ILLUSTRATING Lewis & Clark

Images of the West in 19th-Century Lewis and Clark Literature

Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society (2)

BY KERRY R. OMAN

No artist accompanied the Lewis and Clark expedition. Yet, if you go to a library, pull out a book on the expedition, and begin flipping the pages, you will quickly notice how important visual images have been to the retelling of Lewis and Clark's story. Portraits of the two captains are standard features; photographs of journal pages and landmarks are equally numerous, and many books include artists' renditions of what the expedition might have looked like at various points in the journey. Over the years, this absence of an expedition artist has posed a formidable though apparently not insurmountable challenge to would-be publishers of Lewis and Clark-related books, some of whom refused to be restrained by truth or fact in coming up with illustrations for their volumes.

When Meriwether Lewis returned from his expedition he planned to publish a highly illustrated multi-volume work. This never materialized, mainly because of Lewis's untimely death in 1809. But there were numerous publications about the Lewis and Clark expedition printed in the 19th century that did contain illustrations. What types of illustrations Lewis hoped to include in the official published account, who he wanted to draw them, and what images eventually reached the public in the 19th-century is the focus of this article.

By 1800 several lavishly illustrated exploration narratives had been published in Europe and America. One of the most popular related the travels of Massachusetts-born Jonathan Carver into the interior portions of the North American continent, published in 23 editions following its initial release in 1778. Some even contained hand-colored plates (American editions appeared from 1784 to 1802). Other prominent examples included Captain James Cook's story of his voyage to the Pacific Coast, which appeared in 1784 with several quality engravings, and George Vancouver's highly illustrated account of his travels along the Pacific, which reached the public in 1798.

Having grown increasingly accustomed to these handsome prints and pictorial images, the public expected a similarly illustrated narrative from this first great American journey. Cook and Vancouver, however, had taken with them several artists, making the illustrations in their accounts the product of first-hand experience with both the people and the landscapes they encountered. Lewis and Clark needed to be more creative.

Upon his return in 1806, Meriwether Lewis had every intention of publishing an illustrated multi-volume account of his travels. He quickly entered into an agreement with John Conrad, a Philadelphia printer, who immediately issued a prospectus of the forthcoming publication under the title *Lewis and Clark's Tour to the Pacific Ocean through the Interior of the Continent of North America.* From the prospectus we learn that Lewis planned a three-volume octavo work,

which he would personally prepare. Volume one would contain the narrative of the journey, a map, a chart of the Columbia and Missouri rivers, and be "embellished with views of two beautiful cataracts of the Missouri." The second volume would focus on geography and Indians, and contain "twenty plates illustrative of the dress and general appearance of such Indian nations as differ materially from each other," detailing their habitations, weapons, hunting and fishing tools, and domestic utensils. Volume three would be much more ambitious. It would focus on natural history, particularly botany, zoology, and mineralogy. This volume "will be ornamented and embellished with a much greater number of plates than will be bestowed on the first part of the work," the prospectus advertised, "as it is intended that every subject of natural history which is entirely new, and of which there are a considerable number, shall be accompanied by an appropriate engraving illustrative of it."

While the prospectus began circulating, Lewis selected several artists, each with different areas of expertise, and approached them about illustrating his work. To make the landscapes that would adorn the first volume, Lewis approached John Barralet, a native of Ireland who had worked as an artist/engraver in Dublin, London, and most recently Philadelphia, where he moved in 1794. Barralet was an emotional, temperamental, and usually cranky individual who once locked his two children in a closet while a French general sat for a portrait just to keep them out of the way. Apparently, when their persistent crying for food finally forced Barralet to open the door, he threw in some bread and locked them back in the closet. His work, however, was better than his parenting, for he had been one of the artists who engraved drawings for Cook's third voyage, and we know that Lewis paid him for at least two illustrations of waterfalls. One of these likely depicted the great falls of the Missouri, an area that was especially meaningful to Lewis, both symbolically, since the falls served as a sentinel to the Rocky Mountains, and physically—for sheer size and beauty.

When first reaching them, Lewis spent hours describing, sketching, and absorbing their power and complexity. On the return trip he remarked that he took two hours to make "a haisty sketch." He found them much lower than the previous year, but they remained a "sublimely grand object." That night, still caught up with the sensations evoked by the falls, he determined to make a second drawing. The following morning Lewis arose particularly early and made his way to the falls. He drew for only a short time, making it back to camp by breakfast, satisfied of having captured enough of the mood to add to his verbal descriptions and thereby re-create some sense of his feelings. These sketches have not survived and we will probably never know whether he gave them to Barralet or simply described them verbally and expected the artist to do the rest.

For the Indian sketches, Lewis sought out Charles de Saint-Mémin, an artist who had fled to the United States during the French Revolution. Saint Mémin specialized in portraits, and Lewis hired him to produce likenesses of several Osage and Mandan Indians he had brought to Washington with him. We know that Lewis paid him at least $83.50 and that the artist actually completed a number of portraits. In fact, several still exist: one of the Mandan chief Sheheke and another of Sheheke's wife Yellow Corn demonstrate the quality and style of Saint-Mémin's work. Most Lewis and Clark scholars recognize Saint-Mémin for his portraits of Lewis and Clark, particularly of his full body depiction of Lewis wearing an ermine-skin mantle with the Rocky Mountains in the background.

For the illustrations to be used in the third volume, Lewis engaged three artists: Charles Willson Peale, Frederick Pursh, and Alexander Wilson. At the time, the most famous and perhaps the most talented of the three was Peale, best known for his portraits of

#1860.96, New-York Historical Society collection

#1860.95, New-York Historical Society collection

ABOVE, TOP: "Indian Girl of the Iowas (Yellow Corn)," by Charles B. J. F. de Saint-Mémin, pencil, charcoal on paper.

ABOVE, BOTTOM: "Shahaka Mandan Chief," by Charles B. J. F. de Saint-Mémin, c. 1805-1807, black and white chalk and charcoal, on pink paper on canvas stretcher.

OPPOSITE PAGE: "Lewis's Woodpecker" and "Horned Lizard," by Charles Willson Peale. Had Lewis's planned illustrated volumes been published, they likely would have contained numerous drawings by Peale similar to these.

the leading men of the revolutionary generation and the early years of the nation as well as his growing museum of natural history, which he started in Philadelphia in 1786.

Peale was fond of hunting, stuffing, arranging, and displaying animal and bird specimens within his museum, typically painting habitat scenes within each display. He solicited natural history specimens from virtually everyone, and to say that he was thrilled when Lewis gave him the majority of the zoological and ethnological collections from the expedition is truly an understatement; it was a gift that tremendously enhanced the museum. After such a lavish donation, Lewis easily persuaded Peale to make animal drawings for the third volume. Today, the American Philosophical Society has four of Peale's sketches of Lewis and Clark specimens: horned lizard, quail, western tanager, and woodpecker. We also know that he made drawings of a badger, antelope, and big horn sheep.

For work on the botanical aspects of the expedition, Lewis turned to Benjamin Smith Barton. Lewis had studied with Barton back in 1803, and now he hoped the aging professor would help him prepare the third volume of his proposed expeditionary narrative. Lewis turned over the plant specimens to Barton, but it turned out that Barton was overcommitted and unable to accept the charge, and thus he passed them along to Frederick Pursh, a young German botanist.

Lewis paid Pursh $70 to go through the specimens; however, when the proposed publication seemed to stall, Pursh returned the majority to Barton. Pursh then headed off to London carrying nearly five dozen of Lewis's plant specimens. In London, in 1813, Pursh published *Flora Americae Septentrionalis*, a scientific examination of North American plants with a number of colored plates, several of which were crafted after the specimens he retained from Lewis's collection. Pursh referenced Lewis's discoveries many times, and the plates "Clarkia Pulchella" and "prairie turnip" are indicative of the type of work that would have filled the pages of Lewis's third volume had he fulfilled the terms of his prospectus.

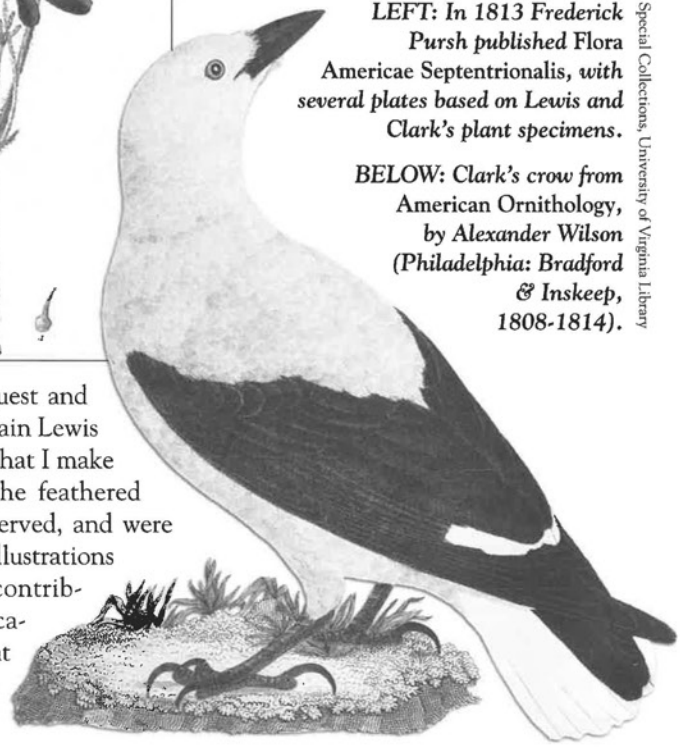
To make drawings of birds, Lewis engaged Alexander Wilson, a young, highly skilled and ambitious naturalist. Wilson is most famous for his nine-volume *American Ornithology*, published in Philadelphia between 1807 and 1814, a work often heralded as one of the finest illustrated books of the 19th century. *American Ornithology* described some 500 different bird species with nearly 100 hand-colored illustrations drawn by Wilson and engraved by Alexander Lawson. It sold for $12 a volume or $120 for the entire set—a price far out of reach for most Americans at that time. It is unclear how many bird illustrations Lewis expected of Wilson, but in volume three of *American Ornithology* Wilson

Courtesy of Lewis and Clark College

noted, "It was the request and particular wish of Captain Lewis made to me in person that I make drawings of each of the feathered tribe as had been preserved, and were new." The quality of illustrations Wilson would have contributed to Lewis's publication is apparent in that same volume, which contains a plate with drawings of a Louisiana tanager, Clark's crow, and Lewis's woodpecker.

Money had changed hands and work had been done. So what happened? The now-familiar story follows Lewis's sad decline in health and spirits. As pressure mounted in his role as governor of Louisiana, preparations for publication of the journal fell into darkness. When depression finally ended Lewis's life in 1809, Clark was left with a major problem. Not only had he lost his close friend and co-commander of the expedition, but, aside from producing a map, he had been largely left out of the publication process. Clark felt wholly unqualified to edit the journals himself and eventually turned them over to Nicholas Biddle for help, with the natural history volume falling into the hands of Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton.

It is unclear if Clark knew about Lewis's contracts with the five artists, although we do know he visited and met with Charles Willson Peale. In truth, circumstances were against Clark. He felt mounting pressure to publish, but adding to his problems came news of the collapse of John Conrad's publishing



Special Collections, University of Virginia Library

LEFT: In 1813 Frederick Pursh published* Flora Americae Septentrionalis, *with several plates based on Lewis and Clark's plant specimens.

BELOW: Clark's crow from* American Ornithology, *by Alexander Wilson (Philadelphia: Bradford & Inskeep, 1808-1814).

RIGHT: Published in the Dublin 1817 edition of the Lewis and Clark journals, this is the first illustration printed with the journals and is likely made after a drawing by John Barralet.

BELOW: Photograph of the Great Falls of the Missouri taken around 1880 by F. Jay Haynes, highlighting the series of cascading falls on the right and the one large waterfall on the left.

Courtesy of Lewis and Clark College

Haynes Foundation Collection, Montana Historical Society

house, concerns over printing costs, the War of 1812, Dr. Barton's failing health, and right before publication the switch in editors from Nicholas Biddle to Paul Allen. As a result, the official two-volume account did not appear until 1814, and, aside from maps, it lacked illustrations.

There is every indication that if Lewis had produced the proposed three-volume work during his lifetime it would have been illustrated by some of the best artists in America, making it a rival to any European exploration narrative. Of course, there is one notable exception. Because the expedition lacked a trained artist, it forced anyone producing a landscape scene, including Barralet, to rely largely upon the imagination.

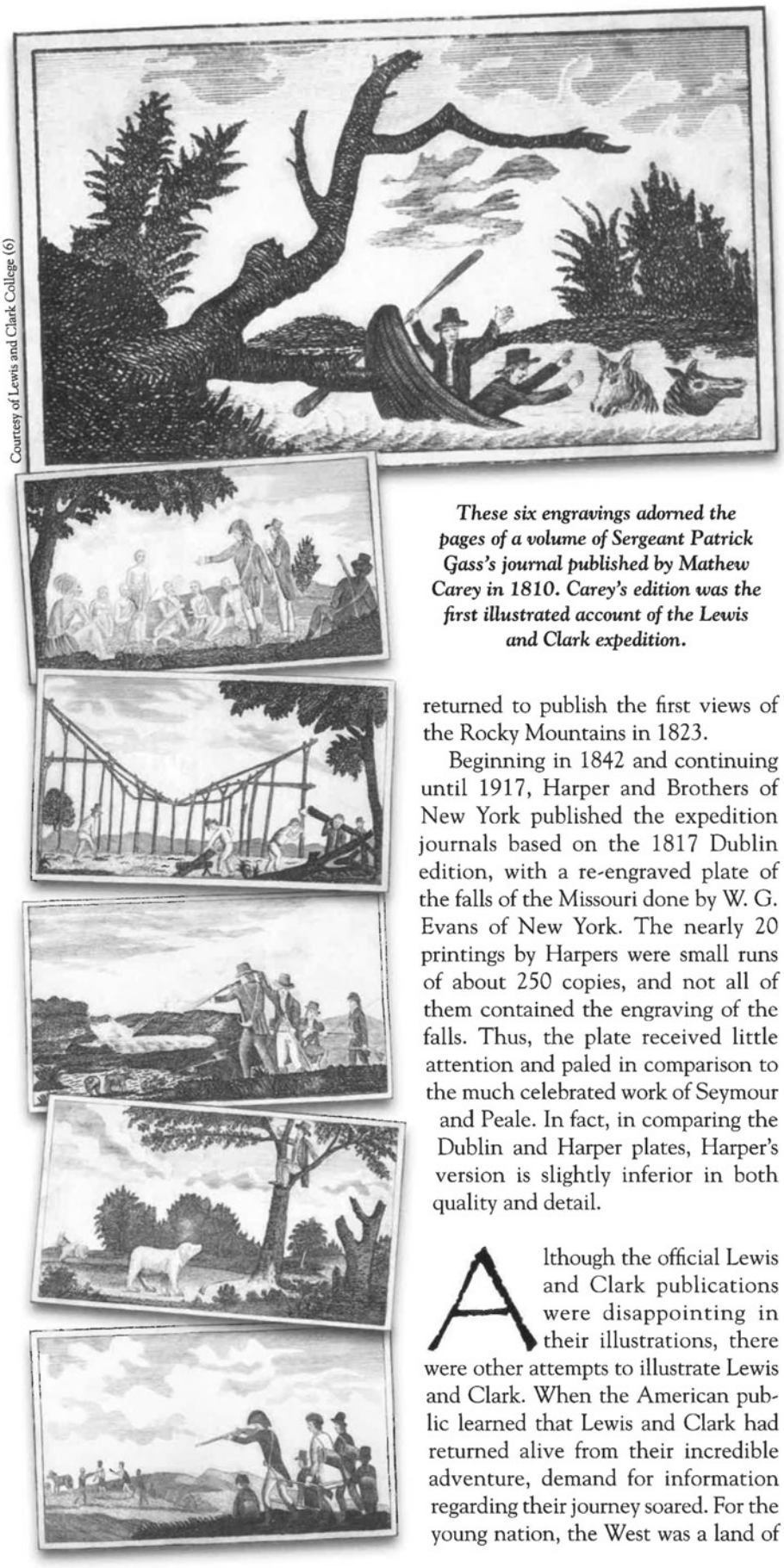
Where others, like Cook and Vancouver, had artists whose original landscape scenes were sprinkled throughout the narratives, Lewis's publication would have concentrated on Indians, animals, and plants. This makes the reality of what eventually appeared in the published journal even more interesting. While the 1814 edition did not have any illustrations, J. Christie of Dublin published the same account in 1817 with several maps and one image, entitled the "Principal Cascade of the Missouri." This view of the Great Falls of the Missouri River was the only illustration reproduced in the official journals until Elliott Coues and Reuben Gold Thwaites reedited the journals around the turn of the 20th century.

The plate of the falls is probably an engraving based on a drawing by John James Barralet and one that likely would have been included in the first volume of Lewis's publication, but how Christie obtained the image from Barralet is entirely unknown. Following Lewis's death, William Clark noted that Barralet had made two drawings for Lewis and that they were of "the falls of the Missouri & Columbia."

There is evidence that Clark believed the drawings were imperfect, and perhaps this explains why he did not include them in the 1814 edition.

A comparison between the engraving and a 19th-century photograph of the Great Falls is revealing. It bolsters the sense that the engraving was made from a drawing by Barralet and that Barralet had received either a sketch of the falls from Lewis and/or details on its general composition. Although both views are not entirely the same, they do present the scene from a perspective below the falls and looking up the river. The photograph shows the right side of the falls as a series of cascades with the left side appearing as one larger fall. Remarkably, the engraving is similar. Barralet took more artistic license in the rest of the drawing by placing a small Indian encampment in the bottom right corner with five lodges, three domestic-looking cattle, and a few Indians standing amidst the trees. He also added mountains in the background. Yet, despite the illustration's inaccuracies, it presented a decent attempt to depict a landscape that the artist had never seen.

The plate, having been printed in Dublin, had little, if any, influence on American views of the West at the time. In fact, it was not until mid century that the engraving of the falls became widely available to the American public—by this time the first white artists, Samuel Seymour and Titian Ramsay Peale, had traveled into the West with the Long expedition and



Courtesy of Lewis and Clark College (6)

These six engravings adorned the pages of a volume of Sergeant Patrick Gass's journal published by Mathew Carey in 1810. Carey's edition was the first illustrated account of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

returned to publish the first views of the Rocky Mountains in 1823.

Beginning in 1842 and continuing until 1917, Harper and Brothers of New York published the expedition journals based on the 1817 Dublin edition, with a re-engraved plate of the falls of the Missouri done by W. G. Evans of New York. The nearly 20 printings by Harpers were small runs of about 250 copies, and not all of them contained the engraving of the falls. Thus, the plate received little attention and paled in comparison to the much celebrated work of Seymour and Peale. In fact, in comparing the Dublin and Harper plates, Harper's version is slightly inferior in both quality and detail.

Although the official Lewis and Clark publications were disappointing in their illustrations, there were other attempts to illustrate Lewis and Clark. When the American public learned that Lewis and Clark had returned alive from their incredible adventure, demand for information regarding their journey soared. For the young nation, the West was a land of opportunity and uncertainty veiled in the mystery of the unknown. Lewis and Clark, it was thought, could now reveal the land's secrets.

Without question, Lewis believed the captains' journals should corner the market when it came to recounting the story of the expedition. Within six months of the Corps of Discovery's return, however, Sergeant Patrick Gass entered into a publishing agreement with David M'Keehan of Pittsburg, who immediately issued a prospectus announcing the volume. In April 1807 the Gass volume first appeared in print, selling at the affordable price of one dollar. M'Keehan likely refined portions of Gass's journal (the original has been lost for comparison), but he chose not to include any illustrations. This changed in 1810 when Mathew Carey of Philadelphia reprinted the volume, reissuing it a second time that same year and again in each of the two years following. What makes the Carey editions exceptional is the series of six engravings of various events that took place during the journey—some of the earliest published images depicting the West—making this the first illustrated account of the expedition.

The Carey images have certainly become more famous than the quality of the work merits. They have been reproduced countless times by 20th-century scholars looking to decorate the pages of their texts, not unlike the original use to which the images were put—to adorn the pages of the Gass volume. Consequently, if readers are familiar with any of the illustrations found in the expedition publications during the first century following its return, it is most likely the Carey images. These rather crude engravings have often been dismissed by Lewis and Clark scholars as "fanciful renderings," "naïve depictions," and "remarkably unconventional illustrations." There is some truth to this, and perhaps this explains why interest in these images has typically focused on their simplicity instead of what they tell us about American interests in visual depictions of the expedition and the West.

The historical record is silent as to why Carey decided to illustrate the Gass journal and how he determined the scenes he wanted to portray. There are two obvious explanations. As the leading publisher in America at the time, Carey must have been familiar with at least some of the highly illustrated European exploration narratives and felt that Gass's account fell into the same category. Even more likely, he believed visual images would help him sell books. Many of Carey's publications of that time period included engravings, albeit of varying quality, and perhaps he had found greater success with these illustrated volumes. Regardless, he certainly sensed a demand from the public and this was his attempt to capitalize on it.

Each of the woodcuts correlates with a specific event described within the journal—danger, Indians, and grizzly bears being the overriding themes. The first woodcut appears as the frontispiece and hints at the dangers associated with river travel by depicting two men in a canoe crashing into a tree while attempting to swim their horses across a river. According to the journal, the event happened on May 30, 1806, and Gass explained how the men lost several personal items, including their blankets, making this the "greatest [loss] which hath happened to any individuals since we began our voyage." In the second illustration Lewis and Clark, in full military dress, hold a council with a group of Oto and Missouri Indians, while the third illustration corresponds to the construction of Fort Mandan and depicts Clark and several of his men erecting "a line of Huts" as they prepared for the winter.

Grizzly bears are the focus of the next two illustrations; the first portrays Clark and his men on a hilltop shooting down at three bears, or, as Gass described it, "We discovered three bears coming up the river towards us; we therefore halted a while and killed the whole of them." In the next image the circumstances have changed dramatically—a grizzly bear (which looks more like a large dog) has chased a member of the expedition up a tree. Gass himself brought more life to the episode: on July 15, 1806, one of the men had been out alone on horseback when a bear so frightened his mount that it threw the man off at the feet of the bear; instead of shooting it the man hit the bear over the head with his gun and scrambled up a tree. The final image is of Lewis's engagement with the Blackfeet on the Marias River, an episode of dubious distinction with long-term consequences within Anglo-Blackfeet relations but one that is often twisted into a positive light by some scholars who cite it as the *only* violent episode with Indians during the expedition. Carey's illustrator depicted the scene with the Indians running away as Lewis and one warrior took aim at each other.

As the first published images of the expedition, they were not up to the public's expectations. The engraver was not part of the expedition into the West, and more than likely he never consulted Gass or any of the other expedition members. They are an Easterner's attempts to visualize the West and, as such, all six woodcuts retain a distinctly prosaic quality. A viewer would only recognize them as western adventures by reading the accompanying text.

Carey's engraver has never been identified. (One scholar has suggested, "Perhaps it was the quality of the images that kept Carey from identifying the engraver.") When Mathew Carey first published the Gass edition in 1810 there were a number of skilled engravers working in America. The crude images found in the Gass editions therefore reflect Carey's inability or unwillingness to hire a quality engraver, someone who certainly could have been found at the time in Philadelphia, Boston, or New York.

The images below, published in the 1811 German printing of a bogus account of the expedition, are cartoonish renditions of equally outlandish images found in the 1809 English edition of the same account. An educated viewer would be hard-pressed to associate these figures, titled "Sioux Queen" (left) and "Mahas Queen" (right), with any group of American Indians.

Courtesy of Lewis and Clark College (2)

Although the earliest woodcut illustrations in America appeared in the late 17th century, American book illustrations began in earnest in the late 18th century, focusing largely on maps, portraiture, and buildings. During the early republic, high-quality illustrations could be had by hiring an engraver in Europe, but this was generally too expensive for most American printers. Payment methods varied as well. Printers could pay a negotiated fee for an illustration, solicit bids from several engravers, or pay on a daily or hourly rate.

The occupation was such that many early American engravers did not rely solely upon engraving for their livelihood. Cheaper publications tended to use illustrations crafted from woodcuts while more expensive works were often decorated with illustrations made from copper and later steel plates. Woodcuts had the potential to warp, crack, and wear out quickly and thereby alter or completely ruin the image, likely the reason Carey had the Gass illustrations recut for the 1812 edition. In fact, the 1812 plates show slightly more detail in the people, trees, and

animals, but still retain the general simplistic feel of the 1810 edition.

Though the Carey-Gass illustrations do relatively little to reveal the West, they do show America's heightened interest in the expedition and particularly the encounters with animals (grizzly bears) and Indians. When the last Carey edition appeared in 1812 the official account was still two years from the press. There were, however, a number of bogus narratives circulating throughout the nation. These counterfeit editions, which number close to a dozen and were printed through the 1840s, have stymied and surprised Lewis and Clark scholars. They can best be explained as simple attempts to capitalize on American interest in the expedition, something that the delayed official account failed to do.

One scholar has noted that "the best possible argument for believing that many persons did buy it, and that the compiler profited, is the fact that so many other similar editions soon followed." Nearly all of the editions are comprised of material borrowed from various printed sources ranging from government reports of Lewis and Clark to Jonathan Carver, Alexander Mackenzie, and William Dunbar. The one exception is George Phillips, whose totally fictitious account of traveling through North America appeared in the 1820s to 1840s.

The first illustrated phony account emerged in 1809, published by Hubbard Lester of Philadelphia, and contained five rather remarkable portraits of wildly outlandish Indians supposedly encountered by the expedition. They are as inaccurate as Jefferson's Northwest Passage. Two of the illustrations are identified as Sioux Indians, while the other three consist of a "Mahas Queen," "Ottoes Chief," and a "Serpentine Chief." Unlike the Carey-Gass plates that illustrate a scene within the text, these woodcuts are more decorative, taking on an almost cartoonish character, and reflect the shameless quality of the publication. Even more startling is an 1811 German printing (although published in Lebanon, Pennsylvania) of the same publication, which contains rather exotic renditions of the original plates.

Many Lewis and Clark scholars might be more familiar with the spurious 1812 account published by James Sharan in Philadelphia, for it contains the first published likenesses of Lewis and Clark. These portraits, however, are the only illustrations and bear no resemblance to the two captains. In 1813 a similar account appeared in Maryland with more detailed, albeit equally inaccurate, portraits and four additional plates. For a book purportedly on Lewis and Clark, woodcuts portraying an Indian being burned at the stake, St. Dennis with a few French soldiers attacking Natchez Indians, and a gently sloping landscape scene along the Washita River certainly added to the confusion of an already distorted account.

The most noteworthy illustration, and really the only one that could relate at all to the expedition, is "The Bear Pursueing his Assailant." In it, a bear (again, looking like a dog) is chasing a man toward a river. The facing text explains how the upper Missouri abounds with light-colored bears who are not afraid of man. "One of our party shot at one of them," the account states, "and wounded him; the bear, instead of being intimidated by the smart of the wound, was stimulated into rage, and rushed with great fury to devour the assailant,

RIGHT: The first published portraits of Lewis and Clark, found in a false account of the journey published in Baltimore in 1812.

BELOW: Published in an 1813 apocryphal account of the expedition, "The Bear Pursuing his Assailant" hardly does justice to the rugged West Lewis and Clark encountered.

LOWER RIGHT: In one of the first landscape illustrations ever published within Lewis and Clark literature, "Moon-Light on the Western Waters" shows a lone traveler paddling upriver in a darkened landscape.

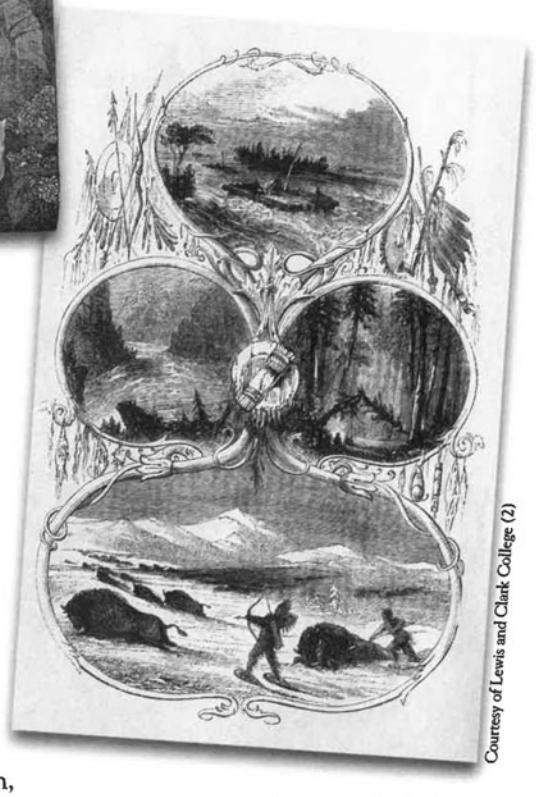
Courtesy of Lewis and Clark College (3)

who saved his life by running headlong down a steep precipice." In the illustration, the steep precipice appears to be about the height of the man being chased, and if he were to take a mighty leap there is a chance he could propel himself to the opposite side of the narrow river. Thus, the picture hardly does justice to either the ferocious bears or the wild landscapes that were characteristic of the rugged West Lewis and Clark encountered.

Nearly 30 years later, in 1840, an Ohio publisher brought out a similar edition, claiming that "the great demand for the Journal of Lewis & Clarke, has induced the re-publication of the work, with the additions of extensive and interesting notes, and numerous illustrations on wood." What he failed to mention, if he knew it at all, was that this account was not Lewis and Clark's. Nevertheless, the 15 woodcut illustrations surpass those of all previous publications in their scope and detail.

Just as in the Carey-Gass images, there is an effort to place the illustrations near episodes described within the surrounding text. Aside from portraits of Lewis and Clark in the frontispiece, the remaining woodcuts depict Indians, animals, and landscape scenes. The focus on Indians and animals is not surprising, but the landscape views are a noteworthy addition even though they are imaginative visualizations of a place few Americans knew anything about. Two are unrelated to the expedition—one of the upper Mississippi River and another of the White Cliffs near Natchez—but four others exhibit an attempt to document Lewis and Clark's West, although none of them can be attached to a specific place.

The first is of a calm river scene with a lone traveler paddling upstream in a darkened landscape. In the second, a prairie fire surrounds several men, women, and horses (one of the horses has the appearance of a llama). The final two try to show a wilder West: one has rapids pouring down through a mountainous scene and another focuses on a small set of falls in a river. While the landscape scenes reflect the unsettled nature of the West, almost all of the illustrations focus on the one natural resource the West lacks: water.



Courtesy of Lewis and Clark College (2)

ABOVE: "Lion and Buffalo Fight," found in the 1847 edition of the Gass's journal, is an odd choice for an illustration to accompany the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

***RIGHT: Frontispiece depicting scenes of George Phillips's supposed adventures traveling with Lewis and Clark, taken from his 1846 edition of* Travels in North America.**

In 1847 the same company (with a slightly different name: Ells, Claflin, & Co.) republished the Gass journal with many of the same illustrations used in the 1840 apocryphal edition. There are a few notable exceptions. One of the most startling is of an apparent koala bear climbing a tree. Apparently this was meant to be a badger, which Gass described as a "prarow, about the size of a ground hog and nearly of the same colour. It has a head similar to that of a dog, short legs and large claws on its fore feet; some of the claws are an inch and a half long." Even more surprising is a picture of a lion and a Cape buffalo fighting. Obviously, this image has absolutely no relationship to anything found in Gass's account. There is, however, a long footnote near the image that tells the story of a Cape buffalo and lion fight that took place in an entirely different country (the buffalo appears to have won). Perhaps more than anything else, what the plates do tell us is that even in the 1840s the American public still found the West to be a land of mystery.

There was one other illustrated fictitious volume relative to Lewis and Clark that went through several foreign printings during the first half of the 19th century. The account told the story of one George Phillips of Ireland who traveled the world looking for adventure and preaching Christianity. According to the narrative, Phillips eventually made it to St. Louis and joined up with the Lewis and Clark expedition. Better yet, Phillips claims to have played a key role in the expedition. The account even had Lewis and Clark returning in 1816.

This incredible story, published under the title *Travels in North America*, appeared in 1822 and 1824 in Dublin and again in London editions of 1831 and 1846. Each edition contained a handful of engravings mostly unrelated to the supposed expedition portion of the narrative (for example, "Mexican Soldier," "Falls of Niagara," "View of Icebergs," "Meeting of English and Esquimaux," "Inside of a Hut"). There were, however, two plates that tied into Phillips's travels with Lewis and Clark: one of a moose on the title page of the 1831 edition, and another collage of four scenes from the American West in the frontispiece to the 1846 London volume.

While some of the engravings in the Gass editions and the apocryphal accounts are more commonly known today, there were other illustrations of the expedition published in some of the

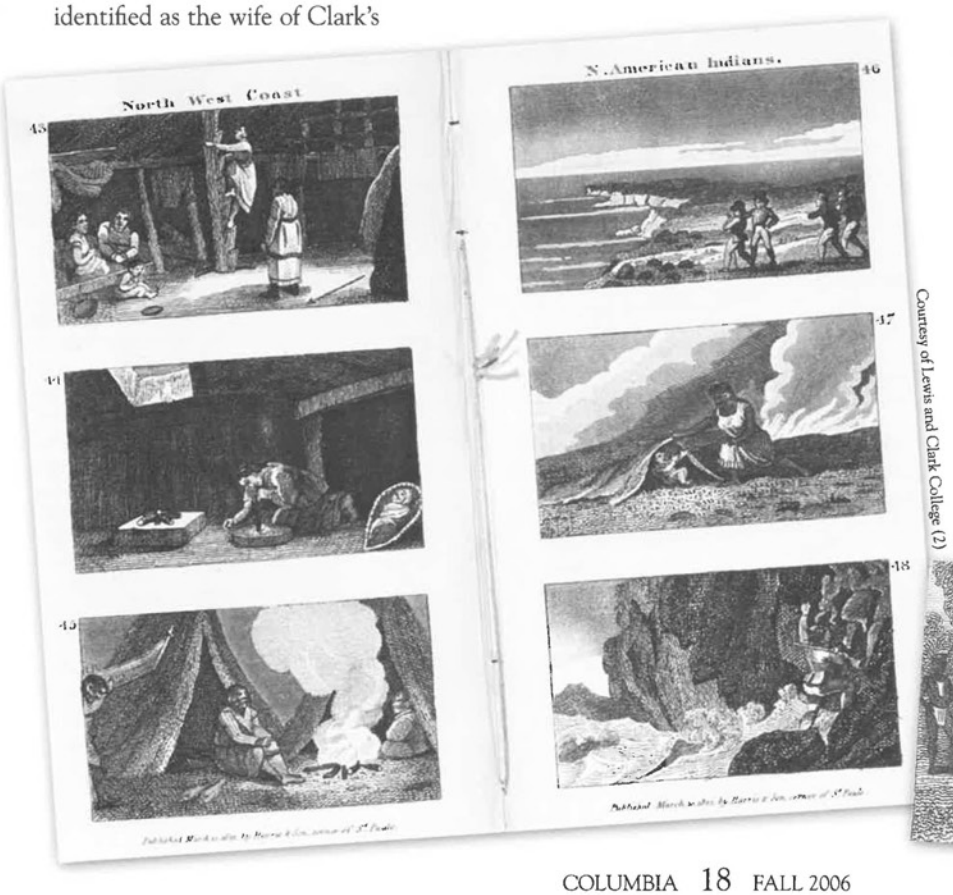
juvenile literature of the 19th century that are relatively unknown. Although this is one area that Lewis and Clark scholars have left largely undeveloped, a few publications have been identified. In 1821 Harvey and Darton of London published *Scenes in America, For the Amusement and Instruction of Little Tarry-at-Home Travellers*. It was reprinted numerous times through the 1850s, with five American editions appearing between 1825 and 1851. The structure of the book is based on the illustrations, with short descriptions in the surrounding pages. There are 12 plates relative to Lewis and Clark. One, in particular, is of the captains gazing out at the ocean at the triumphant moment of having reached the Pacific Coast.

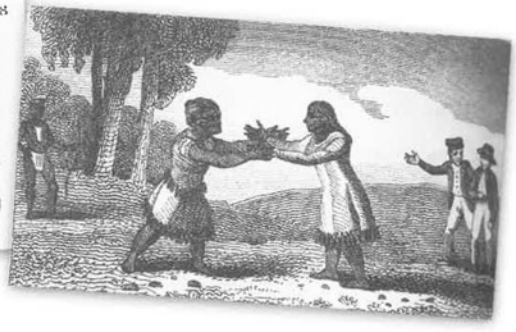
Two additional pictures show Sacagawea. In the first she is barely discernible in the upper right corner of the engraving as Clark attempts to boost her and her child up a steep, rocky ledge to avoid rising water. The second is possibly the first published plate to specifically focus on Sacagawea and praise her role in the expedition. The text briefly describes how Sacagawea (although only identified as the wife of Clark's interpreter) was taken prisoner from her home and later married to the Frenchman Charbonneau. As they crossed over the mountains and encountered a party of Indians, the account states, "she began to dance, and show every mark of extravagant joy." As they approached, "a young woman forced her way out of the crowd, and recognizing her long lost companion, with whom she had played in infancy, and with whom she had suffered in captivity, they embraced, with all the symptoms of ardent affection." The engraving is of two Indian women reaching out to each other, as two members of the expedition stand on the far right and one Indian warrior on the far left.

A second notable children's book appeared in the 1830s under the title *Tales of Travels West of the Mississippi*. Although geared toward a younger readership, this publication did more than any other early 19th-century account to illustrate various scenes of the expedition. Many of the numerous engravings are of fauna: buffalo, grizzly bear, elk, rattlesnake, turkey, beaver, wolf, antelope, prairie dog, Rocky Mountain goat, deer, and panther. While most of the engravings are far from accurate, several are particularly noteworthy. "The Travellers in Winter Quarters on the Shore of the Pacific Ocean" is the first published image of Fort Clatsop. It shows several members of the expedition interacting with Indians in front of a small log house; chimney smoke rising into the sky and two canoes floating in the distant water make the scene look particularly welcoming.

Two other engravings mark the first published images that specifically name members of the expedition other than Lewis and Clark—"Sergeant Pryor going to the Dahcotah Camp," and "MacNeil [*sic*] and the Bear." The engraving of Sergeant Pryor is of three men in military dress approaching a peaceful Indian encampment. In the illustration of Private Hugh McNeal and the bear, McNeal is shown as a relatively small individual trapped in the top of a tree with a menacingly large bear rising up nearly half the length of the trunk in pursuit while McNeal's horse runs off in the distance. This is the same encounter Mathew Carey portrayed in his printings of the Gass journal, but the Gass engraving does not specifically name McNeal as the man involved.

One last engraving in *Tales of Travels* deserves mention. The illustration, "Meeting with the Blackfoot Indians,"

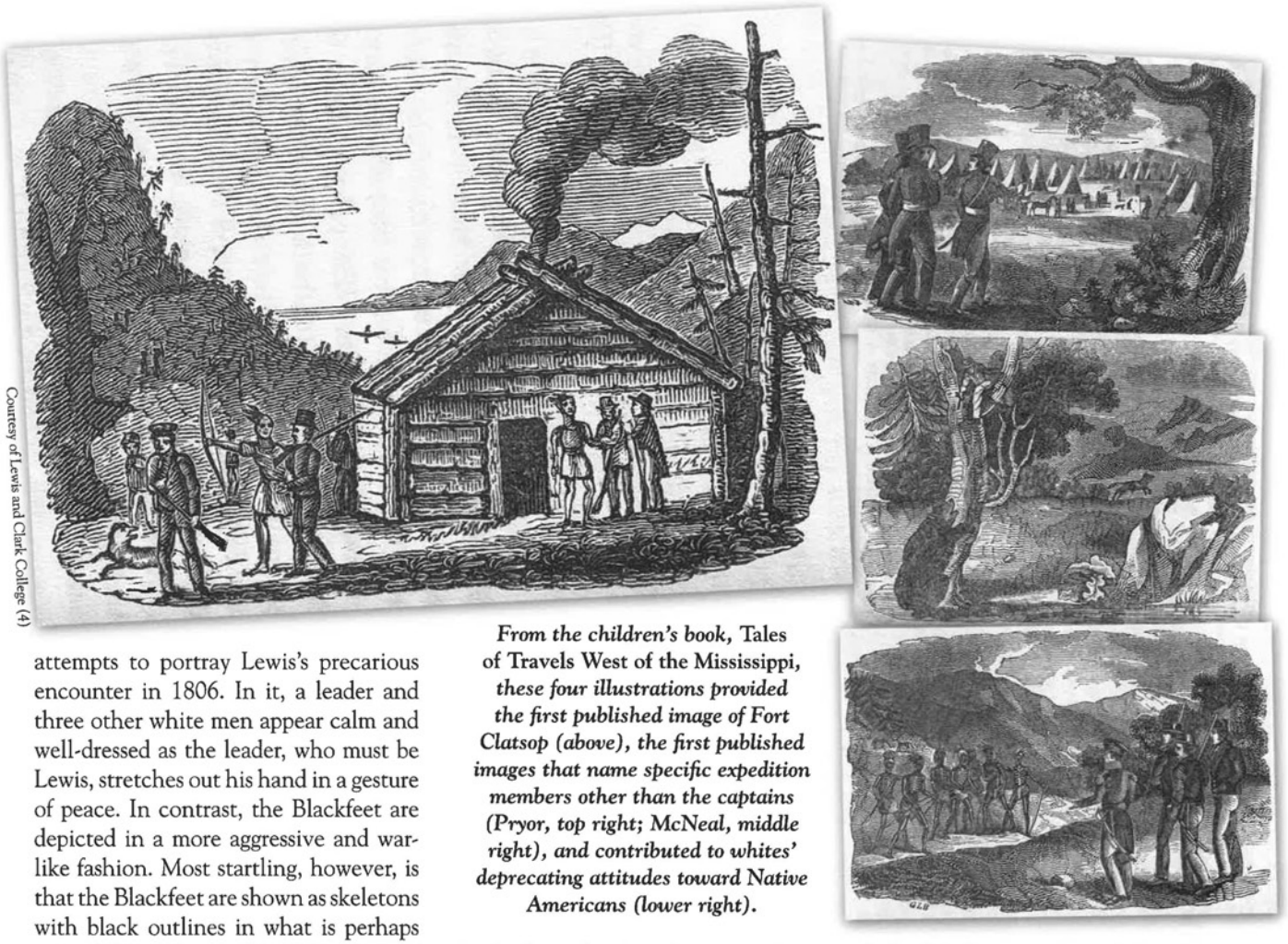




Courtesy of Lewis and Clark College (2)

***LEFT:** These illustrations from* **Scenes in America,** *an 1821 publication geared toward a juvenile audience, depict several events of the Lewis and Clark expedition.*

***BELOW:** This image from the same volume is rare in that it focuses on Sacagawea and her role in the expedition.*



Courtesy of Lewis and Clark College (4)

From the children's book,* Tales of Travels West of the Mississippi, *these four illustrations provided the first published image of Fort Clatsop (above), the first published images that name specific expedition members other than the captains (Pryor, top right; McNeal, middle right), and contributed to whites' deprecating attitudes toward Native Americans (lower right).

attempts to portray Lewis's precarious encounter in 1806. In it, a leader and three other white men appear calm and well-dressed as the leader, who must be Lewis, stretches out his hand in a gesture of peace. In contrast, the Blackfeet are depicted in a more aggressive and war-like fashion. Most startling, however, is that the Blackfeet are shown as skeletons with black outlines in what is perhaps one of the earliest published images of the old Western myth that bad guys wear black. By the 1830s, when this account appeared in the East, the Blackfeet had indeed become the most powerful force contesting American fur traders in the West. Whether this influenced the engraver or whether he was merely interpreting the written account is impossible to know. The accompanying text simply describes the Blackfeet as having been "painted frightfully, according to their custom when they go to war."

Illustrations of Indians like this one of the Blackfeet as well as the outlandish portraits in the 1809 apocryphal accountand even the simplistic drawings found in the Gass volumes speak to the general state of white attitudes toward Indian affairs in America during the early 19th century and vary dramatically from the true story of Indian-white relations during the expedition.

The western landscape within many of the other illustrations is equally distorted, often taking on an impersonal and almost untouchable quality. It is clearly there, but largely as an unknowable backdrop to bear attacks and Indian encounters. Through it all, these images of the West in 19th-century Lewis and Clark literature did little to shape American conceptions of the expedition, Indians, animals, and the land. They do, however, serve as reminders that for many Americans during the first half of the 19th century the West was a mystery known only through the printed word and the imagination of an artist's brush and an engraver's plate.

In retrospect, had Jefferson sent an artist with Lewis and Clark, American sensibilities toward the West might have been dramatically different. The same could be said if Lewis had fulfilled his plans to publish an illustrated multi-volume account of the expedition in the years following his return.

Today, for the large numbers of Americans who have traveled along parts of the Lewis and Clark trail, it is not 19th-century illustrations but 20th-century photography and paintings that have helped fashion a spirit of place around landmarks like Fort Mandan, the Gates of the Mountains, the Great Falls of the Missouri, the Three Forks, Lemhi Pass, Pompey's Pillar, the Yellowstone River, the Columbia, Fort Clatsop, and others. Yet, the illustrations published in the Lewis and Clark literature of the 19th century demonstrate that visual images played an important role in American culture long before the invention of still and moving photography. Indeed, over time, it is these images in their varying mediums that, along with all that has been written on and about the expedition over the last 200 years, have helped create a distinct vision that fuses together both Lewis and Clark and the American West.

Kerry R. Oman is a Utah-based scholar who has taught history at Southern Methodist University, Brigham Young University, and the University of Utah. He is author of several articles on the mountain men, Lewis and Clark, and 19th-century Indian affairs, and has received a Spur Award from the Western Writers of America.

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***COVER:** "Mountain Goat" (1973). During his career as a commercial artist, John Clymer drew 80 cover illustrations for the* Saturday Evening Post. *His transition from magazine illustrations to "easel painting" resulted in many wildlife canvases. Clymer's travels throughout the Pacific Northwest and Canada inspired mountain goat paintings, including this excellent canvas. See related story beginning on page 20. (Courtesy of the Clymer Museum of Art, Ellensburg, Washington, and David Clymer)*