

LEWIS AND CLARK EASTERN LEGACY STUDY

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Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy Study

A. Legislation and Purpose

Public Law 108-387, passed by the U.S. Congress on October 30, 2004, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to “update, with an accompanying map, the 1958 Lewis and Clark National Historic Landmark theme study to determine the historical significance of the eastern sites of the Corps of Discovery expedition used by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, whether independently or together, in the preparation phase starting at Monticello, Virginia, and traveling to Wood River, Illinois, and the return phase from Saint Louis, Missouri, to Washington, District of Columbia, including sites in Virginia, Washington, District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois. . . . The focus of the study . . . shall be on developing historic context information to assist in the evaluation and identification, including the use of plaques, of sites eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places or designation as a National Historic Landmark.”

This updated study contains three principal elements:

1. Historic context on the preparation and return phases of the Corps of Discovery. This material will include a historical discussion of the years of study that preceded the expedition, the development of logistics for the trip, the return of expedition participants, what became of the participants, and the immediate results of the expedition—all of which can be ascribed to activities that took place east of the Mississippi River. This historic context will outline those themes for which properties may be evaluated to possess the highest level of historical associations (for National Historic Landmark status) or other levels of historical significance (for National Register status).
2. Property types associated with the Eastern Legacy of the Corps of Discovery. These property types can be organized by building and/or archeological type, or according to the expedition’s preparation and return phases. The development of property types will require that the consultant conduct a preliminary survey of surviving properties related to the historic contexts by contacting relevant State Historic Preservation Offices, historical societies, historical commissions, and other organizations, as well as relevant published and unpublished sources.
3. Registration requirements that will establish guidance for evaluating properties for listing in the National Register of Historic Places or nomination for National Historic Landmark designation.

In addition, a time line illustrates the origins, planning, and logistical preparation for the expedition, as well as its initial phase from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Camp Wood, Illinois.

B. Time Line

Early Exploration of the West and Other Significant Events

1743

April 13, Thomas Jefferson born in Albemarle County, VA

1770

August 1, William Clark born in Caroline County, VA

1774

August 18, Meriwether Lewis born in Albemarle County, VA, at Locust Hill

1778

Captain James Cook explores Pacific Coast of North America

1783

Thomas Jefferson proposes a western expedition to General George Rogers Clark

1785

Thomas Jefferson encourages adventurer John Ledyard to explore the West

1790

U.S. Army Lieutenant John Armstrong aborts planned western expedition because of Spanish opposition

1792

Captains Robert Gray and George Vancouver confirm the location of the mouth of the Columbia River

1793

Thomas Jefferson proposes that the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, PA, sponsor a western expedition under André Michaux
Alexander MacKenzie reaches the Pacific Ocean from Montreal

Planning for the Expedition: Washington, D.C., to Pittsburgh

1801

February 23, Jefferson writes Meriwether Lewis to offer him position as private secretary

March 5, Lewis receives Jefferson's letter at Pittsburgh

March 10, Lewis writes Jefferson to accept offer

April 1, Lewis reaches Washington, DC

1802

Summer, Jefferson and Lewis read Alexander Mackenzie's book about his journey to the Pacific Ocean

October 16, Spanish administrator in New Orleans suspends American right of deposit

November, Jefferson informs Spanish ambassador of intention to send exploratory party up Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean; ambassador objects

November, Lewis gives Jefferson cost estimate of \$2,500 for 10–12-man expedition

1803

- January 18, Jefferson submits confidential message to Congress about expedition with Lewis's estimation of expenses
- January 31, Spanish ambassador reports to Spain on the contents of Jefferson's confidential message
- February 28, Congress appropriates funds for the expedition
- February–March, Jefferson writes to scientists at Lancaster and Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania), asking them to educate Lewis in celestial navigation, etc.
- March (mid-), Lewis leaves Washington for Harpers Ferry arsenal to secure 15 rifles as well as tomahawks and knives, and to oversee manufacture of a light iron-framed boat, *Experiment*, to be assembled and covered with hides later in the journey
- April 19, Lewis reaches Lancaster, PA, to study procedures for celestial navigation with surveyor-astronomer Andrew Ellicott
- May 7, Lewis departs Lancaster for Philadelphia
- May 10, Lewis arrives in Philadelphia to consult with naturalist-physician Benjamin S. Barton, anatomist Dr. Caspar Wistar, physician Benjamin Rush, and mathematician Robert Patterson.
- June 17 (ca.), Lewis arrives back in Washington
- June 19, Lewis writes friend and former commanding officer William Clark at Clarksville, Indiana Territory, to offer him a position with the expedition as co-commander
- June 20, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Cushing, 2d Infantry Regiment, stationed at Frederick, MD, writes Lieutenant William A. Murray, recruiting near Carlisle, PA, to send eight men of his party to Pittsburgh to aid Lewis
- June 20, Jefferson gives Lewis final instructions for the expedition after discussing them with the Cabinet
- June 28, wagon carrying supplies from Philadelphia passes through Frederick, MD, en route to Harpers Ferry

East of the Mississippi: From Pittsburgh to Camp Wood

1803

- July 4, Louisiana Purchase announced
- July 4, Jefferson gives Lewis a letter of credit to use as needed on the expedition, committing the U.S. to reimbursing anyone who furnishes supplies, etc.
- July 5, Lewis departs Washington and arrives in Frederick, MD, that evening
- July 6, Lewis arrives at Harpers Ferry
- July 8, Lewis departs Harpers Ferry for Pittsburgh
- July 15, Lewis arrives at Pittsburgh; boat builder there fails to complete keelboat by July 20 as specified in contract
- July 22, wagon arrives in Pittsburgh with arms, etc., from Harpers Ferry
- July 22, seven of eight temporarily assigned soldiers arrive from Carlisle, PA
- July 29, Lewis receives July 18 letter from Clark accepting offer (written day after Clark received the offer)
- August 31, Lewis departs Pittsburgh in just-completed keelboat, with some supplies loaded in a pirogue, and other supplies sent by wagon to Wheeling, WV, to be picked up there
- September 4, at Georgetown, PA, Lewis purchases a canoe to help carry supplies

- September 7–9, party halts at Wheeling to load supplies brought by wagon; a second pirogue purchased
- September 10, party halts near present-day Moundsville, WV, so Lewis can visit Indian burial mound there
- September 13, party arrives at Marietta, OH
- September 14 (ca.), party departs Marietta
- September 28–October 4 or 5, party rests at approximate site of Cincinnati, OH
- October 3, Lewis writes Jefferson proposing a side expedition during the winter to the south side of the Missouri
- October 4, Lewis collects fossils at Big Bone Lick, KY
- October 14, party arrives at the falls of the Ohio River at Louisville, KY
- October 15, party passes through the falls and ties up at Clarksville, Indiana Territory, where William Clark joins the expedition
- October 26, party departs Clarksville
- November 11, party arrives at Fort Massac, near present-day Metropolis, IL, on the north bank of the Ohio River about 35 miles from the junction with the Mississippi River; George Drouillard, Joseph Whitehouse, and possibly John Newman join the expedition
- November 13, party leaves Fort Massac, having dispatched Drouillard to South West Point, TN, to fetch some promised recruits that were supposed to have been waiting at Fort Massac
- November 14, party reaches mouth of the Ohio River at present-day Cairo, IL, resting and making measurements of the Mississippi for a week
- November 16, Jefferson replies to Lewis's letter of October 3 and forbids the proposed side expedition
- November 20, party departs for Fort Kaskaskia, IL
- November 28, party arrives at Fort Kaskaskia; Lewis remains there to confer with commander about supplies while Clark takes the boat party upriver; Clark camps that night on the eastern bank opposite Ste. Genevieve, MO
- December 3, Clark receives message from Lewis to proceed to Cahokia, IL, on eastern bank of the Mississippi opposite St. Louis, MO
- December 5, Lewis departs Kaskaskia on horseback
- December 7, Lewis arrives at Cahokia; accompanied by U.S. postmaster John Hay and French fur trader Nicholas Jarrot from Cahokia, confers with Col. Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana, in St. Louis; Clark and boat party reach Cahokia
- December 8, Lewis rejoins party at Cahokia
- December 10, party crosses river to St. Louis
- December 11, Clark departs with boat party for Wood River; Lewis remains in St. Louis to gather supplies and intelligence
- December 12, Clark and party reach Wood River campsite, IL, about 17.5 miles above St. Louis
- December 13, Clark selects site for Camp River Dubois (Camp Wood); party begins clearing land, cutting a road, building cabins, etc.
- December 22, Drouillard arrives at Camp River Dubois from South West Point, TN, with eight recruits

December 24, camp cabins completed
 December 25, camp party celebrates Christmas

1804

March 9–10, Lewis and Clark attend ceremonies in St. Louis transferring Upper Louisiana from Spain to France and from France to the U.S.
 April 1, Clark lists 25 permanent noncommissioned and enlisted members of the expedition, including 3 sergeants and 22 privates
 April 7, Lewis and Clark attend a dinner and ball in St. Louis
 May 6, Lewis sends Clark his commission, but as a lieutenant not a captain as promised
 May 14, the Corps of Discovery crosses the Mississippi River about 4 P.M. and begins its ascent of the Missouri River, stopping for the night at an island about four miles upriver from Camp Wood

1806

September 23, the Corps of Discovery returns to St. Louis; Lewis writes to Jefferson reporting on the journey
 October 24, Jefferson receives Lewis's letter
 November, Lewis and Clark set off for home
 November 9, Lewis and Clark arrive at Louisville, KY
 November 13, Lewis and Clark arrive at Frankfort, KY
 December, Clark arrives at Fincastle, VA, to resume his courtship of Julia Hancock (they marry ca. January 5, 1808)
 December 11, Lewis reaches Staunton, VA
 December 13, Lewis arrives at Locust Hill, Albemarle Co., VA, for reunion with mother
 December 28, Lewis arrives in Washington, DC

1807

January 8, Clark attends celebration in Fincastle, VA, courthouse square
 January 18, Clark joins Lewis and Jefferson in Washington, DC

C. Historic Context

Introduction

Between 1803 and 1807, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark led an expedition across North America from the Eastern Seaboard to the Pacific Ocean and back. Its mission was, as President Thomas Jefferson put it succinctly, “single”: to identify “the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri and perhaps the Oregon” Rivers. The co-commanders were also to map their route, collect samples of the flora and fauna encountered in their journey, and establish friendly relations between the United States government and the Native tribes of the continent’s interior. They succeeded in all their goals except the principal one, dashing on the Rocky Mountains the ancient dream of a Northwest Passage by water from sea to sea. Of their small party, Lewis and Clark lost only one man, Sergeant Charles Floyd, early in the expedition from an illness that was not then survivable (probably appendicitis). That the journey was

accomplished at such a relatively low cost is attributable not only to the skill of the leaders, the hardiness of the men, the vital assistance of the Native people, and good fortune, but also to the careful planning that took place beforehand over the course of more than a year. The sites related to the planning phase, as well as the outward and homeward parts of the journey east of the Mississippi River, constitute the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy.¹

The eastern phase of the Lewis and Clark Expedition may be divided conveniently into several parts. First, Meriwether Lewis and Thomas Jefferson discussed the proposed expedition, conducted research, analyzed alternatives, estimated costs, and arrived at a plan of action. Second, Jefferson arranged for Lewis a course of study in various useful sciences with experts in the fields of astronomy, medicine, and surveying who were fellow members with Jefferson of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Third, Lewis purchased supplies, contracted for the construction of a boat, and recruited other members of the expedition, most notably William Clark. Finally, Lewis departed from Washington for Harpers Ferry and Pittsburgh, gathered his supplies, loaded his keelboat, and descended the Ohio River to the Mississippi and eventually Camp River Dubois (Camp Wood), picking up Clark and many crew members en route.

In reality, of course, this phase of the expedition did not happen quite so neatly. Lewis and Jefferson discussed and refined the action plan virtually up to the minute that Lewis left Washington for Pittsburgh, which had not been the first choice of a jumping-off point—it had instead been Nashville, Tennessee. Lewis not only purchased additional supplies as he made his way down the Ohio River, but he also acquired another boat and retained some prospective members of the expedition while dismissing others. Camp River Dubois became the winter camp only because the original plan—to press on up the Missouri River with the permission of the Spanish in St. Louis—had to be abandoned because of earlier delays, Spanish opposition, and the lateness of the season. In other words, improvisation was essential because some aspects of the plan went awry.

A recent U.S. Army study identified four central themes in the logistical (i.e., eastern) phase of the expedition: “the concept of innovation, the employment of civilian contractors, the anticipation of support from native tribes (host nation support), and difficulty in securing adequate transportation.” Several of the sites associated with those themes survive today—sites as diverse as the American Philosophical Society hall in Philadelphia and the Fort Southwest Point Archaeological Site in Tennessee. Properly preserved and interpreted, these sites help to tell the story of the research, planning, organization, and initial execution of the journey of discovery.²

¹ Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents: 1783–1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:137.

² Donald L. Carr, *Into the Unknown: The Logistics Preparation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2004), 65.

Prelude: Early Western Exploration

The European explorers and settlers of the New World arrived here with dreams and expectations about what they would find. Some of their notions were based on facts, others on wishful thinking and myth. Certain myths—cities paved with gold, Native mines full of gems and precious metals, the Fountain of Youth—died quickly as the settlers discovered that easy wealth and eternal youth were but lovely fictions. Another dream, however, died hard: that there was an all-water passage through North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Numerous explorers tried to find it and failed, but the hope remained alive that perhaps the next river would provide the link.

The search for the Northwest Passage, as it was called, began in earnest when the first permanent English settlers arrived in present-day Virginia. They had barely established themselves at Jamestown when, in 1608, Captain John Smith undertook two arduous voyages through the Chesapeake Bay seeking, among other things, mines of precious metals and a river that would carry travelers across what many believed to be a narrow strip of land to the Pacific. He quickly found that neither mines nor such a passage existed, at least not in the Chesapeake region. Smith explored and mapped the country, forged alliances with Native tribes and chiefdoms, described his discoveries in his writings, and encouraged the settlement of Virginia and New England to secure control of the country for England.

Over the next two centuries, as other English, Spanish, and French colonists gradually extended their settlements into the continent's interior, they followed similar patterns. They explored, mapped, and described the land and watercourses. They established trading and military alliances with the Native peoples. They sought to deny territory to other nations while claiming it for their own. They fought wars to extend and consolidate control. And they looked for ways to improve trade routes so they could dominate parts of the continent economically as well as physically.

If the settlers' search for an all-water Northwest Passage began in 1608 with Captain John Smith, it did not end until almost two centuries had passed. In 1778, Captain James Cook searched along the Pacific coast but found no conclusive water link between West and East. In May 1792, Captains Robert Gray and George Vancouver confirmed the location of the mouth of the Columbia River, and fixed its longitude and latitude, thereby establishing the width of the continent—about three thousand miles—with more certainty than ever before. Vancouver's subsequent expeditions proved that an all-water route almost certainly did not exist, but there were those in America and elsewhere who hoped that perhaps a short land passage between an eastern and a western river might serve the same purpose. Chief among them—in a position to encourage and support an expedition—was Thomas Jefferson, U.S. Secretary of State.³

Born near Virginia's frontier in 1743, and the son of an explorer and cartographer himself, Jefferson had had his eye on the West from childhood. The executor of

³ Roy E. Appleman, ed., *The Lewis and Clark Expedition [National Historic Landmark Theme Study]* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1958), 6.

Jefferson's father's estate, Dr. Thomas Walker, was a surveyor and frontier explorer whom Jefferson knew well. Jefferson also attended the school operated by the Reverend James Maury, an advocate of western expansion. As an adult politician, Jefferson wrote to General George Rogers Clark in December 1783 to suggest that Clark lead an expedition into the Trans-Mississippi West to counter a similar undertaking proposed in Britain. Nothing came of either project, but two years later, while serving as minister to France, Jefferson encouraged John Ledyard, an adventurer who proposed to cross the North American continent from west to east after traveling from London through Russia to Alaska. Ledyard got as far as eastern Siberia before Russian officials arrested him and deported him to Poland.⁴

In 1793, Jefferson, a member of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia as well as secretary of state, proposed that the society send French botanist André Michaux to explore the region between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. Eighteen-year-old Meriwether Lewis, whose family knew Jefferson, applied to accompany the scientist, but Jefferson turned Lewis down because of his youth. Jefferson wrote Michaux's instructions, which were to give preference to the Missouri River as a route west from the Mississippi, and to find "the shortest & most convenient route of communication between the U.S. & the Pacific ocean, within the temperate latitudes, & to learn such particulars as can be obtained of the country through which it passes, it's productions, inhabitants & other interesting circumstances." The instructions were almost identical to those Jefferson would give Lewis ten years later. Jefferson also told Michaux to skirt the Spanish settlements there to avoid trouble, since Spain controlled the region. An expedition planned for 1790, with which Jefferson had had no involvement but was probably familiar, had foundered on anticipated Spanish opposition. U.S. Army Lieutenant John Armstrong, under the auspices of U.S. Secretary of War Henry Knox, traveled from Cincinnati to Fort Kaskaskia in the Illinois Territory, then to Cahokia opposite St. Louis. After crossing the Mississippi, intending to proceed up the Missouri River, Armstrong was recalled and the expedition cancelled. Michaux's project also came to naught, after he and the French ambassador, Citizen Edmond C. Genêt, wore out their welcome by plotting against the British and Spanish in violation of President George Washington's proclamation of neutrality. Genêt was expelled in 1793 and Michaux went with him, ending Jefferson's dream of western exploration for the time being.⁵

Planning for the Expedition

On February 23, 1801, shortly before Thomas Jefferson's inauguration as president, he wrote Captain Meriwether Lewis in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to offer him the position of private secretary. Among Lewis's qualifications for the post, Jefferson listed first and foremost "your knowlege of the Western country." In addition, Jefferson told Lewis that he would "save . . . the expence of subsistence & lodging as you would be one of my family," and assured him that the duties would be "easier" than his current ones. Jefferson wrote in a later letter to William A. Burwell that the position of secretary was

⁴ Ibid., 17–21.

⁵ Ibid., 21–23.

more like that of an aide, “because I write my own letters. . . . The care of our company, execution of some commissions in the town occasionally, messages to Congress, occasional conferences & explanations with particular members, with the offices, & inhabitants of this place . . . constitute the chief business.” Lewis replied on March 10, “I most cordially acquiesce, and with pleasure accept the office.” He began wrapping up his affairs immediately.⁶

Meriwether Lewis had been born a few miles west of Jefferson’s Monticello in Albemarle County, Virginia, at the family farm called Locust Hill, on August 18, 1774. After his father, William Lewis, died in 1779, his mother married Captain John Marks in 1780. Marks moved the family—which included Meriwether’s younger siblings Jane and Reuben—to northeastern Georgia about 1783, where Meriwether lived until about 1787, when he returned to Albemarle County to attend school and learn the management of Locust Hill, which he had inherited as the oldest child. In 1791, Captain Marks died, and soon thereafter Lewis’s mother returned from Georgia to Locust Hill, bringing with her John and Mary Marks, Meriwether’s half-siblings. In 1794, Lewis served in the militia called out by President George Washington to put down the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania; he rose to the rank of ensign and then joined the regular army. He spent the next several years in various assignments in the then-western parts of the United States, traveling from Pennsylvania through Ohio, as well as to Detroit. He was promoted to lieutenant and eventually to captain, serving as paymaster on the western frontier, but his path was not always smooth. In 1795, while still an ensign, he was court-martialed for drunk and disorderly conduct that included challenging a superior officer to a duel; Lewis was acquitted. He then transferred to another infantry company, one commanded by a combat veteran, Lieutenant William Clark. Although the two men served together for only six months, it was long enough to form a friendship that lasted until Lewis’s death.⁷

Clark, like Lewis, was also a Virginian, born in Caroline County on August 1, 1770. He had family ties to Charlottesville, in Albemarle County, and his elder brother was General George Rogers Clark, a friend of Thomas Jefferson and the conqueror of the Old Northwest during the Revolutionary War. A four-year veteran of the army by the time Lewis joined his company, William Clark had taken part in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1795. Six months after Lewis began serving under him, Clark resigned his commission because of ill health and a desire to help his famous brother recover the debts owed the general by the United States. Clark returned to Louisville, Kentucky, where his father had settled the family in 1785 on a farm called Mulberry Hill, and resided in the two-story log dwelling there. At Mulberry Hill, on the western frontier, Clark grew to manhood and then left to join the army. On the death of his father in 1799, Clark inherited Mulberry Hill, which he sold to his other brother, Jonathan, in 1803. At about that time, George Rogers Clark moved to a site across the Ohio River just west of

⁶ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:2–3.

⁷ Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 21–22, 24–28, 38–46.

present-day Clarksville, where he built a cabin overlooking the falls and where William Clark came to live with him.⁸

Clark and Lewis likely met again face to face between the time that Clark left the army in 1796 and their reunion at George Rogers Clark's cabin in 1803. Clark's travels in the intervening years on behalf of his brother and on other family business took him to present-day Illinois and New Orleans, further familiarizing him with the western part of the country. He also traveled to Washington, D.C., after Jefferson became president, and later wrote of becoming acquainted with him there; surely he would also have visited with his friend Lewis, the president's secretary. The only correspondence between him and Lewis known to survive, however, is a single letter from Lewis written in 1801, in which he asked Clark to inquire about some land in Ohio. The two men somehow found a way to maintain their friendship.⁹

In 1801, having accepted Jefferson's invitation to serve as secretary, Lewis set out from Pittsburgh for the capital, where he arrived on April 1. As a member of the president's household, Lewis established his quarters in what is now called the East Room of the White House. One of his first orders of business was to assist Jefferson in evaluating the army's officers, many of whom Lewis knew personally because of his duties as paymaster and his travels among the various western posts. Jefferson wanted to ensure that the officer corps, of which some members were political appointees, was solidly Republican rather than Federalist. The surgery he and Lewis performed on the corps was done with a scalpel rather than a cleaver, however, and an officer's competence frequently counted for more than his political persuasion. Lewis also attended to the other duties outlined by Jefferson, gathering information, delivering messages to members of Congress, and assisting with correspondence. He dined with Jefferson and his guests, met many influential people, and traveled with Jefferson to Monticello when the president went home. And, there in the White House and at Monticello, he and Jefferson discussed the exploration of the American West.¹⁰

The United States, in the first year of Jefferson's presidency, had no firm western boundary. Beside the Native tribes, other nations claimed various parts of the country west of the Mississippi River, as well as along parts of the river itself. The French, the Spanish, and the British all occupied, or sought to occupy, portions of western North America. Jefferson, an early advocate of westward national expansion, had a variety of reasons for wishing to explore the region: to advance scientific knowledge, to make friends with the western Native tribes, to secure an all-season trade route from sea to sea, to deny territory and trade routes to foreign powers, to establish the western boundaries of the new nation, and to provide space for the future growth of the population of the United States. The possessor of a rational and organized mind, Jefferson also understood

⁸ *Ibid.*, 45–46, 97; Roy E. Appleman, ed., *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places Associated with Their Transcontinental Exploration (1804–06)* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1975), 54–55; James J. Holmberg, ed., *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 32–33.

⁹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:101, 2:572; Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places*, 55; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 97.

¹⁰ Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 60–65.

that exploration had to precede settlement or even the establishment of transitory trading routes. A party of explorers could gather accurate information, provide reliable maps, and smooth the way with the Native peoples. To mount such an expedition, however, would require sufficient funds, a capable leader, and political will.

Politics began to assert itself in the spring of 1801, when Jefferson learned of secret treaties between Spain and revolutionary France, led by Napoleon, to transfer New Orleans and the Louisiana Territory from Spanish to French control. This alarmed Jefferson, for Spain had presented little challenge to American expansion and trade; belligerent, Napoleonic France was another matter. Jefferson feared that the United States might be forced into an alliance with Great Britain against the French to protect American interests along the Mississippi River. On October 16, 1802, the Spanish administrator of New Orleans initiated a crisis when he effectively closed the port to American commerce by revoking the “right of deposit”: to offload, store, reload, and ship goods such as cotton, which right had been guaranteed by the Treaty of 1795. The resulting uproar was enormous. To keep the river and the vital port of New Orleans open to American shipping, as well as to avoid war with France, Jefferson planned to send James Monroe to Paris to join Ambassador Robert Livingston in negotiating the sale of New Orleans to the United States. He also sent a request to Congress on January 12, 1803, for almost \$10 million to pay for the city. What he did not then know, of course, was that Napoleon might be inclined instead to sell all of Louisiana, in order to compensate for the recent French military disaster in Santo Domingo, keep his empire at a defensible size, and raise funds for his army as the prospect of war with Britain increased.¹¹

Although, as discussed previously, Jefferson had long been interested in an expedition to the West, it took three specific events to make the concept a necessity for the nation. Two of the events were the retrocession of Louisiana and the closing of the port at New Orleans. The third was the publication in 1801 in Great Britain of Alexander Mackenzie’s book, *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, Through the Continent on North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Ocean*. Jefferson at once ordered a copy, which arrived at Monticello when he and Lewis were there in the summer of 1802. Mackenzie had reached the Pacific coast near present-day Vancouver, British Columbia, in 1793, after a couple of attempts. He reported that he had crossed the continental divide at a point where it was only three thousand feet high and easily portaged, across a narrow “height of land” that separated an east-flowing river from one that emptied into the Pacific Ocean. Mackenzie, who was seeking a route across the continent for the British fur trade, had painted his name on a rock near the shore, thereby directing a challenge to the United States. He knew that the route he had taken was unsatisfactory for commerce. Lewis and Jefferson absorbed the book and decided to find a path that would work, ultimately selecting the Missouri River as the most likely avenue. Mackenzie’s easily portaged “height of land” would turn out to be a fiction—at least as regards the route taken by Lewis and Clark—but his estimate of the West Coast’s longitude was remarkably accurate. It enabled Jefferson and Lewis to calculate the width

¹¹ Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 72–73, 78–79; Jon Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 245–258.

of the continent (about three thousand miles), confirming Vancouver's earlier estimate, and plan accordingly.¹²

The threat of a strong British presence on the West Coast inspired Lewis and Jefferson to pursue seriously the planning of an expedition on behalf of the United States. For the next few months, both at Monticello and at the president's house in Washington, the two men plunged into research. Much of it was conducted at Jefferson's home, among the many volumes in his personal library, arguably the finest in the new nation, and some in Washington among the documents and periodicals available there. The gathering of information continued almost up to the moment that Lewis departed from Washington for the West in July 1803. Some of it was conducted through the mails, as the president solicited scientific advice from the brightest minds in the United States, in particular from the American Philosophical Society members in Philadelphia. Advice, charts, tables, and lists of recommended equipment made their way to the White House. Lewis studied them and near the end of the year gave Jefferson an estimate of the expedition's cost, assuming a party of ten to twelve men: \$2,500. The estimate included sums for mathematical instruments, weapons, camping equipment, medicine, boats, presents for the Indians, packing materials, the pay of guides and hunters, specie for expenses along the way, contingencies, and "provisions extraordinary."¹³

Late in November 1802, Jefferson met with the Spanish ambassador. Spain had not yet relinquished control of the Louisiana Territory to France, so Jefferson asked him whether his government would object if a small party of explorers crossed the West through Spanish territory to the Pacific Ocean after Congress authorized and funded the undertaking. Jefferson said that in order to get the appropriation, he would tell Congress that the main purpose of the expedition would be to follow the Missouri River to its source and then find the easiest route to the ocean for mercantile purposes. The real reason, however, would be for the information to be gathered about the continent's interior ("the advancement of the geography"). The ambassador replied that indeed his government would object; privately, as he informed the king of Spain, he was concerned that the expedition was merely a ploy to extend American influence across the continent.¹⁴

Despite the ambassador's concerns, on January 18, 1803, Jefferson sent a secret message to Congress. As promised, Jefferson told the legislators that the purpose of the expedition was to promote commerce with the Indians and outmaneuver the British traders. He pointed out that the Missouri River offered a connection, through the Mississippi and its tributaries, with such eastern watercourses as the James River in Virginia, and thereby would link the West with the East. The Missouri also perhaps afforded, "possibly with a single portage," a passage all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It would be worth finding out, he wrote, and could be done inexpensively.

¹² Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 73–75.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 76–79; Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places*, 28; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:8–9.

¹⁴ Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 77; Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places*, 26–28; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:4–6.

An intelligent officer with ten or twelve chosen men . . . taken from our posts . . . might explore the whole line, even to the Western ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, agree on convenient deposits for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers. Their arms & accoutrements, some instruments of observation, & light & cheap presents for the Indians would be all the apparatus they could carry, and with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on, whether here or there. . . . The interests of commerce place the principal object within the constitutional powers and care of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent can not but be an additional gratification.

Jefferson closed by asking for an appropriation of \$2,500, the sum that Lewis had suggested. His request was approved and became law on February 28.¹⁵

Jefferson sent letters to several members of the American Philosophical Society between February 26 and March 2, confidentially soliciting their help with the expedition. He first wrote Andrew Ellicott in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and then Benjamin Smith Barton, Caspar Wistar, Benjamin Rush, and Robert Patterson (all of Philadelphia). Ellicott was the country's leading astronomer and mathematician; Barton was a prominent physician, naturalist, and lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania; Wistar was a professor of anatomy at the university; Rush, a professor of medicine there, was perhaps the most eminent physician in America; and Patterson taught mathematics at the university. Although each letter varied in the specifics, that to Barton was typical:

What follows in this letter is strictly confidential. You know we have been many years wishing to have the Missouri explored & whatever river, heading with that, runs into the Western ocean. Congress, in some secret proceedings, have yielded to a proposition I made them for permitting me to have it done: it is to be undertaken immediately, with a party of about ten, & I have appointed Capt. Lewis, my secretary, to conduct it. It was impossible to find a character who to a compleat science in botany, natural history, mineralogy & astronomy, joined the firmness of constitution & character, prudence, habits adapted to the woods, & a familiarity with the Indian manners & character, requisite for this undertaking. All the latter qualifications Capt. Lewis has. Altho' no regular

¹⁵ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:10–14.

botanist &c. he possesses a remarkable store of accurate observation on all the subjects of the three kingdoms, & will therefore single out whatever presents itself new to him in either: and he has qualified himself for taking those observations of longitude & latitude necessary to fix the geography of the line he passes through.

Jefferson then told each scientist that Lewis would arrive soon to seek instruction in various specialties, including botany, zoology, medicine, “Indian history,” astronomy, and the use of various scientific instruments. He also sought each man’s advice on the supplies, scientific and otherwise, that Lewis needed to take with him.¹⁶

The scientists assented enthusiastically. Ellicott’s reply, written on March 6, was no doubt typical:

I shall be very happy to see Captn. Lewis, and will with pleasure give him all the information, and instruction, in my power. The necessary apparatus for his intended, and very interesting expedition, you will find mentioned in the last paragraph of the 42d page of my printed observations made in our southern country, a copy of which I left with you. But exclusive of the watch, I would recommend one of Arnold’s chronometers, (if it could be had,) for reasons which I will fully explain to Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Lewis’s first object must be, to acquire a facility, and dexterity, in making the observations, which can only be attained by practice; in this he shall have all the assistance I can give him with aid of my apparatus. It is not expected that the calculations can be made till after his return, because the transportation of the books, and tables, necessary for that purpose, would be found inconvenient on such a journey. The observations on which Arrowsmith has constructed his map of the northern part of this country, were all calculated in England.¹⁷

In the middle of March, Lewis set off to begin his graduate tour of Pennsylvania, but instead of going there first, he traveled to Harpers Ferry, in present-day West Virginia, to check on the progress of several items he had ordered from the U.S. armory there. These included weapons, especially rifles and tomahawks, as well as a collapsible iron frame for a boat or “canoe” to be covered with hides at the appropriate time and used in the upper reaches of the Missouri River. It would be relatively easy, he thought, once the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:16–19, 21.

¹⁷ The Thomas Jefferson Papers, 1606–1827, Library of Congress, image 1177, Andrew Ellicott, Lancaster, PA, to Thomas Jefferson, President U.S., March 6, 1803, www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/ (accessed July 23, 2006); also printed in Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:23–24.

imaginary “height of land” was in sight, to collapse the canoe, transport it and the supplies across the height, and then reassemble all of it to descend the Columbia to the Pacific. Lewis spent much time at the armory overseeing the frame’s construction, calculating weights and loads, and testing parts of it. All for naught; when the time came, there was no pitch to seal the seams of the hides used to cover the frame, and the craft leaked like a sieve. It was abandoned on the Missouri River.¹⁸

From Harpers Ferry, Lewis wrote to the commanders of the army posts at Southwest Point, Tennessee, and Massac and Kaskaskia in Illinois, informing them that he would be requisitioning men from their garrisons for the expedition. He reserved the right to take men of his own choosing, and return those who proved unsatisfactory. Secretary of War Henry Dearborn followed up later with similar letters to the officers at the various forts. Lewis also wrote to Congressman William Dickson at Nashville, Tennessee, forwarding \$50 and asking him to purchase a “large light wooden canoe” and contract with a “confidential boat-builder” there to construct a large boat to serve as the primary vessel for transporting soldiers and supplies. Lewis planned to descend the Cumberland River to the Ohio, pick up his men along the way, and arrive at St. Louis by August.¹⁹

After a month, Lewis finally left Harpers Ferry to begin his studies, arriving in Lancaster on April 19 and immediately calling on Andrew Ellicott. Lewis wrote Jefferson the next day to bring him up to date and to tell him that he had “commenced, under [Ellicott’s] direction, my observations &c to perfect myself in the use and application of the instruments. Mr. Ellicott is extremely friendly and attentive, and I am confident is disposed to render me every aid in his power: he thinks it will be necessary I should remain here ten or twelve days.” While in Lancaster, a center for the production of so-called “Kentucky” long rifles, Lewis may have visited gunsmiths and purchased a few rifles to augment the fifteen he had acquired at Harpers Ferry.²⁰

Lewis departed from Lancaster for Philadelphia on May 7. He carried letters from Ellicott to two of the astronomer’s colleagues, and they both began with the same words—“This will be handed to you by my friend Capt. Lewis”—that illustrate the bond that the two men had formed over the course of two and a half weeks. Ellicott had trained Lewis in the use of the chronometer, the sextant, and other instruments for calculating longitude and latitude. In Philadelphia, Lewis continued his training and also began acquiring scientific instruments and supplies. He relied on the scientists of the American Philosophical Society for advice concerning the former, as well as for instruction in their care and use. For supplies, he depended on the purveyor of public supplies, Israel Whelan, who spent more than a month helping Lewis purchase Indian trade goods, clothing, camp equipment, provisions, medicine, and packing material. Lewis also purchased a large quantity of “portable soup,” which apparently consisted of meat and vegetables boiled down to a paste that was then dried. When reconstituted with water, it was hardly delicious but was adequate to hold off starvation. This vast pile of

¹⁸ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:39–40; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 248–249; Carr, *Into the Unknown*, 24.

¹⁹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:38, 103–104.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:40; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 87.

supplies was carefully packed in numbered storage bags—an important, obvious-but-sometimes-neglected innovation that allowed Lewis to consult a list and locate essential items when needed without searching the entire load of cargo.²¹

Lewis also acted on another clever idea, perhaps inspired by watching watermen and pondering the challenges of river transport during his month in Harpers Ferry. The explorers needed to carry with them sufficient gunpowder and lead for their rifles, both for hunting and to defend themselves if necessary. Ordinarily, large quantities of lead bars (to be melted and cast into balls later) and wooden barrels of powder served the purpose. The problem, as Lewis knew, was that the barrels and powder were almost certain to get soaked by rain, waves, or boats overturning in the water. Instead of packing the powder in wooden casks, someone, perhaps Lewis, thought of using lead canisters to be filled with powder and stopped with corks. After a container of powder was emptied into the men's powder horns, the lead could then be melted and cast into balls. This elegant solution resulted in dry powder, containers that were transformed into ammunition, and the saving of the weight of wooden casks. George Ludlum, a Philadelphia plumber, made fifty-two powder canisters for Lewis in May.²²

Meanwhile, back in Washington, Jefferson had been drafting a set of detailed instructions to Lewis for the expedition, circulating them among his Cabinet members for comment, and revising them accordingly. On April 27, Jefferson mailed Lewis what the president called a “rough draught” and asked him to show it to Barton, Patterson, Rush, and Wistar for their input. The scientists offered suggestions both verbally and in writing, with Rush submitting a lengthy list of queries about Indian “physical history & medicine,” morals, and religion. Lewis and Clark later combined the questions with others possibly suggested by Barton and Wistar to produce a guide for examining virtually every aspect of western Indian life and culture. Rush also prepared an extensive list of rules for preserving Lewis's health and that of his men during the expedition.²³

Lewis wrote Jefferson on May 29 that he hoped to leave Philadelphia for Washington by the end of the first week of June. Although his studies under the scientists had been going well, Patterson's other obligations had delayed him; Lewis had spent the time acquiring equipment. He had also written Dickson in Nashville about the boat and canoe he had ordered, having heard nothing from the congressman. Lewis must have received a negative response soon thereafter, for by mid-June he had abandoned the plan to float down the Cumberland River from Nashville. Instead, he had decided to descend the Ohio River from Pittsburgh, a major center of boat-building for western settlers, where he had ordered the construction of a keelboat. He had also arranged for the supplies to be hauled to Pittsburgh from Philadelphia by way of Harpers Ferry, where the wagon driver was to pick up the weapons. Lewis returned to Washington through Wilmington, Delaware, and

²¹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:45, 69–75, 78–99; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 87–88; Carr, *Into the Unknown*, 66.

²² Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 89; Carr, *Into the Unknown*, 66; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:80.

²³ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:44, 50–51, 54–55, 157–161.

Baltimore, Maryland. He had been to Wilmington before with a friend from Philadelphia, and he hoped to procure a tiger skin for Jefferson in Baltimore.²⁴

Once back in Washington, Lewis entered the last stage of organizing the expedition. Most important, on June 19 he wrote a letter to William Clark. He first referred to some Clark family papers that he was enclosing, and apologized for the delay in sending them. The delay, he wrote, “has really proceeded from causes which I could not control,” and then he gave Clark a detailed description of the principal cause: planning a journey up the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean and back. He explained the essential goals and objectives of the expedition, and that he planned to leave from Pittsburgh, and asked Clark to recruit some young men from his neighborhood in Kentucky, if he thought any were suited to the hardships the party was likely to encounter. Lewis also informed Clark that the “whole immense country watered by the Mississippi and its tributary streams, Missouri inclusive, will be the property of the U. States in less than 12 Months.” He also mentioned the scientific and geographic discoveries he hoped to make. Lewis then issued a charming invitation, no doubt knowing that Clark would find it irresistible:

Thus my friend you have so far as leisure will at this time permit me to give it you, a summary view of the plan, the means and the objects of this expedition. If therefore there is anything under those circumstances, in this enterprise, which would induce you to participate with me in its fatigues, its dangers and its honors, believe me there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself.

Lewis also proposed a shared command, normally anathema in military undertakings, but which in this instance would prove uniquely successful. He wrote that Clark would be equal in rank (a captain) and in reward with him: “your situation if joined with me in this mission will in all respects be precisely such as my own.” Months later, when Clark’s commission as a lieutenant arrived, a disappointed Lewis insisted that the distinction be kept a secret from the soldiers, and so both men have been referred to as captains ever since. In 1811, when the expedition journals were being prepared for publication, Clark, in response to a question from the editor, reiterated that he and Lewis were “*equal in every point of view*” (his emphasis). He added, “I did not think myself very well treated as I did not get the appointment which was promised me,” but he decided not to “make any noise about the business.” He asked the editor to “place me on equal footing with Cap. Lewis in every point of view without . . . mentioning the Commission at all.”²⁵

On June 20, at the White House, Jefferson gave Lewis his final instructions. The president noted that the governments of France, Spain, and Great Britain had been informed of the mission and that Lewis had been given a French passport. Jefferson stated the object of the expedition: “to explore the Missouri river, & such principal stream of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean,

²⁴ Ibid., 1:51–53, 57; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 64.

²⁵ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:57–60, 2:571–572.

whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado or any other river may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce.” Lewis was to take careful observations and measurements, ensure that his notes were guarded and copied to safeguard against loss, and gather information on a host of subjects of scientific and geographical interest. Jefferson instructed him as well, “in all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly & conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit.” He also told Lewis that if ever the survival of the party was at risk, he was to turn for home, “to bring back your party safe even if it be with less information.” Assuming Lewis reached the Pacific, he and some or all of the party could then return by sea around Cape Horn if passage on a ship could be secured. Jefferson issued a letter of credit on July 4, promising that the United States would reimburse anyone who assisted Lewis.²⁶

On the evening of July 3, a note arrived at the White House from Rufus King, U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, who had just disembarked in New York with messages to the president from Robert Livingston and James Monroe. On April 30, Livingston and Monroe had signed a treaty with France that confirmed the new nation’s purchase of New Orleans and all of Louisiana. With the stroke of a pen, the United States had more than doubled in size and war had been averted. The purchase also meant that Lewis and Clark would be exploring not foreign soil but the country’s newest territory, although it would remain under Spanish administration until formal transfer ceremonies the following year. It was glorious news nonetheless, and an auspicious overture to the expedition.²⁷

On July 5, Lewis left Washington for Pittsburgh, stopping at Frederick, Maryland, that evening. There, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Cushing, of the inspector’s office, earlier had ordered eight men to be detached from the post at Fort Mifflin in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and marched to Pittsburgh. They were to assist Lewis in getting down the Ohio River, and then would be assigned to Fort Adams in the Mississippi Territory. In Frederick, Lewis also learned that the wagon from Philadelphia had passed through the town on its way to Harpers Ferry. When he reached the arsenal the next day, the driver was long gone to Pittsburgh, having left the weapons and other supplies waiting for him at Harpers Ferry with the excuse that they were too heavy for his wagon. Lewis departed on July 8 after testing the weapons and arranging for their transportation. He arrived in Pittsburgh on July 15 after a dusty ride and, as the mails were about to close, scribbled a hasty note to Jefferson to say that he had not yet had time to check on the progress of the boat he was having constructed there.²⁸

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:61–66, 105–106.

²⁷ Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense*, 284–287.

²⁸ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:67, 106–107, 110; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 100, 103. The boat is often called a keelboat but was not, strictly speaking, the same as the vessels of that type that plied the Western waters for many decades. It was a “keeled boat,” constructed on a keel, but was more like a galley. The identity of the boatbuilder and the location of the yard have never been established. No receipt for payment for the boat’s construction has been found, and Lewis’s letters and journals are silent on the subject. They do not, however, contain references to any other place in regard to the boat than Pittsburgh. The town of Elizabeth, located on the Monongahela River more than twenty-two miles south of Pittsburgh by water and fifteen miles by land, has long claimed to be the site. Lewis, however, visited the shipyard daily and after loading the boat on August 31 stopped just three miles downstream at Brunot’s

The work, Lewis soon learned, was not going well at all. He wrote to Jefferson a week later, on July 22, of his disappointment and frustration.

The person who contracted to build my boat engaged to have it in readiness by the 20th [of July]; in this however he has failed; he pleads his having been disappointed in procuring timber, but says he has now supplied himself with the necessary materials, and that she shall be completed by the last of this month; however in this I am by no means sanguine, nor do I believe from the progress he makes that she will be ready before the 5th of August; I visit him every day, and endeavour by every means in my power to hasten the completion of the work: I have prevailed on him to engage more hands, and he tells me that two others will join him in the morning, if so, he may probably finish the boat by the time he mentioned: I shall embark immediately the boat is in readiness, there being no other consideration which at this point detains me.

Lewis mentioned that the wagon with the arms from Harpers Ferry had arrived, as well as seven recruits from Carlisle (one had deserted).²⁹

Lewis wrote Jefferson again four days later, but omitted any mention of the boat. Not until September 8, after he arrived in Wheeling (in present-day West Virginia), did Lewis send another letter to the president, and in it he detailed his problems in getting the craft completed and under way from Pittsburgh. There, he wrote, “I had been most shamefully detained by the unpardonable negligence of my boat-builder” who, “according to his usual custom . . . got drunk, quarrelled with his workmen, and several of them left him.” With the builder “constantly either drunk or sick,” Lewis wrote, “I spent most of my time with the workmen, alternately persuading and threatening.” He had even contemplated abandoning Pittsburgh, buying two or three “perogues” or small open boats, and descending the Ohio River, trusting that he could purchase a suitable large boat somewhere downstream. Local merchants, however, talked him out of the idea, telling him that there was no hope of finding what he wanted anywhere else.³⁰

Amid Lewis’s troubles, a bit of good news arrived: a letter from Clark dated July 18, gladly accepting Lewis’s offer. “I will cheerfully join you,” Clark wrote, “and partake of the dangers, difficulties, and fatigues, and I anticipate the honors & rewards. . . . This is an undertaking fraught with many difeculties, but My friend I do assure you that no man

Island, a feature that is still called by that name. Several shipyards were located within three miles of the island around Pittsburgh, many miles from Elizabeth. For a detailed discussion of the debate, see Patricia Lowry, “Who Built the Big Boat?”, in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 3, 2003, www.post-gazette.com/ (accessed July 14, 2006).

²⁹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:112.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:113–114, 121–122.

lives with whom I would prefer to undertake Such a Trip &c. as your self.” Clark also wrote that he would engage a few men pending Lewis’s approval. Lewis replied on August 3 that he was “much gratified with your decision; for I could neither hope, wish, [n]or expect from a union with any man on earth, more perfect support or further aid in the discharge of the several duties of my mission, than that, which I am confident I shall derive from being associated with yourself.” All of the supplies were ready in Pittsburgh, he wrote, to be loaded on the boat if it was ever completed. The boatbuilder had just promised Lewis “that she shall be in readiness by the last of the next week.”³¹

From Pittsburgh to Camp Wood

It was not until “7 O’Clock on the morning of the 31st Ultmo. [August 31] that my boat was completed,” Lewis wrote to Jefferson on September 8, “and at 10. A.M. on that same day I left Pittsburgh.” Lewis also began a journal on the day of departure, in which he reported a slightly different time: “Left Pittsburgh this day at 11 ock with a party of 11 hands 7 of which are soldiers, a pilot and three young men on trial they having proposed to go with me throughout the voyage. Arrived at Bruno’s [present-day Brunot] Island 3 miles below. halted a few minutes. went on shore and being invited on by some of the gentlemen present to try my *airgun*.” Lewis’s air gun, a weapon that compressed air in a chamber by means of a pump, has been the subject of considerable speculation among weapons experts. Recent research suggests that while in Philadelphia, Lewis probably acquired the gun from Isaiah Lukens, a watchmaker who also made such weapons. Whether Lukens actually made the weapon that Lewis purchased or sold him one made by another craftsman is even less certain, although it may have been a Girandoni repeating air rifle. At any rate, Lewis fired the weapon several times, then handed it to one of the gentlemen; he fired it accidentally while handling it, and “the ball passed through the hat of a woman about 40 yards distant cutting her temple.” To Lewis’s great relief, the woman was only nicked. He got the boat under way again and floated downstream a short distance to a “ripple” or “riffle”—a sand- or gravel bar partly exposed by the river’s unusually low water level. The hands disembarked to “lift the boat over about thirty yards,” and then climbed back aboard to float to the next riffle. This procedure was repeated twice more before Lewis ordered a halt for the night, “much fatigued.” So began the voyage down the Ohio River, the first of many exhausting days spent alternatively floating in or dragging the boat. The task would have been even more difficult had Lewis not anticipated trouble and sent some of the supplies by wagon to Wheeling, to be picked up there.³²

The next morning, Lewis and company awoke in a thick fog, which the pilot explained commonly occurred in the mornings at that time of year. There was nothing to do but wait until the rising sun burned it off, for not far downstream were riffles more difficult

³¹ Ibid., 1:110–115.

³² Ibid., 1:121–122; Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway Kept on the Expedition of Western Exploration, 1803–1806* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1965), 31; Robert D. Beeman, “New Evidence Points to the Lewis and Clark Air Rifle—An ‘Assault Rifle’ of 1803 (March 13, 2006)” and “‘Proceeding’ On to the Lewis and Clark Airgun,” www.beemans.net (accessed Aug. 19, 2006).

to pass than those encountered the day before. About 8 A.M., the men got the boat underway, and soon they found the first riffle, which took them two hours to get over. The next riffle was even worse, Lewis wrote, for “here we wer obliged to unload all our goods and lift the emty Boat over, about 5 OC[l]ock we reach the riffle called Woolery’s trap, here after unloading again and exerting all our force we found it impracticable to get over, I therefore employed a man with a team of oxen with the assistance of which we at length got off. we put in and remained all night having made only ten miles this day.” So it went, day after tedious day, with the fogs and the riffles causing maddening delays.³³

Lewis and his party passed Steubenville, Ohio, a “small well built thriving place” on September 6, and Charlestown (in present-day West Virginia) the next day. Late in the afternoon they reached Wheeling, where Lewis had consigned his supplies sent overland from Pittsburgh, and found them in good order. He wrote Jefferson on September 8, detailing his troubles with the Pittsburgh boatbuilder and describing his progress to date. He reported that he had covered about a hundred miles by water despite the riffles.³⁴

In Wheeling, Lewis met Dr. William Ewing Patterson, son of Robert Patterson of Philadelphia who had instructed Lewis. When the younger Patterson expressed an interest in accompanying the expedition, Lewis agreed provided he could be ready by the next afternoon. He was not, and Lewis went on without him. He had not gone far, however, before he discovered that the bread he had ordered baked in Wheeling was not on board, so Lewis sent a soldier back to get it. On September 10, the soldier returned with the bread, and Lewis got underway again. Late in the morning, after passing more riffles, he ordered a halt to examine an “Indian grave” or mound on the eastern side of the river, in present-day Moundsville, West Virginia. This was Lewis’s first encounter on the expedition with an important Native site, and he described it carefully. After a hike through the woods, Lewis found that “the mound is nearly a regular cone 310 yards in circumpherence at its base & 65 feet high terminating in a blont point whose diameter is 30 feet, this point is concave being depreed about five feet in the center, around the base runs a ditch 60 feet in width which is broken or inte[r]sected by a ledge of earth raised as high as the outer bank of the ditch.” Lewis also wrote that he was told that when the earth of another mound nearby was removed, “the skeletons of two men were found and some brass beads were found among the earth near these bones.”³⁵

By this time, Lewis was commanding a small flotilla consisting of the keelboat and pirogue purchased in Pittsburgh, a leaky canoe bought in Georgetown, Pennsylvania, and another pirogue picked up in Wheeling. Lewis hoped to lighten the keelboat as much as possible by distributing the supplies and men among the other vessels. His tactic helped, but not much. On September 13, the party arrived at Marietta, Ohio, where Lewis wrote Jefferson from “On board my boat opposite Marietta” that although he was now a hundred miles (in reality about eighty) downstream from Wheeling, the low water continued to slow his progress. Several times, he reported, he had had the men dig

³³ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 32–33.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 37–38; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:121–122.

³⁵ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 39–42.

channels through the riffles. Sometimes all efforts failed and he had to resort to horses or oxen to pull the keelboat through: "I find them the most efficient sailors in the present state of the navigation of this river, altho' they may be considered somewhat clumsy." Lewis released two of his hands in Marietta and hired a new one. In the morning his departure was delayed until he could locate two other men who had gone into town in the night and gotten drunk.³⁶

On September 28, the party reached Cincinnati, Ohio, where Lewis wrote two letters. The first, written the same day, was to Clark, from whom Lewis had found two letters awaiting him. Clark had described some of the young men he was considering for the expedition, and Lewis replied that they sounded acceptable. Lewis next wrote to Jefferson on October 3, explaining that his crewmen were so exhausted by the voyage that he thought it wise to rest them for a few days while he bought fresh provisions. On October 1, he had sent the boat on while he planned an overland trek to Big Bone Lick, a place already famous for its bones of extinct mammals such as the woolly mammoth. It would take the boat three days to reach the place where it would pick up Lewis, he explained, while he would only have to cover seventeen miles by land by way of the lick. He told Jefferson that he had examined the collection of Dr. William Goforth, a Cincinnati physician who had excavated part of the Big Bone Lick site and found many mammoth bones. Lewis described Goforth's collection in considerable detail, compared some items with similar bones he had seen in Caspar Wistar's hands while in Philadelphia, and enclosed several samples for Jefferson. He also asked the president to send him some "Vaccine matter" to inoculate his men against smallpox, as well as a copy of the Louisiana Purchase treaty so that he could show it to inhabitants of the new territory.³⁷

Lewis then concluded with a proposal that disturbed Jefferson, judging from his later reply. By this time, Lewis knew that the season was too far advanced for him and his party to ascend the Missouri River for any distance. Instead, he would have to go into winter quarters somewhere near its confluence with the Mississippi River. Fearing that Jefferson might encounter growing opposition to the expedition from Congress if Lewis appeared to be stalled, he proposed a "tour this winter on horseback" of a few hundred miles through part of the territory near the camp, so that he could find something on which to report. He would also send Clark out on his own "excursion." He hoped that the information they gathered "if it dose not produce a conviction of the utility of this project, will at least procure the further toleration of the expedition." Jefferson wrote Lewis on November 16, enclosing the items that Lewis had requested, suggesting alternative locations for his winter camp, observing that he had discussed Lewis's plan with the cabinet, and emphatically stating that

One thing however we are decided in: that you must not undertake the winter excursion which you propose in yours of Oct. 3. Such an excursion will be more dangerous than

³⁶ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:124; Quaipe, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 43–44.

³⁷ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:124–131.

the main expedition up the Missouri, & would, by an accident to you, hazard our main object, which, since the acquisition of Louisiana, interests every body in the highest degree. The object of your mission is single, the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri & perhaps the Oregon. By having Mr. Clarke with you we consider the expedition double manned, & therefore the less liable to failure, for which reason neither of you should be exposed to risques by going off of your line.

The proposed excursion did not take place.³⁸

On or about October 4, Lewis visited Big Bone Lick as promised, and collected a large number of bones that he forwarded to Jefferson. He then boarded the keelboat, and ten days later arrived at the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, Kentucky. The next day, the party passed through the falls with the aid of pilots and tied up on the north bank near Clarksville in the Indiana Territory. Lewis went to the home of George Rogers Clark and there reunited with his friend, William Clark. For the next eleven days, the three men discussed the expedition and evaluated the dozens of volunteers who flocked to Clarksville, hoping to be chosen. By October 26, Lewis and Clark had selected the principal members of what became known as the Corps of Discovery, and the group got under way. It included Lewis, Clark, Clark's slave York, the seven temporarily assigned soldiers from Carlisle, and nine new permanent members: John Colter and George Shannon, who had joined Lewis en route and arrived at Clarksville with him, and William Bratton, Joseph and Reuben Field, Charles Floyd, George Gibson, Nathaniel H. Pryor, and John Shields, who had been recruited by Clark. On November 11, the men landed at Fort Massac, on the north bank of the river in the Illinois Territory near present-day Metropolis, where Lewis was disappointed not to find eight soldiers who had volunteered at Fort Southwest Point in Tennessee. He hired George Drouillard, a renowned woodsman, as an "Indian Interpreter," and dispatched him to Tennessee to locate the volunteers and bring them up the eastern bank of the Mississippi River to the winter camp to be established somewhere opposite St. Louis. Besides Drouillard, Joseph Whitehouse, and possibly John Newman joined the expedition at Massac.³⁹

The party left the fort on November 13 and descended the Ohio River to its junction with the Mississippi, arriving at the site of present-day Cairo, Illinois, the next day. There, the men rested for a week while Lewis and Clark went back and forth across the river, taking measurements with the scientific equipment and visiting some Shawnee and Delaware Indians encamped on the western shore. On November 20, the expedition began its slow ascent of the Mississippi, heading to St. Louis and struggling against the current. Along the way, zigzagging back and forth across the river, Lewis and Clark took measurements and notes and drew charts describing and illustrating the sandbars and islands they encountered. They put in at Cape Girardeau on the Missouri shore on November 23,

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:131, 137.

³⁹ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 47; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 118–119.

where they rested and Lewis attended a horse race with the “commandant” of the place, Louis Lorimier. Clark remained with the boats, ill. The next morning, the party set out again, exploring streams and taking measurements. On November 28, the boats arrived at Fort Kaskaskia, where the party divided. Clark, who had recovered, took charge of the flotilla and remained nearby for a few days. He and the boats then ascended the Mississippi to Cahokia, an ancient former French settlement on the eastern side of the river just downstream from St. Louis, arriving there on the afternoon of December 7.⁴⁰

At Kaskaskia, meanwhile, Lewis met with Captains Russell Bissell and Amos Stoddard, who commanded infantry and artillery companies there respectively. Pursuant to Lewis’s orders, he asked for volunteers and then selected likely candidates for the expedition from among their men. Those selected probably left with Clark by boat, while Lewis departed on December 5 on horseback for Cahokia. He arrived there on December 7 (ahead of Clark) and immediately asked U.S. postmaster John Hay and French fur trader Nicholas Jarrot from Cahokia to assist him in conferring with Colonel Carlos Dehault Delassus, lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, in St. Louis. The Spanish administrator spoke French as well as Spanish but no English; Hay and Jarrot spoke French; Lewis could speak neither French nor Spanish. The party went at once to St. Louis and got a very courteous reception from Delassus, who nonetheless refused to give Lewis permission to start up the Missouri River, citing his orders from New Orleans. He agreed, however, to write the Spanish governor general in New Orleans for permission to let the expedition pass in the spring. Lewis spent the night in St. Louis, then returned to Cahokia the next day, where he found Clark. On December 10, the entire party left Cahokia in the evening and spent the night opposite St. Louis. Lewis went into the town the next morning, while Clark made his way upriver with the boats to Wood River (River Dubois) on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, where he arrived on December 12 in a snowstorm. There, he established the winter camp nearly across from the mouth of the Missouri River, about seventeen and a half miles above St. Louis. Clark put the men to work clearing land, cutting a road, and constructing cabins, which were completed by Christmas Eve.⁴¹

For the remainder of the winter, Lewis shuttled among St. Louis, Cahokia, and Camp River Dubois, also called Camp Wood. Perhaps it had been during the long, hard pull against the Mississippi current that the co-commanders realized that they would need a much larger party to make their way up the Missouri, unless they wanted to work their men to death. Drouillard arrived at the camp from Fort Southwest Point, Tennessee, on December 16 with eight recruits; four were accepted. Lewis and Clark continued to assess volunteers, accepting some and rejecting others, until the Corps of Discovery had grown to more than forty men. To supply and feed all the extra mouths, Lewis purchased extra foodstuffs in St. Louis, where he spent a great deal of time interviewing knowledgeable residents about the Missouri River and the land through which it passed. Clark refined and enlarged the list of questions that Benjamin Rush wanted answered about the western Indians. Lewis also wrote Jefferson from Cahokia; the president had written Lewis several letters in which he opened by remarking how long it had been since

⁴⁰ Quaipe, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 58–74; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 121–122.

⁴¹ Quaipe, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 74–76; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:145–147.

he had heard from the explorer. Fortunately, occasional newspaper accounts of Lewis's progress surfaced to keep Jefferson from getting too worried. Lewis's letters, when they finally reached Washington, showed Jefferson that his faith in the commander had not been misplaced: Lewis was gathering useful information, taking care of his men, working well with the authorities on both sides of the Mississippi, and making discoveries. On March 26, 1804, Lewis sent Jefferson cuttings from a plant unknown to science—the Osage orange, which he called the “Osage apple”—as well as a wild plum and a description of the white-tailed jackrabbit (both of which were previously unknown to the eastern United States).⁴²

On January 22, 1804, Jefferson wrote to Lewis with welcome news: the transfer of New Orleans to American control had taken place on December 20 and the Spaniards had sent orders to their posts to turn them over as soon as practicable. The president instructed Lewis on what to tell the Indian tribes about the implication of the transfer: “that henceforward we become their fathers and friends.” He wanted Lewis to assure the tribes that they would continue to prosper by trading their furs to the Americans. Also, Lewis had been elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society; Jefferson told Lewis he would keep the explorer's certificate of election for him until he returned.⁴³

The transfer ceremonies for Upper Louisiana took place on March 9 and 10 in St. Louis, with both Lewis and Clark in attendance. Captain Stoddard was there from Kaskaskia with a detachment from the 1st Infantry Regiment; he represented both the American and French governments for the ceremonies. First, Lieutenant Governor Delassus had the Spanish flag lowered and presented to Stoddard, who accepted it on behalf of the French government and ran up the Tricolor. The crowd, mostly French, cheered and asked Stoddard to leave the flag aloft overnight, which he did. The next day, in another ceremony, Stoddard lowered the French flag and raised the Stars and Stripes, then signed the appropriate documents. St. Louis and Upper Louisiana had become part of the United States.⁴⁴

Then came the bad news. A letter to Lewis from Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, written on March 26, arrived early in May. He enclosed Clark's commission, which was for a lieutenantcy, not the captaincy that Lewis had promised his friend. Dearborn explained that “the peculiar situation circumstances and organisation of the Corps of Engineers is such as would render the appointment of Mr. Clark a Captain in that Corps improper—and consequently no appointment above that of a Lieutenant in the Corps of Artillerists could with propriety be given him.” Although Dearborn stated that Clark would be paid as a captain, Lewis was mortified and angered. He sent the commission to Clark on May 6, enclosing Dearborn's letter. “It is not such as I wished,” he wrote, “or had reason to expect; but so it is—a further explanation when I join you. I think it will be best to let none of our party or any other person know any thing about the grade.” It

⁴² Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 74–76; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:144–166, 170–171; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 123–127.

⁴³ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:165–166.

⁴⁴ Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 123–127; Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense*, 321.

remained their secret for years, until Clark revealed it to the editor of the journals in 1811 and swore him to silence.⁴⁵

The expedition was almost ready to head west. Despite all the planning that had taken place before the spring of 1804, Lewis and Clark spent the last couple of months at Camp River Dubois in a veritable frenzy of activity. Twenty-five men were selected and trained as permanent members of the expedition, including three sergeants and twenty-two privates. Additional hired watermen, whom Lewis referred to as the “French Engagees,” were engaged to help get the flotilla of one keelboat and two pirogues as far up the Missouri as the Mandan towns, and then return to St. Louis. The keelboat was fitted with swivel-mounted blunderbusses fore and aft, and one was placed on each pirogue. All the boats were outfitted with sails to help the men row up the Missouri when the wind was right. Lewis arranged for the transportation of a delegation of Osage Indians to Washington, where they would meet Jefferson and tour the capital. Clark and Lewis took turns going back and forth to St. Louis from the camp, hiring watermen, acquiring additional trade goods, purchasing supplies, and tending to other endless details. On May 7, while Lewis was in the city, Clark loaded the keelboat and the next day took it out on the Mississippi to check its balance. Returning to shore, he had the cargo redistributed and then began the same process with the two pirogues. By May 13, all was ready, he wrote Lewis, who would travel overland to St. Charles on the Missouri and board the keelboat there.⁴⁶

The next day, May 14, Sergeant John Ordway began keeping a journal, as ordered by Lewis and Clark. He described the day’s events briefly:

A Journal commenced at River Dubois Monday May the 14th 1804. Showery day. Capt. Clark Set out at 3 oClock P. M. for the western expedition. one Gun fired. a number of Citizens to see us Start, the party consisted of 3 Sergeants & 38 Good hands, which maned the Batteaux and two pearogues. we Sailed up the Missouri 6 miles & encamped on the N. Side of the River.

At last, the voyage of discovery was under way.⁴⁷

Coming Home: From St. Louis to the East

The Corps of Discovery returned to St. Louis on September 23, 1806. William Clark announced the news to his brother Jonathan in a letter: “We arrived at this place at 12 oClock today from the Pacific Ocean.” Meriwether Lewis wrote in a similar vein to Thomas Jefferson in a letter of the same date: “It is with pleasure that I anounce to you the safe arrival of myself and party at 12 OCik. today at this place with our papers and baggage.” Sergeant Ordway concluded his journal with a description of the expedition’s

⁴⁵ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:172, 179.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:175; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 128–137.

⁴⁷ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 79.

end, after it had paused briefly at the old Camp River Dubois, which had been transformed into a “plantation”:

About 12 oClock we arived in Site of St. Louis, fired three Rounds as we approached the Town and landed oppocit the center of the Town, the people gathred on the Shore and Hizzared three cheers. we unloaded the canoes and carried the baggage all up to a store house in Town. drew out the canoes then the party all considerable much rejoiced that we have the Expedition Completed and now we look for boarding in Town and wait for our Settlement and then we entend to return to our native homes to See our parents once more as we have been so long from them.

The journey home was about to begin, as eagerly anticipated by Lewis and Clark as by the men.⁴⁸

First, however, Lewis and Clark had to wrap up the expedition, pay off its members, dispose of equipment, arrange for the shipment of specimens, and—most important—inform President Jefferson of their discoveries and of their safe return. Lewis, learning that the mail had just left for Cahokia, sent a request to the postmaster there to hold it until he could write a short letter to Jefferson. First, he gave the president the bad news: there was not only no all-water route to the Pacific Ocean, but also the Rocky Mountains were no mere “height of land.” Second, the good news: the Missouri was navigable, it abounded in beaver and otter, the Rockies could be crossed in the summer, and the Columbia River was navigable along most of its course. He also described some of the animal skins and botanical specimens he had collected. In a postscript he noted that everyone had returned “in good health.” And he wrote a glowing appraisal of Clark, stressing his co-commander’s equality with himself and refusing to acknowledge his lesser rank:

With respect to the exertions and services rendered by that esteemable man Capt. William Clark in the course of late voyage I cannot say too much; if sir any credit be due for the success of that arduous enterprize in which we have been mutually engaged, he is equally with myself entitled to your consideration and that of our common country.

Lewis proposed returning to Washington by way of Cahokia, Vincennes (Illinois), Louisville, and, after crossing into Virginia through Cumberland Gap, the towns of Abingdon, Fincastle, Staunton, and Charlottesville. After he closed and posted his letter, Lewis joined Clark and the men to celebrate.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Holmberg, *Dear Brother*, 101; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:319–320; Quaipe, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 402.

⁴⁹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:319–324; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 396–402.

The celebrations went on for several days, and a month elapsed before the expedition was closed out. The captains spent the time selling equipment, paying and discharging the soldiers, and writing letters. It took thirty-one days for Lewis's letter of September 23 to reach Jefferson, who wrote Lewis on October 26 that he had received it "with unspeakable joy." It was not until early in November that Clark and Lewis finally left St. Louis, with a large entourage, for Kentucky. On November 9 they arrived at Louisville, where the citizens gave them a feast, and where they were reunited with George Rogers Clark at Locust Grove, where the brothers' sister Lucy lived with her husband, William Croghan. By November 13, they were at Frankfort, Kentucky. From there, the exact route that Lewis and Clark followed, and at what point they separated, is not certain. Lewis was in Staunton, Virginia, by December 11, where he wrote a letter to Henry Dearborn. He arrived back home at Locust Hill two days later, and attended a banquet in his honor in Charlottesville on December 15. After Christmas with his mother at Locust Hill, Lewis left for Washington, arriving on December 28 for what must have been a very happy reunion with Jefferson at the White House.⁵⁰

Clark, meanwhile, departed from Locust Grove on December 15 and headed for Fincastle, Virginia, where he had friends among the prominent Preston and Hancock families. He had a special interest in visiting the Hancocks: the fifteen-and-a-half-year-old daughter of Colonel George Hancock, Judith, who was known as Julia. He had named a tributary of the Missouri River for her, and she would become his wife in January 1808. Clark probably arrived in Fincastle late in December or early in January 1807. On January 8, the citizens of the town gave Clark a celebratory party on the courthouse square. Botetourt County sheriff Patrick Lockhart delivered an oration on behalf of the townspeople, in which he stated,

In whatever situation it may hereafter please the Supreme Being to place you, it will be a source of unmixed gratification to remember that in order to meet the just expectations, which your appointment by Government had excited, you have navigated bold & unknown rivers, traversed Mountains, which had never before been impressed with the foot steps of civilized man, and surmounted every obstacle which climate, nature, or ferocious Savages could throw in your way. You have the further satisfaction to reflect that, you have extended the knowledge of the Geography of your country; in other respects enriched Science; and opened to the United States a source of inexhaustible wealth, no event, which occurred during the expedition, can, in the smallest degree, impair the force of those solacing reflections.

Clark replied, on behalf of Lewis as well,

⁵⁰ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:350, 353; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 407–410.

To meet with the approbation of our country for the attempt which has been made to render services to the government by Capt. Lewis, myself and the party that accompanied us, is a source of the highest gratification. It will be a pleasing reflection in future life to find the expedition has been Productive of those advantages to our country, geography, and science that you are willing to imagine.

He promised to deliver a copy of Lockhart's address to Lewis.⁵¹

A few days after the celebration, Clark left Fincastle for Washington, where he arrived on Sunday evening, January 18. He wrote to his brother Jonathan four days later that "Sence that time have been engaged in formal visits to the heads of departments and partakeing of the Sumptuous far[e] of many of the members [of Congress], maney of whome I have become acquainted with." There were undoubtedly long, congenial hours spent at the White House as well, where the two friends regaled their mentor with stories of the West over glasses of Jefferson's fine wines and plates of gourmet delights. It had been almost six years since Meriwether Lewis had arrived in Washington to serve as private secretary to the president. Jefferson's longtime dream of western exploration had come to fruition at last, thanks to the careful planning that took place in the White House and at Monticello. The president had accurately gauged Lewis's abilities and his potential for growth, had sent him to Pennsylvania to learn what he needed to know, had appointed him to lead the expedition, and had seen his judgments confirmed. Lewis, for his part, had selected his dearest friend to be co-commander, had fought the bureaucracy tenaciously for Clark's equal status, and had accomplished his difficult, stressful mission while maintaining the friendship as well as the partnership. Together, the two men had selected and led a group of young frontiersmen halfway across the continent and back, losing only one. They had taken part in one of the greatest adventures in American history, advanced geographic knowledge, discovered new species almost daily, and returned with the written record of their achievements intact. Now, in January 1807, the grand adventure had ended, and they were back where all the planning had begun.⁵²

Postscript

The rounds of parties and meetings that William Clark described in his January 22, 1807, letter to his brother contributed eventually to Clark's appointment as superintendent of Indian affairs for the Louisiana Territory and as brigadier general of militia there. Lewis was appointed governor of the Louisiana Territory.⁵³

⁵¹ Gene Crotty, *The Visits of Lewis & Clark to Fincastle, Virginia: Why Was a Montana River Named for a Fincastle Girl?* (N.p.: The History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia, 2003), 34–35, 40–43.

⁵² Holmberg, *Dear Brother*, 119.

⁵³ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:376.

The reunion of Meriwether Lewis with Thomas Jefferson in the White House, and William Clark's arrival there on January 18, 1807, marked the end of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Next would come Clark's long and respected career in the West, culminating in his service as governor of the Missouri Territory. Lewis would pursue unsuccessfully the publication of the expedition journals and then die by his own hand along the Natchez Trace in 1809. Clark finally published an edited version of the journals in 1814.

The expedition's vitally important geographical discoveries and the story of its experiences were recorded on Clark's maps and in the journals kept by several members of the Corps of Discovery. Most of the original maps that Clark drew were used to prepare other manuscript maps or given to engravers and printers for publication and then lost. One was sent to the War Department from the Mandan villages in April 1805. It was published in two versions in 1805 and 1806; the original passed from the War Department to Jefferson to the publisher and has disappeared. Lewis brought a second Clark map to Washington in 1806 and it was used to prepare another map. The former map is lost and the latter is in the Boston Athenaeum. A third Clark map, which he drew in St. Louis about 1809, is in the Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, as are Clark's field notes, begun while he was at Camp Wood. Most of the separate detail maps he prepared are in this collection as well. Other maps, which were drawn in the journals, are with the journals at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Sergeant John Ordway's manuscript journal is also in the Society's collection. Charles Floyd, the only member of the Corps of Discovery to die during the expedition, kept a journal that has been published; the original is at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Patrick Gass's manuscript journal disappeared after it was published in 1807. Robert Frazer kept a journal that was later lost, although it was proposed for publication immediately after the expedition. Joseph Whitehouse's journal has been published; the manuscript is in the Newberry Library, University of Chicago. Nathaniel Pryor and Alexander Willard may have kept journals, but they have not come to light. Hugh Hall may have written a journal, but if so, it later was consumed in a fire.⁵⁴

D. Inventory of Sites Associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy and Recommendations for Further Documentation

Public Law 108-387, passed by the U.S. Congress on October 30, 2004, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to "update . . . the 1958 Lewis and Clark National Historic Landmark theme study to determine the historical significance of the eastern sites of the Corps of Discovery expedition . . . including sites in Virginia, Washington, District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois."

⁵⁴ Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places*, 376–377; Larry E. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers after the Expedition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 156–157, 160–161, 168, 175, 182.

To identify sites related to the expedition, the historic preservation offices in the District of Columbia and each of the above-mentioned states were contacted. The Missouri office was also contacted because the site of Camp River Dubois may now lie in that state because of the eastward shift in the channel of the Mississippi River, rather than in Illinois where Clark constructed it in 1803. The Delaware and Ohio offices reported no known sites. The District of Columbia and the states of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia reported or confirmed associated sites.

It appears likely, based on the information derived from the survey of state historic preservation offices, that most of the significant buildings and sites associated with the expedition's Eastern Legacy have been identified already. They are listed below. Few if any other significant buildings and sites are likely to exist. The locations of campsites are unknown or obliterated, and structures used by the expedition members are similarly unknown or have disappeared as a consequence of development.

Researchers have conjectured the locations of several campsites on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from entries in the journals of Lewis, Clark, and John Ordway. They are not listed here, however, for several reasons. Archeological investigations have not been employed to either confirm or refute the locations, the camps generally were used only for a night or two, significant artifact deposits are unlikely to exist, and both man and nature have so altered the rivers since the expedition as to make the survival of intact artifact deposits even less likely. Even if artifacts were found, linking them to the expedition as opposed to other travelers would be a challenge. The conjectural site of Camp River Dubois (now probably located either in Missouri or under the waters of the Mississippi), however, is listed below because it may be an exception to the foregoing considerations and because it is extremely important historically. The conjectural site in Missouri has not undergone archeological testing, but since the camp was occupied for several months, the likelihood of artifact deposits may be higher than for the overnight bivouacs. The eastward movement of the Mississippi River channel may well have obliterated or submerged the site, but the existence of this property cannot be ruled out definitively. The winter encampment is very well interpreted at the Lewis and Clark State Historic Site in Illinois.

Other sites were mentioned in the journals but were not apparently visited by Lewis or Clark and therefore did not contribute significantly to the eastern phase of the expedition. Cantonment Wilkinson, located in Illinois near the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, is an example. Just a few years before the expedition began, this post held more soldiers than any other in the United States. By 1803, it had been abandoned, some of the troops reassigned to Fort Massac, and the buildings left for civilian use. Although Lewis mentioned that the party passed what had come to be called Wilkinsonville on the way to the mouth of the Ohio, the settlement seems not to have played a role in the expedition. In 2003–2004, the Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, found significant deposits on the site dating to its use as a military post.

Lewis also mentioned geological features in his journal, such as the entries of November 26–27, 1803, pertaining to what he called the Grand Tower (now known as Tower Rock) on the Mississippi River. Although these natural features are of interest, they did not play a role in the planning of the expedition, nor are they human cultural resources or sites of scientific inquiry such as Big Bone Lick. They were therefore not included in this survey of sites.

The following properties, listed in alphabetical order by state, are associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy. In many cases, however, the associations are slight, and the properties that are listed or designated have attained official recognition for other associations. The level of documentation, status of on-site interpretation, and potential for nomination or designation are noted for each site.

The number in front of the name of each site refers to its location on the map that follows this section.

1. White House, Washington, D.C.

Designated a National Historic Landmark in 1960. Robert F. Fenton completed the original nomination form on August 13, 1959, and Priya Chhaya completed a form updated to include Criterion 1 on August 7, 2003. The descriptive part of the latter form is less than a page in length, and the statement of significance consists of four short paragraphs. Neither form mentions the planning for the Lewis and Clark Expedition that took place in the White House. No on-site interpretation regarding the expedition is known to exist.

Recommendation: If this form is updated to meet current standards for NHL documentation, then the planning for the expedition that took place in the White House should be discussed thoroughly.

2. Fort Kaskaskia State Historic Site, Ellis Grove, Randolph Co., Illinois

The site of the fort, which is in a state park, is not listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The park contains the remnants of Fort Kaskaskia, a cemetery, a campground, and a Mississippi River overlook. According to information on the Fort Kaskaskia State Historic Site Web site (www.illinoishistory.gov/hs/fort_kaskaskia) and the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency Web site (www.state.il.us/hps/ps/), periodic flooding of the river obliterated much of the site in the 1880s and 1890s, including the town of Kaskaskia. There are on-site interpretive markers, as well as nearby state highway markers, but the association of the site with the Lewis and Clark expedition does not appear to be mentioned. If the opportunity arises to replace the markers or add to them, this information could be presented.

3. Fort Massac Site, Ohio River near Metropolis, Illinois

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1971. The nomination form does not mention Lewis and Clark, the hiring of interpreter George Drouillard, or the recruiting of soldiers for the expedition there. The site is located in Fort Massac State Park; the official park Web site (www.dnr.state.il.us/lands/landmgt/Parks/R5/frmindex) likewise does not mention the expedition. Archeological investigations were conducted at the site

between 1939 and 1942, and again in 1966, 1970, and 2002. The outline of the original French fort (ca. 1757) is marked, and a reconstruction of the ca. 1802 American fort was erected in the park in 2002. Although the park does not specifically interpret the Lewis and Clark Expedition, it does interpret the post and soldiers' lives during the same period of time.

Recommendation: If the existing National Register nomination is updated, it should include documentation of the Lewis and Clark expedition as it relates to the fort, and should utilize the information obtained from the various archeological investigations.

4. Old Cahokia Courthouse, Cahokia, Illinois

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. The nomination form does not mention Lewis and Clark or the courthouse's role as a town center and post office. The Cahokia Courthouse Web site (www.illinoishistory.gov/hs/cahokia_courthouse) likewise does not mention the expedition. Although the building is located on its original site, it has been moved twice and extensively reconstructed. Nonetheless, it appears to retain the appearance it had when Lewis and Clark saw it.

Recommendation: If the existing National Register nomination is updated, it should include documentation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as it relates to the courthouse.

5. Old Clarksville Site, Clark Co., Indiana

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1974. The nomination form does not mention the Lewis and Clark Expedition or the meetings there between the explorers and George Rogers Clark at his cabin as they were outward bound in 1803 or homeward bound in 1806. The nomination further states that no archeological investigations had taken place around the probable cabin site, with the presumption that it either had been washed away or obliterated by river improvements. A visitor to the site in 1805, however, wrote that the cabin was on a point "commanding" a view of the falls, implying that it stood on high ground. The cabin site is in the Falls of the Ohio State Park, and the site is marked on a map of the park, which might suggest that its location has been confirmed. The Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, however, reported that the map only represents the area in which the cabin is believed to have been. The office also reported that an archeological survey conducted in the area in 1974 did not confirm "the exact location of the George Rogers Clark cabin site although it is believed to be within the Old Clarksville Site boundary." Subsequent testing in the area (not specifically related to the cabin) has likewise failed to uncover the cabin location. The National Park Service Web site (www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/lewisandclark/ocs) relating to the expedition describes Lewis and Clark's visits there.

Recommendation: An archeological survey of the point, which is still extant, might prove informative. If the existing National Register nomination is updated, it should include documentation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as it relates to the site (although there are virtually no contemporary accounts of the explorers' visits there).

6. Big Bone Lick State Park and Archaeological Site, Union, Kentucky

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1972 (State Park) and 2002 (Archaeological Site). The nomination for the state park does not mention Meriwether Lewis's visit in 1803, although it does touch briefly on William Clark's subsequent

excavation there in 1807, which it refers to as “the first organized vertebrae paleontology [*sic*] expedition in the United States.” The nomination for the archeological site (state park boundary expansion) touches briefly on Lewis’s visit in the context of early excavations and studies of the bones. In fairness, there is no contemporary account of Lewis’s visit in 1803. His often-cited letter of October 3, 1803, in which he described mammoth bones to Jefferson, was written a day or two before Lewis visited the Lick, and the bones he described were in Cincinnati in the collection of Dr. William Goforth. Much more is known about Clark’s expedition of 1807.

Recommendation: Perhaps a marker could be placed at the site to commemorate Lewis’s visit.

7. Locust Grove, 561 Blankenbaker Lane, Louisville, Kentucky

Designated a National Historic Landmark in 1986. The nomination, which contains less than a page of historic context, merely lists Lewis and Clark among the many visitors to the house.

Recommendation: If the existing nomination is updated, it should include documentation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as it relates to the site (although there are virtually no contemporary accounts of the explorers’ visit there except for a neighbor’s brief diary entry).

8. Mulberry Hill Site, George Rogers Clark Park, Louisville, Kentucky

The site of Mulberry Hill, the Clark family home in Kentucky, is located in George Rogers Clark Park. A family cemetery has been identified and remnants of a spring house are still visible, although all of the other outbuildings and the deteriorated main house were demolished in 1917. At least one photograph exists of the Clark house, taken ca. 1890. Two archeological investigations have taken place there, the first by Phil DiBlasi of the University of Louisville in 1982, and a more extensive survey in 2003, conducted by Lori Stahlgren and M. Jay Stottman, staff archeologist for the Kentucky Archaeological Survey. The 2003 survey did not succeed in finding foundations associated with the house or outbuildings. Mr. Stottman concluded (personal communication, Aug. 14, 2006) that “although it appears that much of the site is disturbed, we feel that there are intact deposits present at the site and that more can be learned by conducting more extensive archaeological excavations.” The site has not been evaluated for eligibility for listing in the National Register. A state historical marker in the park provides a brief outline of the history of the site, and an even briefer mention of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Recommendation: Install one or more comprehensive on-site interpretive markers, making use of the available illustrative material (photograph of the house, portraits of Lewis and Clark as well as of George Rogers Clark) to tell the story of the site and its relationship to the settlement of Louisville and to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

9. Hessian Barracks, Maryland School for the Deaf, 242 S. Market St., Frederick, Maryland

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1971. The nomination does not mention the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the fact that Lewis’s supply wagon passed

through on its way to Harpers Ferry from Philadelphia, that Lewis came to Frederick, or that he received assistance there in recruiting soldiers for part of the expedition.

Recommendation: If the existing nomination is updated, it should include documentation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as it relates to the site. An on-site interpretive marker relating to the expedition would also be useful.

10. Camp Wood (Camp River Dubois), near Edward “Ted” and Pat Jones Confluence Point State Park, Missouri

Conversations with Theodore Hild, chief of staff in the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, and with the staff of the Missouri Division of State Parks and Historic Sites in the Department of Natural Resources, suggest that the site of Camp River Dubois has been identified by comparing historic and modern maps. No archeological investigations of the site have been conducted. It appears likely that the movement of the Mississippi River channel over the site from west to east has scoured it clean of any artifact deposits. As a result of the channel’s movement, the site may now be in Missouri just north of the Edward “Ted” and Pat Jones Confluence Point State Park, rather than in Illinois, where William Clark had the camp constructed in December 1803. There is at present no on-site interpretation. Across the river in Illinois, however, Camp River Dubois is interpreted at the Lewis and Clark State Historic Site in Hartford, about two miles downstream from the supposed actual site. The museum there contains a full-scale cutaway model of the keelboat, reproductions of camp cabins, other exhibits, and a great deal of interpretive material about the camp and the expedition. The Lewis and Clark State Historic Site maintains a Web site at www.campdubois.com. The site superintendent, Brad Wynn, believes that the actual site of the camp may be in the Mississippi River rather than in Missouri.

Recommendation: A marker telling the story of the camp and noting the differences of opinion regarding the exact location today could be placed near the estimated site in Missouri. The Lewis and Clark Historic Site in Illinois presents the story very well; no further action is recommended for that site.

11. American Philosophical Society, Philosophical Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Designated a National Historic Landmark in 1965. The nomination mentions the building briefly as the repository of many of the journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. No mention is made of Lewis’s instruction in various useful sciences by Benjamin Rush and other Society members, or of Lewis’s induction into the Society before he crossed the Mississippi River. Besides the journals, the Society for a long time held the botanical specimens that Lewis and Clark collected, but then at the end of the nineteenth century transferred them to the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. Most of the botanical, zoological, and ethnological specimens collected during the expedition have been lost. Although several repositories have claimed to have specimens in their collections, only in a few cases is the provenance clear and indisputable. The botanical specimens largely were pressed and dried, and most of the surviving examples are stored on 226 sheets in the Lewis and Clark Herbarium at the Academy of Natural Sciences, with notes in Lewis’s or Clark’s hand as to the place and date of collection. Several other sheets are at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, in London, England. Almost all of the zoological specimens have disappeared. Jefferson kept a few at

Monticello, but Lewis gave most of them to Charles Willson Peale for Peale's American Museum in Philadelphia, where they were exhibited for a time in Independence Hall. The showman P. T. Barnum bought the collection from Peale's heirs in 1848 and installed it in his New York museum, which was destroyed by fire in 1865. The only known specimen to survive, a woodpecker, is in the Harvard University Museum of Comparative Zoology. A larger number of the ethnological specimens are still extant. Jefferson kept a few at Monticello while Lewis donated most to Peale's museum. When the Peale collection was dispersed in 1848, Barnum acquired about half of them for his New York museum that burned in 1865. Moses Kimball got the other half, and his heirs eventually donated the artifacts to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, where they remain today. The specimens include buffalo robes, tobacco pipes, cradles, women's apparel, hats, arrows, an elk antler bow, and musical instruments.

Recommendation: If the National Historic Landmark documentation is ever updated, more could be written about Lewis's time in Philadelphia and his instruction at the hands of the Society members.

12. Andrew Ellicott House, 123 N. Princess St., Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. The nomination barely mentions Ellicott's role in instructing Lewis at the house before the expedition began.

Recommendation: If the National Register nomination documentation is ever updated, use should be made of Lewis's and Ellicott's letters to Thomas Jefferson to describe more fully Ellicott's essential role in training Lewis in the use of scientific instruments.

13. Fort Southwest Point Archaeological Site, Kingston, Tennessee

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. The nomination makes no mention of the fort's role in furnishing volunteers for the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The Tennessee Division of Archaeology, in the state's Department of Environment and Conservation, has published a detailed report on the site, however: *Fort Southwest Point Archaeological Site, Kingston, Tennessee: A Multidisciplinary Interpretation* (1993). Note 14, on pp. 107–108, discusses the men who joined the expedition from the fort and gives details of their service.

Recommendation: A historical marker describing the fort's role in the expedition, placed in the vicinity of the fort site, would be appropriate.

14. Meriwether Lewis National Monument, Natchez Trace Parkway, Hohenwald, Tennessee

Determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places in 2004. The Determination of Eligibility is based on the "National Register Eligibility Assessment, The Natchez Trace Parkway" prepared for the Tennessee Department of Transportation in 2004. The assessment describes the monument and its associated resources without referencing the Lewis and Clark Expedition or the circumstances of Lewis's death. Among the resources at the monument is a log-cabin museum that contains exhibits about Lewis's career, and there are also interpretive markers on the site.

Recommendation: If a National Register nomination is written for the Natchez Trace Parkway or the monument, additional documentation about Lewis, the expedition, and his death should be included.

15. Fincastle Historic District, Botetourt County, Virginia

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1969. The nomination makes no reference to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the visits of Lewis or Clark, or the celebration held there in 1807.

Recommendation: If the National Register nomination is revised, the connection of William Clark to the town and the celebration held there in 1807 should be documented. A historical marker placed in the vicinity of the courthouse also would be appropriate.

16. Locust Hill Site, Albemarle County, Virginia

Here Meriwether Lewis was born in 1774. The birth house no longer stands, but the family cemetery is still maintained, and a small marker on the road commemorates Lewis's birth there. The site has not been evaluated for National Register eligibility. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources has an extensive file on the property (DHR File 2-106). A log dwelling was constructed supposedly on the foundation of the original structure shortly after a ca. 1837 fire destroyed the house in which Lewis was born. The ruin of a slave quarters was the only other pre-1900 structure identified on an architectural survey form completed in 1979.

Recommendation: Because the site is on private property, the owner must give permission before any archeological investigation could be undertaken or the property could be evaluated for National Register eligibility. Since a plaque already has been placed near the site to commemorate Lewis, no additional interpretive marker is necessary.

17. Monticello, Albemarle County, Virginia

Designated a National Historic Landmark in 1960. The nomination mentions the Lewis and Clark Expedition but contains no reference to Lewis's service as Jefferson's secretary or his inclusion in Jefferson's "family" or the planning for the expedition that took place at Monticello.

Recommendation: If the nomination is updated, the role of Lewis as Jefferson's secretary and the research and planning for the expedition that took place at Monticello should be documented.

18. William Clark Birthplace Site, Caroline County, Virginia

The actual site of the Clark dwelling has not been identified, nor has the farm site undergone archeological investigation. In 1996, the general location of the farmstead was identified through deed research and the platting of metes and bounds. A state historical highway marker was erected nearby to commemorate Clark's birthplace, and another marker commemorates the Clark family farm. The site has not been evaluated for National Register eligibility.

Recommendation: Because the site is on private property, the owner must give permission before any archeological investigation could be undertaken or the property could be evaluated for National Register eligibility. Since two state highway markers

already have been placed near the site to commemorate Clark and the farm, no additional interpretive marker is necessary.

19. Grave Creek Mound, Moundsville, West Virginia

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1966. The nomination refers in passing to the fact that Lewis visited the site but does not mention the description of the mound in his journal. There is no interpretation of his visit at the Grave Creek Mound Archaeology Complex, which interprets the site in a prehistoric context, except for a reference in a time line of the history of the site.

Recommendation: If the nomination is updated, a more detailed reference to Lewis's visit and his description of the site could be documented. An interpretive marker could also be placed nearby.

20. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1966. The nomination does not mention the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Lewis's visits in 1803, or the armory's role in making the iron frame for Lewis's canoe or the weapons carried on the expedition. It does include an account of the armory's development early in the 1800s as well as detailed descriptions of the buildings that stood there in 1803. Only the foundation remains of the large arsenal building (constructed ca. 1799–1800) but the Robert Harper Tavern of about 1775–1782 survives.

Recommendation: If the nomination is updated, the role of the armory in supplying weapons and the iron frame for the canoe should be documented. An interpretive marker at the site of the armory would be appropriate.

21. Wellsburg Historic District, West Virginia

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1982. The town of Wellsburg was the home of Patrick Gass, the only member of the expedition from the eastern United States whose dwelling has been identified. He is also notable for having published the first account of the expedition; his journal was edited and rushed into print in 1807, much to Lewis's irritation. Gass, the last surviving member of the Corps of Discovery, died on April 2, 1870, and is buried in Wellsburg's Brooke Cemetery, which is listed in the National Register with exploration and settlement as an area of significance for the cemetery's association with Gass. His is one of only two identified burial sites of an expedition member interred east of the Mississippi River (with the other being Lewis). The historic district nomination mentions Gass briefly as an expedition member and describes his house as consisting of a two-story frame dwelling constructed about 1850, with an older frame rear ell dating to about 1797. According to Larry E. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers after the Expedition* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 181–185, however, Gass lived on a farm outside Wellsburg for many years after returning to the area about 1830. Nearly sixty years old, he then married, and he and his much younger wife had seven children. After she died in 1847, he remained at the farm for a few years and then went to live with a married daughter, from whose house he walked the four miles to the post office in Wellsburg almost daily. It is unclear, then—if his daughter lived four miles outside the

town—at what point Gass resided in the Wellsburg house, because the historic district nomination does not say.

Recommendation: If the National Register nomination is updated, more information concerning Gass (and specifically when he lived in the house) could be included. An interpretive marker placed near the house would be appropriate.

E. Map (see attachment)

F. Associated Property Types

This section is intended to assist agencies and individuals in identifying and documenting properties related to the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places or for designation as National Historic Landmarks. It identifies six broad property types associated with the expedition's eastern phase as described in the historic context. It also includes examples of each type already listed in the National Register of Historic Places or designated as National Historic Landmarks. Many of these properties, however, have only slight associations with the expedition—such as the Old Cahokia Courthouse—and few of the nominations even mention the expedition in passing. The examples, in other words, were listed or designated for associations other than with the expedition, but they are related nonetheless, to a lesser or greater degree.

1. Places associated with research and planning will include libraries, public buildings, and private residences. Examples already listed in the National Register of Historic Places or designated National Historic Landmarks include the White House in Washington, D.C., the Old Cahokia Courthouse in Cahokia, Illinois, the Old Clarksville Site in Clarksville, Indiana, and Monticello in Albemarle County, Virginia.

2. Places associated with the production, storage, or sales of equipment will include armories, privately owned commercial establishments such as stores and gunsmiths' shops, and government warehouses. Examples already listed in the National Register of Historic Places include Harpers Ferry National Historical Park in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, and the Hessian Barracks in Frederick, Maryland.

3. Places associated with technical training will include educational institutions, private dwellings, and public buildings. Examples already listed in the National Register of Historic Places or designated National Historic Landmarks include the Andrew Ellicott House in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and the American Philosophical Society Hall in Philadelphia.

4. Places associated with the recruitment of expedition members will include military posts and private dwellings. Examples already listed in the National Register of Historic Places include the Fort Massac Site near Metropolis, Illinois, and the Fort Southwest Point Archaeological Site near Kingston, Tennessee.

5. Places associated with members of the expedition will include dwellings and burial sites. Examples already listed in the National Register of Historic Places or designated National Historic Landmarks include Locust Grove in Louisville, Kentucky, the Meriwether Lewis National Monument on the Natchez Trace Parkway in Tennessee, the Wellsburg Historic District in Wellsburg, West Virginia, and the Fincastle Historic District in Botetourt County, Virginia.

6. Places associated with the goals of the expedition regarding scientific and cultural discoveries will include contemporary archeological sites and sites related to paleontology. Examples already listed in the National Register of Historic Places include Big Bone Lick State Park and Archaeological Site in Kentucky and Grave Creek Mound in Moundsville, West Virginia.

G. Registration Requirements

This section is intended to assist agencies and individuals in evaluating properties related to the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places or for designation as National Historic Landmarks. It is divided into two parts. The first identifies the registration requirements for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, and the second presents the requirements for designation as a National Historic Landmark.

Because most of the properties associated with the Eastern Legacy of the Lewis and Clark Expedition already have been identified and, in many instances, listed or designated, it is unlikely that additional associated properties with national or statewide significance will be discovered. It is more likely that such properties will have peripheral significance at the local level, and it is also more likely that they will be archeological sites rather than standing structures.

“World War II and the American Home Front Theme Study,” by Marilyn M. Harper, John W. Jeffries, William M. Tuttle, Jr., Nelson Lichtenstein, and Harvard Sitkoff (Draft, August 30, 2004) served as the model for this section. The draft may be accessed at www.cr.nps.gov/nhl/themes/Themes.

National Register of Historic Places

Properties nominated to the National Register of Historic Places for their association with the Eastern phase of the Lewis and Clark Expedition must be able to illustrate one or more of the topics identified in the historic context. The association must have occurred between Meriwether Lewis’s arrival in Washington, D.C., on April 1, 1801, to assume his duties as secretary to President Thomas Jefferson and the reunion of William Clark with Lewis and Jefferson on January 18, 1807. The properties must be located east of the Mississippi River in the United States.

The properties must be significant at the national, state, or local level and retain sufficient integrity to be listed.

Significance

According to National Register regulations (36 CFR 60), the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. They must also satisfy at least one of the following four criteria:

- (A) Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
- (B) Associated with the lives of significant persons in our past;
- (C) Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction;
- (D) Has yielded or may be likely to yield information important in history or prehistory.

Criterion A

To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under this criterion, properties must be associated with historic events or patterns of events with significance at the national, state, or local levels. Places associated with researching and planning the expedition might include libraries, public buildings, and private residences. Two properties meeting this criterion are currently listed in the National Register: Old Cahokia Courthouse in Cahokia, Illinois, and the Old Clarksville Site in Clarksville, Indiana.

Places associated with the production, storage, or sales of equipment used during the expedition may include armories, privately owned commercial establishments such as stores and gunsmiths' shops, and government warehouses. Two properties are currently listed in the National Register that meet this criterion: the Hessian Barracks in Frederick, Maryland, and Harpers Ferry National Historical Park in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

Places associated with the technical training of Meriwether Lewis or other members of the Corps of Discovery in the use of scientific instruments and other specialized equipment may include educational institutions, private dwellings, and public buildings. One property that meets this criterion is currently listed in the National Register: the Andrew Ellicott House in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Places associated with the recruitment of expedition members may include military posts and private dwellings. Two properties that meet this criterion are currently listed in the National Register: the Fort Massac Site near Metropolis, Illinois, and the Fort Southwest Point Archaeological Site near Kingston, Tennessee.

Places associated with members of the expedition may include dwellings and burial sites. Two properties that meet this criterion are currently listed in the National Register: Fincastle Historic District in Botetourt County, Virginia, and Wellsburg Historic District in Wellsburg, West Virginia.

Places associated with the goals of the expedition regarding scientific and cultural discoveries may include contemporary archeological sites and sites related to paleontology. Two properties meeting this criterion are currently listed in the National Register: Big Bone Lick State Park and Archeological Site in Kentucky and Grave Creek Mound in Moundsville, West Virginia.

Criterion B

To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under this criteria, properties must be associated with individuals who played significant roles in the eastern phase of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with regard to the themes discussed in the section above concerning property types.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible under this criterion in the area of researching and planning the expedition might include political leaders, military leaders, and scientists. No properties meeting this criterion are currently listed in the National Register.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible in the areas of the production, storage, or sales of equipment used during the expedition may include armory superintendents, government procurement officers, craftsmen, and businessmen. No properties meeting this criterion are currently listed in the National Register.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible in the area of the technical training of Meriwether Lewis or other members of the Corps of Discovery in the use of scientific instruments and other specialized equipment may include scientists and educators. One property that meets this criterion is currently listed in the National Register: the Andrew Ellicott House in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible in the area of the recruitment of expedition members may include expedition leaders and military commanders. No properties meeting this criterion are currently listed in the National Register.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible because they are related to members of the expedition may include the permanent members of the Corps of Discovery. One property that meets this criterion is currently listed in the National Register: the Patrick Gass Cottage, a contributing resource in the Wellsburg Historic District in Wellsburg, West Virginia.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible in the area of the goals of the expedition regarding scientific and cultural discoveries may include scientists and permanent members of the Corps of Discovery. No properties meeting this criterion are currently listed in the National Register.

Criterion C

Places associated with the eastern phase of the Lewis and Clark Expedition that are good examples of architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, planning, or construction

techniques may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under this criterion. Such properties might include government buildings, dwellings, fortifications, or complexes that played vital roles in the expedition.

Associated properties that are likely to be eligible under this criterion in the area of researching and planning the expedition might include the residences of political leaders, military leaders, and scientists. One property that meets this criterion is currently listed in the National Register: the Andrew Ellicott House in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Places associated with the production, storage, or sales of equipment used during the expedition may include armories, privately owned commercial establishments such as stores and gunsmiths' shops, and government warehouses. Two properties are currently listed in the National Register that meet this criterion: the Hessian Barracks in Frederick, Maryland, and Harpers Ferry National Historical Park in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

Criterion D

This criterion is intended primarily for archeological resources. To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places as significant sites under this criterion, the documentation for the property must demonstrate that physical remains at the site have answered or are likely to answer research questions about topics identified in the historic context. Archeological sites are unlikely to contain remains that are directly related to the expedition but are likely to answer questions about lifestyles, dwellings, industries, and fortifications during the period.

Four sites currently are listed in the National Register of Historic Places that meet this criterion: Fort Massac Site near Metropolis, Illinois, Old Clarksville Site in Clarksville, Indiana, Big Bone Lick State Park and Archaeological Site in Kentucky, and Fort Southwest Point Archaeological Site near Kingston, Tennessee.

National Register Exceptions

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years may not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- (A) A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance;
- (B) A building or structure removed from its original location but which is primarily significant for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event;
- (C) A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life; or

- (D) A cemetery that derives its primary importance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events;
- (E) A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived;
- (F) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or
- (G) A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

One property has been determined eligible for listing in the National Register that meets exception criterion C: Meriwether Lewis National Monument on the Natchez Trace Parkway in Tennessee, erected over Lewis's grave. Another property is listed in the National Register that also meets exception criterion C: Brooke Cemetery in Wellsburg, West Virginia, which includes the grave of Patrick Gass.

Areas of Significance

Several areas of significance can be associated with the eastern phase of the expedition. Derived from the historic context above, they include Exploration/Settlement, Science, and Transportation. These areas of significance and others are explained in *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Archeological Properties* (2000).

Integrity

For a property related to the expedition's eastern phase to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places, the property must retain sufficient integrity: the historic fabric that conveys its historical significance. Seven standards can be used to assess the integrity of a property: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Location is the exact place where a historic event occurred or where a historic property was constructed. A property associated with the expedition will meet the standard of location if it is the actual site where something significant happened or if it is the place where a historic structure was built. Properties that have been moved may only be considered for designation if they meet the requirements of Exception B above.

Design includes the architectural features that establish the historic form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. In districts, design reflects the way in which buildings, sites, and structures relate to each other. If essential design elements are lost in the process of rehabilitation or adaptive reuse, the integrity of the property will be reduced.

Setting relates to the environment in which a property is located. A building constructed in a rural location will have greater integrity of setting if the surroundings are still rural than if they have been enveloped by new structures.

Materials are the elements from which a structure is built. Eligible properties need to retain a high degree of original materials, both on the exterior and on the interior.

Workmanship reflects the skill and labor required to construct a historic building or structure. Generally, good workmanship is appropriate to the type of structure, whether a log cabin, an earthen fortification, or an architecturally sophisticated public building.

Feeling is a historic property's expression of the time in which it was constructed or used. Modern intrusions, surfaces, and treatments may adversely affect the historic feeling of a property.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a specific site. A site where a significant event actually occurred or where a creative person did his work will have a strong element of association if the property still conveys its historic character through the existence of other physical features.

The integrity of an archeological site is a relative measure depending on the historic context of the property. A property with good archeological integrity will have relatively intact and complete deposits that have not been severely affected by subsequent activities or natural processes. Few archeological sites have completely undisturbed deposits because of the continuing occupation or periodic reuse of most sites. An archeological site with good integrity, therefore, will generally contain deposits that reflect the activities that took place there and the time during which they occurred—qualities related to the standards listed above for evaluating integrity. For detailed guidance on evaluating the integrity of archeological sites, see *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Archeological Properties* (2000).

Evaluation

Historic properties considered for listing in the National Register must be evaluated against other comparable properties also associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy. Through such evaluation, those that have a strong association with the expedition, are significant on the national, state, or local levels, and possess good integrity will be the best properties to be considered for listing.

Properties associated with the expedition's eastern phase that are eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places are rare. Many of the places and buildings that may have been associated with the expedition no longer exist. At the time of the expedition, many of the towns along the eastern rivers, such as Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Marietta, Ohio, and Kaskaskia, Illinois, were in the early stages of development. Since then, such places either have been intensively developed or have virtually disappeared. Few properties retain the level of integrity needed for listing. While it is possible that some significant structure associated with the expedition may be discovered, documenting the association will be difficult given the scarcity of records. Any newly discovered associated properties are more likely to be archeological sites, such as the Lewis and Clark birthplaces in Virginia, the site of Mulberry Hill in Louisville, Kentucky, the

George Rogers Clark cabin site in Indiana, Fort Kaskaskia State Historic Site in Illinois, or Camp River Dubois, whether it is located in Illinois or Missouri.

It is also unlikely that properties of statewide or national significance that are related to the expedition have escaped identification. It is slightly more likely that properties of local significance have survived but their association with the expedition has not been established. For example, a dwelling or tavern may still stand in a town that Lewis visited en route down the Ohio River. If documentation of his visit were discovered, that would constitute evidence of an association. The issue of the significance of the property in relation to the expedition, however, would need to be addressed. If such a property had sufficient integrity to render it eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, it would likely be for its locally significant architecture and history. The fact that Lewis ate dinner or spent the night in a dwelling or tavern would add interest to the property at the local level, but would not constitute a nationally important historical event associated with the expedition.

National Historic Landmarks

National Historic Landmarks relevant to the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy must be acknowledged to be among the nation's most significant properties associated with the research and planning, equipment, technical training, recruitment, membership, and goals of the expedition. The association must have occurred between Meriwether Lewis's arrival in Washington, D.C., on April 1, 1801, to assume his duties as secretary to President Thomas Jefferson, and the reunion of William Clark with Lewis and Jefferson on January 18, 1807. The properties must be located east of the Mississippi River in the United States.

The thresholds for designation as a National Historic Landmark include national significance and a high degree of integrity. In addition, each property must be evaluated in comparison with other properties associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition to determine their relative significance and integrity.

Any National Historic Landmark designated under this context must have a nationally significant association with one or more of the important topics discussed in the historic context. According to National Historic Landmark regulations (36 CFR 65.4 [a & b]), the quality of national significance can be ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture; that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association; and that:

(Criterion 1) are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained;

(Criterion 2) are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States;

(Criterion 3) represent some great idea or ideal of the American people;
 (Criterion 4) embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for the study of a period, style, or method of construction, or represent a significant, distinctive, and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction;
 (Criterion 5) are composed of integral parts of the environment that are not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but that collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or
 (Criterion 6) have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation of large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

The following section provides suggestions for criteria and topics with which potential National Historic Landmarks might be associated. Examples of National Historic Landmarks already designated, and their association with the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy, also are given.

Criterion 1

In order to be eligible for designation under this criterion, properties must have played a central role in nationally significant events.

Places associated with researching and planning the expedition might include libraries, public buildings, and private residences. Places already designated as National Historic Landmarks that meet this criterion include Thomas Jefferson's residence, Monticello, in Albemarle County, Virginia, where Lewis and Jefferson made use of the latter's exceptionally fine library to conduct research and plan the expedition, as well as the White House in Washington, D.C., which was the official residence and seat of administration for President Jefferson. In the latter building, Lewis and Jefferson continued to make plans, conduct research by correspondence, and converse about the expedition.

Places associated with the production, storage, or sales of equipment used during the expedition may include armories, privately owned commercial establishments such as stores and gunsmiths' shops, and government warehouses. No such place meeting Criterion 1 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Places associated with the technical training of Meriwether Lewis or other members of the Corps of Discovery in the use of scientific instruments and other specialized equipment may include educational institutions, private dwellings, and public buildings. The American Philosophical Society Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has been designated a National Historic Landmark. It was the site of meetings of members of the Society, several of whom trained Lewis in the use of instruments, and is the repository of

the largest collection of the expedition's journals—the fruit of the training that Lewis received.

Places associated with the recruitment of expedition members may include military posts and private dwellings. No such place meeting Criterion 1 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Places associated with members of the expedition may include dwellings and burial sites. No such place meeting Criterion 1 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Places associated with the goals of the expedition regarding scientific and cultural discoveries may include contemporary archeological sites and sites related to paleontology. No such place meeting Criterion 1 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Criterion 2

Properties designated as National Historic Landmarks under this criterion must be associated importantly with individuals who played central roles in the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible under this criterion in the area of researching and planning the expedition might include political leaders, military leaders, and scientists. National Historic Landmarks associated with such persons that meet this criterion include the White House in Washington, D.C., a public building that served as the official residence and seat of administration for President Thomas Jefferson, and Monticello, Jefferson's home in Albemarle County, Virginia.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible in the areas of the production, storage, or sales of equipment used during the expedition may include armory superintendents, government procurement officers, craftsmen, and businessmen. No such place meeting Criterion 2 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible in the area of the technical training of Meriwether Lewis or other members of the Corps of Discovery in the use of scientific instruments and other specialized equipment may include scientists and educators. No such place meeting Criterion 2 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible in the area of the recruitment of expedition members may include expedition leaders and military commanders. No such place meeting Criterion 2 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible because they are related to members of the expedition may include the permanent members of the Corps of Discovery. No such place meeting Criterion 2 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

People whose associated places are likely to be eligible in the area of the goals of the expedition regarding scientific and cultural discoveries may include scientists and permanent members of the Corps of Discovery. No such place meeting Criterion 2 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Criterion 3

Properties designated as National Historic Landmarks under this criterion must be associated importantly with national ideas and ideals of the highest order as they relate to the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Places that are likely to be eligible under this criterion might include sites that outstandingly represent the preservation of the new nation from domination by foreign powers and exemplify the goal of self-determination.

National Historic Landmarks associated with such essential national principles that meet this criterion include the White House in Washington, D.C., a public building that served as the official residence and seat of administration for President Thomas Jefferson, and Monticello, Jefferson's home in Albemarle County, Virginia. As the national symbol of executive power and leadership, the White House is associated with both the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition, which together legitimized and solidified the claims of the United States to firmly established western boundaries free of foreign influence. Monticello, Jefferson's home and the place in which he conducted much of his correspondence and research, shares in being a symbol of his leadership in upholding the principles of national sovereignty and self-determination.

Criterion 4

Properties designated as National Historic Landmarks under this criterion must be exceptionally important examples of architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, planning, or construction techniques. Such properties might include government buildings, dwellings, fortifications, or complexes designed by nationally recognized architects or that played vital roles in the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Places of surpassing architectural importance associated with research and planning for the expedition might include libraries, public buildings, and private residences. Places already designated as National Historic Landmarks that meet this criterion include Thomas Jefferson's residence, Monticello, in Albemarle County, Virginia, which was designed by Jefferson himself, and the White House in Washington, D.C., a public building designed by James Hoban and others. Jefferson's importance as an architect is well established, as is the significance of Monticello to American architectural history. The White House, a national symbol, is also clearly relevant to architectural history.

Places associated with the production, storage, or sales of equipment used during the expedition may include armories, privately owned commercial establishments such as stores and gunsmiths' shops, and government warehouses. No such place meeting Criterion 4 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Places associated with the technical training of Meriwether Lewis or other members of the Corps of Discovery in the use of scientific instruments and other specialized equipment may include educational institutions, private dwellings, and public buildings. No such place meeting Criterion 4 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Places associated with the recruitment of expedition members may include military posts and private dwellings. No such place meeting Criterion 4 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Places associated with members of the expedition may include dwellings and burial sites. One such place meeting Criterion 4 has been designated a National Historic Landmark: Locust Grove in Louisville, Kentucky. It was the site of a Clark family reunion that included Meriwether Lewis on the homeward-bound phase of the expedition, and is included here because it is the only extant building associated with members of the expedition that is also a National Historic Landmark.

Places associated with the goals of the expedition regarding scientific and cultural discoveries may include contemporary archeological sites and sites related to paleontology. No such place meeting Criterion 4 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Criterion 5

Districts that possess extraordinary historic importance under other criteria may be eligible for designation under this criterion as well, while districts whose primary significance is architectural are more likely to be designated under Criterion 4.

No district meeting Criterion 5 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Criterion 6

This criterion applies primarily to archeological sites. To be eligible, a site must be shown to have data that will make or have already made major contributions to our understanding of the expedition's eastern phase by resolving a substantial historical debate or by substantially modifying a major historical concept.

No site meeting Criterion 6 has been designated a National Historic Landmark.

Criteria Exceptions

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years are not eligible for designation as National Historic Landmarks. If such properties fall within the following categories they may, nevertheless, be found to qualify:

(1) A religious property deriving its primary national significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance;

- (2) A building removed from its original location but which is nationally significant primarily for its architectural merit, or for association with persons or events of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential;
- (3) A site of a building or structure no longer standing but the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential;
- (4) A birthplace, grave, or burial site if it is of a historical figure of transcendent national significance and no other appropriate site, building, or structure directly associated with the productive life of that person exists;
- (5) A cemetery that derives its primary national significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, or from an exceptionally distinctive design or an exceptionally significant event;
- (6) A reconstructed building or ensemble of buildings of extraordinary national significance when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other buildings or structures with the same association have survived;
- (7) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own national historical significance;
- (8) A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary national importance.

No properties relevant to the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy have been designated National Historic Landmarks under the criteria exceptions.

Themes

Several historical themes can be associated with the eastern phase of the expedition. Derived from the historic context above, they include Political and Military Affairs, 1783–1860 (Jeffersonian Period, 1800–1811), and Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763–1898 (British and United States Explorations of the West: Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806). These themes and others are outlined in *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program: The Thematic Framework* (1987).

Integrity

A high degree of integrity is essential for a property to be designated a National Historic Landmark related to the expedition's eastern phase. The property must retain to a high degree the historic fabric that conveys its exceptional historical significance. Seven standards can be used to assess the integrity of a property: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Location is the exact place where a historic event occurred or where a historic property was constructed. A property associated with the expedition will meet the standard of location if it is the actual site where something significant happened or if it is the place where a historic structure was built. Properties that have been moved may only be considered for designation if they meet the requirements of Exception 2 above.

Design includes the architectural features that establish the historic form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. In districts, design reflects the way in which buildings, sites, and structures relate to each other. If essential design elements are lost in the process of rehabilitation or adaptive reuse, the integrity of the property will be reduced.

Setting relates to the environment in which a property is located. A building constructed in a rural location will have greater integrity of setting if the surroundings are still rural than if they have been enveloped by new structures.

Materials are the elements from which a structure is built. National Historic Landmarks need to retain a high degree of original materials, both on the exterior and on the interior.

Workmanship reflects the skill and labor required to construct a historic building or structure. Generally, good workmanship is appropriate to the type of structure, whether a log cabin, an earthen fortification, or an architecturally sophisticated public building.

Feeling is a historic property's expression of the time in which it was constructed or used. Modern intrusions, surfaces, and treatments may adversely affect the historic feeling of a property.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a specific site. A site where a significant event actually occurred or where a creative person did his work will have a strong element of association if the property still conveys its historic character through the existence of other physical features.

Evaluation

Historic properties considered for designation as National Historic Landmarks must be evaluated against other comparable properties also associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy. Through such evaluation, those that have the strongest association with the expedition, the highest level of significance, and a superior degree of integrity will be the best properties to be considered for designation.

For National Historic Landmark designation, an archeological property should possess the aspects of integrity described above to a high degree. The intactness of archeological deposits must be professionally demonstrated, to determine whether the site has the potential to yield data that may address nationally significant research questions. For further information for evaluating properties for National Historic Landmark designation, see *National Register Bulletin: How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations* (1999).

If properties associated with the expedition's eastern phase that are eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places are rare, those potentially eligible for designation as National Historic Landmarks are even rarer. Few sites would meet the significance criteria, and fewer still would retain the high level of integrity needed for designation. Careful research and evaluation will be needed to determine if, in fact, there are any such sites in existence. As an example of the difficulties that would be encountered, suppose

that the construction site of Lewis's vitally important keelboat was identified. The shipyard could conceivably be considered for designation, given the significance of the boat, Lewis's writings about it, and the fact that it served as the home of the Corps for much of its journey. As with most of the sites discussed above, however, the primary significance of this property would not be for its association with the expedition but rather for its historical role: an early-nineteenth-century shipyard. Establishing the association and assessing the integrity of what would surely be an archeological site in an urban area would also present major challenges. A better example of a nationally significant property could be the site of Camp River Dubois, were it to be identified, considering its importance to the final planning and training stages of the expedition. Given the length of occupation, the size of the camp, the construction of log dwellings there, and the fact that it apparently reverted to farmland after the Corps departed, one could reasonably expect to find artifact deposits with good or perhaps superior integrity. The likelihood is slim, however, that any deposits have survived the shifting of the Mississippi River's bed from west to east across the site.

H. Conclusions and Recommendations

The surviving properties associated with the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy are few. Most of them have already been listed in the National Register of Historic Places or designated as National Historic Landmarks. A survey of state historic preservation offices failed to identify additional properties of statewide or national significance. The likelihood that such sites have survived but remain unidentified is small. It is somewhat more likely that a handful of unidentified, locally significant properties are extant.

Identified associated properties are listed and discussed above in Section B, Inventory of Sites Associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy and Recommendations for Further Documentation. Most of the properties that are registered or designated, however, attained their status because of other associations. Their associations with the eastern phase of the expedition range from close (White House; Monticello) to peripheral (Old Cahokia Courthouse). A few properties that are more closely associated with Lewis or Clark, such as their birth sites or Lewis's grave, are clearly peripheral to the expedition itself.

Several actions are recommended to elevate the visibility of the identified properties for their associations with the expedition. The associations could be fully documented if unregistered or undesignated properties that meet the registration requirements are nominated for listing in the National Register of Historic Places or for designation as National Historic Landmarks. It is more likely, however, that any unlisted properties would be eligible for local significance rather than for statewide or national significance. Many properties already listed or designated have very thin documentation; if the nominations are rewritten and the documentation fleshed out, the associations with the expedition could be discussed in more detail. Finally, for the benefit of visitors to the many sites that are accessible to the public, plaques or historical markers could be installed to recount that aspect of the property's history.

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