley, whose research laid the foundation for the park's establishment, will speak on the changes he has seen since his preliminary studies twenty years ago. His talk will be followed by a reenactment of the driving of the last spike. Fittingly, the ceremony will include many participants of years past, whose re-creation first focused attention on the historic site now officially designated as Golden Spike. AW

INFORMATION ON THIS PAGE HAS BEEN PROVIDED THROUGH THE COURTESY OF SCOTT ECKBERG, PARK TECHNICIAN AT THE GOLDEN SPIKE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

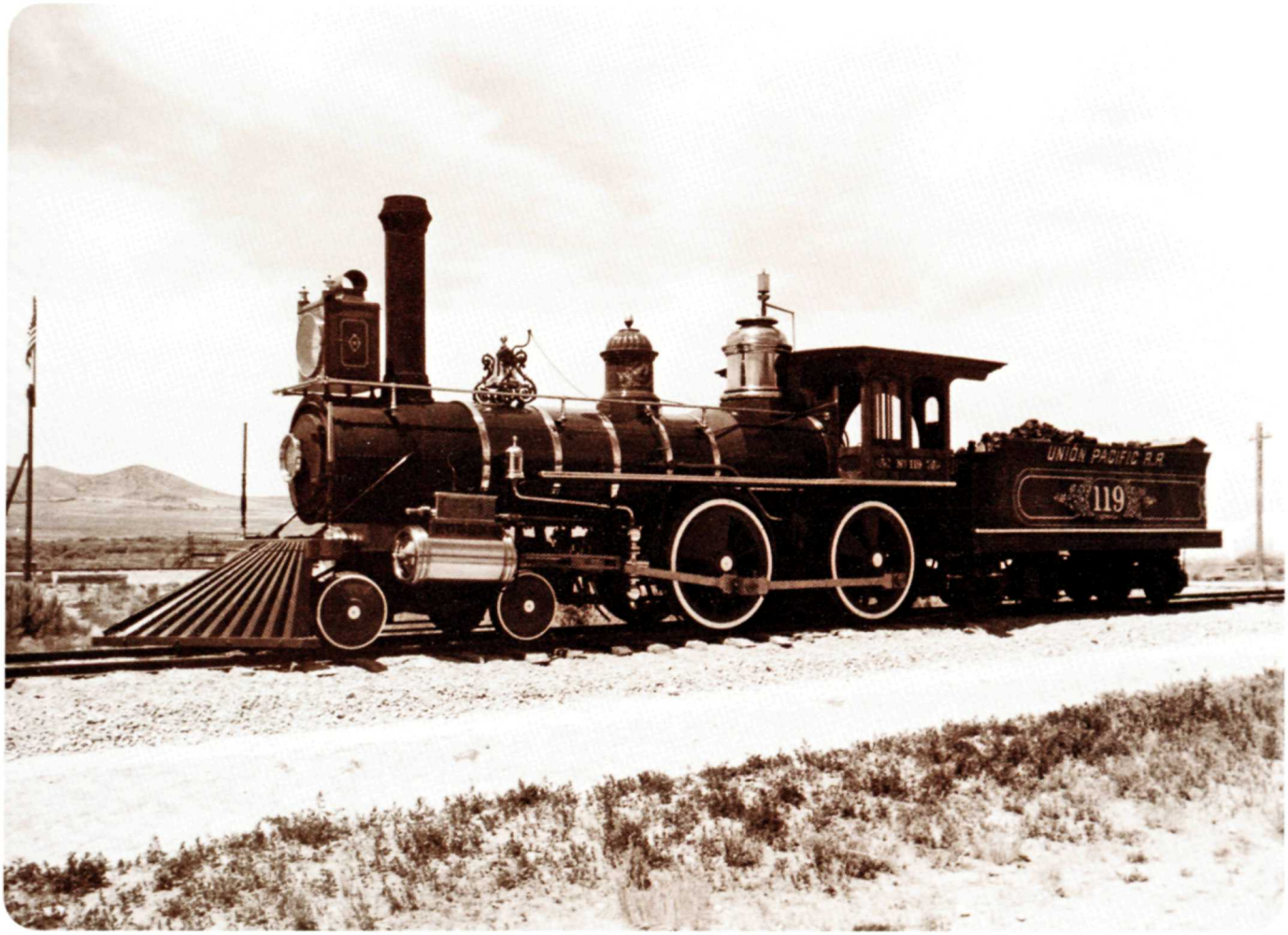
Nearly exact working replicas of their predecessors, Central Pacific "Jupiter" (above) and Union Pacific No. 119 (opposite page) turn back the clock more than a century for present-day visitors at Golden Spike National Historic Site. The illusion of earlier times is enhanced by a mile and a half of rebuilt track, telegraph poles, and a Promontory tent city.

as well as profit to the canny Brigham Young. In certain places, if only to confound each other, the companies crossed or otherwise tangled their grades. Once the U.P., needing a final load of fill for the day, gouged it out of the C.P.'s adjacent grade. Blasting added a certain zest to the contest. "When Sharp & Young's men first began work [for the U.P.]," reported a journalist from the scene, "the C.P. would give them no warning when they fired their fuse. Jim Livingston, Sharp's able foreman, said nothing but went to work and loaded a point of rock with nitroglycerine, and without saying anything to C.P. 'let her rip.' The explosion was terrific . . . and the foreman of the C.P. came down to confer with Mr. Livingston about the necessity of each party notifying the other when ready to blast."

On the steep eastern slope, where a straight-line distance of five miles required ten miles of tortuous grade with an ascent of eighty feet to the mile, the most noted features were the C.P.'s "Big Fill" and the U.P.'s "Big Trestle." Five hundred Mormons with 250 teams worked for two months on the "Big Fill." Spanning a deep ravine, it was 500 feet of gracefully curving grade that consumed 10,000 yards of earth.

The U.P. did not have time to build a fill in this ravine and decided on a temporary trestle that could later be replaced with a fill. Begun at the end of March 1869, while work continued on the "Big Fill" 150 feet to the west, the trestle was 400 feet long and 85 feet high when completed only five days before the last-spike ceremony. Nothing he could write, declared a reporter, "would convey an idea of the flimsy character of that structure." And another predicted that it "will shake the nerves of the stoutest hearts of railroad travellers when they see what a few feet of round timbers and seven-inch spikes are expected to uphold a train in motion."

At either end of the "Big Fill" and "Big Trestle," workers blasted cuts twenty to thirty feet deep through projections of black limestone. But the most impressive cuts, also opening on fills and trestles, were farther up the slope. Named for their builders as Carmichael's Cut and Clark's Cut, they broke through the final barriers to give access to the basin at Promontory Summit. Carmichael's Cut took its toll, recorded a journalist, when "four men were preparing a blast by filling a large crevice in a ledge with powder. After pouring in the powder they undertook to work it down with iron bars, the



bars striking the rocks caused an explosion; one of the men was blown two or three hundred feet in the air, breaking every bone in his body, the other three were terribly burnt and wounded with flying stones."

The frenetic activity on the Promontory peaked in late April and early May. The C.P., within reach of the summit, dismissed its Mormon contractors and brought Chinese laborers forward. The U.P., behind schedule, rushed gangs of Irishmen to the front to help its Mormon contractors. Tracklayers brought the railheads daily closer to each other. Tent cities sprouted everywhere—the C.P.'s models of disciplined decorum, the U.P.'s rocking nightly under the influence of what one observer called a "turbulent and rascally" population of whisky-peddlers, gamblers, and prostitutes. On May 3, however, the companies began to cut back their forces. Photographer Charles R. Savage, driving his portable darkroom up from Salt Lake City to record the final scenes, clucked his Mormon disapproval as he watched the workers "being piled upon the cars in every stage of drunkenness." "Verily," he observed, "men earn their money like horses and spend it like asses."

"The two opposing armies . . . are melting away," telegraphed the *Alta California*'s correspondent on May 5. On that day the final spike went into the "Big Trestle" and the tracklayers moved out on the frightening span. That evening the final blast exploded in Carmichael's Cut. On May 7 the U.P. rails broke through to the edge of the basin at the summit, within sight of the C.P. railhead. The armies of thousands had dissipated, leaving the five hundred people who on May 10 watched, or tried to watch, the futile attempts of Stanford and Durant to hit spike with maul and activate Mr. Shilling's telegraph key.

The "Big Fill" is still there. The "Big Trestle" has long since disappeared, but its footings are still visible. So are all the cuts so laboriously blasted from the outcroppings of hard rock that spot the slopes. On both sides of the summit the grades of the two roads parallel each other. On the western side may be seen the grade on which C.P. laborers met a U.P. challenge and, under the driving genius of Charles Crocker, put down a record ten miles of track in a single day. And at the last-spike site itself, now a scene of solitude contrasting with the animation of 1869, the replicas of "Jupiter" and 119 stand pilot to pilot, calling to mind the evocative words of Bret Harte:

> What was it the engines said
> Pilots touching—head to head
> Facing on a single track
> Half a world behind each back? **AW**

Robert M. Utley *performed the 1960 National Park Service historical studies that preceded Congressional authorization of the Golden Spike National Historic Site.*

"THE MOST REMARKABLE SCENERY"

THE BEAUTY, VARIETY, AND PICTORIAL POTENTIAL of the American West profoundly affected the sensibilities of nineteenth-century artists who traveled across the frontier with official government exploring expeditions, in the interest of American business, and as tourists. One of the most important of these, Thomas Moran (1837–1926), arrived in the West at a formative moment of his career and found a subject to inspire lifelong devotion. In 1871, he accompanied Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden's survey party to the Yellowstone, a mysterious country, difficult to penetrate and navigate, and reportedly rife with hostile Indians. Such a land, previously known only to the most intrepid adventurers and fur trappers, perfectly suited the romantic interests of nineteenth-century Americans, and Moran was the first artist to discover and paint what the *Rocky Mountain News* aptly termed "the most remarkable scenery."

That summer of 1871 provided Moran with the material for his first success, and like the Hayden survey's photographer William Henry Jackson, he returned from the field with a new career. His friends on the expedition called him "T. Yellowstone Moran," and later that year he began signing his name in a colophon incorporating a "Y" into his own initials. Moran's watercolor field sketches circulated in Washington, D.C., that fall and winter and influenced congressmen to designate Yellowstone the first national park.

The Yellowstone trip was only the beginning of Moran's obsession with the West. During the next two decades he visited the lands west of the Mississippi eight times. He formed a lasting friendship with F. V. Hayden and also traveled with another of the West's great explorers, Major John Wesley Powell, in a spectacular journey through the canyons of the Colorado River in 1873. On the way to the brink of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, Moran and his traveling companion, author J. E. Colburn, passed through the canyons of the Rio Virgin. Here the artist found a landscape more suited to his brilliant palette and abilities than any he had seen since the Yellowstone.

In subsequent years, Moran continued to crisscross the West in search of its scenic beauty, painting such natural wonders as the Tetons, Lake Tahoe, Yosemite, Pikes Peak, the Mount of the Holy Cross, Devils Tower, the Green River, and the Grand Canyon. He spent one summer in Mexico, making a sweeping arc from Vera Cruz to Mexico City, Maravatío, San Miguel Allende, and Monterrey.

Although Moran continued his western journeys until nearly the end of his long and productive career, especially on commission to publicize rail travel, he had painted his strongest field sketches and finished watercolors by the first years of the twentieth century. The character of the West had changed drastically during Moran's adult life, and with it, artists' reasons for choosing western travel and subjects. While Moran gained fame during his own lifetime primarily for his large oil paintings (two of which were the first landscape canvases purchased by the government for display in the Capitol), modern interest centers in his work in the watercolor medium. Moran's watercolors, in the form of field sketches made during his summer expeditions and finished paintings executed later in his studio, seem fresher and more spontaneous than his oils, and closer both to their natural inspiration and to the spirit of the artist's initial vision.

"The Most Remarkable Scenery," the first major exhibition of Thomas Moran's watercolors (including some eighty paintings), will be shown at the Amon Carter Museum, May 23–July 13, 1980; at the Cleveland Museum of Art, August 5–October 5, 1980; and the Yale University Art Gallery, October 23, 1980–January 4, 1981. **AW**

Carol Clark *is Curator of Paintings at the Amon Carter Museum and author of a book on Thomas Moran's watercolors, to be published in May by the University of Texas Press.*

THOMAS MORAN'S WATERCOLORS OF THE AMERICAN WEST

by Carol C. Clark

"MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS": PENCIL, WATERCOLOR, AND OPAQUE COLOR, DATED 1875 (THE CAPTION FOR THIS PAINTING APPEARS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE) COLLECTION OF ROBERT H. LEVIS

MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS

Ferdinand V. Hayden's survey party was the first to see Yellowstone's Mammoth Hot Springs (preceding page). The origin and formation of the brilliantly colored springs fascinated geologist and artist alike, and expedition photographer William Henry Jackson photographed Moran peering cautiously into the encrusted wonderland he would later delight in painting. Artistic collaboration in the field proved particularly beneficial for Jackson and Moran. The photographer shared his greater experience in western travel and, later, his photographs with Moran, while the painter assisted with bulky photographic equipment and advice on pictorial composition. Jackson later recalled their friendship and fruitful association: "Moran became greatly interested in photography, and it was my good fortune to have him at my side during all that season to help me solve many problems of composition. While learning a little from me, he was constantly putting in more than he took out."

GREEN RIVER, WYOMING

The weathered cliffs of Green River, where travelers often disembarked for other north and south connections, came to symbolize passage to the West. Moran inscribed his first Green River watercolor "first sketch made in the west" and continued to devote paper and canvas to that scene for the next fifty years. The artist discovered endless variety in these rock formations and on a trip to the Tetons with his younger brother Peter in 1879, stopped long enough to pencil their outlines, delicately wash water, cliffs, and sky, and pick up reflective highlights with opaque color (below). This watercolor is one of ninety works that Moran gave to New York's Cooper Union School in order to make his drawings and preliminary sketches available to future art students.

PENCIL, WATERCOLOR, AND OPAQUE COLOR; DATED 1879

COLLECTION OF THE COOPER-HEWITT MUSEUM, THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION'S NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DESIGN; GIFT OF THE ARTIST

MOSQUITO TRAIL, ROCKY MOUNTAINS OF COLORADO

Mountain scenery, whether the Alps, the Catskills, or the Rockies, was a favorite of nineteenth-century artists. If the sky might introduce the mood of a painting, mountains could be protagonists of the unfolding dream. Moran was one of many American painters committed to the aesthetic thought of the British critic John Ruskin, who believed that the elements of nature reflected spiritual truths and that mountain scenery was the highest attainment possible for the artist. Ruskin in turn admired Moran's work, a fact that can be easily understood in such paintings as Mosquito Trail *(below). Moran's solitary explorer and his pack horse emphasize the insignificance of man in the presence of nature's awesome grandeur. This watercolor was reproduced in a series of chromolithographs by Louis Prang, probably the only such prints Ruskin ever bought.*

PENCIL, WATERCOLOR, AND OPAQUE COLOR; DATED 1875

PRIVATE COLLECTION, NEW YORK

PIKES PEAK, MANITOU CANYON

Moran began each of his field sketches with a pencil underdrawing of varied detail. He often added color notes or quick, written references of the specific color of certain areas of the scene. He then washed the drawing with one, two, or many colors to suggest hue and further define form. Later, he might add more washes and opaque color for highlights, as in the top of Pikes Peak *(below). The artist also labeled the viewpoint, sometimes including the specific time of day and weather conditions. Only with such attention to detail and to the specific character of a scene could he begin to paint more generalized watercolors and oils in the studio.*

PENCIL AND WATERCOLOR; DATED 1901

COLLECTION OF THE AMON CARTER MUSEUM OF WESTERN ART, FORT WORTH

FROM POWELL'S PLATEAU

In 1873 Moran worked with another of the West's greatest explorers, Major John Wesley Powell. From Powell's base camp at Kanab, Utah, the artist made several journeys to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River, some in the company of the famed one-armed explorer. Moran found the conditions for sketching the Grand Canyon much more difficult than those in Yellowstone, and he wrote to his wife that he "had not time nor was it worth while to make a detailed study in color." His few watercolors of the area are indeed enough, for he succeeded in capturing the area's peculiar panoramic sweep and the character of harsh stone in subtle grays laced with pinks and blues.

PENCIL, WATERCOLOR, AND OPAQUE COLOR; DATED 1873

COLLECTION OF THE COOPER-HEWITT MUSEUM, THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION'S NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DESIGN; GIFT OF THE ARTIST

SHOSHONE FALLS, SNAKE RIVER, IDAHO

Of all of Moran's watercolor patrons during the artist's lifetime and after, none had more public impact than Louis Prang. The aggressive entrepreneur successfully marketed 1,000 chromolithographic reproductions of fifteen Moran watercolors and moved quickly to the forefront of the "business" of western imagery. Regrettably, Moran's most public watercolor patron did not keep his collection intact but gave away some paintings and sold others at auction. Shoshone Falls *(below) was once part of Prang's collection, as was* Mammoth Hot Springs *(page 41),* Mosquito Trail *(page 43), and* Tower Falls and Sulfur Rock *(opposite).*

TOWER FALLS AND SULFUR ROCK, YELLOWSTONE

If western mountains answered Americans' longing for sublime experience, waterfalls responded to their desire for dynamic variety. The development of Moran's pictorial language of falls began in streams around his home in Philadelphia and built up with experiences at Yellowstone's Upper and Lower Falls, Yosemite, and the Mount of the Holy Cross. One waterfall in particular seethed with barely contained dramatic potential. That was Tower Falls, the first of a series of spectacular falls up the Yellowstone River. In the view at right, Moran has dramatized the distinctive rock formation of Devil's Hoof, a keynote in future pictures of the Towers. Only the scattered foreground rocks stop us, as viewers of Moran's painting, from sweeping toward the Hoof and tumbling over the falls; his giant, looming towers suited F. V. Hayden's description: "On either side the somber brecciated columns stand like gloomy sentinels."

WATERCOLOR, CIRCA 1875

COLLECTION OF THE CHRYSLER MUSEUM, NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

WATERCOLOR, CIRCA 1875 PRIVATE COLLECTION


J. T. DORAN

Important American Art

FENN GALLERIES LTD.

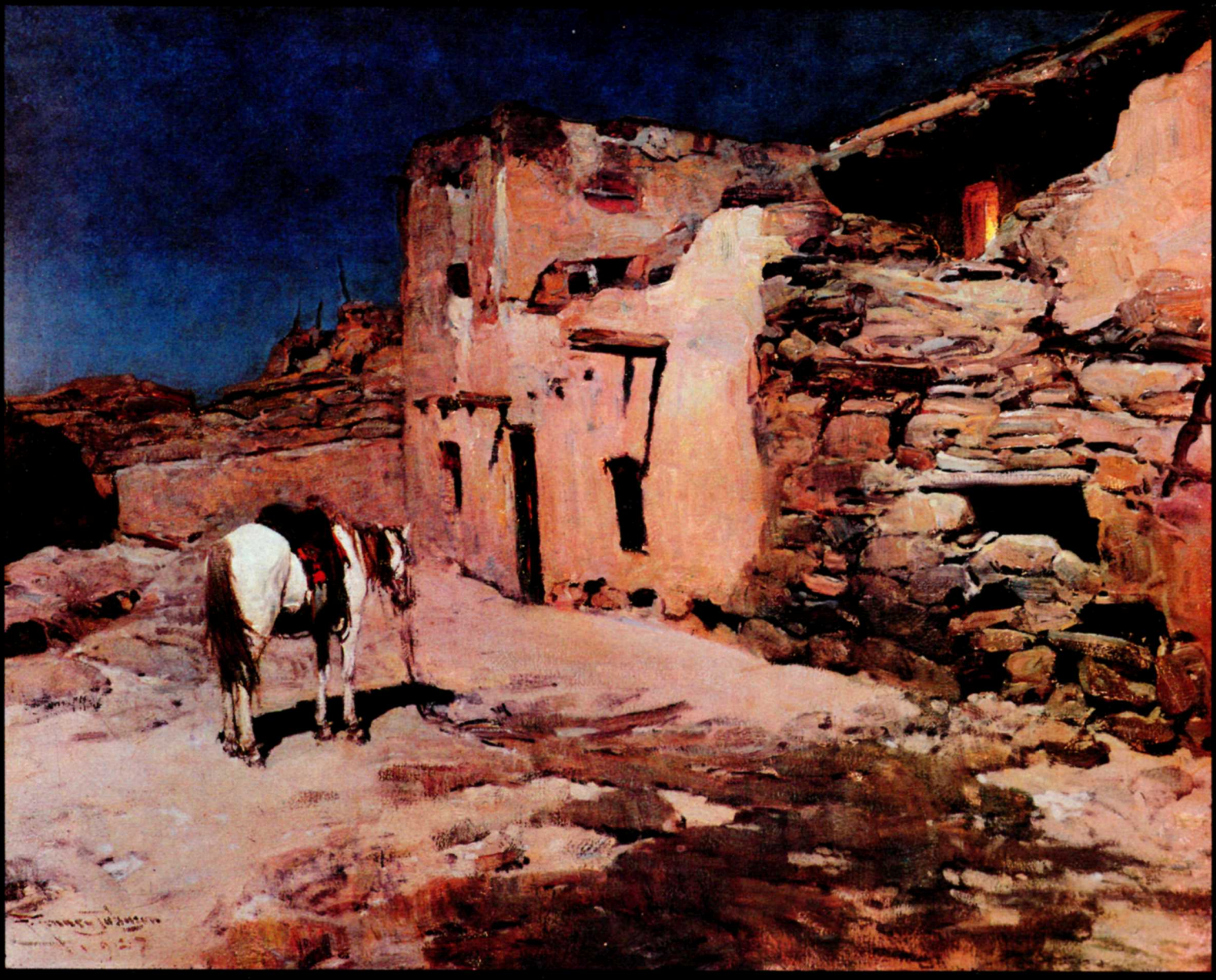
1075 Paseo de Peralta
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501
505/982-4631

Inquire about additional works by F.T. Johnson

FRANK TENNEY JOHNSON NA

1874-1939

Pueblo at Night 1927 oil 36"x 46" A letter by the artist describing the painting accompanies the work.



WESTERN HISTORY TODAY

Excavation began recently at the site of a **prehistoric Duwamish Indian village** recently uncovered by **University of Washington** archaeologists in Renton, Washington, ten miles south of Seattle. The village may be as old as one thousand years and is expected to yield important information about the Duwamish Tribe. Such information could lead to formal recognition of the Duwamish Indians and to establishment of fishing rights for them, hitherto denied because of a lack of concrete archaeological evidence about the tribe.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation has recently acquired four **cribs** (small, simple houses) and a famous saloon and dance hall, **The Silver Belle,** in Telluride, Colorado. Dating from the town's mining boom in the late nineteenth century, these structures will be sold under terms which will assure their preservation.

Supported by a large matching-gift grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the **Forest History Society** is beginning the compilation of an **encyclopedia of American forest and conservation history,** with Richard C. Davis as general editor. He will welcome inquiries from qualified, potential contributors at the Society's address, 109 Coral Street, Santa Cruz, California 95060.

With the aim of recording all **pioneer graves and cemeteries** in Wyoming, the Wyoming State Historical Society has inaugurated a five-year project. Complete information about each burial site will be included in a compilation which the society will make available to the public.

The influence of **the China trade** on American taste between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries will be documented by an exhibit of oriental ceramics, textiles, and furniture at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art from March 20 to June 29. "Austere western homes" were enriched during those centuries by exotic, decorative imports.

Important to the ceremonial life of the **Mayo and Yaqui Indians of Northwest Mexico** are the Pascolas, or ritual fiesta hosts. The responsibilities and complex ritual performed by a Pascola will be explored through an exhibit of masks and costumes at the Heard Museum in Phoenix from April 12 through the summer.

The **Buffalo Bill Historical Center** in Cody, Wyoming, has received a grant from Laurance S. Rockefeller of New York to research and plan a re-creation of the studio of famed **western artist Frederic Remington.** The projected studio will occupy the exhibit space now displaying the Center's extensive collection of Remington's studio effects, including over one hundred original oil sketches plus some six hundred artifacts which the artist collected for use as reference materials and models. Duplication of Remington's New Rochelle, New York, studio is complicated by the fact that the original structure was demolished about twenty years ago.

The history of **agriculture in the Southwest** will be the subject of a symposium on May 13–15 at Texas A&M University. For information contact the University's Department of History at College Station, Texas 77843.

Silver in American Life, a major touring exhibition drawn from Yale University's collection of silver, will be shown at the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth from February 7 through April 13. The exhibit aims to illustrate the role of silver in American cultural life from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, emphasizing among other themes the discovery of great **silver deposits in the West** and the establishment of distinct regional styles.

On display through May 31 at the Denver Museum of Natural History are some thirty photographs by Jesse Hastings Bratley depicting **Sioux Indian life** on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota from 1895 to 1899.

The Magruder Plots of **Oklahoma State University** in Stillwater have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Since 1892, the University has continuously conducted experiments in soil research and fertilizer development on these plots. The resulting data have been important to Oklahoma's economic development, enabling the state's farmers to get maximum yield from dry soil in an arid climate.

On weekday mornings, May 1 through 29, the **Denver Museum of Natural History** will offer a "PLEASE TOUCH" program. Placed on carts throughout the museum, the touchable items will include dinosaur bones, rocks, fossils, animal skins, geology specimens, and others.

Winner of the special poster contest for fourth grade students, sponsored by the **State Historical Society of North Dakota,** is Ronnie Schauer, who attends Gussner Elementary School in Jamestown. His drawing of the Stutsman County Courthouse was distributed throughout North Dakota to announce National Historic Preservation Week.

A large-weapons display called **Firearms of the Frontier** is being exhibited through June at the Western Heritage Center in Billings, Montana.

A recent addition to the National Register of Historic Places is **Fort Mason,** near the Golden Gate, at San Francisco. The fort dates from 1797 when it became one of two sites defending the harbor. For about the first half of the twentieth century, Mason served as the headquarters of the San Francisco Port of Embarkation. It is now area headquarters for the National Park Service.

Materials used in warfare by the **Plains Indians** during the last half of the nineteenth century will be shown by the Denver Art Museum from March 14 through June 8. The exhibit includes shields, clothing, weapons, and paintings of battle scenes on muslin and leather.

THE AMERICAN WEST REVIEW

CITIES OF THE AMERICAN WEST

Reviewed by Bradford Luckingham

Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning *by John W. Reps (Princeton University, Princeton, 1979; 861 pp., illus., maps, biblio., notes, index, $75.00).*

JOHN W. REPS has enhanced his reputation for quality contributions with *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning.* Over eight hundred pages long, containing at least five hundred illustrations including thirty-two color plates, it is an attractive and important survey of urban plans and planning in the American West from the Spanish explorers to the 1890s.

The volume is not without shortcomings. Reps, a Cornell University professor of urban planning, explains in the preface that production of this book was delayed five years from the time the manuscript was completed. As a result, some important articles and books dealing with western urban history during the period of Reps's study were not utilized. Because of this, it is recommended that readers use Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier* (1978), as a companion piece.

Cities of the American West includes material found in Reps's previous works on the urban West. It also incorporates much new material supporting the thesis that the founding of towns on the frontier preceded rural settlement or took place at the same time, and the establishment of urban communities stimulated the development of the rural West. The towns, as vanguards of settlement, shaped the structure of society in the new country. Frederick Jackson Turner should have devoted more attention to the urban dimension; according to Reps, Richard Wade's idea that "the towns were the spearheads of the frontier" in the trans-Appalachian West is equally valid when applied to the trans-Mississippi West.

Turner and his followers failed to realize that "by 1890 a significant part of the West's population resided in urban places and that it was these town and city dwellers who were largely responsible for whatever distinctive characteristics the region possessed." In virtually every aspect of life, "town and city residents and institutions dominated western culture and civilization." The days of urban pioneering had ended by 1890, and western cities by that year resembled in many ways the older eastern centers; imitation had proved to be a far stronger force than innovation in the urbanization of the West, and by the end of the century, Reps declares, "the gap between the urban and rural West was far greater in every respect than whatever differences may still have distinguished a western city from its eastern counterpart."

By 1890 the location of most western urban centers had been established, and many of the major cities at that time would remain dominant in the region. In nearly all of them the practical but dull gridiron plan was expanded or repeated in each new addition to the urban area. The gridiron street system, a unifying theme in the book, tends to be monotonous, and a number of unimportant places, many of which failed to get beyond the planning stage, receive as much space as large, significant cities. This tome, however, leaves no doubt that the western frontier had its origins in "thousands of planned communities." Reps amply illustrates "that America is a nation of planned cities, although the results were not always, or even mainly, attractive or beneficial."

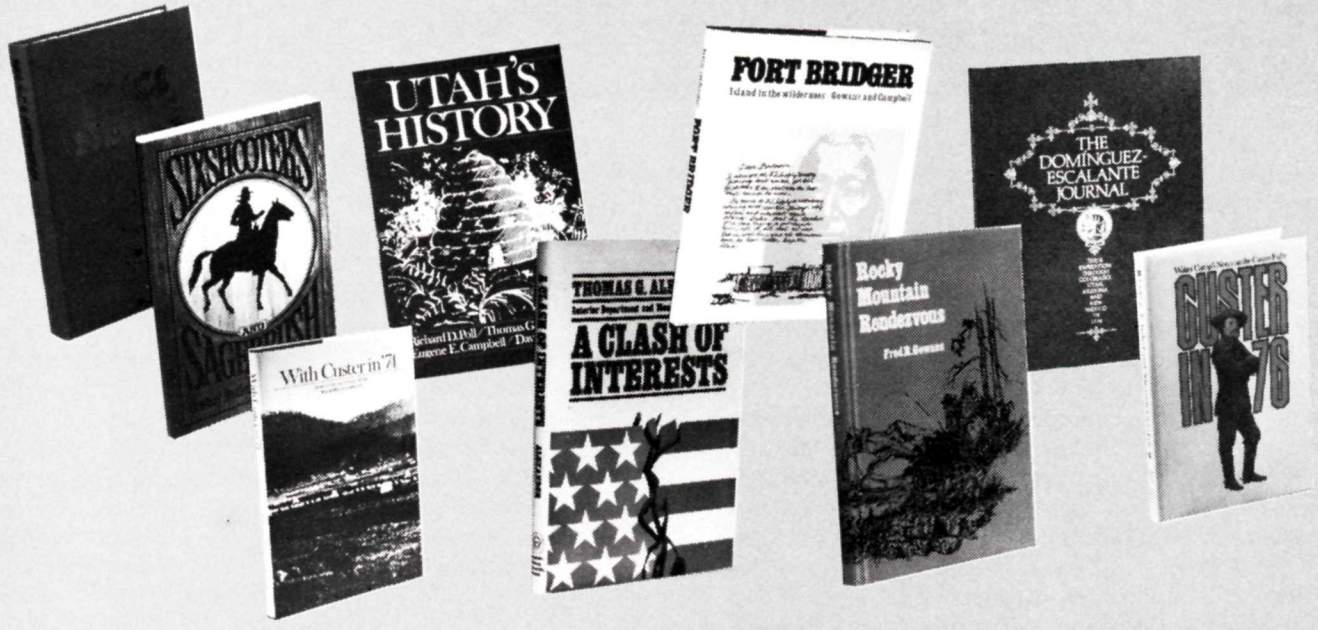
The author suggests that the history of the urban West is replete with "lost opportunities" for truly attractive or beneficial planning. The boosters of the young cities of the West were determined to reach metropolis status at any cost, an approach that often resulted in unfortunate consequences. As the twentieth century dawned, "virtually all Americans and especially those living in the West remained convinced that to grow bigger was to become better." This belief "shaped the policies of the region's growth," and "order and beauty continued to be subordinated to wealth and size as the frontier era passed into history and a new stage of urban development began."

Reps is especially good when he writes about the "dreams of power, wealth, freedom, conquest, and opportunity that led men into the American West to people it with towns and cities." He points out the development of "several detached frontiers." Following a background discussion of the beginnings of urbanization in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, he covers the appearance of Hispanic and Anglo settlements in the Southwest and California, the emergence of Mormon towns, and the creation of urban centers in the Pacific Northwest, Great Plains, and Mountain States. The "overnight cities" of Oklahoma are given a chapter. The significant impact of the railroads on urban growth in all of the areas is emphasized. Special attention given planned towns and cities the caliber of Colorado Springs and Salt Lake City indicate what "might have been" produced throughout the West with "orderly design and managed development." Yet San Francisco, despite its shortcomings, including "the deficiencies of its planning," stood out as "the most attractive, diversified, and cosmopolitan of American western communities."

Reps's creation may be looked at in a similar way. Despite its shortcomings, *Cities of the American West* is a magnificent effort. Years of research and writing have gone into this outstanding work. The illustrations accompanying the text, drawn from over eighty collections, have been used as essential historical evidence, and many of them provide a visual feast. AW

Bradford Luckingham teaches and writes urban history at Arizona State University, Tempe.

BYU Press — Specialists in Quality Western History Publications



Recent Releases

Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry — An extensive biography of the first governor of the new Washington territory, one of the most popular, yet controversial figures of his day. **$24.95** cloth

Sixshooters and Sagebrush: Cowboy Stories of the Southwest — A masterful transcription of Rowland W. Rider's stories of fact and fiction based on his years along the Arizona Strip at the turn-of-the-century. **$7.95** paper

With Custer in '74 — covers the 1874 Expedition of the Seventh Cavalry and their ensuing discovery of gold in the Black Hills. **$12.95** cloth

Utah's History — A compilation of well-researched articles offering the most complete history of the state ever published. **$17.95** cloth, **$12.95** paper

A Clash of Interests — Traces the impact of the U.S. Interior Department on the western territories, administration, land, and Indian consolidation. **$19.95** cloth

Fort Bridger: Island in the Wilderness — Re-creates the sprawling fifty-year history of this famous Wyoming outpost once owned by the celebrated Jim Bridger. **$8.95** cloth, **$4.95** paper

Rocky Mountain Rendezvous — A chronicle of the annual gatherings of the fur trappers and traders comprising one of the West's most picturesque, romanticized periods. **$8.95** cloth, **$4.95** paper

Dominguez-Escalante Journal — The most accurate and proficient translation ever of the original 1776 Dominguez-Escalante Journal. **$12.95** cloth, **$8.95** paper

Custer in '76 — The fascinating firsthand account of the Battle of the Little Bighorn as told through interviews with the survivors. **$12.95** cloth

ORDER FORM

Please send:

_____ copies of **A Clash of Interests** (1480-5) at **$19.95** each.
_____ copies of **Custer in '76** (0399-4) at **$12.95** each.
_____ copies of **Dominguez-Escalante Journal** (0037-5) at **$12.95** each.
_____ copies of **Dominguez-Escalante Journal** (0121-5) at **$8.95** each.
_____ copies of **Fort Bridger** (0419-2, cloth) at **$8.95** each.
_____ copies of **Fort Bridger** (0420-6, paper) at **$4.95** each.
_____ copies of **Isaac Stevens** (1687-2) at **$24.95** each.
_____ copies of **Rocky Mountain Rendezvous** (0791-4, cloth) at **$8.95** each.
_____ copies of **Rocky Mountain Rendezvous** (0787-6, paper) at **$4.95** each.
_____ copies of **Sixshooters and Sagebrush** (1696-4) at **$7.95** each.
_____ copies of **Utah's History** (0842-2, cloth) at **$17.95** each.
_____ copies of **Utah's History** (0838-4, paper) at **$12.95** each.
_____ copies of **With Custer in '74** (1620-4) at **$12.95** each.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

(Utah residents add 4¾% sales tax. California residents add 6% use tax.) All orders must be accompanied by payment.

Mail order to

Brigham Young University Press
Business, 205 UPB, Dept. ST 845
Provo, UT 84602
(801) 378-2807

WESTERN BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Utah Photographs of George Edward Anderson *by Rell G. Francis (University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1979, for The Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth; 155 pp., illus., map, notes, index, $23.50).*

A devout Mormon, George Edward Anderson (1860–1928) used his skill as a photographer to record the life of his generation in Utah. In over one hundred of Anderson's sensitive, detailed, sharp photographs, this handsome book depicts people at their daily pursuits or in charming poses. (See *The American West* of November/December 1978 for a portfolio of Anderson's work with accompanying text by Francis.)

My First Summer in the Sierra *by John Muir (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1979; 272 pp., illus., index, paper $5.95).*

In the summer of 1869, John Muir made his first long trip into Yosemite. This is his journal of that summer (last published in 1915) describing his experiences and reflecting the affection and awe which he felt for the grand beauty surrounding him.

Historical Atlas of Arizona *by Henry P. Walker and Don Bufkin (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1979; 78 pp., maps, biblio., index, $6.95 paper, $14.95 cloth).*

By means of sixty-five detailed maps and a brief textual description that sets each map in historical perspective, this oversize volume illustrates the history of the Arizona area from prehistoric to modern times.

The Treasury of Sporting Guns *by Charles F. Waterman (The Ridge Press, Random House, New York, 1979; 240 pp., illus., biblio., index, $24.95).*

The five-hundred-year evolution of sportsmen's shotguns and rifles is revealed in this large, handsome, and interesting book. Profuse illustrations, many in color, stress the beauty and elaborate decorations of the guns.

Floating on the Missouri *by James Willard Schultz, edited by Eugene Lee Silliman (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1979; 142 pp., maps, index, $9.95).*

This is the true story of a float trip down the Missouri in 1901, as told by Schultz (Apikuni), a New Yorker who had previously become a member of the Blackfoot tribe in Montana Territory. Apikuni and his Indian wife relate their nostalgic venture, abounding in memories, dangers, and descriptions of nature—adding up to a fascinating account.

Kwakiutl Art *by Audrey Hawthorn (University of Washington, Seattle, 1979; 272 pp., illus., appen., glossary, maps, biblio., index, $35.00).*

In a beautiful, glossy, large-format volume, the author examines the traditions and significance of the art of the Kwakiutl Indians of the British Columbia coast. The profuse illustrations, many in full color, focus on the collection of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia.

Pueblo Crafts *by Ruth Underhill (The Filter Press, Palmer Lake, Colorado 80133, 1979; 139 pp., illus., maps, biblio., paper $6.00 plus 60¢ postage).*

Informative and practical, this book treats the history of Pueblo basketry, weaving, and pottery, and gives detailed directions on how they are crafted.

Prairie Stationmaster: The Story of One Man's Railroading Career in Nebraska 1917–1963 *by Barbara B. Clayburn (Harlo Press, Detroit, 1979; 128 pp., illus., $6.50).*

Recounted by an affectionate daughter, this small volume offers the reminiscences of a veteran railroad man regarding his years as a stationmaster for the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy on the Nebraskan prairies. His story spans the heyday of rail transportation to its decline and relates the daily experiences of Nebraskans during those years.

The Grave of John Wesley Hardin: Three Essays on Grassroots History *by C. L. Sonnichsen (Texas A&M University, College Station, 1979; 90 pp., $6.50).*

A "grassroots" historian, the author describes in a lively and appealing style some of the results of his two decades of research into Texas feuds. Sonnichsen's wisdom and personal involvement, occasionally to the point of some danger to himself, make this slim volume unusually rewarding.

Alaska: A History of the 49th State *by Claus-M. Naske and Herman E. Slotnick (William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979; 341 pp., illus., maps, biblio., notes, appen., index, paper $19.95, cloth $27.50).*

Written for the general reader, this narrative account about our largest state carries its story from early times to the present, with emphasis on major developments in the twentieth century.

The Arrow and the Cross: A History of the American Indian and the Missionaries *by John Upton Terrell (Capra Press, Santa Barbara, California, 1979; 253 pp., biblio., notes, $14.95).*

Terrell's concern is the conflict between Christianity and the Indian religions when Europeans pushed into the Southwest and West of North America. He decries the unrelenting efforts of both Catholics and Protestants to force Indian acceptance of an alien belief, and documents the resultant Indian suffering.

Bat Masterson: The Man and the Legend *by Robert K. DeArment (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1979; 441 pp., illus., biblio., notes, map, index, $14.95).*

Seeking to separate fact from fiction, the author gives a highly readable account of the life of the legendary western lawman Bat Masterson. Included is Masterson's experience as a sports writer and columnist in New York City after his peace officer days. **AW**

WESTERN BOOK REVIEWS

Captain James Cook and His Times, *edited by Robin Fisher & Hugh Johnston (University of Washington, Seattle and Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver, 1979; 288 pp., illus., maps, charts, notes, index, $14.95 U.S.; $16.95 Canada).*

The Last Voyage of Captain James Cook *by Richard Hough (William Morrow & Co., New York, 1979; 271 pp., illus., maps, biblio., index, $10.95).*

Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter

BRITISH Royal Navy Captain James Cook is both enigmatic and renowned. These two recent works will add to the latter, but only the first will contribute significantly to understanding the great eighteenth century Pacific Ocean explorer.

The Last Voyage of Captain Cook by Hough is a semipopular treatment of that mariner's 1776–1779 voyage which brought about discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, a visit to Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island, entry into Alaska's Cook Inlet, and penetration of Bering Strait in a vain attempt to find the long-sought Northwest Passage. It was a voyage which ended for England's great naval, scientific explorer on the beach at Kalakekua, clubbed to death by the disaffected natives as a result of the rashness of the visitors. Hough's book attempts to sustain the untenable thesis that the entire expedition was conceived and executed under an evil omen, a foreboding of failure. With the advantage of hindsight and by selecting "omens" with precision, the author casts Cook in the role of a doomed man, one who had lost the greatness accrued from early exploratory efforts which had made him a national hero. What previously might have been taken for intrepidity is changed to pusillanimity, derring-do becomes foolhardiness, and skillful seamanship is considered blind luck. Other than this, there is no new interpretation. The major purpose in writing the author's thirteenth book (an unlucky number) seems to have been the bicentennial of Cook's death.

On the other hand, certainly as more serious reading, *Captain Cook and His Times* is a pleasing potpourri of contributions emanating from an international symposium held in 1978 at Simon Fraser University. Editors Fisher and Johnston here present the cream of that conference in eleven scholarly papers in a copiously illustrated and generally well-written volume bringing Cook into focus not with an "intention to discredit the achievements of Cook . . . [but so] that they may be placed in new perspective," that of fresh research on both Cook and the ambience in which his activity took place. Treated with scholarly insight are Cook's relationships with leading figures of his day; the Indian, Spanish, and Russian reactions to Cook; medical and geographical impacts of his explorations; and particularly interesting chapters on Cook's posthumous reputation and his artistic bequest. A final summary chapter deals with two centuries of perceptions of Cook in historiography. **AW**

Donald C. Cutter is professor of western history at the University of New Mexico.

Into the Wilderness *by Ramsay et al (National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C., 1978; 207 pp., illus., notes, index, $5.75).*

Reviewed by John Porter Bloom

THIS IS a very nice book, lavishly illustrated, in a series on widely varied subjects largely relating to North America, published by the Special Publications Division, National Geographic Society. It may be considered in the "coffee table" genre, but if so, it does credit to its breed while it departs from that pattern in being very reasonably priced—a real bargain for today.

The editor's idea was for seven writers, backed up by a photographer and an artist-illustrator, to visit the trails of the earliest explorers and investigators of historic wilderness areas. In brief essays, the authors show themselves to be "quick studies," delving into published sources for each topic and consulting valid experts in the field. Their enthusiasm is genuinely contagious. There are truly

beautiful modern photos and many reproductions of works contemporaneous with the topics, making it easier for a specialist to overlook the few bloopers and gaucheries.

In addition to a very brief description of the exploits of Spanish explorers Domínguez and Escalante, and some reflection on present conditions of places they and the author visited, there are similar treatments for John Charles Frémont, William Bartram, Daniel Boone, Lewis and Clark, and Alexander Mackenzie and David Thompson. There is also a somewhat amorphous essay on "A Reckless Breed: the Mountain Men," giving no credit to Robert Glass Cleland except in the extremely brief list for "Additional Reading." Curiously, but of some utility, there is an index. In short, this book is an interesting bargain in its genre. AW

John Porter Bloom is Senior Specialist for Western History, and Editor, Territorial Papers of the U.S., *at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.*

Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain *by Oakah L. Jones, Jr. (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1979; 366 pp., intro., illus., maps, charts, biblio., appen., notes, index, $22.50).*

Reviewed by John Francis Bannon

"LIKE THE PRESIDIAL soldier and the missionary, the *paisano* is entitled to recognition of his role in the expansion of New Spain." Here is the thesis and the aim of this fine study. In the last decades, studies such as this have expanded most valuably our knowledge of the Spanish frontier story in the northern Mexican states and the USA's Spanish Borderlands. The raw materials for this and related works were not quite so ready-made for use by historians and authors as in the areas of exploration and the missions. Data had to be culled bit by bit from varied sources.

From his accumulated research, Jones has brought into focus the often forgotten settlers, the stockmen, farmers, and miners, the merchants, traders, and artisans, in a word the *pobladores*. The reader is introduced to the organization and functioning of varied group-living patterns, to the social life of the *paisanos*, the houses in which they lived, what they wore, the folk arts which they developed, the educational opportunities which they enjoyed, or lacked. Besides, much attention is given to information as to the racial heritage of these settlers, areas of origin, and intermingling once in the north; enlightening charts are furnished.

The author chooses to treat the Spanish advance as a multi-pronged northward movement into four regions: the Northeastern Frontier (Coahuila, Nuevo León, Texas, Nuevo Santander), the North-Central Frontier (Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico), the Northwestern Frontier (Sinaloa and Sonora), and finally the Pacific Frontier (Baja and Alta California). He is at his best in telling the story of Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico, when his treatment is thorough and highly perceptive.

The entire text is generously footnoted, with many references not only to modern studies but also to numerous original sources. The bibliographical essay (twenty-two pages in length) is excellent and always helpfully critical.

Many fine and not exactly common illustrations are scattered through the book, and each section is introduced with a very useful map. Further, there is a chronology and a most welcome glossary. This is a book not of academic exhibitionism but meant for the reader and the student. It was many years in the making and is a real contribution to Spanish frontier historiography.

Add it to your collection as convincing proof that Spain came not only to conquer, exploit, and christianize, but also to settle. Sound studies such as this may well succeed in putting the Black Legend to rest once and for all. AW

John Francis Bannon, S.J., professor of history, emeritus, at Saint Louis University, is a past president of the Western History Association and author of The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513–1821 *(1970).*

The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest *by Donald E. Worcester (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1979; 407 pp., illus., biblio., notes, index, $15.95).*

Reviewed by Veronica E. Tiller

IN LIVELY prose, Donald E. Worcester provides a synthesis of the history of Apache-White relations in Arizona and New Mexico from the sixteenth century to the present. As in previous scholarly works from which Worcester draws heavily for his sources, the main focus is on the Arizona Apaches' resistance to American military conquest during the nineteenth century. Unlike other Apache scholars, however, Worcester emphasizes how the Apaches' adaptation to their harsh environment, their intimate knowledge of their country, and their "eagle-like" fighting tactics kept the U.S. Army frustrated and basically unsuccessful until Apache warriors were employed as army scouts. This strategy, Worcester stresses, was a main ingredient in the final Apache defeat.

In addition to his discussion of military conflicts, Worcester skillfully interrelates and simplifies the complicated picture involving the schismatic civilian-military control over Indian affairs, the ambiguous Indian policies, the territorial citizenry's demands for land and lucrative government contracts, the cyclical creation and abolishment of reservations, and the manner in which these factors prevented the Apaches from establishing a means of self-support.

With the exception of the welcome chapter on the treatment of Apache prisoners and their eventual placement in New Mexico and Oklahoma, Apache history in the post-1886 period is merged into a broad overview of federal Indian policies up to the present. Only peripherally is the application of these policies related to the Arizona and New Mexico Apaches, an approach which does little justice to this era. Despite this drawback, the volume is highly recommended for both the scholar and the general reader. AW

Veronica E. Tiller is an assistant professor of history at the University of Utah.

The Collected Writings of Frederic Remington, *edited by Peggy and Harold Samuels (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1979; 669 pp., intro., illus., biblio., appen., notes, $19.95).*

Reviewed by Brian W. Dippie

FREDERIC REMINGTON (1861–1909) has more than once been credited with creating the Wild West. This is a pardonable exaggeration. Born and raised in the East, Remington formed a youthful attachment to horses, soldiers, and the out-of-doors that made him a willing captive of the West's allure. A year on a Kansas sheep ranch and periodic reportorial visits thereafter established his claim to the immense domain he called "*my* West," and as one of the busiest American illustrators in the 1890s, he made it the nation's West as well.

Students of Remington's art are aware that he supplemented his sketches and paintings with prose that found its way into the mass-circulation periodicals of the day, and that he published several compilations of his short pieces and two novels during his brief, productive life. But Peggy and Harold Samuels' "col-

lected writings" is a revelation. It brings together the fugitive pieces Remington dashed off to accompany particular illustrations as well as his more substantial essays and books. The result is a bulky volume that nicely complements the recent scholarly interest in Remington's literary endeavors and should find popular favor despite its dauntingly textbookish appearance.

Remington's subjects are predictable—cowboys and Indians, hunting and horses, soldiers and war—and there is good reading here for anyone fascinated by the final phase of the "winning of the West." It is, moreover, reading that renders superfluous the need to point out that Remington was very much a product of his age and class. To him, the Old West was America as it should be, a last bastion of purity in an impure world; since it was vanishing, Remington's tone swung from smug confidence through nostalgia to a paranoia that too readily escalated into vicious racism. The man and his views are at the heart of what he wrote as well as what he drew, and his journalistic pieces, like his illustrations, are vivid, vigorous and superficial—moments, moods, and characters (or "types," as Remington preferred) captured in a few deft strokes.

Just as Remington's direct, story-telling artistic style gave way in his later years to a more subjective, impressionistic approach, his writing evolved from straight reportage to fiction. Given Remington's view of what the West was all about, there was nothing more to report. The adventure was over, and his West could be revived only in memory or imagination.

The Collected Writings of Frederic Remington, with its informative notes, has much to offer those who would understand the myth of the Wild West through one of its foremost interpreters. **AW**

Brian W. Dippie specializes in United States cultural history and the American West at the University of Victoria, B.C. His most recent book is "Paper Talk": Charlie Russell's American West (1979).

Panhandle Pioneer: Henry C. Hitch, His Ranch, and His Family *by Donald E. Green (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1979; 311 pp., illus., biblio., notes, index, $9.75).*

Reviewed by Llerena Friend

THIS IS the story of a family, of a business, and of life in a limited but interesting spot of the American West. A

pleasant narrative unmarred by tragedy, crime, or disaster other than the Dust Bowl and the dark years of Depression, it traces experiences of four generations to provide nostalgic memories for some and open family albums to others.

The pioneer is Henry C. Hitch, son of James K. Hitch and father of Ladd and Paul Hitch who operate the present empire which is centered on Coldwater Creek, Texas County, Oklahoma. Progressing from the open range to computerized feedlots, the story begins in "No Man's Land" on the borderland known to Indians, Mexicans, and Anglo cattlemen as the Neutral Strip. In 1883 Jim Hitch and his wife filed a homestead claim on the "dry" Cimarron and, as an isolated family, experienced drought, blizzard, and hard times while building, by 1890, an empire based on buffalo grass and water. In the mid-90s Hitch began buying land, using profits from his cattle and all he could borrow to acquire, by 1921, about 30,000 acres in Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas.

Henry Hitch, born in 1884, began work as a horse wrangler, attended business college, and in 1910 married Christine Walker, whom he met at the local literary society at Pleasant Valley School. Their stone house on the Coldwater became the family center. The local Methodist church was always supported by this family which came to enjoy the products of industrial America, which fed its registered cattle in cold weather, diversified crops, used combines, and coped with farming adversities—even to making their chili from jack rabbit meat during World War I.

When Jim Hitch died in 1921, his property included over forty-seven square miles of ranch land. By 1929 Henry had bought all of the Coldwater property and added land in Texas to create a complex business operation for which "his books were still kept in his khaki shirt pocket." Construction of the Rock Island tracks to Amarillo and successful production of winter wheat led to development of the Hitchland townsite on the Texas-Oklahoma line. Days of Depression and Dust Bowl brought a decade of financial difficulty, but the forty-fifth anniversary of their church featured a pageant called "The March of the Kingdom in a Frontier Country" even while there was talk of abandoning the Oklahoma Panhandle and turning the land back to the public domain. Rain and the discovery of gas plus diversification kept Henry optimistic in the years which saw his children graduated from college.

With radio stations and airplanes integral parts of the Hitch operation, the ranch became a large-scale beef factory, beginning with irrigation which made possible the raising of mass forage and converting that forage into grain-fed beef.

Donald Green, reared in the Texas Panhandle, educated in Oklahoma, and professor of history in Central State University at Edmond, had the background to write well and sympathetically about this fine example of family and economic history. Careful indexing and adequate documentation indicate scholarly application. AW

Llerena Friend is a retired professor of history and librarian of Barker Texas History Library, University of Texas.

SACAGAWEA IN BRONZE

(Continued from page 15)

work from one's own inner voice and senses only." This meant probing deep into the form and finding the center of the figure that corresponded with his own center. Working on this scale, he would move as far as forty feet away and use mirrors in order to get a more complete and integrated view of the figure. The result is an extraordinary balancing of masses and subtle movements around a central axis that holds true for every angle of vision. But the work is more than a display of technical virtuosity, of the abstract handling of form. It represents the convergence of the larger world of the frontier and the realm of human discovery with the particular and individual person of Sacagawea, the outer and inner limits of existence.

This is the theme, the core, of all Jackson's art, from his sketches done as a combat artist during World War II to his portrayal of John Wayne as *The Marshal*, but never has it been expressed in such elemental and monolithic terms, like a phenomenon of nature. When the monument is moved from the studio in Italy—Harry Jackson's artistic frontier—to the outdoor setting of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, it promises to engage the western landscape—the frontier in which Sacagawea played such an important role—as have few other works of art. AW

Donald Goddard *is editing a forthcoming book on artist Harry Jackson.*

THE LURE OF THE HIGH COUNTRY

(Continued from page 21)

within, or due to the intensely vitalizing mountain air, I am not sure; probably both contribute to the state of exaltation in which all alpine climbers find themselves."

John Muir, who pioneered the ascents of many peaks both within and outside California, always placed his internal experience above achievement, stating late in his life, "I never left my name on any mountain, rock, or tree." Only his letters and his poetic writings give clue to some of the peaks he ascended before others did.

Muir was one of the first to acknowledge the climbing activities of the American Indians. Throughout the Great Basin he found stone blinds littered with obsidian chips near the summits of high peaks. He discovered that bighorn sheep were being hunted at these high altitudes because of their instinct to climb toward safety. One party of Indians would hide on the summit while another drove the sheep upward. Many decades after the fishermen's ascent, a Sierra Club party found obsidian flakes dotting the ancient granite erosion surface of the summit of Mount Whitney, where giant boulders precluded the need for constructing stone blinds; consequently, the year of the first ascent of the mountain became even more doubtful.

On the summit of Longs Peak in Colorado, an Indian eagle trap was found. At the crest of Wyoming's Bighorn Mountains, an unmistakable Indian structure was discovered on the very top of 13,165-foot Cloud Peak. The Indians, however, left no records of their ascents other than the artifacts of hunting, but we can safely guess that, had they left a written record, it would express the same flowing state of clarity that King discovered for himself.

In the Northwest there is no evidence of Indian ascents of the snowy summits. Crevassed glaciers dictated the use of specialized equipment. The first fully documented ascent of the summit of Mount Rainier in 1870 described the use of ropes, ice creepers (crampons), and ice axes, which had been invented by the British only six years earlier. In 1857, however, Lieutenant August Kautz had almost reached the summit using more primitive alpenstocks and shoes equipped with an extra sole through which four-penny nails had been driven. On Rainier, once again, the clear history of achievement is clouded by the deeds of mountain lovers who sought no glory. In 1852 and again in 1855, anonymous pioneer climbers described the details of the summit crater of Mount Rainier (which is invisible from below) in such a way that there is no doubt they were there.

In 1890 Miss Fay Fuller became the first woman to climb Rainier, refusing assistance from her male companions at difficult spots with the contention that she did not deserve to reach the top if she could not do it without aid. By 1897 the ascent was a common club outing. The Mazamas of Portland fielded a party of 200 members. A later Mazama party was surprised on the summit by a solitary black bear, which peered into the crater, turned around, and ambled back down the ice.

As the summits of the West were the realm of the bighorn, the bear, and the eagle, the surrounding highlands were often dominated by an exotic creature, equal in intelligence but with a far less predictable nature. The mountaineer hell-bent on a distant summit, the family off for a fortnight's recreation, and the club with its forty-five tents and four tons of supplies were all dependent on the whims of the lowly burro. Before the advent of lightweight food and equipment, backpacking was the exception, not the rule. Burro management was a prerequisite for all other mountain lore, and packers generally hired out their animals to small groups without a handler. Milton Hildebrand, a regular on early Sierra Club outings, once hired a burro that, with his steadfast refusal to cross a certain bridge, had earlier changed the whole itinerary of two women's vacation. When Hildebrand brought the same burro to the same bridge, he understood the women's plight. The fine, large animal spread his legs in the trail and appeared quite invincible. "We got a short, heavy pole and placed it under his rump," Hildebrand wrote. "With two men on each side we lifted the animal's rear end off the ground and pushed gently forward. Like a wheelbarrow, he started over the bridge on two legs. That burro was brought to the same bridge four more times that season, and he did not so much as break a stride. He just looked up at us from under a hairy ear and winked."

Every major mountain area in the world has had its "Golden Age." In the Alps this was a single decade topped off by the ascent of the Matterhorn in 1865; in the Himalaya it was also a decade, much later, during which the world's ten highest summits were reached. But in the western United States, the Golden Age lasted almost a century, and it was characterized not so much by exploits as by whimsy. We began with no traditions and developed a special brand of individualism that continues today. It did not end in the thirties when the last major summits were climbed. Our long Golden Age, like an extended childhood, led to self-discovery rather than discipline. Guided travel remains far less common than in comparable ranges across the sea. The sport of backpacking—strictly for its own sake rather than for science or achievement—flourishes in high places where early mountaineers chose not to build huts. Those of us who swim in a high lake on a summer afternoon, scramble up an easy summit, walk along the Pacific Crest Trail, or scale the face of El Capitan owe a great debt to the Kings and Muirs and Kautzes who unwittingly, by their very whimsy, began a tradition of mountain enjoyment that continues today, thanks to our preservation of vast, wild parts of the western mountains in much the same condition that the first explorers found them. **AW**

Galen Rowell *has climbed and photographed many of the great mountains of the world. His articles and photographs have appeared in such publications as the* National Geographic, Audubon, *and* Sports Illustrated. *Mr. Rowell's books on mountaineering include* The Vertical World of Yosemite *(1974) and* High and Wild *(1979).*

A CHARBONNEAU FAMILY PORTRAIT

SACAGAWEA

(Continued from page 9)

gawea, Lewis gave not only his rendition of the spelling of her name but also its meaning. His journal entry for May 20, 1805, reads: "a handsome river of about fifty yards in width discharged itself into the shell river on the Stard or upper side; this stream we called Sah-ca-gah-we-ah (or bird woman's River), after our interpreter the Snake woman." At that same point, Clark gave cartographic reinforcement to the meaning of her name when he labeled the stream named for Sacagawea on two of his field maps "bird womans river."

In all, Sacagawea's name was recorded by the captains fifteen times during the course of the expedition. Although their flair for inspired spelling created some interesting variations, it is remarkable that in all fifteen instances, including Clark's spellings on his field maps, the captains were consistent in the use of a "g" in the third syllable. In addition, Sergeant John Ordway entered her name in his journal on June 10, 1805, as "Sah-cah-gah." Together with Clark's later notation of "Sar kar gah wea" on his 1810 manuscript map sent to editor Nicholas Biddle to accompany the 1814 narrative of the journals, this shows complete consistency in the use of the "g" in the third syllable of her name on the part of all the journalists who attempted to write it.

The "Sacajawea" spelling, popular in most western states during the twentieth century, derives from the 1814 narrative of the journey edited by Nicholas Biddle. Biddle was highly educated and his editing of the captains' field notes reflects his scholarly discipline. The original grammar and spelling were corrected by Biddle, and daily entries were substantially abridged. Frequent editorial license is apparent in the narrative when it is compared to the captains' verbatim field notes.

When the editing of the Lewis and Clark journals was in progress in April, 1810, Biddle visited Clark at Fincastle, Virginia, and questioned him in detail about many phases of the expedition. On the matter of Indian vocabularies collected by the captains, Clark told Biddle that "in taking vocabularies great object was to make every letter sound." The record is silent as to whether Biddle and Clark discussed the spelling and pronunciation of the Indian woman's name during the 1810 meeting at Fincastle. However, when Biddle reached her name in Lewis's entry of May 20, 1805, while copy-editing the original codices, he apparently attempted to standardize the spelling by interlining her name in Lewis's text in his own hand, spelling it *Sah ca gah we a*.

Strangely, in the 1814 edition of the journals, the Shoshoni woman's name was spelled with a "j". It first appeared in the Biddle edition under the entry for May 20, 1805, which had been amended from the original to read: "a handsome river about fifty yards wide, which we named after Chaboneau's wife, Sahcajahwea, or Birdwoman's river." Thereafter, however, the editor converted the spelling to "Sacajawea," and consistently spelled the name that way throughout the remaining two-volume work. The narrative gave no clue as to why the editor decided upon that spelling, which seems a paradox in view of Biddle's interlineated *Sah ca gah we a* spelling in Lewis's codex. Moreover, in all of the primary documents available to the editor of the 1814 edition, the name was spelled with a "g". It appears, therefore, that the only basis for the spelling of the name with a "j" was editorial prerogative.

Many writers have believed that "Sacajawea" is a pure Shoshoni word meaning "boat launcher" or "boat pusher" and that Lewis and Clark were mistaken when they wrote that the name meant "bird woman." The alleged Shoshoni definition is credited to John Rees, a pioneer of the Salmon, Idaho, area who lived among the Lemhi Shoshoni from 1877 until his death in 1928 and who was reported to be a lay authority on colloquial Shoshoni. In her controversial volume, *Sacajawea, a Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (1932), Grace Hebard fully subscribed to Rees's concept of the alleged Shoshoni spelling and meaning of "Sacajawea."

Present-day Shoshoni language scholars disagree with Rees's "boat launcher" theory, however. Dr. Sven Liljeblad, professor of linguistics, emeritus, at Idaho State University in Pocatello, commented in 1958 that "subsequent scholarship has raised some doubts about the correctness of Rees' etymologies." Liljeblad then analyzed the word "Sacajawea" in an attempt to trace its origin back to an antecedent Shoshoni form and meaning. He concluded that "it is unlikely that Sacajawea is a Shoshoni word." Again in 1977 Liljeblad commented: "Rees' explanation of the name Sacajawea like the rest of his etymologies is impossible. The term for 'boat' in Shoshoni is *saiki*, but the rest of the alleged compound would be incomprehensible to a native speaker of Shoshoni." Dr. Liljeblad's findings are supported by Dr. Wick R. Miller, professor of linguistics, University of Utah. In a letter to this author, Dr. Miller stated: "I am responding to your questions about the words Sacajawea and Pomp. Neither of them appear to me to be Shoshoni words."

Olin D. Wheeler appears to have been among the earliest writers to delve into the orthography of the Shoshoni Indian woman's name. In *The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804–1904* (1904), he concluded that "Sacagawea" was a Hidatsa, not a Shoshoni, word. Quoting Dr. Washington Matthews, the author of a Hidatsa dictionary, Wheeler contended that "Sacagawea" was composed of the Hidatsa words for bird and woman, *tsakaka* and *wea*. Matthews explained that *ts* was often changed to *s*, and *k* to *g* in Hidatsa, and so "Sacága" was a reasonable spelling of the way Charbonneau probably pronounced his wife's name. But, added Matthews, "Sacaja" could not be correct because there was no *j* in the Hidatsa language.

There was no written Hidatsa language at the time of Lewis and Clark. Nevertheless, in following their practice "to make every letter sound," the captains produced a

phonetic spelling for the name of their Indian woman colleague that latter-day Hidatsa language scholars, including Doctor Matthews, have agreed is an accurate and appropriate translation of "bird woman." Although Sacagawea was a Shoshoni by birth, her name, as spelled and translated by both captains, traces its etymology to the oral language of the Hidatsa Indian tribe, among whom she lived most of her adult life. The consensus of current Lewis and Clark scholars, together with the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, the U.S. Geographic Names Board, the U.S. National Park Service, the National Geographic Society, and the *Encyclopedia Americana*, among others, supports the adoption of the *Sacágawea* spelling and pronunciation. Over time, this spelling and pronunciation should become universal forms to perpetuate accurately the place of this Shoshoni woman in our history.

NUMEROUS EXAMPLES of Sacagawea's importance to the exploring enterprise are highlighted in the journals. One of the first of these occurred on May 14, 1805, when the pirogue in which she, Toussaint, and their infant were riding, turned on its side due to Charbonneau's inept handling of the tiller. Many indispensable supplies and medicines washed overboard, and, recording Sacagawea's calm presence of mind in salvaging them, Clark wrote, "the articles which floated out was nearly all caught by the Squar who was in the rear." In reflecting on the near tragedy two days later, Lewis was more eloquent: "the Indian woman to whom I ascribe equal fortitude and resolution, with any person on board at the time of the accedent, caught and preserved most of the light articles which were washed overboard."

Another example of the importance of Sacagawea was expressed by Lewis on June 16, 1805, when the Shoshoni woman lay critically ill. Lewis was prompted to write: "about 2 P.M. I reached the camp found the Indian woman extreemely ill and much reduced by her indisposition. this gave me some concern as well for the poor object herself, then with a young child in her arms, as from the consideration of her being our only dependence for a friendly negociation with the Snake Indians on whom we depend for horses to assist us in our portage from the Missouri to the columbia river."

Through the vigilant medical administrations of the captains, Sacagawea recovered, and as it turned out, Lewis's comments were prophetic. By amazing good luck, not only did the expedition find Sacagawea's Shoshoni tribe, but also her own brother, Cameahwait, whom she had not seen since her capture by the Hidatsa five years previously. Sacagawea was the daughter of a Shoshoni chief, and after her father's death, her brother Cameahwait succeeded to the chief's position. The reunion of the two is one of the most poignant events recorded in the Lewis and Clark journals. There is no doubt that Sacagawea's Shoshoni heritage, especially her relationship to the chief, and her ability to speak the language helped enormously in the success of the expedition at that point.

The decision to take Sacagawea and her infant son on the mission into the unexplored Pacific Northwest proved to be a masterstroke of diplomacy. Indian groups encountered throughout the western end of the journey befriended the strange assembly of explorers when they sighted Sacagawea and her papoose. As Clark noted while navigating down the Columbia River on October 19, 1805: "as Soon as they Saw the Squar wife of the interpreter they pointed to her and . . . immediately all came out and appeared to assume new life, the sight of This Indian woman . . . confirmed those people of our friendly intentions, as no woman ever accompanies a war party of Indians in this quarter."

Sacagawea aided in the conduct of the expedition in many other ways, also. Her knowledge of edible berries, roots and plants, which she collected for food and medicinal use, contributed importantly to the diet and health of the men. When the party was two days out from Fort Mandan, Clark wrote that "the squaw busied herself in serching for the wild artichokes which the mice collect and deposited in large hoards. This operation she performed by penetrating the earth with a sharp stick about some small collection of driftwood. Her labor soon proved successful, and she procured a good quantity of these roots." Similarly, a few weeks later near present Brockton, Montana, Clark wrote: "I walked on Shore to day our interpreter & his squar followed, in my walk the squar found & brought me a bush something like the currant, which she said bore a delicious froot and that great quantities grew on the Rocky Mountains."

Near the mouth of the Milk River (Montana), Clark noted: "In walking on Shore with the Interpreter & his wife, the Squar Geathered on the sides of the hills wild lickerish, & the white apple as called by the *engages* [those hired as laborers] and gave me to eat, the Indians of the Missouri make Great use of the White Apple dressed in different ways." Clark also noted her knowledge of medicinal plants: "Sahcargarwea geathered a quantity of the roots of a speceis of fennel which we found very agreeable food, the flavor of this root is not unlike annis seed, and they dispell the wind which the roots called Cows and quawmash are apt to create particularly the latter . . . the mush of [the fennel] roots we find adds much to the comfort of our diet."

NONE OF THE MEMBERS of the Lewis and Clark Expedition left us a physical description of Sacagawea. The only reference to her appearance was Clark's remark to Biddle that Sacagawea's skin "was lighter than [Charbonneau's] other [Shoshoni wife] who was from the more Southern Indians." However, we can construct a profile of Sacagawea's behavioral and character traits by piecing together diarists' comments about her during the expedition. She emerges as a faithful, capable, patient, and pleasant woman. On August 16, 1806, Clark wrote in his journal: "This man [Charbonneau] has been very serviceable to us, and his wife particularly useful among the Shoshones. Indeed she has borne with a patience truly admirable the fatigues of so long a route incumbered with the charge of an infant, who is even now only nineteen months old."

One example of Grace Hebard's disregard for the integrity of original source materials relates to Clark's entry above. Hebard wrote her own reaction to Sacagawea's behavior and presented it as though it had been part of Clark's comments. She expanded his quote as follows: "She was very observant. She had a good memory, remembering locations not seen since her childhood. In trouble she was full of resources, plucky and determined. With her helpless infant she rode with the men, guiding us unerringly through mountain passes and lonely places. Intelligent, cheerful, resourceful, tireless, faithful, she inspired us all."

Hebard did not restrict this unreasonable license to the Lewis and Clark journals alone. Statements by other of Sacagawea's contemporaries on the frontier, which documented her movements and fate after the expedition, received the mark of Hebard's editing pencil as well. Hebard challenged the substance and accuracy of such documents by rejecting some as erroneous, omitting vital facts from others, and by substituting her own opinion for still others. Using unsubstantiated recollections and hearsay testimonials provided by third parties more than a century after the death of Sacagawea, Hebard developed an erroneous theory concerning the Shoshoni woman's life and death that has become virtual legend. First published in the 1907 article referred to above, Hebard's conjecture was that Sacagawea lived a long and productive life, spending her final years on the Wind River Indian Reservation, Wyoming, where (Hebard alleged) she died at age 100.

In contradiction, two vital antiquarian documents cast a shadow on Hebard's theory. The first is a record placing Charbonneau and his Snake Indian wife on the upper Missouri with a party of fur traders in 1811. The second is an 1812–1813 Missouri Fur Company journal, edited and published under the auspices of the Missouri Historical Society in 1920, which documented the death of Toussaint's Snake Indian wife on December 20, 1812, at Fort Manuel, a fur-trading outpost on the upper Missouri. (Named for Manuel Lisa, the indomitable Missouri River fur trader, Fort Manuel was located on the west bank of the river near today's Kenel, South Dakota, seventy miles south of present Bismarck, North Dakota.)

The 1811 record was written by Henry M. Brackenridge, an American journalist, while en route up the Missouri in company with Manuel Lisa in the summer of that year. Brackenridge reported: "We had on board, a Frenchman named Charbonet, with his wife, an Indian woman of the Snake nation, both of whom had accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific, and were of great service. The woman, a good creature, of a mild and gentle disposition greatly attached to the whites, whose manners and dress she tries to imitate, but she had become sickly, and longed to revisit her native country; her husband, also, who had spent many years among the Indians, was become weary of a civilized life." This documentation was reinforced by John C. Luttig, clerk of the Missouri Fur Company at Fort Manuel, who wrote in his journal on December 20, 1812: "this Evening the Wife of Charbonneau a Snake Squaw, died of a putrid fever she was a good and the best Woman in the fort, age abt 25 years she left a fine infant girl."

The Brackenridge and Luttig records raised skepticism among Hebard's contemporary historians regarding the validity of her Wind River thesis. Thus, to fulfill the theory that Sacagawea lived out her life in Wyoming, it was necessary for Hebard to prove that it was not Sacagawea but another Snake wife—"Otter Woman"—who had been documented by Brackenridge and Luttig. In 1932, after a quarter-century of effort, Hebard published her comprehensive volume, *Sacajawea*, which set forth the complete text of her Wind River theory, contending not only that it was Otter Woman who had died at Fort Manuel in 1812, but that "Sacajawea" lived to the age of 100.

Since the journals of Lewis and Clark left no record of the name of Charbonneau's second Snake wife, Hebard sought evidence that would establish her identity coincident with the expedition's 1804–1805 winter encampment at Fort Mandan. She obtained this information from hearsay testimony collected through interviews, statements, and affidavits, not one of which was supported by antecedent written records or documents of any kind. Given orally by persons more than a century after the recorded death of Charbonneau's Snake wife at Fort Manuel, these assorted statements were not based upon original experiences of the interviewees, but consisted of "remembrances of stories" told to them by persons long deceased at the time of the interviews. Moreover, much of the testimony was given by very elderly persons, often through interpreters; under scrutiny, it is found to contain obvious inconsistencies, contradictions, and confused identities.

The most critical testimony relied upon by Grace Hebard, as virtually the sole basis for establishing the veracity of her theory, was that assembled by an Indian Service physician and writer, Dr. Charles A. Eastman, in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated March 2, 1925. Doctor Eastman's report, regardless of motive or objective, was seriously impaired by an indiscriminate use of hearsay information. One hundred and twenty years after the Lewis and Clark Expedition, part of Eastman's evidence was provided by a Mrs. Weidemann, an eighty-year-old Hidatsa Indian. The information had been passed on to her by word of mouth from her father who had died in 1899 at the age of 102. Moreover, as explained in the interview with this woman, the traditions related by her father had been obtained through hearsay, as they had originated with a third party identified by her as Eagle Woman, who had died in 1869.

Nevertheless, Doctor Eastman claimed that the testimony of Eagle Woman, as related through Mrs. Weidemann and her father, *proved* that "the Shoshone woman who died at Fort Manuel was Otter Woman, the other Shoshone wife of Charbonneau." Considering that this wife had remained nameless for over a century, it is an unusual coincidence that the name of Otter Woman, used by Mrs. Weidemann in 1925, was also the name of a fictional character created by James Willard Schultz in his 1918 novel, *Bird Woman*. In his report, Doctor Eastman referred to the Brackenridge record of 1811 (above), but Eastman

cavalierly omitted mention that Brackenridge reported that Toussaint and the wife with him at that time had "both . . . accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific." Hebard accepted Doctor Eastman's report without reservation and rejected the Brackenridge journal, a primary source.

After establishing to her own satisfaction that the wife of Charbonneau who had died at Fort Manuel was "Otter Woman," Hebard theorized that her Sacajawea had remained in Saint Louis during the 1811–1812 Brackenridge/Fort Manuel episodes. Then, according to Hebard, several years after the death of Otter Woman, Sacajawea became estranged from her husband, Toussaint, and left him. Hebard maintained that Sacajawea took a new husband who was later killed in an Indian war. Thereafter, Hebard's Sacajawea wandered through the West for several decades, ultimately joining an eastern band of Shoshoni people at Wind River. Here, Hebard contended, Sacajawea took the name Porivo, and was reunited with her "son, Baptiste" and an adopted son, Bazil. Wind River Agency documents show that Porivo (also known as Bazil's Mother) died in 1884, that a person named Bat-tez (whom Hebard claimed was Jean Baptiste Charbonneau) died in 1885, and that Bazil died in 1886.

Hebard pursued her theory for three decades. Notwithstanding her diligent search, she found no documentation linking the three Wind River Reservation persons to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Nevertheless, during these years Hebard published numerous accounts of her Wind River Sacajawea, creating an aura of authenticity about her interpretation which has been widely accepted among several generations of Americans.

CONTRAVENING THE HEBARD THEORY are the findings of recent exhaustive research involving the correlation of several documents, in addition to those noted above, recorded by contemporaries of Sacagawea who had witnessed or who had personal knowledge of her death at Fort Manuel in 1812. Included among these primary documents are Missouri Fur Company minutes of directors' meetings, Saint Louis orphans court proceedings (in which Clark adopted Sacagawea's children), and William Clark's personal records. Hebard acknowledged the existence of most of these antiquarian documents and gave her opinion as to the substantive value of many of them. But there was one that did not surface until after her death in 1936, the knowledge of which perhaps could have shaken her faith in her theory. This was William Clark's "List of Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip," recorded on the cover of his account book for the period 1825–1828. Noting whether his exploring comrades were then living or dead, Clark wrote unequivocally, "Se car ja we au Dead."

The Missouri Historical Society's publication of Luttig's journal in 1920 and the publication of Hebard's controversial research of the Wind River Sacajawea in 1932 aroused interest in investigating the Fort Manuel site. It was hoped that archaeological evidence might be found that would confirm the Luttig obituary of December 20, 1812. But as the late Dr. G. Hubert Smith stated: "How skeletal remains, even if they were of the proper sex and age, and even if found associated with distinctive grave goods, could be specifically identified as those of Sacagawea may not have been duly considered."

Over the years, extensive investigations by archaeologists have been made at Fort Manuel; however, no identifiable grave for Sacagawea has been found. It seems probable that no such burial plot ever existed. Rather, her remains may have been placed on a funeral scaffold, in accordance with the custom of the Indians of the upper Missouri among whom she lived during most of her adult life. Lewis and Clark, as well as many other explorers, writers, and artists, personally observed the customs of the Indians of the upper Missouri during the first half of the nineteenth century. These men noted traditional funeral rituals and the Indians' belief in spiritual life after death. Consistently, their records describe funeral platforms or scaffolds. From these early accounts it may be concluded that, except for isolated incidences, it was not until the advent of the white man's religion that underground burials became a common practice with most Indian cultures of the upper Missouri.

On February 8, 1978, our federal government entered the Fort Manuel site into the National Register of Historic Places, in formal recognition of Sacagawea's death there one hundred and sixty-six years previously. Today, the lands embracing the area lie within a flowage easement of Oahe Reservoir, under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. During periods of high runoff the site is inundated by overflow waters of the Missouri River. However, when the reservoir level is down, faint traces of the stockade, exposed hearth stones, and other evidence of the fort are discernible. Bounded on the east by the Missouri, and on the south, west, and north by extensive grasslands of the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, the Fort Manuel site remains today much the same in environmental character as it was during its occupancy in 1812, projecting a nearly pristine remoteness and vastness symbolic of America's western frontier, and Sacagawea's Indian heritage. **AW**

(The bibliographic note for this article appears on page 64.)

JEAN BAPTISTE CHARBONNEAU

(Continued from page 11)

etched in the rock, now protected by a heavy glass shield.

In her volume *Sacajawea*, Grace Hebard expressed another of her undocumented opinions when explaining the origin of the name *Pomp*: "Pomp is a name often given to the oldest boy in a Shoshone family, and means 'head' or 'the leader.' It is bestowed upon the oldest son, and thus

becomes a title of primogeniture, and the bearer of it is recognized as one having authority."

In investigating Hebard's contention of the Shoshoni origin of the name *Pomp*, this author queried Shoshoni language scholars Liljeblad and Miller about the name in the same correspondence as that asking about the name *Sacajawea*, noted above. Doctor Miller's previously mentioned statement was: "I am responding to your questions about the words Sacajawea and Pomp. Neither of them appear to me to be Shoshoni words."

Doctor Liljeblad responded with: "The two etymologies of the word 'Pomp' or 'Pompy,' which you mention in your letter, are impossible . . . the only remotely similar word in the Shoshoni vocabulary I can think of is *pambi* which means 'head' or 'head hair,' but I never heard this word used as a personal name." So, it appears that Hebard's conjecture is flawed again.

JEAN BAPTISTE CHARBONNEAU struck a compelling fondness in the breast of Captain William Clark that would carry through to Clark's death in 1838. Documentation of this relationship commenced on August 17, 1806, when the Charbonneau family was mustered out of the expedition, and the Saint Louis-bound party was making final preparations for departure from the Mandan Indian villages. Clark wrote in his journal: "Settled with Touisant Chabono for his services as an enterpreter the price of a horse and Lodge purchased of him for public Service in all amounting to 500$ 33⅓ cents . . . we offered to convey him down to the Illinois if he chose to go, he declined proceeding on at the present, observing that he had no acquaintance or prospects of makeing a liveing below, and must continue to live in the way that he had done. *I offered to take his little son a butifull promising child who is 19 months old to which they both himself & wife wer willing provided the child had been weened. they observed that in one year the boy would be sufficiently old to leave his mother & he would then take him to me if I would be so freindly as to raise the child for him in such a manner as I thought proper, to which I agreed &c.*" [Italics added.]

On August 20, 1806, Clark again expressed his deep affection for the Charbonneau family. As the descending party drifted past the mouth of the Cannonball River (North Dakota) and approached the site of future Fort Manuel, where six years later Sacagawea would die, Clark wrote another letter to Toussaint, praising the contributions he and Sacagawea had made to the expedition. "As to your little Son (my boy Pomp) you well know my fondness for him and my anxiety to take and raise him as my own child . . . . Wishing you and family great suckcess & with anxious expectations of seeing my little dancing boy Baptiest I shall remain your friend."

Although it is not clear precisely when or how the Charbonneau family traveled to Saint Louis, this writer has found a document that indicates Toussaint Charbonneau was in Saint Louis on January 31, 1810. There are also numerous other records which provide evidence of association between Toussaint and William Clark during a period commencing in April, 1810, and extending through March, 1811. When this evidence is added to other documentation about events which occurred on the Missouri River, focusing on the Mandan Indian villages specifically, it may be reasoned that the Charbonneau family came downriver late in the fall of 1809.

From information found in land transaction documents and other records, it is known that the Charbonneaus lived in the vicinity of Saint Louis until the spring of 1811, when Sacagawea and Toussaint boarded a Missouri Fur Company barge and headed up the Missouri River in company with Manuel Lisa and a party of *engagés*. It was at this time that Henry M. Brackenridge, also a member of the upriver party, wrote his journal entry about the two Charbonneaus, contested by Hebard and Eastman, above, in the "Wind River theory." Baptiste, now six years old, was under Clark's patronage, and had remained in Saint Louis to commence his education.

On March 5, 1813, shortly after Sacagawea's death, Fort Manuel had to be abandoned because of Indian attacks which killed fifteen members of the Lisa party. Lisa retreated downstream with survivors and reportedly constructed Fort Lisa near Council Bluffs, before continuing on to Saint Louis where he arrived in early June, 1813. Related records show that John Luttig, Lisa's clerk, and Sacagawea's infant daughter Lisette, born on the upper Missouri during the summer of 1812, were also evacuated to Saint Louis at this time.

There must have been general belief among the surviving Lisa party that although Charbonneau was away from Fort Manuel at the time of the massacre, he had perished at the hands of the Indians. It was under the circumstances of the Fort Manuel massacre that Toussaint disappeared. When nothing was heard from him during the next six months, he was considered dead, and Clark initiated guardianship appointment of the two orphaned Charbonneau children on August 11, 1813.

When Baptiste was eighteen years old, his unusual combination of cultural attainment and frontier skills interested Prince Paul Wilhelm of Wurttemberg, who met the young man in an Indian village at the mouth of the Kansas River, while the Prince was on a scientific mission to America. In 1823, Baptiste accompanied the Prince to Europe where the young man was exposed to the sophisticated, aristocratic environment of a German court. Baptiste and Paul were inseparable companions for a period of six years, during which the two traveled extensively in Europe and also to Africa. It was in this important period of his life that Baptiste became fluent in four languages and received a background that would mark him as a cultural anomaly on the American frontier.

BAPTISTE RETURNED to his homeland in 1829. By this time the Louisiana Territory had entered the transition between the fur trade and agricultural settlement. Vigorous exploration of the far West was in progress. The call of the western wilds was irresistible, and

Baptiste set aside his cultivated life-style and fell into the rough and tumble existence of the mountain man. He ranged the length and breadth of the American West, hunting, trapping, guiding, exploring. The journals of many important personalities involved in the exploration and settlement of the West mention this remarkable man and consistently testify to his "urbane, graceful, fluent" manner. Famous frontier figures with whom he shared associations included Joe Meek, Jim Bridger, Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, T. J. Farnum, Lieutenant John C. Frémont, William Clark Kennerly (nephew of Captain William Clark), Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke, Jim Beckwourth, Kit Carson, and many others.

The last important guide service performed by Baptiste was that of scouting the route west for the march of the Mormon Battalion from New Mexico to California in 1846–1847, under the command of Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke. Mustered out of the Mormon Battalion at San Diego in 1847, Baptiste was appointed Alcalde of San Luis Rey Mission, California, an office comparable to that of magistrate. Because of his concern, however, for human dignity in the treatment of certain Indians as virtual slaves, he resigned his official duties. Historians have assigned the cause of Baptiste's resignation to "white dissatisfaction over his policy of treating Indians too kindly." In researching Baptiste's activities as Alcalde, however, it was found that a deeper reason must have motivated Baptiste to resign.

In his Missions and Missionaries series of 1921, Father Zephyrin Englehardt published an order written by Baptiste as Alcalde which reveals the cause of his moral concern for Indians. The order provided for "a fair settlement" of an account owed by an Indian to a proprietor of a general store and dram shop at the Mission, and the sentencing of the Indian into the service of the proprietor until the debt of over fifty dollars had been worked off at the rate of 12½ cents per day. Father Englehardt's interpretation was that Baptiste resigned his office because he found it distasteful "to sentence helpless Indians to slavery in order that they might pay for the liquor received in excess of the 12½ cents, their day's wages for labor." Additional needs of the Indians would place them in greater obligation to the proprietor so that they would "never emerge from debt and slavery." Apparently, Father Englehardt did not know the background of this remarkable man Charbonneau about whom he wrote, as this is the only reference to Baptiste in his Missions and Missionaries series.

When Baptiste left San Luis Rey Mission, coincidences of time and events placed him in center stage of the California gold rush. John Marshall, a former colleague of Baptiste in the Mormon Battalion, discovered gold at Sutter's Mill in January of 1848, and Baptiste was upon the scene in the earliest days of the frantic gold-fever stampede. Although it is recorded that Baptiste shared mining associations with old cronies Jim Beckwourth and Tom Buckner during the late forties and early fifties, he evidently did not strike it rich. At least it is assumed that he made no important find, since he was listed as a clerk in the Orleans Hotel, Auburn, California, in 1861.

Even at age sixty-one, Baptiste felt the compelling lure of the wilderness. Yielding to this urge in the spring of 1866, he joined a party heading for a new goldfield in Montana Territory. Traveling northeasterly from California, the party reached the Owyhee River in southeastern Oregon the second week of May, 1866. Spring is a transitional season in the Oregon desert, with alternating periods of precipitation, freezing, thawing, and clearing, accompanied by blustery winds. Also at this time of year, the Owyhee runs a heavy volume of snow melt, with consequent frigid temperatures.

Baptiste crossed the river at a ford immediately below the point where Jordan Creek empties into the Owyhee. He must have been obliged to cross the icy river on the back of his swimming horse. At the age of sixty-one, his system apparently could not combat the conditions of wet clothing and the cold spring weather. He contracted pneumonia, and was taken by his two partners to the nearest shelter, Inskip Station, twenty-five miles northeast of the Owyhee River. He failed to rally and died a short time later. Obituaries of the period place the date of death as May 16, 1866. He was buried a few hundred feet north of the station in what later became a burial plot containing Baptiste, two soldiers, and two children.

The burial site at Inskip Station is situated in the rural hamlet of Danner, three miles north of U.S. Highway 95 and approximately fifteen miles west of the community of Jordan Valley, Malheur County, Oregon. Until recent years, the gravesite was located on privately owned ranch land, but the owner of the ranch donated the site to Malheur County. The previously undeveloped site has been transformed into a handsome memorial through volunteer efforts. Planning, design, and construction of site facilities came through donated funds, materials, and labor. On August 6, 1971, the site was dedicated in a ceremony befitting the man Charbonneau and the romantic period of manifest destiny in which he lived. On March 14, 1973, the Charbonneau gravesite was designated a Registered National Historic Place, closing the final chapter in the life story of one of America's little-known but very remarkable frontiersmen. **AW**

(The bibliographic note for this article appears on page 64.)

TOUSSAINT CHARBONNEAU

(Continued from page 13)

both during the expedition and in his later life, he was greatly admired. This was his artistry as a gourmet chef. Virtually every traveller to the upper Missouri who was in company with Toussaint for any length of time docu-

mented his culinary delight, *boudin blanc*. Meriwether Lewis, a man not normally inclined toward humor in any form, devoted two pages of his journal to his chef, indulging in a rare display of subtle banter while describing Toussaint's specialty, a "*boudin* (*poudingue*) *blanc*, a white pudding we all esteem one of the greatest delicacies of the forrest." Charbonneau used about six feet of "the lower extremity of the large gut of the Buffaloe" which he stuffed with chopped buffalo meat and seasonings. This he "baptised in the missouri with two dips and a flirt," then boiled it and fried it "with bears oil untill it becomes brown, when it is ready to esswage the pangs of a keen appetite."

IT IS NOT CLEAR what transpired with Toussaint during a period of several years following the Fort Manuel massacre of March 5, 1813, mentioned elsewhere in this article. As Ottoson points out, one undocumented account claims Charbonneau was made prisoner by the British during the War of 1812, and taken in irons to Canada. Further conjecture has Toussaint on the American frontier again in 1814, but it was 1816 before a primary document conclusively placed him in Saint Louis. During this interim period, his son, Jean Baptiste, was attending parochial schools in Saint Louis under the legal guardianship of William Clark. It is uncertain whether Toussaint's daughter, Lisette, survived infancy. No conclusive records have been found as to her activities following her adoption by Clark in 1813.

From 1816 to 1839, Toussaint's activities may be traced through a continuous chain of primary documentation. It is evident from the records that William Clark, in a sustained, lifelong friendship, provided jobs for Toussaint both in the fur trade and in the Indian Service. Although Toussaint was engaged in various activities from time to time, he was by "profession" an interpreter, and the records confirm that it was in this capacity that he served many notable visitors to the upper Missouri. Among others, Toussaint provided interpreting services to Colonel Henry Leavenworth, Prince Paul Wilhelm, General Henry Atkinson, Prince Maximilian, Karl Bodmer, George Catlin, William L. Sublette, Francis A. Chardon, Charles Larpenteur, and many others whose work or interest brought them among the Indians of the upper Missouri.

Fur-trade records are replete with accounts of amorous relations between fur traders and Indian girls. Toussaint was no exception, as during his lifetime he took many young Indian girls as his "wives." Indeed, Sacagawea was barely in her teens when he purchased her from the Hidatsa. Even at eighty years, Charbonneau had young ideas and took a fourteen-year-old Assiniboine Indian girl as his bride. A humorous account of this "marriage," including a "*splendid chariveree*," held for him by the young men of the fort, may be found in Francis A. Chardon's *Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839* (1932).

In 1838 William Clark died, and in 1839 Toussaint Charbonneau's services as an Indian Department interpreter were terminated. Upon learning this information, Toussaint made his way to the Indian Office in Saint Louis, to collect in person, back-pay owed to him by the government. Joshua Pilcher, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, formally reported the termination of Toussaint's services to the Commissioner on August 14, 1839, in a letter which is the last document of record to mention Toussaint Charbonneau while he was still living. What happened to him after his visit to Saint Louis is unknown. He simply vanished, a fate that also befell several others of the Corps of Discovery. Whether he died in the Saint Louis area, or whether he set out again for the upper Missouri remains a mystery. He was dead by 1843, however, as his estate was settled at that time by his son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. **AW**

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

In addition to original research done for this article, the author has recapped certain facts contained in other papers he has published. For detailed references spanning more than sixty separate sources, including several antiquarian documents not yet published, see Anderson's: "J. B. Charbonneau, Son of Sacajawea," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 71, September 1970 and vol. 72, March 1971; "Probing the Riddle of the Bird Woman," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*, vol. 23, autumn 1973; "Fort Manuel: Its Historical Significance," *South Dakota History*, vol. 6, spring 1976; "Sacajawea, Sacagawea, Sakakawea?" *South Dakota History*, vol. 8, fall 1978.

Other references of substantive worth dealing specifically with one or more members of the Charbonneau family may be found in: E. G. Chuinard, M.D., "The Actual Role of the Bird Woman," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*, vol. 26, summer 1976. Ann W. Hafen, "Jean Baptiste Charbonneau," in *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, ed. by Leroy R. Hafen (1965), vol. 1. Harold P. Howard, *Sacajawea* (1971). Robert E. Lange, "Poor Charbonneau! Was He As Incompetent As Journals/Narratives Made Him Out To Be?" (to be published in a future issue of *We Proceeded On*). Dennis R. Ottoson, "Toussaint Charbonneau, A Most Durable Man," *South Dakota History*, vol. 6, spring 1976. Clyde H. Porter, "Jean Baptiste Charbonneau," *Idaho Yesterdays*, fall 1961. Russell Reid, "Sakakawea, The Bird Woman," *North Dakota History*, vol. 30, 1963. Robert Saindon, "The Abduction of Sacagawea," *We Proceeded On*, vol. 2, no. 2. Blanche Schroer, "Sacajawea, The Legend and the Truth," *In Wyoming*, winter 1978.

Additional references are cited in the text in this order: Eva Emery Dye, *The Conquest* (1902). Grace Raymond Hebard, "Woman Who Led the Way to the Golden West: Pilot of the First White Men to Cross America," *Journal of American History*, vol. 1, 1907; and *Sacajawea, a Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with an Account of the Travels of Toussaint Charbonneau, and of Jean Baptiste, the Expedition Papoose* (1932). Sven Liljeblad, "Footnote to History," *Idaho Yesterdays*, vol. 2, summer 1958. Olin D. Wheeler, *The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804–1904*, 2 vols. (1904). Henry M. Brackenridge, "Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri" (1811) in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 6 (1904). Charles A. Eastman, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" (1925), *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 13, July 1941. John Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812–1813*, ed. by Stella M. Drumm, Missouri Historical Society (1920). Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Luis Rey Mission* (1921).

Irving W. Anderson *is First Vice President of the national Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. He has had long experience in searching out and evaluating archival documents.*

PIONEERS OF THE WESTERN PEAKS

(Continued from page 18)

spent an uncomfortable night, saved from freezing by the steam caves. They returned, after various slips and bruises, to eat marmot and accept Sluiskin's congratulatory cries of "Skookum tillicum! Skookum tumtum!" (Strong men, brave hearts.) Edward Coleman had begun the climb, but weighted down with too much equipment, could not keep up with his less encumbered companions.

Lying just west of Seattle and tantalizingly visible, the Olympic Mountains remained unknown territory, a mystery at the young city's very door, dark with provocative Indian tales. The first major effort to penetrate the mystery was the Press Exploring Expedition of 1889–90, organized and sponsored by the *Seattle Press*. Led by Scotland-born James H. Christie, the expedition consisted of six men, four dogs, and two mules; one man was forced to return early to Seattle. To cross the Olympics today, even in summer, remains a test of stamina and determination. These hardy explorers, departing civilization in the dead of winter, faced hardships of snow, dangerous rivers to ford, and days of hunger when no game was caught, but they blazed a trail all the way, naming many peaks during their four-month trek and finding evidence of first Indian tribes.

The pride of Oregon is Mount Hood (11,245 feet), radiantly visible from much of Portland. After having negotiated Saint Helens, *The Oregonian*'s Dryer attempted Mount Hood with less success. Most historians believe his party did not reach the top of the snowy volcano, against which several attempts were made. One climber insisted in 1854 that a successful ascent had been made, and reported the altitude of Mount Hood to be 19,400 feet. But on July 11, 1857, four climbers are known to have reached the summit of Hood: the Reverend T. A. Wood, H. L. Pittock, Lyman Chittenden, and Wilbur Cornell. The climb was arduous and frightening, the aftermath painful for these victims of sunburn and snowblindness. "We spent the Sabbath in lamentations and groans. The reality of the suffering is far beyond my description. We camped there for some days as we were too much afflicted to travel."

The Sisters Wilderness in central Oregon is a legendary area; the Sasquatch or Big Foot is said to have roamed there, too—at least before many climbers and fishermen visited Devil's Lake and Wickiup Plains. The region is appealing; shining glass mountains of obsidian mingle with rock gardens of tangled lava, and wildflowers bloom at the scarred feet of Husband and Little Brother. Inhospitable in appearance, North Sister (10,085 feet) proved a perplexing trial of steep ice, and loose, sliding rock, and was considered impassable. After two unsuccessful tries, H. H. Prouty climbed the "black beast" alone in 1910. He wrote the record of his climb on a handkerchief: "August 9, 1910 . . . Made summit of Middle Sister 9:18. Left Middle Sister 10:10. After two failures made this summit at 12:33 P.M." The time—two hours and twenty-three minutes from Middle Sister—is one many climbers would envy.

IN CALIFORNIA, there was a golden conquest of mountains. Captain E. D. Pearce led a little group up the snows of Mount Shasta (14,162 feet) on August 14, 1854, raising the Stars and Stripes on the summit at noon. Returning, the men coasted downhill in an impromptu version of glissading. It was a spirited race with no question of stopping until they were at the foot of the mountain. The adventurers finally rolled and crashed and carromed to a stop. "We found that some were minus hats, some boots, some pants, and others had their shins bruised, and other little et ceteras too numerous to mention."

Mount Whitney (named for the geologist Josiah Dwight Whitney, and at 14,495 feet the highest point in the coterminous U.S.) has a history of controversy, climaxes, and anticlimaxes, clouded as the range in which the mountain stands. The Inyo *Independent* carried many conflicting accounts of climbs and claims of climbs. Probably, the first successful climb was on August 17, 1873, when three fishermen from Lone Pine reached the top and renamed the mountain Fisherman's Peak. Professor Whitney was not popular with everyone. The *Independent* correspondent wrote testily of the new name: "Ain't it as romantic as 'Whitney'? . . . Wonder who the old earthquake sharp thinks is running this country anyhow?"

The vigorous brand of mountaineering pursued by geologist Clarence King bristled with thrills and difficulties. On nearly every mountain, he found "fantastic pinnacles." One of King's obsessions was to be the first man to climb Mount Whitney. During the 1864 survey on which the peak was named, King had made two unsuccessful attempts to reach the mountain, and in 1871 he returned for yet another assault. Within a hundred feet of the supposed summit on a cloud-masked day, the geologist nearly lost his life when a snow cornice gave way under his weight, and he hung on the fragile ledge to survey a sheer drop. Once at the top, looking through "windows in the storm," he was in high spirits indeed, enormously pleased to think he had at last conquered the highest mountain in the United States. Actually—ironic apex of ill-chosen routes and misadventures—he was on another peak, nearby Mount Langley. Discovering his error in 1873, King lost no time in trying the climb again. After some unsuccessful attempts in route-finding, he finally won the summit-ridge and negotiated the tedious grind up September-bare rocks to the crest, only to find it had already been won weeks before. Here he wrote in pencil, "All honor to those who came here before me."

John Muir, an accomplished mountaineer with several first ascents to his credit, climbed Mount Whitney from Independence and wrote years later, "soft, succulent people should go the mule way." For his part, Professor Whitney gloomily argued that any trail on the mountain would be both costly and dangerous. Today, a safe trail, sufficiently fatiguing, leads to the summit, well engineered, and hiked by thousands every year, resulting in the customary problems of litter and such incongruities as a chemical

toilet on the barren and rocky upper slopes.

Half Dome in Yosemite (8,842 feet) remains that most eloquent of mountains, a perfectly noble statement in stone. To Muir, Yosemite's mountains were rock-and-snow-embodied consciousness; like Sir Leslie Stephen, British alpinist, he sensed a vague and shadowy awareness in mountains. Professor Whitney regarded Half Dome's summit as "perfectly inaccessible, being probably the only one of all the prominent points about the Yosemite which never has been, and never will be, trodden by human foot." But in 1875, after several unsuccessful attempts had been made, George Anderson literally hammered his way to the top. Muir wrote that Anderson "resolutely drilled his way . . . inserting eyebolts five or six feet apart, and making his rope fast to each in succession, resting his feet on the last bolt while he drilled a hole for the next above." A month later, Muir clambered to the top, using Anderson's ropes.

DURING THIS SAME period, peaks in Colorado were attracting new challengers. In the 1870s an English woman, Isabella Bird, conquered Longs Peak (first climbed by Major Powell) and claimed that only then did she understand life's meaning. Her guide Mountain Jim coaxed and half-pulled this courageous but inexperienced lady up the mountain. Longs Peak at 14,255 feet is a test of stamina and resolve: "It took one hour to accomplish 500 feet pausing for breath every minute or two. The only foothold was in narrow cracks or on minute projections on the granite . . . crawling on hands and knees, all the while tortured with thirst and gasping and struggling for breath, this was the climb, but at last the Peak was won."

In 1874, two giants in Colorado's Sawatch range were conquered. Henry Gannett, head of a U.S. Geological Survey crew, climbed Mount Massive (14,404 feet), while his assistant H. W. Stuckle climbed Mount Elbert (14,431 feet). Despite the height, neither mountain presents serious difficulties; today, they are "walk-ups," the main problem being that of finding stamina to cope with the strangling altitude.

One of the most spectacular of western mountains is Wyoming's Grand Teton (13,766 feet). In 1860 famed mountain man Jim Bridger pronounced the jagged peak impossible to climb. Twelve years later, in July of 1872, eleven members of Ferdinand V. Hayden's government survey attempted the feat. Equipped with alpenstocks, rope, and bacon sandwiches, the climbers encountered successive obstacles and harrowing mishaps until all but two, N. P. Langford and James Stevenson, turned back. After ten hours of exertion and a final frightening clamber up a steeply slanted sheet of ice, the pair exulted in "the solitary satisfaction . . . that we were the first white men who had ever stood upon the spot we now occupied." Like many other first ascents, the climb and claim to success were later questioned. Some who have followed the mountain believe that the first complete ascent was actually made in 1893 by army Captain Charles H. Kieffer; others point to the 1898 climb led by Frank S. Spaulding. Today, a businesslike mountaineering school near the great mountain competently helps novices achieve the summit by a variety of routes. If the climb of the Grand is not yet a stroll, it is no longer a remarkable feat.

Highest and most formidable of North American peaks is Alaska's McKinley (20,320 feet), awesome and cloud-bearded patriarch of mountains. To climb Mount McKinley was formerly a major expedition, to ford rivers, to battle crippling temperatures, avalanches, and brutal demoralizing storms, to climb crevasse-knifed glaciers and uncomfortable high ridges which required that snow be shovelled off to gain secure footing. Separate expeditions led by James Wickersham and Dr. Frederick Cook in 1902 were the first to reach McKinley's lower slopes. Newspaper headlines in 1906 proclaimed that on a second attempt that year Cook had conquered North America's highest mountain. But the amazing speed with which Cook and a single companion supposedly completed their dash from civilization to McKinley and back soon cast doubt on his claim, and Cook's photograph of the purported summit has led latter-day skeptics to conclude that he probably came no closer than twenty miles from McKinley. In 1908 Cook's reputation was further clouded by controversy over his claim of having reached the North Pole.

In 1910 in true frontier tradition, four Alaskan sourdoughs with little experience but a great deal of enthusiasm made a winter assault on McKinley, and two of them succeeded in climbing the lower North Peak (19,470 feet), thus missing fame by a miscalculation. Ironically, this remarkable achievement, in which Pete Anderson and Billy Taylor dragged a heavy spruce flagstaff to the top along with them—climbing over 8,000 feet and back in a single day—seemed so improbable that it was widely disbelieved at the time. Three years later the sourdoughs were vindicated when other climbers sighted their sturdy marker still standing atop the North Peak.

Not until 1913 did the great one yield; Hudson Stuck, archdeacon of the Yukon and successful climber in the United States and Canada, led three companions to the top. Walter Harper, of Indian heritage, reached the summit first. Giddy with excitement and exertion, Stuck had to be hauled up, and promptly fainted.

THE GROWING ENTHUSIASM for climbing among westerners in the late nineteenth century led to the formation of numerous mountaineering clubs. These organizations were imbued with the same individualistic spirit which had inspired the deeds of single and small groups of climbers.

The prestigious Sierra Club was founded by Californians in 1892 with John Muir as its first president. Its aim was "to explore and enjoy." In the words of one member, the club meant "comradeship and chivalry, simplicity and joyousness, and the carefree life of the open." Early members included David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University; William E. Colby, secretary for many years and organizer of the club's outings; Norman Clyde, credited with numerous, memorable first ascents; and Joseph N. Le Conte, creator of the club's maps detailing explora-

tion of the Sierra. In those early days, outings into the Sierra were the club's major interest. Initially, a group as large as 150 went into the mountains for a month's outing. As roads were built into the wild areas, two-week holidays became practicable for those who fancied burro trips and tramps with knapsack.

The Oregon Alpine Club was incorporated in 1887, including among its founders William G. Steel, the loyal champion of Crater Lake. The club broke up, but continuing interest culminated in the founding of the Mazamas, organized July 19, 1894, on the summit of Mount Hood with the slogan "We Climb High." To qualify as a member (the rule holds today), a person must climb a mountain that can be scaled only on foot and has at least one living glacier. Nearly 200 persons, including thirty-nine women, participated in the summit-founding, sending triumphal smoke signals and mirror flashes.

Sunday, February 17, 1907, witnessed the first outing of the Seattle Mountaineers. At 9:30 A.M. forty-eight members and guests hiked to the West Point Lighthouse and lunched over a campfire. Decorum prevailed; everyone was suitably hatted, and women wore long skirts. Outings were accomplished in a military style that nevertheless blended camaraderie, sentiment, and jollity. Members were encouraged to bring musical instruments as well as "one tramping suit of some good stout material." Early Mountaineer members scrambled all over Washington and, occasionally, Oregon. Eleven people climbed Mount Olympus (7,965 feet) on August 13, 1907, making the first ascent of the main West Peak. With their "light, broad brimmed" hats and "good, serviceable" alpenstocks, the Mountaineers climbed and camped. "A brave little army we were, bristling with alpenstocks, laden with knapsacks and other paraphernalia." Seattle Mountaineers early began a tradition that persists as a particularly noble use of the enchanted forest lands; acquiring woodland and building rustic cabins near Bremerton, they produced the customary skits and stunts, and in 1923 presented a formal dramatic production, first of the Forest Theater plays.

Recommendations for women Mountaineers were explicit: "Women should have one durable waist for tramping, including one to wear around camp. The skirt should be short, not much below the knees, and under it should be worn bloomers." Veils were advised. These rules were strictly enforced, even though skirted ladies had to cope with brush, muddy trails (where trails existed at all), and narrow log crossings. One young lady left her skirt on a log, approaching a rock clamber, and when the party returned via a different route, she was forced to borrow a skirt for the sake of modesty. Despite the regulations, and the hampering effects of propriety and diffidence, there were, even in the earliest years, a few agile and determined women alpinists—notably "dashing" Fay Fuller, Tacoma teacher, editor, and strong-willed climber, and young Helen Holmes.

Chivalry reigned in early western mountaineering. Women were welcome and treated with consideration. When one fainted on a tricky descent of Gibraltar Rock on Mount Rainier, her nervousness occasioned no surprise. Still, the attitude of the clubs was a paternal one, coupled with supervision and discipline. The successive regulations of the Sierra Club read like a calendar of women's emancipation. In 1901, its stipulations were similar to those of the Seattle Mountaineers: "Women should have one durable waist for tramping and one light one to wear around camp. The skirts can be short, not more than halfway from knee to ankle, and under them can be worn shorter dark-colored bloomers." Women who rode horses were allowed divided skirts. In 1914, "bloomers or knickerbockers" were recommended under the skirt. In 1920, "Many women prefer the knickerbockers or trousers." By 1925, women were usually in trousers—"hiking or riding breeches."

At the campfires of the great western club outings, the pure joy of the group pioneer spirit was evident. On some occasions, the revelers ate grandly as befitted exploring adventurers. Menus sometimes included such niceties as oyster soup, porterhouse steak, creamed potatoes, flapjacks, and peach pie. In one case, it took more than an hour for a party to file past the tables where young women wearing bandanas wielded the serving spoons. Mass outings cheerfully diverged upon and occupied fragile meadows and high lakes. Army-size latrines were built. Such an attitude seems incomprehensible today to cautious conservationists, but it was part of the time when nature was regarded as rich, mysterious, provocative, and inexhaustible.

A kind of cheerful innocence stood against an awesome backdrop. It was "peril by day and merriment at night." Along with the elaborate meals there were sometimes candypulls, mock weddings, and skits. There were poetry readings, and women sang songs of friendship and faith. What seems now a lavish and overdone outpouring of sentiment stirred these kindred souls, who may have sensed that this, too, was passing, their brief day of being the first. The halcyon time would soon be over. In retrospect, early western climbers portrayed in their mountain ventures a spirited and unselfconscious enjoyment, most akin to what John Ruskin meant, "The spirit of the hills is action." **AW**

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

The story of early western mountaineering is most vividly told in the bulletins and annuals of the mountaineering clubs: Mazamas, Mountaineers, and the Sierra Club. Detailed histories of individual regions and mountains include Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada* (1965); W. G. Steel, *The Mountains of Oregon* (1890); Aubrey L. Haines, *Mountain Fever* (1962); Dee Molenaar, *The Challenge of Rainier* (1971); Edmond S. Meany, *Mount Rainier: A Record of Exploration* (1916); Robert L. Wood, *Across the Olympic Mountains: The Press Expedition, 1889–90* (1967); William M. Bueler, *Roof of the Rockies: A History of Mountaineering in Colorado* (1974); Margaret Sanborn, *The Grand Tetons: The Story of the Men Who Tamed the Western Wilderness* (1970); and Terris Moore, *Mt. McKinley: The Pioneer Climbs* (1967). Isabella Bird tells the story of her adventure in *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (1960).

Anita Nygaard Strickland, *formerly librarian, museum director, and historical research analyst, is now an antiquarian-book seller, specializing in books on mountaineering and western Americana.*

THE AMERICAN WEST
is sponsored by the
WESTERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION

Membership in the Western History Association is open to anyone interested in the history and culture of the American West. Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, William D. Rowley, Department of History, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada 89557. Membership is on a calendar-year basis and includes THE AMERICAN WEST and WESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Annual dues are: Regular Member $20.00; Sustaining Member $30.00; Student Member & Emeritus Member $10.00 (includes only the WESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY and Annual Conference material); Sponsoring Member $100.00 (Institution); Life Member $500.00, paid in a twelve-month period. Individuals or institutions not wishing to become members may subscribe directly to either THE AMERICAN WEST or the WESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY at regular subscription rates.

Sponsoring Members

AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CENTER—CLIO PRESS
AMON CARTER MUSEUM OF WESTERN ART
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
ARIZONA HISTORICAL FOUNDATION
ARIZONA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ARIZONA STATE LIBRARY, ARCHIVES AND PUBLIC RECORDS
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
THE BANCROFT LIBRARY
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
BUFFALO BILL HISTORICAL CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
COLORADO COLLEGE, COLORADO SPRINGS
UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN COLORADO
COLORADO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT HAYS STATE UNIVERSITY
FORT LEWIS COLLEGE
INDIANA UNIVERSITY
JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL COMMISSION, COLORADO
KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
LOS ANGELES WESTERNERS
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI SYSTEM
UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA
MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
WESTERN MONTANA COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA, OMAHA
NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, RENO
NEW MEXICO STATE UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC
PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY
SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY
SAN DIEGO WESTERNERS
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON
TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY
TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF TOLEDO
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN—RIVER FALLS
UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING
EASTERN WYOMING COLLEGE

THE AMERICAN WEST
is published by the
BUFFALO BILL HISTORICAL CENTER
Cody, Wyoming

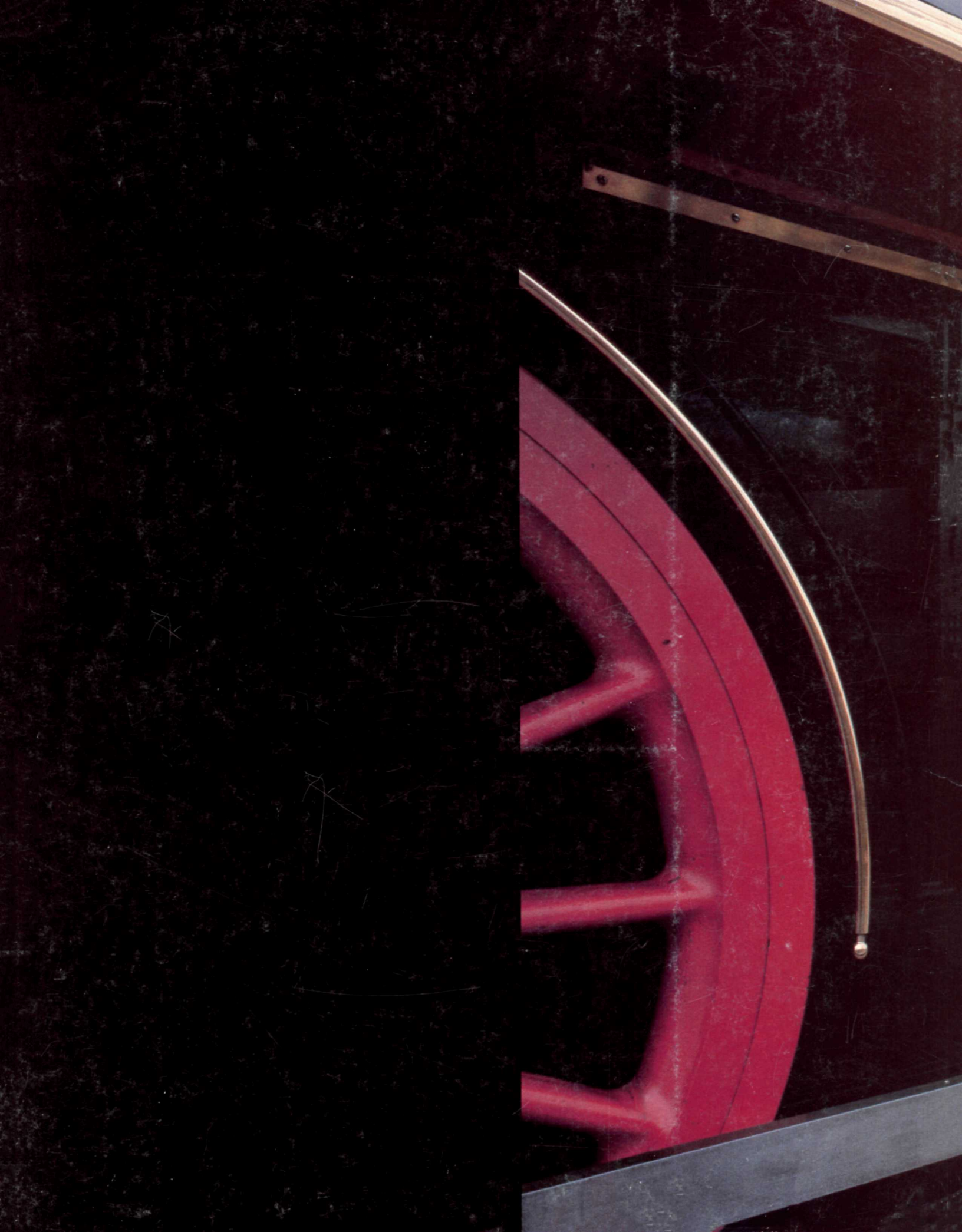
THE BUFFALO BILL HISTORICAL CENTER is a nonprofit educational institution dedicated to the preservation of America's western heritage. Embodying important collections of western art, ethnographic materials, historic artifacts, and memorabilia, its facilities offer an unparalleled view of frontier life.

The Center consists of four major museums in one complex. The Buffalo Bill Museum, dedicated in 1927, is a repository for the most extensive assemblage of Buffalo Bill material in the world. The Whitney Gallery of Western Art, begun in 1959, features masterworks of American painting and sculpture, both contemporary and historic, focusing on the image of the western frontier. The Plains Indian Museum, opened in 1969, is devoted to the beauty and tradition of Native American life in the West. And the Winchester Museum, stemming from a collection of American guns begun by Oliver Winchester in 1860, contains a comprehensive array of over five thousand projectile arms.

Thus devoted to the material and visual documentation of the West, the Center's programs and collections span more than one hundred of the most dramatic and colorful years in America's history.

Membership in the Center's Patrons' Association is open to anyone interested in America's western heritage. Annual membership includes subscriptions to *The American West* and a quarterly newsletter, free museum admission, discounts on museum publications, and other benefits. Categories are: Individual—$25, Family—$50, Sponsor—$100, Sustaining—$500, and Benefactor—$1,000. Donations are tax deductible and should be directed to Box 1020, Cody, Wyoming 82414.

During March and April the Buffalo Bill Historical Center will be open from 1 to 5 P.M. daily, except Mondays.



THE AMERICAN WEST
Volume XVII Number 2 March/April 1980

THE AMERICAN WEST