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MAKING A MOTION PICTURE IN 1848

HENRY LEWIS ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

Henry Lewis has long been known to bibliophiles and collectors of Americana as the author of a book on the Mississippi Valley published under the title *Das illustrierte Mississippithal* at Düsseldorf, Germany, in 1858. Before 1923, when that work was reprinted with an introduction by Mr. J. Christian Bay, those who owned copies of the excessively rare first edition perhaps did not know that the author gathered much of the material for his book while engaged in another undertaking—the making of a mammoth panorama of the great valley. He visited the upper Mississippi during the summers of 1846, 1847, and 1848, and he collected sketches and notes of its more interesting features from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico in order to portray the vast region on a canvas of appropriate proportions. The finished product, 1,325 yards long and 12 feet high, was unrolled before appreciative audiences throughout the United States and Europe. Although only one scene at a time could be viewed, the imaginative spectator doubtless enjoyed the illusion of motion. As he saw the frontier settlements, Indian villages, and rugged scenery of the upper river give way to regions of ever denser settlement, until the wide reaches of the lower river, the plantations of the South, and the great city of New Orleans itself appeared before his interested gaze, his impressions probably were similar to those of a traveler on a Mississippi River steamboat. Thus it is not surprising that the moving

panoramas of the forties and fifties have been termed the "ancestors of the modern moving picture."¹

In 1846, when Lewis first conceived the idea of painting a panorama of the Mississippi, he had been living for about a decade in St. Louis, where he was engaged as a stage carpenter in a well-known opera house of the time. He was born in Newport, England, near the Welsh border, on January 12, 1819. When he was ten years of age he emigrated to the United States with his father, who took out citizenship papers and thereby gave to the future artist the right to call himself an American. He probably lived for a time in Boston before he went west about 1836 to settle in St. Louis, where his brother, George T. Lewis, already resided.² As an artist, Lewis was entirely self taught. "There was no one in St. Louis," he explained, "where I first took up art as a profession to give lessons."³ But if he could not obtain instruction in drawing and painting in the midwestern metropolis, he at least came in contact there with other artists and particularly with other panoramists. Of six panoramists of the Mississippi who are known to the present writer, four in addition to Lewis were at some time residents of St. Louis, and at least three seem to have been known to him.

A statement in a contemporary periodical "that the idea of painting the Mississippi river for panoramic exhibition

¹ Monas N. Squires, "Henry Lewis and His Mammoth Panorama of the Mississippi River," in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27: 246 (April, 1933).

² The facts relating to Lewis' early life given here are drawn from a letter of March 7, 1902, and from a letterpress enclosure with a letter of August 21, 1902, both addressed to Warren Upham, secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society. All letters to Dr. Upham here cited are in the society's archives. A somewhat different account is given by J. Christian Bay in the introduction to Lewis, *Das illustrierte Mississippi-thal*, iv (1923). A letter written by Lewis from Boston on February 3, 1836, to his brother George in St. Louis is owned by the Missouri Historical Society. In this letter the writer expresses a desire to go to St. Louis.

³ Lewis to Upham, March 7, 1902.

was conceived first by Mr. Lewis" has been accepted as fact by at least one writer.⁴ Lewis was, however, far from the first to execute a panorama of the Father of Waters. Perhaps the earliest picture of this type was exhibited in 1839 in Boston, the work of John Rowson Smith. His first painting was destroyed by fire, but by 1844, with the assistance of John Risley, he had completed a new picture, "four miles in length." With this he toured the United States until 1848, when he and Risley, an acrobat who probably displayed his skill in connection with the entertainment, took it abroad. The text was published in London in 1849; a German version appeared in Berlin in 1851; and the picture was exhibited for six weeks in Christiania during the summer of 1852. Smith described the great valley from the Falls of St. Anthony to the gulf in glowing terms; he informed his audiences that Illinois farms "formed by the hand of nature" could be purchased for \$1.25 an acre, and that the region was a "greater El Dorado than the gold mines of California." There can be little doubt that this and similar panoramas—travel "movies" of the fifties—influenced immigration to the Mississippi Valley. Like Lewis, Smith's interest in the valley began while he was a resident of St. Louis, where he was employed as a scene painter as early as 1832. He probably made more than one sketching trip in the region, for he notes that when he painted his second panorama, "new drawings became necessary from the vast increase of towns on the Mississippi."⁵

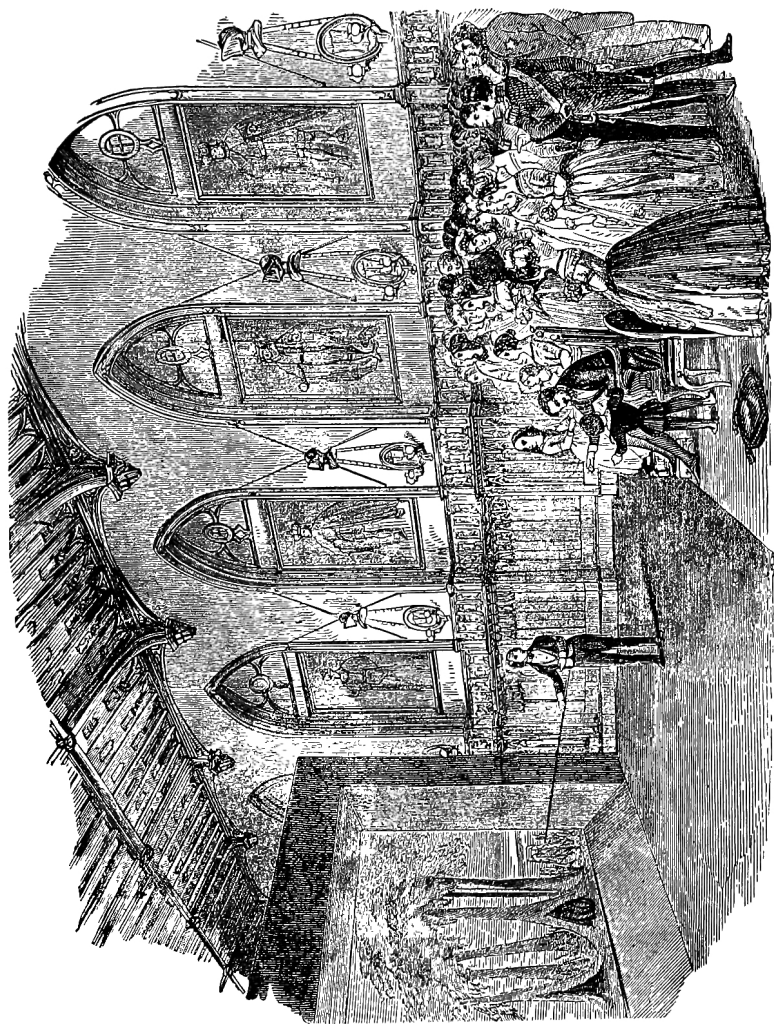
The most widely known of the Mississippi panoramists,

⁴"Lewis' Panorama of the Mississippi River," in *Western Journal*, 3: 70 (October, 1849). See also Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27: 250; and Bay, in Lewis, *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, v.

⁵A sketch of Smith by Frederick W. Coburn appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 17: 306. London and Berlin editions of the text of Risley and Smith's *Gigantic Moving Panorama of the Mississippi River* are in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. For information about the display of this panorama in Norway, see Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860*, 342 (Northfield, Minnesota, 1931). It is interesting to note that, like Lewis, Smith

John Banvard, may have heard of Smith and his venture in St. Louis, for he owned a museum there sometime before 1840. The claim was made later that the idea of painting a panorama was suggested to Banvard by Lewis. It is entirely possible that the two men knew one another, and it is certain that they were active competitors in the preparation and display of their panoramas. Banvard, however, began to work on his project as early as 1840, when, "actuated by an honorable ambition, that he should produce the *largest painting* in the world," he descended the Mississippi in a small skiff, sketching as he went. When his drawings were complete the artist went to Louisville, and there, in a specially constructed building, he began to transfer his impressions to canvas. He seems to have painted in leisurely fashion, for as late as 1846 a visitor to his studio found him still at work on his huge picture. When completed, it was said to cover "three miles of canvas." Banvard showed it first in Louisville, and for sixteen months in 1847 and 1848 he displayed it in Boston and New York, where it was viewed by more than four hundred thousand people. Before the end of the latter year the artist crossed the Atlantic with his work. He exhibited the panorama in several cities in the west of England, including Manchester, Bristol, and Bath, before opening in London, where, during a run of twenty months at Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, over six hundred thousand Englishmen gained impressions of the American Father of Waters. In the spring of 1849 Banvard

seems to have known Seth Eastman while the latter was stationed at Fort Snelling as commandant. Eastman is described as "an eminent artist, whose Indian pictures are considered among the very best" by Smith, who relates that a view of Lake Pepin in his panorama is based upon a "splendid painting by Captain Eastman." See Risley and Smith, *Gigantic Moving Panorama of the Mississippi River*, 11 (London, 1849). Lewis mentions Eastman in his diary, and many years later he recalled that "Eastman took a great interest in my undertaking, he being a very clever Artist himself." At least one picture in *Das illustrierte Mississippithal* — that of Cassville in 1829 — is based upon a sketch by Eastman. See that work, p. 157, and enclosure in Lewis to Upham, August 21, 1902.



JOHN BANVARD PRESENTING HIS MISSISSIPPI PANORAMA BEFORE QUEEN VICTORIA
AT WINDSOR CASTLE

[From Description of Banvard's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land (1853).]

presented his picture before Queen Victoria and members of the royal household at Windsor Castle; a year later he took it to Paris; and before he returned to America in 1852 he had exhibited his review of the Mississippi in most of the important British cities.

In his original panorama, Banvard pictured the great river only from the mouth of the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico; for European audiences he added a series of scenes on the Missouri below the mouth of the Yellowstone and some views along the Ohio. A separate panorama of the latter stream was displayed in some English cities. A picture of the upper Mississippi, which was said to be a "continuation of Banvard's lower Mississippi," was exhibited to American audiences during the artist's absence abroad in 1850, but this was not Banvard's work. He displayed his panorama of the lower river in New York as late as 1862. For its exhibition at that time, the artist added a "War Section," showing "naval and military operations" on the Mississippi during the early months of the Civil War.⁶ Banvard kept abreast of the times and continued through the years to attract audiences. His venture, which was a huge success financially, encouraged other artists to try their hands at similar canvases in the hope of sharing the profits.

Among these artists was Henry Lewis. Between 1846

⁶ A collection of clippings, broadsides, pamphlets, letters, and other items accumulated by Banvard and relating to his panorama are in the possession of his daughter, Miss Edith M. Banvard of Chicago, who kindly placed them at the disposal of the writer. See also *Banvard: or the Adventures of an Artist*, 4, 11, 13-19 (London, 1848); Sarah G. Bowerman, "John Banvard," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1: 582; George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 5: 402, 499 (New York, 1931); and a transcript from the *Boston Daily Journal*, November 20, 1850. The Minnesota Historical Society has three editions of the text of Banvard's Mississippi panorama, published at Boston in 1847, at London in 1848, and at New York in 1862; Miss Banvard has one, issued at London in 1852, which includes a description of the Ohio. For an interesting discussion of the length of Banvard's panorama, see Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27: 253.

and 1848 he planned a panorama of the entire Mississippi Valley, and in the following year he put it on exhibition, thus offering an attraction with which Banvard, who had painted only the lower river, was not prepared to compete. Associated with Lewis, probably at different times, were two other St. Louis artists, Leon Pomarede and one Stockwell. With both men Lewis made agreements and with both he eventually quarreled and broke off relations. The result was that each painted his own Mississippi panorama. By October, 1849, all three probably had exhibited their work in St. Louis. Pomarede's painting made its first appearance there on September 19, 1849. During the spring of 1849 Pomarede was working on Minnesota scenes, for in May he completed views, occupying sixty-five feet of canvas, of Brown's Falls, now known as Minnehaha Falls, and of a Winnebago encampment on the neighboring prairie. "The work speeds on rapidly, and we suppose that some time in the beginning of next July it will be unrolled for exhibition," reads a contemporary newspaper item. In making his sketches of the region about the Falls of St. Anthony, Pomarede had the assistance of Carl Wimar, a well-known Missouri painter of Indian life and scenes, and together the two men visited the upper Mississippi in 1849. The panorama, which was 625 yards long, included pictures of Indian war dances, a buffalo hunt, a prairie fire, "Mechanical Moving Figures of Steamboats" with smoke and steam realistically issuing from the smokestacks, and a "beautiful dissolving view of the Great Fire at St. Louis, on the night of the 17th May, representing that awful and terrific conflagration in all its fury, as it appeared to the distracted citizen." Seemingly, this panorama was composed of many unrelated scenes, rather than of consecutive views of the river. Stockwell's panorama, which was about the size of Pomarede's, probably was completed sometime in 1849. A panorama twenty thousand feet long on which both the Ohio

and the Mississippi were depicted was associated with the name of one Hudson.⁷

Smith, Banvard, Lewis, Pomarede, Stockwell, Hudson — here are the men who in the middle years of the last century were familiarizing thousands, both in America and Europe, with the scenery and resources of the Mississippi Valley by means of that forerunner of the motion picture, the moving panorama. How did these artists, who turned out canvases ten or twelve feet high and thousands of feet long, work? Where did they get their material? How did they make their preliminary sketches? These questions can now be answered, at least in part, for the diary kept by one panoramist, Henry Lewis, during a sketching trip on the upper Mississippi has come to light. During the years since the artist's death in 1904, the little volume of penciled notations has been treasured by his nephew, Mr. John G. Lewis of Peterboro, Ontario. Through his courtesy, the Minnesota Historical Society is privileged to publish this unusual journal.⁸

The journey of 1848 was not Lewis' first trip to the upper Mississippi. Two years earlier, when the idea of painting a panorama first occurred to him, the St. Louis stage carpenter made a preliminary tour "to decide which views should be taken." On that first journey, Lewis is said to have explored the upper river between Fort Snelling and Prairie du Chien, making side trips on tributary streams, and sketching as he traveled.⁹ In the fall he returned to his position in St. Louis, but in the following summer he

⁷ *Western Journal*, 3:70; Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27:248, 255; *Minnesota Pioneer*, May 12, 1849; I. N. Phelps Stokes and Daniel C. Haskell, *American Historical Prints*, 98 (New York, 1933); Lewis to Pomarede, July [June] 14, 1848; Lewis to Henry Stagg, [June 14, 1848]. Drafts of these letters, which touch upon Lewis' relations with Pomarede and Stockwell, are in the back of the Lewis Diary.

⁸ The original diary is in the possession of Mr. Lewis; the Minnesota Historical Society has typewritten and photographic copies.

⁹ Enclosure in Lewis to Upham, August 21, 1902; Bay, in Lewis, *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, vi.

went north again to continue his sketching. During the course of the second journey, he explored the St. Croix Valley, traveling with David Dale Owen and members of the geological survey under Owen's direction. At least one illustration in Owen's monumental *Report* is based on a sketch by Lewis. Two sketches in oil showing the St. Croix gorge and rapids and Cheever's mill above St. Croix Falls, both in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, might have been made by Lewis at this time, although they are dated 1848. In 1847 he visited the frontier lumbering village of Stillwater, doubtless making sketches upon which, more than half a century later, he based a painting of the infant community.¹⁰

During the winter of 1847-48, Lewis must have been busy making arrangements with artists who were to assist him in the completion of his picture, with writers who would compose the accompanying text, and with his financial backers, and making plans for his third and final trip to the upper river. As has been noted, agreements with Stockwell and Pomarede ended in misunderstandings and quarrels. The break with Pomarede did not occur until after Lewis left St. Louis for his northward journey on June 14, 1848. Pomarede appears just to have returned from New York, where he doubtless saw Banvard's panorama and probably

¹⁰ Lewis to Upham, March 7, September 28, 1902; Upham to Lewis, November 13, 1902; Lewis to T. B. Walker, April 8, 1902, May 5, 1903; David Dale Owen, *Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota*, 70 (Philadelphia, 1852); Owen, *Report of a Geological Reconnaissance of the Chippewa Land District of Wisconsin*, plate 12 (30 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 57—serial 509). An account of a visit to the Willow River is quoted from the author's diary for August 18, 1847, in Lewis, *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, 76. The original diary for 1847 has not been found. Lewis' painting of Stillwater was one of five landscapes that he sent to Dr. Upham in the fall of 1902. See *post*, note 24. The St. Croix Valley sketches were presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by the T. B. Walker Foundation through the courtesy of Mr. Hudson Walker of Minneapolis in 1934. At the same time were received fourteen letters relating to Lewis and his work. All letters from Lewis to Walker cited herein are in this group of papers.

purchased materials for the work that he and Lewis were planning. But something in his behavior both before and after the trip caused Lewis to write to him: "we are not constituted to get along together, and if you think that painting panoram's is still better than your own business, why the field is still open to you and you have my best wishes for your success." To assist him in making sketches, Lewis hired an artist named Rogers, who seems earlier to have worked for Stockwell. "Tell him [*Rogers*] I will make the remuneration such as will suit him," wrote Lewis to Henry Stagg, who was apparently the business manager of the enterprise. "We must not loose this man on any acc[oun]t," continued Lewis, "as his knowledge of sket[c]h-ing and of the character of the river is im[m]ense." Rogers was on the lower river when Lewis went north, leaving with Stagg the following instructions: "When Rogers brings you the southern sketches hurry him off up the river to join me as quick as possible."¹¹ Rogers eventually joined his employer at Galena. The southern sketches that he prepared probably were used as the basis for Lewis' panorama of the lower river, since no direct evidence has been found to show that Lewis himself made a trip from St. Louis to New Orleans. He seems to have concentrated his efforts on the upper river, which had not been exploited by Banvard.

In preparing the text of his panorama, Lewis seems also to have had assistance. On the journeys of 1846 and 1847 he was accompanied, according to Mr. Bay, by George B. Douglas, whose name appears on the title page of *Das illustrirte Mississippthal*. With Lewis on his trip downstream from the Falls of St. Anthony in 1848 was one Robb, probably the "John S. Robb, printer," who is listed in the St.

¹¹ See drafts of letters from Lewis to Pomarede and to Stagg, July [June] 14, 1848, in the back of the manuscript diary. Banvard complained that "his painting of the Mississippi was basely pirated when on exhibition in New York." See a statement on the reverse of the title page of the *Description of Banvard's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land* (1853). A copy of this work is owned by Miss Banvard.

Louis directory for that year. Frequent mentions of Robb occur throughout the diary. His role in the expedition and in the enterprise as a whole may be surmised from a statement made by Lewis in a letter to Stagg: "With his [Robb's] pen and my brush and proper industry and energy it will be singular if we don't make a fortune for the whole of us."¹² To Robb evidently was assigned the task of writing the text that would be followed by audiences as the panorama was unrolled. Whether or not such a text ever was published for the Lewis panorama is not known. According to one authority, when the picture was shown, "running comment was supplied from the platform by the artist himself." Another writer hazards the guess that in St. Louis William A. Warner, Lewis' director, performed this service.¹³ The comment, however, could have been penned by Robb.

On August 5, 1848, Lewis was back in St. Louis after an absence of more than seven weeks; on September 20 he began to paint the enormous canvas that was to be his panorama. For some reason he chose to leave St. Louis and to work in Cincinnati. Perhaps he thought it best to be away from the city where two competing artists were preparing similar panoramas. Lewis completed the section depicting the upper river sometime in the following spring — according to a newspaper announcement, in May; according to a statement that probably originated with the artist himself, in June. Whichever date is correct, paint must have been applied to canvas with whirlwind speed. One writer has estimated that had Lewis worked on his upper Mississippi panorama, which was 825 yards long and 12 feet wide, for nine months "every day including Sundays and holidays, he

¹² Draft of a letter from Lewis to Stagg, June 14, 1848, in the back of the manuscript diary; Bay, in Lewis, *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, viii.

¹³ Minneapolis Institute of Arts, *Bulletin*, 18: 47 (March 2, 1929); Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27: 247.

would have had to cover an average of over nine square yards of canvas every twenty-four hours" — a "feat which would have put even Rubens to shame." But this writer evidently did not know that Lewis had the assistance of "Messrs. Leslie, Durang, Johnston, and Laidlow, the first scenic artists of the country," a fact that makes the completion of the panorama in eight or nine months seem a less stupendous accomplishment. It is possible that Lewis was attracted to Cincinnati because in that city, a well-known art center, assistants of established reputation could be hired.¹⁴

It is not difficult to believe that more than fifteen thousand dollars was invested in Lewis' panorama before it was displayed before an audience for the first time. It was shown in Cincinnati and perhaps in other places during the summer of 1849. Then on August 27 Lewis arrived in St. Louis, planning to exhibit his work in the "city where he first applied pencil to canvas." On the evening of August 31 a preliminary showing was arranged for "those who are most familiar with the scenes, and are likely to be the best judges of its fidelity" and perhaps also for newspaper reporters, thus establishing a precedent for the modern motion picture preview. The panorama was exhibited publicly for the first time on September 1 in Concert Hall. The admission price was fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children. "Liberal arrangements" were offered to schools, and special matinees were arranged for children. The entertain-

¹⁴ *Western Journal*, 3:70; Minneapolis Institute of Arts, *Bulletin*, 18:47; Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27:251. Mr. Squires cites the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis) of May 31, 1849. For his discussion of the size of Lewis' panorama, see p. 253. The names of Leslie and Johnston are included in a list of Cincinnati artists that appears in John P. Foote, *Schools of Cincinnati*, 210 (Cincinnati, 1855). Johnston, in all likelihood, was J. R. Johnston, who numbered among his works several western landscapes, according to Charles Cist, *Cincinnati in 1851*, 125 (Cincinnati, 1851). On a sketch of a "Rock near Cap au Gris" in Lewis' Sketchbook number 1, in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, are the names Leslie, Johnson [*sic*], Lewis, and Robb. Hence it appears that Leslie and Johnston accompanied Lewis during at least a part of the journey of 1848.

ment, which lasted nearly two hours, continued to show before "very full rooms" in St. Louis until September 19. It was followed immediately by the opening of Pomarede's panorama, with its spectacular effects and optical illusions.¹⁵

While the painting of the upper Mississippi was on exhibit in St. Louis, Lewis probably was hard at work on his panorama of the lower river. He himself asserted that this section of his picture, five hundred yards in length, was finished in September. It was about this time that he "departed on a tour to exhibit to the world the fruits of his genius and enterprise."¹⁶ The tour was to take him far afield and was to end only when the artist was settled in a new and permanent home across the Atlantic. Before leaving for Europe, he exhibited his picture in the more important cities of the East. In Europe, he showed it first in England and then on the continent, chiefly in Germany. There he decided to turn to the serious study of art, and for that purpose he went to Düsseldorf, the center of a popular school of landscape painting. It is believed that he settled in the Rhenish city, where he was destined to spend the rest of his life, in 1851. Although he lived until 1904, he returned to America only once, in the eighties, when he visited St. Louis to attend a family wedding.¹⁷

¹⁵ Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27: 246, 249, 251. This writer has made a careful survey of reports of the Lewis panorama in St. Louis newspapers.

¹⁶ Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27: 252; *Western Journal*, 3: 70.

¹⁷ Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 254. Mr. John A. Lewis of St. Louis, a nephew of Henry Lewis, is the authority for the statement that the artist visited his family in the eighties. This and other items of information relating to Lewis, including the address of the owner of his diary, were given to Miss Gertrude Krausnick, librarian on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, in an interview in October, 1933. A statement, in the *American Art Annual* for 1905-06 (5: 121), to the effect that Lewis served as "general art manager" of the Crystal Palace Exhibition, which was held in New York in 1853, probably is incorrect. He was "awarded a prize for the best Landscape" at an art exhibit in St. Louis in 1859, but he was not necessarily there. See enclosure in Lewis to Upham, August 21, 1902.

In his new home on the romantic Rhine, Lewis did not forget the Mississippi and his adventurous journeys on its waters. There he turned his knowledge of midwest America and of frontier life to a new use by publishing the book on which rests his chief claim to fame. He arrived in Düsseldorf, a publishing as well as an artistic center, at a time when German emigration to America, and particularly to the Northwest, was at a high point. A volume depicting the Mississippi Valley both in words and in pictures must have had all the earmarks of a profitable venture. It was not long before Lewis, the owner of diaries crammed with notes and sketchbooks filled with drawings of the great valley, found himself under contract with Arnz and Company to produce such a volume. The book was to appear in twenty parts, each containing a section of text and four lithographed plates in color. Publication began in 1854 and during the first year six parts were issued by Arnz and Company. The title page of the completed work bears the imprint of this company and some copies bear the date 1858, though it is said that the remaining sections were distributed by Elkan and Company in 1857. Shortly after the publication of the work in German, with seventy-eight charming illustrations, the publishers failed. Lewis sent a few copies of his book to friends in America and a few were sold in Germany, but the bulk of the edition was stored in a warehouse and was eventually sold as waste paper.¹⁸ Hence the extreme rarity of this attractive work.

The failure of the Düsseldorf publishing house was responsible also for the fact that the book was not published in English. "The work was to have been brought out both

¹⁸ The story of the publication of *Das illustrierte Mississippithal* given here is based on statements made by Mr. Bay in the introduction to the 1923 edition, p. viii. Lewis claimed that three hundred copies of the work were published before the failure of the publishers and that these "were sent for sale to, I believe New York or Philadelphia." Lewis to Upham, June 6, 1902; enclosure in Lewis to Upham, August 21, 1902. Less than twenty copies are said to exist in American libraries.

in English and German but only the German edition was ever published, owing to the failure of the publishers," wrote Lewis in a letter of 1902. On one occasion he observed in referring to the English edition: "I know it was ready for publication as I corrected all the proof sheets." At another time he wrote somewhat regretfully: "The English edition was never completed from my *own* manuscript which was a great disappointment to me, as the translation left much to be wished."¹⁹ Thus it seems clear that Lewis considered himself the author as well as the illustrator of *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*. A title page reproduced in facsimile in the 1923 edition of this work, however, credits Douglas with the authorship, and Mr. Bay, in his introduction, asserts that the text was "originally written by George B. Douglas" and "was translated into German." On the other hand, Lewis appears as the author on the title page of a copy of the original German edition of 1858 in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. This includes a statement which reads: "Nach dem engl. Original-Text von H. Lewis deutsch bearbeitet von George B. Douglas," leading the reader to believe that Douglas merely "revised" in German Lewis' English manuscript.²⁰ But the question may well be asked, How far did Douglas go in his revision? It is altogether possible that in this case revision included not only translation, but the addition of large masses of material that were unfamiliar to the original au-

¹⁹ Lewis to Upham, January 5, March 7, June 6, 1902. See also the enclosure in the letter of August 21, 1902. Sabin lists a work by H. Lewis entitled *Valley of the Mississippi, and Customs of the Indians*, published at Philadelphia in 1858. His reference is followed by a note: "Title from the English Catalogue, London, 1864; we have not seen the book." As Lewis knew nothing of such a work, it is doubtful that it could have been an English version of his book. See his letter of March 7, 1902. An effort to locate the proofs of the English edition in Germany has been fruitless.

²⁰ Attention was called to variations in the title pages of the Düsseldorf edition by Theodore C. Blegen in a review of the 1923 edition, *ante*, 5:446-448. The copy cited by Sabin has a title page identical with that in the copy owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

thor. An obvious effort is made in *Das illustrierte Mississippithal* to supply readers with up-to-date information about the upper valley, and many of the statistics date from the early fifties rather than from 1848, when Lewis was last in the region. The writer of this bulky volume reveals a familiarity with the narratives of the more important explorers of the upper Northwest—Carver, Pike, Long, Cass, Schoolcraft, Featherstonhaugh, Nicollet, and Catlin are among those mentioned and often quoted. There is no indication in the diary of 1848 that Lewis had read these narratives. Had the widely traveled and busily engaged artist and panoramist found time to acquaint himself with the records of the exploration of the Mississippi? Or had he followed the method used in the preparation of his panorama, and employed others to supplement his labors? Perhaps some future bibliographer will settle definitely these and other problems relating to the authorship of this rare work of American travel and description.²¹

As the years passed this artist of English birth and German residence kept alive his American connections. He was appointed United States consular agent at Düsseldorf in 1867, he served as commercial agent in 1881 and 1882, and he was American vice consul from January, 1892, to March, 1893.²² In his declining years, between 1901 and 1904, Lewis again turned to his Mississippi Valley sketches, perhaps in the hope that he could find in them once more a source of revenue. Early in 1901 the aged artist wrote to T. B. Walker, the Minneapolis lumberman and art collector, describing two recently completed canvases. One,

²¹ In several instances, quotations from Lewis' diaries are included in *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*. In one case he refers to himself as the author, in another as the editor (*Herausgeber*). See p. 49, 76.

²² This record of Lewis' service as an American official at Düsseldorf follows that given by Mr. Squires, who bases his facts on a report of the state department. See *Missouri Historical Review*, 27: 256. Lewis reports that he "represented the Government for some 18 years as U. S. Consular Agent." See his letter to Walker, February 1, 1901.

said Lewis, pictured St. Paul, the other showed the site of Minneapolis, and both were based on studies and sketches made in 1848 "for a great panorama." "Whatever merit they may possess as works of Art," continued Lewis, "they are *true* representations of the localities" and are of value "as an *Historical record* of the wonderful growth of two of the most flourishing Cities in the far West." A few months later Walker purchased from Lewis three paintings, representing St. Paul, St. Louis, and the Falls of St. Anthony at Minneapolis in 1848. The collector presented these canvases to the "public of these three cities." The view of St. Paul went to the Minnesota Historical Society; that of the falls became the property of the Minneapolis Public Library.²³ In the following year Walker bought three more paintings from Lewis; these depict Fort Snelling, Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, and Fort Armstrong at Rock Island. They hung in the Walker Art Gallery in Minneapolis until 1934, when Walker's heirs presented the Fort Snelling picture to the Minneapolis Public Library and the others to the Minnesota Historical Society. Lewis probably succeeded in selling few other paintings of upper Mississippi River scenes. Two views of the Falls of St. Anthony presented to the historical society by James J. Hill in 1904 may have been sold by the artist a few years earlier. He probably sent five sketches in oil, made on the St. Croix and the Mississippi in the forties, to Walker as a gift; these were later presented to the historical society. A painting of Fort Snelling that had been owned by a member of the Lewis family recently was acquired by the society. Mention should be made here also of an early Lewis painting of the Falls of St. Anthony in the collection of the Minneapolis

²³ Lewis to Walker, February 1, August 1, 2, 1901; Upham to Walker, October 3, 9, 1901, to Lewis, October 9, 1901; Lewis to Upham, October 22, 1901; Minnesota Historical Society, Executive Council Minutes, November 11, 1901; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, October 8, 1901; *Minneapolis Times*, October 9, 1901.

Institute of Arts. This is dated 1855, and probably was executed at Düsseldorf from sketches made in 1848.²⁴

That some of Lewis' views of the upper Mississippi have been preserved as lithographs and paintings is fortunate, for the panorama for which they were originally sketched has long since disappeared. There is a tradition in the Lewis family that it "was purchased by an Englishman, and taken by him to India."²⁵ None of the Mississippi Valley panoramas of the forties and fifties now seems to be extant. This is a matter of regret, for the value to historians of such a detailed picture of the banks of the great river in frontier days would be beyond measure. At least one of the panoramists, John Rowson Smith, had the vision to appreciate the historical significance of his work, for he wrote:

In America the country itself is ever on the change, and in another half century those who view this portrait of the Mississippi will not be able to recognise one twentieth part of its details. Where the forest now overshadows the earth, and affords shelter to the wild beast, corn fields, orchards, towns, and villages, will give a new face to the scene, and tell of industry and enterprise, which will stimulate to new and untiring efforts. Places of small population will have swelled their limits, and there will be seen cities where are now hamlets—mansions in the place of huts, and streets where the footpath and deer track are now only visible. How much might be gathered of ancient manners and of history, had our ancestors bequeathed to us works of a similar description.²⁶

²⁴ See fourteen letters from the Walker Papers relating to Walker's purchases from Lewis, especially those from Lewis to Walker, February 9, April 26, 1902. See also *Minneapolis Times*, January 2, 1903; *Minneapolis Journal*, April 11, 1903; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, May 15, 1904; Minneapolis Institute of Arts, *Bulletin*, 18: 46; *ante*, 15: 350, 469. In the fall of 1902 Lewis sent five paintings representing Stillwater, Point Douglas, "Red Stone Prairie," Barn Bluff at Red Wing, and Dubuque to Dr. Upham, who placed them on sale at Stevens Art Store in St. Paul in the following July. The artist placed a price of fifty dollars each on his canvases. Unfortunately all trace of these pictures has been lost. Any information about them will be welcomed by the Minnesota Historical Society. See Lewis to Upham, September 28, 1902; Upham to Lewis, November 13, 1902; Upham to Stevens, July 9, 1903; *St. Paul Dispatch*, July 13, 1903.

²⁵ Squires, in *Missouri Historical Review*, 27: 256.

²⁶ Risley and Smith, *Gigantic Moving Panorama of the Mississippi River*, viii.

The Mississippi panoramas have disappeared, but it is fortunate that the diary kept by one artist while assembling material for such a picture has survived. As the record of a sketching expedition made in the interests of a motion picture of the forties, Henry Lewis' diary of a "canoe voyage" from the Falls of St. Anthony to St. Louis in 1848 is presented in this magazine.²⁷ The first installment, in which the artist tells how he reached the upper Mississippi and describes his interesting visit to Wabasha Prairie while the roving Winnebago were encamped there, appears in the present issue.

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²⁷ Lewis' spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been followed throughout. Paragraphing has been supplied by the editor. Omitted material is indicated by points.

JOURNAL OF CANOE VOYAGE FROM THE FALLS OF ST ANTHONY
TO ST LOUIS

Left St Louis on Monday June 14th 1848 at 4 o'clock in the evening weather very warm, but pleasant. No incident worthy of record occurred to day, and the time was pass'd in a sort of close scrutiny among the passengers each looking for a companion de voyage somewhat similar to himself in taste and feelings I look'd closely for one who would answer my purpose as a companion but found no answering chord, all, all were utilitarian in their pursuits—to them Art was a mystery not worth looking into[,] and literature[,] so that it gave the news and prices courant, all that was necessary. Therefore after a vain search for a companion and being very much fatigued in preparation for my departure I roll'd into my berth and was soon asleep. . . .

Tuesday. A glorious sun rise but boding a hot day. it was warm on our boat even running but I thought of what they were suffering in St Louis and I thanked my stars I was out of it. Nothing of interest transpired to day

Wednesday Another fine sun rise. Crossed the lower rapids in two hours and came in sight of Nauvoo just as the sun was an hour up.¹ The scene was beautiful in the extreme, as the history of this unfortunate city is a melancholy one. We staid a short time but not long enough to get a sketch of the place. I omitted to mention that we took on board yesterday a curious character he seems to be a hunter or trapper and I must try to have some chat with him. he wears a red flannell shirt loose home made britches and an old pair of India rubber shoes terminates his lower extremities, but it is his hat in which he opens richest it seems to [be] made of several kinds of furs all I should suppose the spoils of the chase The top is of pure white fur with black spots something like ermine the rim is of the fox and raccoon and the front of a piece of Buffalo skin altogether he is

¹ The lower rapids are near the mouth of the Des Moines River. The story of the settlement of Nauvoo in 1839 by the Latter Day Saints under Joseph Smith, of the "Mormon War," and of the migration of members of the sect westward to Salt Lake in 1846 is told by Theodore C. Pease in *The Frontier State, 1818-1848*, 340-362 (*Centennial History of Illinois*, vol. 2—Springfield, 1918). Lewis visited Nauvoo again on July 30 on his return trip to St. Louis. In his entry for that date he gives a detailed description of the settlement and of the Mormon Temple there.

a curious specimen and I will try and learn somewhat of his history. Above Keith[s]burg and near New Boston we pass'd the wreck of the Prairie Bird her boilers lying on the banks and her hull now cover'd with water.² Wednesday. Clear sunrise, but giving promise of another hot day, and hot it was with a vengeance. So much so that we on a steam boat going 7 miles an hour could scarcely endure—what then must it have been in St Louis. I feel thankful I am out of it. This evening pass'd the Dubuque under weigh—a considerable triumph for the Senator—and lay to at night at the foot of the [upper] rapids.³

at daylight on Thursday cross'd the rapids without any accident and made a fine run to Rock Island—which we pass'd in the night—and arriv'd at Galena at 8 o'clock Thursday evening. Here we remain'd till 12 o'clock next day and took aboard Mr [Henry H.] Sibl[e]y of the American Fur trading post at St Peters. with him I had many pleasant conversation[s]. among many anecdotes of a hunters life he related the following narrow escape he had from a Buffalo.⁴ He was out hunting with a single companion and had mortally wounded a hugh [huge] bull but instead of falling or running from him as they usually do—he made directly at him. should he fire his remaining barrel it would have no effect on the matted forehead of the bull. should he attempt to fly the bull would assuredly gore him to death for when wounded they are quick as a deer. The only method then left him was to assert mans supremacy over the

² George B. Merrick must be mistaken in his statement that the "Prairie Bird," sank above Keithsburg in 1852. See his *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, 285 (Cleveland, 1909).

³ The upper rapids extend from Rock Island, Illinois, to Le Claire, Iowa. In the summer of 1848 the "Dubuque" was in the St. Louis, Galena, and Dubuque trade, and the "Senator," on which Lewis traveled, ran between St. Louis and St. Paul. It is said that Captain Daniel Smith Harris of the "Senator" accepted from Lewis a painting of the Falls of St. Anthony in payment for one of his trips on the upper Mississippi. The picture is now owned by the captain's granddaughter, Mrs. Medora Morrill of Chatfield. See her letter to the writer, August 18, 1934. For accounts of the boats mentioned, see Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, 263, 288.

⁴ Sibley went to Mendota, at the mouth of the Minnesota or St. Peter's River, to take charge of an American Fur Company post in 1834. In the forties he was widely known not only as a fur trader but as a mighty hunter. The incident described for Lewis occurred on a hunt in 1842. Sibley himself published this tale in the *Spirit of the Times*, 16: 73 (April 11, 1846); it is reprinted *ante*, 15: 391.

brute and face him. he accordingly stood his ground his hand upon the trigger and his eye fix'd full upon the bulls. he said the animal appro[a]ch'd so near that the blood from his nostrils was t[h]rown all over his coat and leggins both seem'd to feel during these awful moments that it would be death to him who first mov'd — and after a minute of awful suspense with [which] seem[e]d as Sibl[e]y said at least ten[,] the power of the human eye triumph'd and the bull with a low roar turn'd to fly — but the moment he turn'd his neck exposing his fore shoulder he rec'd the contents of the second barrel which brought him to his knees and to terms quickly. Such are some of the perils of the hunters life.

On 2 o'clock Friday arriv'd at the beautifully situated city of Dubuque founded by [Julien] Dubuque whose grave occupies a commanding elevation a few miles b[e]low the city.⁵ Here we took on a farmer with his plow[,] wagon and eight oxen and the rest of his plunder it was curious to see him drive down to the river as tho he came to deliver or take away a load from the boat. there was excitement about him and he as quietly step'd aboa[r]d and ask[ed] the cap[tain] what he would charge to take him to the fall of the St Croix as if it were an every day matter.⁶ in a few minutes we had his oxen aboard his waggon unloaded and taken to pieces and stow'd away and the bell rang for a start. we had got to about the middle of the river when one of [the] oxen objecting en toto to this mode of travelling broke his rope and jumpt over board, making for the shore. this happen'd to be bluff so that he could not get out and after a good deal of manouvering we manag'd to catch him again and got him aboard during this little excitement the highland Mary pas'd on the other side of the slue with a pleasure party on her way down.⁷

In a conversation with M^r Sibl[e]y to day he gave me some new facts of the character of the Sioux which I think worthy of note. It is a generally receiv'd idea that all indians have a great dread of their dead after battle falling into the hands of their foes. this doesnt hold good as regards the Decotahs. after a battle supposing the Decotahs or Sioux to be victorious and to have driven their enemies from the

⁵ Lewis describes Dubuque's grave in his entry for July 20.

⁶ The "Senator" turned into the St. Croix and went up that stream at least as far as Stillwater. The falls are about twenty-five miles farther upstream.

⁷ The "Highland Mary" was running between St. Paul and Galena in 1848. Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, 274.

field—they collect their dead and having painted and adorn'd them with their best and most valuable trinkets they place them in a sitting posture and leave them to be scalp'd by their foes sometimes they even leave their finest guns and their arms if the slain should have been a great chief. These they consider due to their foes as a right. In taking scalps themselves they differ somewhat from the generality of other indians. if a war party goes out and return[s] successfully with one or more scalps they immediately go into mourning—by black[eni]ng their faces this they continue for forty days the trophies are then sent round from village to village to be danc'd round and in six months from they [*the*] time they are taken they are secretly buried—and not used as by many other tribes to trim leggings and such like.⁸

Saturday morning—cold and cloudy somewhat destroying the outhewise beautiful prospect of Prarie du Chain.⁹ We had very heavy rains all the morning—and some very fine sky effects At the prarie we hea[r]d some news of the removal of the Winnebago indians. It seems there had been considerable difficulty to get them off at all after they had ceded their land to the gover[n]ment and as the time of making the movement arriv'd they became more mutinous and flatly refus'd to go some saying that the chiefs made the sale without their concent and others that they had been deceiv'd as to their new home and they were being taken located between hostile trib[e]s to be massacred. They have however got them after much difficulties and delays as far as Wabashaw Prarie and I understand they have made a sort of treaty with Wabashaw to remain with his band and not to proceed further the troops in charge have sent to fort Snelling for reinforcements and we have just heard that Cap[tain] Eastman himself Com[mandin]g officer has come down with reinforcements but as we shall be there in an hour or so I will defer speculating on the results.¹⁰

Sunday Evening. at 5 o'clock arriv'd at Stillwater making the run from St Louis including 98 stoppages in just six days. The distance

⁸ A somewhat similar account of Sioux customs is given in Samuel W. Pond, "The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as They Were in 1834," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12: 447-449.

⁹ Lewis again visited Prairie du Chien, where Fort Crawford was located, on July 19.

¹⁰ Under the terms of a treaty made at Washington in 1846, the Winnebago ceded their lands in the Turkey River Valley in Iowa to the

is fully 1000 miles consequently we made nearly 175 miles every twenty four hours.¹¹ Arriving at Stillwater I lear[n]'d that there had been some difficulties with the Chippeway indians and that the people at the falls had some fear of an attack and being pretty much without arms they had sent an express to Fort Snelling for reinforcement[s]. I learn'd that the cause of their rising was in consequence of the execution of one of their tribe by the people. it seems that this indian instigated by a white man had shot two men near the falls [,]one of them a trader namd Tornell and the other a logger or raftsmen nam'd Drake[,] that he conceal'd the bodies of the men but afterward was suspected[,] taken and after a sort of trial was hang'd. the white man was also taken altho' he deserv'd hanging as bad if not worse than the Indian he was only w[h]ip'd and banish'd the country.¹² The Indians in consequence are very much exas-

United States and were given in exchange a reservation north of the Minnesota River and west of the Mississippi in the vicinity of Long Prairie. The Minnesota reservation was located between the regions occupied by the Chippewa to the north and the Sioux to the south, tribes that were hereditary enemies. The removal of the Winnebago to their new home in the north took place in the early summer of 1848, and, as is indicated by Lewis, it was attended by many difficulties. When the Indians reached Wabasha Prairie, the present site of Winona, they became friendly with the Sioux chief Wabasha, and, according to some authorities, purchased from him the prairie and "expressed their determination not to move a step further." The detachment of dragoons from Fort Atkinson that had accompanied the Winnebago on their northward trek found it necessary to turn to Fort Snelling for reinforcements. Captain Seth Eastman, the well-known artist of Indian life, who was then commandant at the Minnesota fort, responded promptly. The events that followed his arrival are described by Lewis in his entry for June 21. For accounts of the removal of the Winnebago, see Edward D. Neill, *History of Minnesota*, 483-487 (Minneapolis, 1882); Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, 35 (Iowa City, 1918); and William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:310-312 (St. Paul, 1921).

¹¹ According to a government survey made in 1880, the distance from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony by water is 741 miles. Since Stillwater is about the same distance from the mouth of the St. Croix as the falls, Lewis overestimated the length of the voyage. The average speed of a steamboat traveling upstream on the Mississippi was about eight miles an hour. See Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, 51, 85, 296-298. Lewis had visited Stillwater also in August, 1847. See *Das illustrierte Mississippthal*, 76.

¹² A penciled note on the flyleaf in the front of Lewis' diary reads: "Fred Miller the name of the man who instigated the indian."

perated and a general rising is expected; the agent at the falls has sent an express to Fort Snelling for arms and they are about sending them.

Monday Morning. June 21st. Arriv'd a[t] Fort Snelling staid long enough to put freight ashore and then started back again for Wabashaw Prairie where I wish to see a little of Indian life be it what it may. We are now (4 o'clock) crossing Lake Pepin in a pretty stiff gale—head wind at that. just pass'd the Otter lying too under the weather shore. At about ten o'clock we arriv'd at Wabashaw Prairie and such a scene there met my view as a man may see but once in a life time. Twenty camp fires were blazing along the shore surrounded by the most motly groups. The dark bluffs which form [the] western boundry of the prairie were just disc[e]rnable about three miles off their picturesque outline breaking agai[n]st the clear sky. on this plane were encamped about sixteen hundred indians and perhaps two hundred troops. At the upper end of the camp a sort of fort had been built with the waggons running from the river bank and forming a square Next to these were the tents of the dragoons, then the infantry then the friendly Sioux brought down from the St Peters as allies of the whites in case of accident; and then the little band of regulars under Capⁿ Eastman.¹³ The scenes of the camp have been so often and so ably describ'd that I will not attempt a repetition.

The cause of all this gathering was the removal of the Win[n]ebagoes, they had arriv'd as far as Wabashaw's prairie on their way to their new homes on the upper Miss^{ss} where in consequence of offers and promises made them by Wabashaw and his band they concluded not to go further but remain where they were. The force accompany-

¹³ "There were volunteers from Crawford County, Wisconsin, dragoons from Fort Atkinson, Iowa, and the infantry from Fort Snelling, besides sixty armed teamsters" at Wabasha Prairie. Eastman brought with him, in addition to soldiers, a party of Sioux from the Minnesota River, "who came to welcome the Winnebagoes, and say that they would be pleased to have them . . . for their neighbors on the north." See Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling*, 35; Neill, *Minnesota*, 485. The scene at Wabasha Prairie, including the fort "built with the waggons," is pictured by Lewis in the only complete Minnesota sketch in his diary, which is reproduced herewith, and in *Das illustrierte Mississippthal*, 106. A sketch made by Eastman at Wabasha Prairie is reproduced in David I. Bushnell, *Seth Eastman, the Master Painter of the North American Indian*, 10 (Washington, 1932).

ing them being too small to compel them to go on[,] Gen Fletcher¹⁴ who commanded sent to fort Snelling for reinforcements and Capⁿ Eastman Com^d officer of that fort immediately join'd him with 25 men[,] all that he could possibly spare from his small force at the garrison. On their arrival a grand talk was resol[v]'d on and as the indians had had pretty much their own way on coming up they were very insolent and gave us to understand that they should move just when they got ready and such like. The Capⁿ hearing from one of his friendly indians [that] the Win[n]ebagoes were coming to the cou[n]cil secretly arriv'd and that they may mean to surprize them order[ed] every man under arms and plac'd himself in order of battle, his line stretching from the river to the bluffs. two six pounders were in the centre supported by Cap Morgans company of Dragoons. We had hardly got the line form'd when the indians came dashing up at full speed — to the number of eight hundred all mounted and painted and dress'd in grand style they would dash up nea[r]ly to the guns of the men and not finding the line give way they would w[h]eel and ride back again yelling and shouting in most delightful style.¹⁵ Whilst things were in this rather ticklish state an insident occur'd which came near bringing on a general fight. One of the soldiers had by means which I will relate hereafter got pretty well drunk and an indian coming up to the gun w[h]ere he was station'd some angry words pass'd between them which ended by the soldier throwing the indian down and then kicking him the indian immediately ran for his gun and the soldier seeing this prepar'd to fire and was with great difficulty prevented and secur'd by M^r Rice one of the agents to whom too much credit cannot be given for his cool and determin'd courage in this emergency.¹⁶ There can be no doubt that had this indian been shot it would have led to a general battle, and much loss of life for the indians number'd ten to one but on that open plane the artillery would have play'd dreadful havoc with them and soon have scatter'd them. But as it was no harm came of it the indians finding the small band of whites determin'd to keep their

¹⁴ J. E. Fletcher was the agent for the Winnebago.

¹⁵ This scene is depicted by Eastman in the sketch cited in footnote 13. The Indians in the foreground evidently are the friendly Sioux from the Minnesota Valley.

¹⁶ Henry M. Rice selected the Long Prairie reservation for the Winnebago and assisted in their removal from Iowa. The incident here noted by Lewis is described also by Neill, in his *Minnesota*, 486.

pos[s]ession at all hazards finally retir'd saying that they would not hold a council with the whites under their guns and appointed the next day for a talk without arms and at some distance from the encampment. The indians were encamp'd on the other side of a slue which runs across the prairie and we found afterwards that their squaws were secretly crossing over their rifles to the other side of the slue and hiding them in the grass ready for an emergency. It was mainly owing to the timely arrival of Cap Eastman and the immediate steps he took knowing the indians as he did that sav'd the little army from destruction. I shar'd with him his tent and saw myself the cool calculation and disposition of all our little army to the best advantage. I heard many councils with the chiefs at which he presided and mark'd that while he was drawing the indians into his measures he was making them think it was all for their own good and individual benefit that he was acting.

On Wednesday the council did not come off, but the sioux went over to the camp of the Win[n]ebagoes to dance and feast. we now began to fear that our indian allies might be bought over by the other especially when we heard that on the following day previous to the great talk the Win[n]ebagoes were going to present to their brothers the Sioux divers and costly presents such as horses, guns, and pipes. (speaking of pipes I believe I must take a smoke). This was a very beautiful pageant, such an one as a man might live a life time and not see again. after this we were to have had a grand talk, but the other Sioux chiefs were so much affraid of Wabashaw that they dare not speak in favour of the Win[n]ebagoes being remov'd, indeed it was reported that Wabashaw had plac'd an indian with a loaded pistol behind every Sio[u]x chief, and that if he had dar'd to have spoken any ways contrary to Wabashaws idea of things he would have been shot. This is free debate amonngst the indians. After this council had broken up without coming to any definite conclusion—Cap. Eastman now call'd a council in our tent of all the Sioux and Winnebagoes excepting Wabashaw and a few others of the disaffected. This talk resulted in most of the chiefs promising to come on their journey as soon as they could get their young men to move. Things now began to look more tranquil and as the Captain and his men might be wanted at the fort to attend to the Chippeway difficulties before mention'd and of which we had heard nothing for some days, we prepared to start and as a boat had been lying at the Praire since morning wait-

ing the Capⁿ orders we conclude to embark on her taking with us our friendly Sioux allies.

After a pleasant trip we arriv'd at the Fort in 48 hours, and I immediately began looking for canoes and men to build my boat. The canoes I found after a great deal of difficulty, but as to men there [*they*] were not to be had for love or money that knew any thing about carpenters work—so as there was no help for it I had to go at it myself. After three or four days hard labour I succeeded in completing a most odd looking but complete craft.¹⁷ Such a boat I can vouch for it was never before launched of [*on*] the waters of the St Peters. But as I have already tarried too long at the Fort I must cut this yarn short and away.

[*To be continued*]

¹⁷ Lewis' skill as a carpenter probably proved useful in this emergency. Many years later he related that his "boat was built on two of the largest canoes" that he could buy. He continues: "They were some 50 feet in le[n]gth and were secured by stout beams some 3 feet apart, on this a platform, some 8 x 11 feet, a Cabin was built, with *Bunks* for carrying provisions &c and rigg'd with a square Sail and Jib. It made a Boat admirably adabted to my purpose as it was *quite steady* and from the top of the Cabin, I could sketch with care and see over the Country on both sides of the River. . . . I nam'd my Boat the Mine-ha-hah." After reaching St. Louis in the fall, writes Lewis, he left his boat there, "intending to resume my trip in the Spring to N. Orleans, and the Gulf, but unfortunately in May 1849 occur'd the Great Fire in which some 300 houses and 20 Steamboats were Burnt[,] among them also my little Boat the Mene ha hah." There is evidence that Lewis sent Walker a "view of one of my Encampments on the River and the little Boat on which I made the sketches." The original painting has not been located, but a reproduction of this or of a similar picture appears in *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, 244. The boat appears also in a "View on Fever River," in the same work, page 182. See enclosure in Lewis to Upham, August 21, 1902; Lewis to Walker, March 19, May 5, 1903; *Minneapolis Journal*, April 11, 1903.



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