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Article Title: A Journey Through the Nebraska Region in 1833 and 1834: From the Diaries of Prince Maximilian of Wied

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Article Summary: Prince Maximilian was an explorer, naturalist, and ethnographer. His diaries constitute one of the earliest records of the flora and fauna of the Upper Missouri. Artist Karl Bodmer, another member of the expedition, created paintings and drawings that stand as definitive images of the Plains Indian frontier.

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- No 3. portrait of Karl Bodmer (Jean François Millet)
- No 4. Monument to Prince Maximilian erected in 1933 at Mount Vernon Gardens
- No 14. "Ong-Pa-Ton-Ga or The Big Elk, Chief of the Omahas" (Charles Bird King)

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Karl Bodmer, The Travellers Meeting with Minatarre Indians, aquatint. Of the three white men, Maximilian is the shortest, and Karl Bodmer the tallest figure. David Dreidoppel is partially hidden between them.

A Journey Through the Nebraska Region
in 1833 and 1834:
From the Diaries of
Prince Maximilian of Wied

Translated by William J. Orr
Edited by William J. Orr and Joseph C. Porter

INTRODUCTION

One hundred and fifty years ago a curious group of three Central Europeans, booked on the steamboat *Yellowstone*, made their way up the usually sluggish, but sometimes treacherous Missouri River, traversing the eastern boundary of what is now Nebraska. At their head was a short, bustling figure of fifty, attired in much the same green, distinctively German hunting garb worn during his ceaseless forays in the forests along the Rhine. This was Prince Maximilian of Wied who was traveling under the pseudonym, Baron Braunsberg, to avoid attracting unwanted attention to his august station.

Already renowned as an explorer of Brazil, admired for his diligent collection of tropic fauna and penetrating observations of the region's tribes, the Prince now hoped to duplicate his achievement on the far different, but no less challenging, terrain of the western prairie. Accompanying him was his retainer, a skillful huntsman and expert taxidermist, David Dreidoppel, whose deftness in stalking and luring game and whose deadly aim would soon gain this odd-sounding foreigner the respect of the most seasoned fur-trappers and hardened warriors.

Undoubtedly, the most handsome figure of the three was a young Swiss artist, Karl Bodmer, who was attired in an elegant manner unfamiliar to these rough regions and who sometimes even sported a parasol. Already he had painted several delicately lovely watercolors of the lush landscapes of eastern America and was about to commence an equally stun-

ning series of Indian portraits, the marvel of his compatriots, both white and Indian, and a source of continual wonder and admiration many decades hence.

A meticulous observer, Maximilian chronicled the entire expedition in his voluminous diaries, which are one of the earliest records of the Upper Missouri region and of Nebraska. And though his travels are less well-known to scholars and to the general public than those of Lewis and Clark, Brackenridge, Long, Bradbury, and Catlin, Maximilian's findings are no less important.

Prince Maximilian of Wied was born on September 23, 1782, at the ancestral palace of Neuwied, not far from Koblenz at the junction of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers.¹ At this time the prince of Wied was only one of over 300 rulers and independent aristocrats in a then disunited Germany. Later, during the wars of the French Revolution, the principality was annexed by one of France's German satellites and then, after 1815, incorporated into Prussia. As the eighth child in a family of ten, with several elder brothers, young Maximilian had no prospect of ever heading the family estate. As a Protestant, the Prince likewise could not look forward to the kind of prestigious ecclesiastical career open to younger sons of the aristocracy in Catholic Europe. Very early his interests and education turned to the study of natural history, which aristocratic leisure and family wealth provided ample opportunity to pursue.

Of his youth and education little is known. Apparently he briefly attended in 1800 and 1801 the University of Göttingen, where he studied under the celebrated Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), a founder of physical anthropology, who, of all his teachers, exercised the most unmistakable influence. In 1802 the Prince entered the Prussian military, and in 1806 was captured by the French shortly after Prussia's catastrophic defeat at Auerstedt. Upon his release Maximilian resumed on his own initiative the study of natural history. Though surviving biographical documentation for this period is scanty, it is nonetheless clear that he had already become a passionate student of natural history and restless collector, whose specimens would eventually comprise thousands of birds, reptiles, and mammals from all over the world.

In mid-1811 Maximilian resumed studies at Göttingen. At



No. 1. Prince Maximilian of Wied as an officer during the Napoleonic Wars. Photo from oil painting, Schloss Neuwied.

this time, too, he apparently first began to ponder seriously a voyage to distant lands, perhaps to North America.² Napoleon's debacle in Russia and the ensuing outbreak of the "Wars of Liberation" in Germany interrupted his plans. In 1813 he re-enlisted in Prussian service, attaining the rank of major in the Third Brandenburg Hussar Regiment. During the allied invasion of France in 1814, he was involved in various battles and also earned an Iron Cross. Yet even in the midst of this exhausting campaign with its carnage, he found a few moments when he could desist from pursuing the retreating French and turn instead to reptiles which he pickled in brandy and transported on horseback.³ Following a triumphal entry into Paris, he befriended Alexander von Humboldt, and evidently it was the example of this celebrated explorer of Spanish America that persuaded the young Prince of Wied to direct his sights to Brazil rather than North America, the goal of earlier plans for travel in the New World.

In June, 1815, accompanied by Dreidoppel and his gardener Simonis, he set sail from England, arriving at Rio de Janeiro two months later. In Brazil, as during his later expedition to North America, the Prince showed little interest in the politics or the social institutions of the lands he visited; his primary purpose was to assemble as many plant and animal specimens as possible, both for study and to augment his growing collections, and then to observe the region's Indian tribes. Accompanied by his two countrymen, the ornithologist, Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss, and the botanist, Friedrich Sellow; his retainers; and a retinue of Portuguese huntsmen, guides, interpreters, and pack carriers, Maximilian plunged into the partially explored tropical hinterlands of eastern Brazil. Two years he spent tramping through endless treacherous thickets and forests, fording countless rivers and streams, encamped in rude settlements or in the open air, ever on the alert for venomous snakes or hostile Indians. All the while he collected countless exotic animals and plants and visited such wild tribes as the Puris, Botocudos, and Camacans—some only recently emerged from cannibalism—whose customs and languages he carefully and dispassionately recorded.⁴ And if all these activities were not sufficient to exhaust a lesser man, this tireless explorer also found the time to compose several accurate, if unpolished, sketches and watercolors, which later experts

have lauded as a priceless and accurate rendition of the landscapes, costumes, and tribes of early 19th century Brazil.⁵ All told, it was a fascinating and memorable journey, and with mixed feelings, no doubt, Maximilian finally returned to Europe in 1817.

It was this expedition which largely shaped Prince Maximilian's subsequent career as explorer, naturalist, and ethnographer. Clearly he nurtured the fondest memories of this land's verdant, luxuriant landscapes, teeming with some of the most diverse and exotic wildlife on the globe. For the Prince, even the sublime but barren majesty of the North American prairie suffered by comparison. Moreover, his contacts with Brazilian tribes decisively influenced his views regarding American Indians as a whole. As the sections of his diary published here indicate (see for example the entry of May 5, 1833), Brazil provided a standard to contrast his later observations along the Missouri. Even more important, his experiences in South America confirmed the belief he undoubtedly acquired from his revered teacher Blumenbach regarding the fundamental unity and equality of the races of humanity. Though hardly oblivious to such unsavory practices as cannibalism, Maximilian nonetheless ascribed much of the Indians' savagery and hostility to the cruelty and treachery suffered at the hands of European interlopers. In the Indians, as well as in the downtrodden black slave population, he espied the same intellectual and spiritual potential found in the dominating race.⁶ For him this capacity was amply demonstrated by the fact that the children of Indians, once removed from their rude environment, demonstrated an intelligence comparable to that of whites.⁷

If anything, Maximilian's empathy toward native Americans was enhanced even further by his contacts sixteen years later with the more advanced plains tribesmen of North America whose spiritual and cultural level he felt was notably higher—thanks in part to their closer contact with white civilization.⁸ At the same time, this sympathy was tempered by detachment and objectivity. One of his major objections to the work of his renowned, if quixotic contemporary, George Catlin, was the American artist's excessive partiality and "exaggerated and poetic descriptions" of his Indian subjects.⁹ As the diary sections published here also indicate, neither was

the Prince blind to any conditions of degradation and degeneration he might encounter.

Nevertheless, even so keen and enlightened an observer as Maximilian could at times succumb to ethnocentricity or show glaring insensitivity to the cultures he encountered. This fallibility was most clearly demonstrated at the close of his Brazilian journey when this explorer—who, ironically, often condemned slavery in both Brazil and later in the United States—purchased both a black and a young Botocudo, Quäck, and brought them back to Germany. The black died soon afterwards. Quäck, however, lived on for over a decade, adapted partly to Germany, but also fell prey to periodic spells of drunkenness, punctuated by romps in the snow and bouts of pneumonia, and died in 1833 while the Prince was in America.¹⁰ Despite such an apparently clearcut case of uprooting and maladjustment to so alien and lonely an environment, the Prince, while in North America, seriously pondered bringing back yet another Indian but hesitated, realizing the likelihood of the native's homesickness and the heavy expenses of a return journey which would ensue.¹¹

After his return to Germany, Max immediately plunged into publicizing the results of his expedition. First and most important was his two-volume narrative of the Brazilian journey—based on his copious diaries—which was accompanied by a volume of engravings based on his sketches, in which the Indian subjects were significantly altered—at the expense of accuracy—to make them appealing to contemporary European taste. In format this work served as a model for the later account of his North American journey. In rapid succession there followed a four-volume work on Brazilian natural history, a lavishly illustrated color platebook of Brazilian fauna, as well as numerous articles. Even today, Brazilians gratefully acknowledge their debt to this intrepid naturalist who did so much to familiarize the world with the unique flora and fauna of their homeland, and even more, appreciate his careful and dispassionate observations that are often still the major source of information about now long-vanished tribes.

Even amidst these tireless scholarly labors, the Prince was already beginning to contemplate yet another journey before age should overtake him and the relentless advance of civiliza-



No. 2. Prince Maximilian and the Botocudo Quäck. Photo from oil painting, Schloss Neuwied, courtesy of His Highness Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Wied.

tion ravage the wilderness he longed to observe and record. As early as 1822, he was broaching to friends the idea of a journey to Labrador and the American West: "From Labrador one could then go south into the plains of the Missouri and Mississippi where Lewis and Clarke [*sic*] made their dangerous bear hunts and this would surely be rewarding."¹² On other occasions he wondered whether Mexico and Central America might instead offer the richest yield to an eager zoologist, or whether Russia and the Caspian region might actually provide the most appropriate arena for his endeavors.¹³ In the end, though, the United States held the most powerful attraction for him, and beginning in the mid 1820s, he began to study North American natural history. By 1830 the Prince was ready to depart, but the outbreak of revolution and national upheavals in Europe deferred his plans.

On his next journey he was wisely determined to delegate to others some of the myriad responsibilities that had overburdened him in Brazil. Above all, he needed a reliable artist to record American landscapes and tribesmen. In 1832 he discovered a young Swiss painter, Karl Bodmer (1809-1893), who had gained some acclaim for his landscapes of the Rhine and Moselle region. Though hitherto Bodmer had virtually no experience in portraiture, Maximilian had sufficient confidence in his skill and potential to engage him for the expedition. Thus, well before he ever embarked on American soil, the Prince had made perhaps the most significant decision of the entire journey. For, despite his inexperience, the artist readily adapted to the demands of his assignment and created in addition to his beautiful landscapes assuredly some of the finest American Indian portraits ever painted.¹⁴ In addition, Maximilian had hoped to hire a young military engineer to undertake geographical and mathematical observations in North America, but the refusal of his superiors to grant a lengthy leave of absence precluded these plans. In April, 1832, Maximilian, accompanied once more by the trusty Dreidoppel and by Bodmer, set sail from Holland on his second and last great voyage to the New World.

After more than two years on the American frontier—the details of the journey are related below—Maximilian returned to Germany, only to discover that assembling his collections and publicizing the results of his expedition would prove a no

less complicated, frustrating, and in many respects even lengthier process than the journey itself. Unlike his experiences in Brazil, Maximilian had ambivalent feelings about his sojourn in North America. Not only had he found the western prairies monotonous and depressing, he deplored the rudeness of the Americans and their disdain for natural history and other refinements of civilization. Then too, the harsh climate and primitive conditions of travel proved more arduous for this fifty-year old voyager, who suffered severe gastrointestinal bouts reminiscent of cholera along the Ohio, as well as a near-fatal brush with scurvy during a harsh winter on the Upper Missouri. Because the United States had been more thoroughly explored than Brazil, his own observations and collections in natural history, though by no means insignificant, proved less momentous than in the case of his earlier investigations in South America. His discouragement was compounded in 1835 when he learned that the steamer *Assiniboine*, while transporting his massive natural history and ethnographic collections from the Upper Missouri and Rocky Mountain region, had exploded and sunk. Yet, in spite of these setbacks, the Prince also recognized that his observations of North American Indian tribes were at least as thorough as those from Brazil and that in the over four hundred watercolors and sketches of Bodmer—particularly of the Indians—he had assembled a priceless and unparalleled treasure.¹⁵

For these reasons the Prince decided to publish an account of his North American journey, to be illustrated even more lavishly than his earlier Brazilian opus by an aquatint atlas based on Bodmer's original watercolors. While Maximilian composed the text—relying again on copious manuscript diaries kept during the expedition—Bodmer left for Paris to superintend the lengthy and often frustrating process of engraving and hand coloring needed to produce the deluxe atlas. Eventually a two-volume German edition appeared between 1838 and 1841,¹⁶ followed by a three volume French translation in 1840-1843,¹⁷ and a significantly abridged one-volume English version in 1843.¹⁸

Considering the time pressures, delays, and petty wrangling that dogged the publication project from the outset, it was an impressive achievement notwithstanding. In large part, Bodmer's art—then as today—served as the expedition's major

basis for renown. Eighty-one magnificent aquatints accompanied Maximilian's narrative. In some cases these differed noticeably from the original watercolors. Thus, many of their serene subjects assumed more wild, frenzied countenances to fit the preconceptions of European viewers. Some landscapes, too, were altered to imbue them with a more romantic allure (see the juxtaposed original and aquatint version of Blackbird's Grave, plate Nos. 12 and 13). A few aquatints have no prototype at all, leading one to infer they were devised for purely illustrative purposes. In many instances, however, these and the original watercolors or sketches were virtually identical. Whatever the case, for over a century Bodmer's aquatints remained one of the most valuable and definitive portrayals of the Plains Indian and American frontier.

Unfortunately, all too often the Swiss artist's masterwork has tended to overshadow the contribution of his princely patron. The original German edition of Maximilian's travel narrative was, in fact, a masterful distillation of his field diaries, demonstrating as well a thorough acquaintance with the most recent European and American ethnographic and travel literature.

In their lifetime the achievement of the two men never received the fullest recognition it deserved. Ironically, the aquatint atlas, the most spectacular facet of their publication, also made it too expensive for all except the wealthiest bibliophiles. Due to the prohibitive cost the work went virtually unreviewed on both the European continent and in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Especially unfortunate, English-speaking readers, and particularly Americans, who were most likely to be interested in the Prince's expedition, were also left with the least satisfactory of the three editions. In order to reduce the work to the dimensions of a single quarto volume, the translator, H. Evans Lloyd, ruthlessly excised the original German text. Over sixty years later that prolific and tireless editor, Reuben Gold Thwaites, decided to reissue Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America* in his "Early Western Travels" series, thus at last making the Prince's work more accessible to a wider, less affluent audience. Thwaites knew that appendices from the original German edition, such as the vocabularies of several Indian tribes, had been cut, and he restored them to

his reprint edition. Not being a German scholar, he could not, however, judge the deficiencies of the Lloyd translation and its alteration of the main body of the original text. Aside from often loosely translating the original German, Lloyd excised numerous passages. These cuts included Latin binomials for the many species of flora and fauna observed by Maximilian, Indian names and subdivisions of the tribes recorded by the Prince, supposedly irrelevant footnotes indicating the sources of much of his information about the natural history and ethnology of North America, and passages about "indelicate" matters likely to offend contemporary Victorian sensibilities. This edition with its woeful omissions has been the basis for most scholarly assessments of Maximilian's expedition.

With the completion of the publication project which occupied them for nearly a decade, the two men pursued divergent careers. Embittered by his enormous investment of time and effort in which turned out to be a financial fiasco, Bodmer came to lament the supposed dissipation of the most productive years of his life. He retreated to the forests of Fontainebleau south of Paris, establishing peripheral contacts with the Bohemian artist colony which began to form there after 1849. Hardly ever did this artist—one of the greatest portraitists of the American Indian—depict a human figure again! His output consisted almost exclusively of forest and animal scenes, some skillfully executed, others unabashedly sentimental to appeal to the popular taste of his own day. For a time Bodmer achieved a minor reputation among the Barbizon School, which included such celebrated rural and landscape artists as Jean-François Millet and Théodore Rousseau. But evidently during the last decade of his life his fortunes declined, and he died in poverty and obscurity in Paris in 1893.¹⁹

Maximilian's twilight years, on the other hand, were ones of quiet, productive contentment. During the 1840s he dreamed of yet another distant expedition—either to Baltic Russia or the Caucasus region. But for various reasons—one of them being Bodmer's initial reluctance to accompany him—he eventually abandoned these plans.²⁰ Age, too, was becoming an impediment even for so vigorous an outdoorsman, and gradually he reconciled himself to less strenuous excursions in Europe:



No. 3. Portrait of Karl Bodmer. Photo from pencil drawing by Jean François Millet, Print Collection, The New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

I am now 60 years old, and at that age one doesn't travel much any more. In 50 more years the world will have achieved an entirely different appearance! Railways, steamship travel will have made distances entirely insignificant, journeys to distant lands will become walking tours, and whatever goes on in men's heads—this, too, can bring about big changes. For me the greater part of my life is already past, and thus now I can still only be glad for the past and those friends who have lived through these times with me. In my immediate surroundings a hobbling study of nature and hunting will provide me—as long as my health holds out—satisfactory, pleasant activity.²¹

Despite this resigned prediction, a good quarter century of study and labor remained. Even without distant journeys, the Prince continued his incessant collecting by mail, obtaining fauna from locales as diverse as Greenland, India, and the Dutch East Indies. At one time his live collections at Neuwied included specimens as diverse as North American grizzly bears and eggs of a Java python, which he vainly sought to incubate and hatch. Despite the remoteness of the ancestral estate from the major centers of scientific inquiry, Maximilian made prodigious efforts to remain abreast of contemporary works on natural history and exploration, often bartering exotic stuffed animals for costly and precious volumes.

Due, in part, to advancing age, it was not possible for Prince Maximilian to publicize the results of his North American expedition with the rapidity and thoroughness that had been possible in the case of his works on Brazilian natural history. Then too, it took him years to reacquire, by purchase or exchange, some of the specimens lost with the sinking of the *Assiniboine*. Only in the 1850s did his scholarly output on North American natural history finally reach significant proportions. His principal publications included a series of articles on his observations of North American birds,²² a catalog of North American mammals published both as serial articles and as a separate book,²³ and, just two years before his death, an inventory of North American reptiles illustrated with magnificent handcolored engravings by Bodmer.²⁴

Maximilian himself would have been the first to admit the limited import of his work in this field. His second journey to the New World brought no discoveries. His most sustained and unhurried observations were carried out in a region—the Eastern United States—already well-combed by American naturalists. And even had his collections from the remote, partially explored western regions survived, his investigations

along the Missouri were severely hampered by the pace of steamboat travel, the unruliness and uncooperativeness of rude *engagés*, and his understandable reluctance to collect specimens and observe life in regions overrun by hostile Indians.

Clearly it was as an ethnographer that Maximilian made his grandest contribution. His published narrative of the journey to North America contained the same detailed and dispassionate observations that distinguished his studies in Brazil. If anything, his American account was even more thorough. Regrettably, apart from this work, Maximilian wrote little else about North American Indians. In 1842, to be sure, he published a review of Catlin's *Letters and Notes*, often severely criticizing the American's observations and thus in the process providing sometimes valuable additions to his own earlier work.²⁵ Unfortunately, because this piece appeared in a relatively inaccessible German scientific journal, it has remained unknown to American historians and ethnologists. Many years later, in 1863, Maximilian delivered a lecture to Rhenish naturalists, in which once more he upheld the thesis propounded by Blumenbach regarding the common origin of Indian races in both North and South America.²⁶ On the whole, however, in anthropology as in natural history, Maximilian shunned theorizing and was reluctant to engage in wide-ranging synthesis, comparing his observations with those of other world explorers. He was largely content to report what he observed as accurately, conscientiously, and objectively as possible. And if at times this modesty lends a certain dryness to his work, still one can only regret that this acutely observant explorer did not again visit and observe still other vanishing races.

Tirelessly productive until well into his eighties, Prince Maximilian finally died on February 3, 1867. Within a few years of his death his voluminous collections, priceless manuscripts, and incomparable paintings began to be dispersed throughout the world or else remained long forgotten. First to be sold was his natural history collection containing over 4,000 stuffed birds, 600 mammals, and 2,000 fishes and reptiles, which the Museum of Natural History in New York acquired in 1870.²⁷ As early as the 1840s, the Prince had donated a few Indian artifacts which eventually became a

part of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* (Museum for Ethnology) in West Berlin. In 1904 a far larger, even more valuable remnant of his priceless assemblage of Plains Indians costumes and artifacts went to the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, where they remain today.²⁸

In this country it was known even before the First World War that the archives at Neuwied contained substantial manuscript and pictorial material relating to Maximilian's exploration of both Brazil and the western frontier of North America.²⁹ In 1918 Addison Sheldon, one of the early directors of the Nebraska State Historical Society, actually visited Neuwied and viewed portions of this collection, taking back a bust of the celebrated explorer as a memento of his visit. Yet, to judge from the tenor of his account, the more spectacular items were concealed from this representative of the recently victorious American army. Sheldon, in fact, remained one of Maximilian's most fervent admirers, lavish in his praise of the Prince's account of early Nebraska and the western frontier.³⁰

The most spectacular rediscovery of Maximilian's legacy occurred decades later. After the Second World War a Koblenz museum director, Dr. Josef Roeder, while doing research at the Wied family archives, uncovered Maximilian's diaries, notebooks, and correspondence, as well as over 400 of the original watercolors and sketches of Karl Bodmer. Though the Swiss artist's mastery in portraying the Plains Indians had long been acknowledged thanks to the aquatints, his original watercolors, apart from a brief unheralded exhibition in Paris in 1836, had never been viewed by the public before. Thanks to efforts of Roeder, Prince Karl Viktor of Wied, and various American scholars and cultural officials in Germany, these paintings were exhibited in West Germany and the United States. In 1959 Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Wied sold the entire Maximilian collection to M. Knoedler and Company in New York. In 1962 the Northern Natural Gas Company of Omaha (now InterNorth, Inc.) purchased the North American collection, consisting of the Bodmer watercolors and Maximilian diaries, letters, and scientific notebooks, and placed them on permanent loan at the Joslyn Art Museum.

From the outset scholars recognized the value of Maximilian's diaries and correspondence as a source for the history of the early American frontier. A careful examination of the

diaries and letters reveals much material lacking in the published accounts—and especially in the deficient English translation already mentioned. The sections published here relating to the Prince's journey through Nebraska are, for example, about twice as lengthy and much more detailed than the corresponding published version. Roeder himself undertook invaluable preliminary research into the life and explorations of the Prince of Wied and also transcribed the second of three volumes of the Maximilian diaries written in an antiquated script, unfamiliar even to the vast majority of Germans today. Following the 1962 acquisition of the collection, Mildred Goosman, former Curator of Western Collections at the Joslyn Art Museum, assembled much valuable material relating to the Maximilian-Bodmer expedition and helped publicize its value. Dr. Emery Szmrecsanyi of Omaha transcribed an even more extensive number of manuscripts. Yet, considerable labor remains before Maximilian's work can finally be published. Above all, it must be translated and annotated, but in addition still further transcription, document collection, and background research are required. The excerpts edited here—relating to Maximilian's journey along the Missouri River in the area contiguous to modern day Nebraska, first upstream in 1833 and then downstream in 1834—are the first substantial publication of Maximilian's original journals. In a few years all of Maximilian's diaries, letters, and other manuscripts concerning his travels in North America will be published by the University of Nebraska Press.

MAXIMILIAN'S JOURNEY

After a seven week ocean voyage Prince Maximilian and his entourage docked at Boston on July 4, 1832. They traveled first to New York and then to Pennsylvania where they spent the late summer among the German-American community of Bethlehem and also made brief excursions through the countryside. In late September Maximilian, Bodmer, and Droidoppel journeyed down the Ohio River, arriving in mid-October, 1832, at New Harmony, Indiana. During the long winter Maximilian had the opportunity at last to undertake his first extensive, unhurried observations of North American fauna. In the congenial company of the naturalists Charles Alexandre Lesueur and Thomas Say he was able to deepen his knowledge of North American natural history and also to learn more about the western American frontier which Say had explored during the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1819-1820. In January and February, 1833, Bodmer alone made a brief side trip to New Orleans. In early March, Maximilian and his companions departed for St. Louis where they arrived on March 24 and spent three weeks making preparations for the long journey west. Here Maximilian finally decided his itinerary. He contracted with officials of the American Fur Company to travel by steamboat up the Missouri River, at the trading posts of which he would be most likely to meet Indians in large number. On April 10 the Yellowstone left St. Louis and on the 22nd reached Cantonment Leavenworth, the last major American military outpost on the western frontier. After a brief halt and inspection, during which the Prince's whiskey kegs intended for the pickling of reptilian specimens were nearly confiscated as contraband alcohol for the Indians, the steamboat resumed its journey. It is at this point that we may begin with the narrative of Maximilian himself:

At three-quarters past 4 we left this place. The officers as well as several other men saluted us. We then navigated scarcely a couple thousand paces to the spot where our wood was hewn and brought it in. The row of hills, on which the military post rests, draws back from the river. To the left we then saw willows and cottonwoods in new foliage, to the right hills with quite colorfully spotted forest. Farther on, to the right, limestone rocks in the shoreline hills, also simple turrets. The redbud was blooming here; it is also called rosebud or *Bouton de rose* [bud or button of rose]. High up on the Missouri is an arm of the Yellowstone River so full of redbud

that it is called Red-Bud Fork [Rosebud Creek].^a To the left an island soon appears and to the right hills which are called *Wássobd^h-Wáhkonda-gá^h* by the Osage³² and Konzas [Kansa]³³ depending on the region; so they named the place (Bear Medicine) and then added *hills* or *islands* to it.^b In this region the Konzas lived; they called themselves *Kán-sá* ("an" as in French). Just recently the Konzas living in the area made a visit to Levensworth.³⁴ Just before evening we ran into a narrow spot of the river *Wássobá^h-Wáhkonda-gá^h* into such a number of snags that a successful exit seemed problematic. Some were cut off under water with the axe; a few branches came into the ship which was stabilized with tow ropes and thus gradually pushed through and turned. Before long we stopped on the other side for the night.

[April] 23: Storm in the morning, thunder without lightning, lightly overcast skies. Already early a large snag gripped the boat and a thick branch pushed as far as the cabin while it took away the edge of the door posts. A large island. To the right a fringe of willows and sandbanks, to the left the wild forest in loveliest foliage. Here a great deal of redbud and buckeye were growing which were just unfolding their large leaves; the oaks were also blooming. To the left more sandbanks and then, following a narrow spot, off to our left is the large *Isle aux Vaches* (Cow Island), where in 1818 the troops destined for Council Bluff spent the winter; the winter surprised them here. At 7:30 67°. The hot day yesterday had very much pushed out the vegetation; everywhere the forest is very green today. When those troops wintered on the island, they had so much wildlife everywhere in the vicinity that they could live off it entirely. The Kickapoos³⁵ will not be settled here on the left bank; their district goes up towards Independence River [Independence Creek]. Otherwise there are no established Indian Villages in the region here, but the

a. It is incomprehensible that Michaux³¹ in his *Sylva Americana* has forgotten exactly this, the most beautiful of native trees. [This comment is from Maximilian, who often footnoted his own manuscript diary. Subsequently all Maximilian's notes will appear at the bottom of the page while editorial comments are appended at the end of the text.]

b. Bear medicine mountain—*Pahá^h-Wássobd^h-Wáhkonda-gá^h*
 Bear-medicine Island—*Rumatschi-Wássobd^h-Wáhkonda-gá^h*
 Bear-medicine River—*Wálishka-Wássobá^h-Wáhkonda-gá^h*

Ayaways [Iowas],³⁶ Sacs, and Foxes³⁷ roam and hunt in these forests. To the right was an immensely beautiful wild forest, especially wild and green, redbud in great splendor and many white blossoms, buckeye in number, likewise sugar tree; the Indians, too, need it for sugar. A number of wild paths and trails /2:33/³⁸ everywhere on the shore. To the left we still have Cow Island more than 6 miles long covered with cottonwoods and rushes. To the right now rock clusters in the forest covered with colorful lichens. Below on the bank clumps of limestone. Everywhere the soft sand and clay of the shoreline entirely covered with deer trails; in the winter they lick holes in the bank.

At the end of Cow Island the river now makes a big bend to the left. The hills of the right bank move straight ahead, and we now have on the right a cottonwood forest. After a couple of hours, off to the left, the outlet of a creek, narrow and insignificant. From here on the river goes straight ahead, and very broad and stately; its forests, soft green on all sides, are extremely picturesque. Where the shore is low, one can see green fringes of willow outside. On the soil of the forest the *Podophyllum peltatum*³⁹ with its green leaves grew everywhere, and the color of redbud was marvelously beautiful. Before us in the distance the river made a bend at a chain of hills which was bare on top and supporting very lovely green prairie land. At 12 noon 77°. At 12:30 a crick [creek] to the left. After 20 minutes we reached the row of hills bare on top. It is covered on top with prairie. Splendid redbud in the hill by the water; the oaks, too, bloom in number and the ash. To the right the soil in the tall forest is overgrown with a compressed 3-4 ft. thicket of rushes which form a green strip in the landscape. The summits of the hills are barren, already everything inland (left hand side) prairie, but the grounds and ravines are still full of forest. Here there are intermingled prairies which make the transition. Ducks everywhere on the river, mostly the wood duck which is very common here. The French call it *Canard branchu* [forked duck]. By lunchtime we land and hew wood in quantity. On the shore in the soft soil wolf and deer tracks are imprinted; the black bear, too, is numerous here, also the wild turkey. Above on the high bank the forest soil was so densely overgrown with thick, tall rushes that one could not bring down a stick without breaking several. They

were trampled down in all directions into little paths by our men, and the blow of the axe echoed in all directions. The heat here was very great since the shade was insignificant, but the young decorative and brightly green colored foliage was indescribably beautiful. Bodmer and Dreidoppel shot 5 parakeets (*Papageyen*), but nothing new or interesting came their way. Low plants could not grow in this forest, for the rushes allow them no space.

After one and one half hours we proceeded onward. On the right bank snags soon appeared which damaged the ship, the cover of the right wheel. Moreover, from here we drove so vigorously onto a timber pile in the water that the boat and steering rudder were in jeopardy. We turned in all directions, received heavy jolts, found too little water everywhere and ran aground. Finally, indeed, after an hour we found the difficult path over a sandbank. The forest here was very green; *Urubus*⁴⁰ flew about over it. To the left the Independence River opened out in a highly picturesque way from lovely forested banks into the Missouri. It is a brook like the Windbach,⁴¹ is supposed to have a flat bed on rocks farther back. Beyond this outlet we had before us bare, denuded heights overgrown with grass, before them in the depths swamp and shrubbery, also a surface with tall grass on shore. In this region a village of the Konzas Indians once was situated in which the Spaniards in former times always maintained a small post of a few soldiers. Nothing more can be seen of this village which, however, is listed on the maps. Everywhere here the land along the Missouri is excellent. Mr. Bodmer made a sketch of these hills with prairie.⁴² On this spot there is no forest on the shore for about a half hour, but it now begins again. On the hillside, the plum trees bloom instantly en masse here, just like our European fruit tree, the redbud just like our cherry tree.

Ducks, the woodduck, here in number, also the turkey buzzard and beyond on a sand /2:34/ bank we saw an otter moving about. The river now bends right, its banks are again entirely forest. Somewhat farther there are large sandbanks to the left to the river. Lovely, gentle blend of colors of the woodland in spring. In the autumn it is considerably more colorful, but more clashing. Most trees are now a lively green, yellowish-green, a few brownish-green; the redbud makes

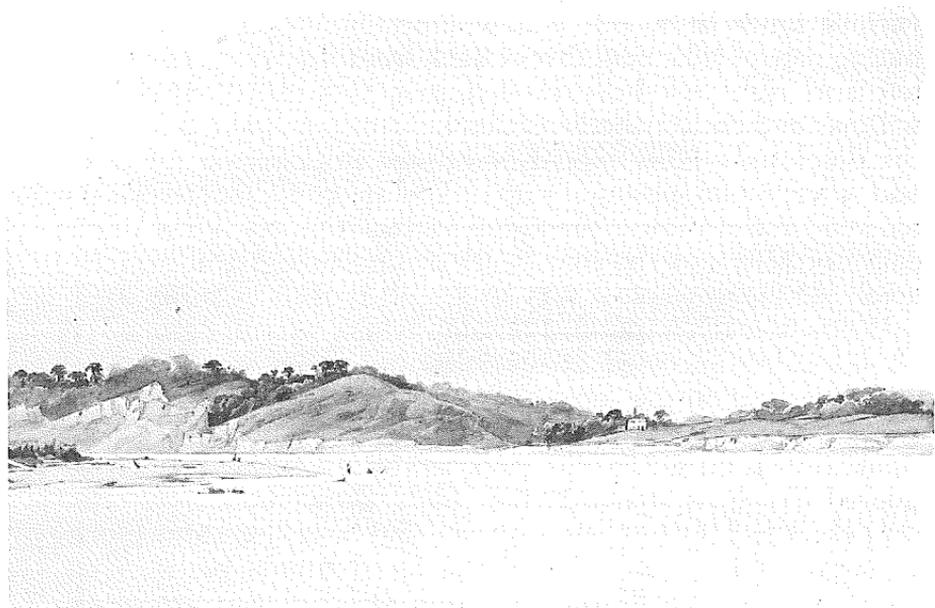
lovely patches. Ducks (wood duck) everywhere on shore. Magnificent forest, dark shade in it. Several Indian ranchos [huts] of thin poles bound together. Indeed the forests here now bear some resemblance to Brazilian ones, but beautiful to a much lesser extent. An island now divides the river, left of it are large sandbanks. We collide sharply a few times with unseen logs in the water. Ahead of us we now saw bare prairie hills again. Up to now the shore was marked by forest to the left and below with a splendid strip of redbud. After supper and shortly before dusk there was a halt and wood was cut. Our hunters found a *Heterodon*⁴³ snake again. At night a violent storm with rain.

April 24: Rain early in the morning, but pleasant, then lightly overcast. We received strong jolts and ran onto sandbanks. To the left beautiful alternating hills with fresh foliage, bare yellow rocky spots on them. We remain almost entirely still; the boat must fathom all around. At 7:30 68°. The boat was finally pulled back quite away. We then found a passage more in the middle of the river. To the right willows and behind them cottonwoods, all of them already green. To the left lovely, partly rugged, somewhat wild hills, ravines full of various kinds of wood, yellow limestone walls. This alternating row of hills now draws back from the river, and to the left and right we have eroded, not very high banks with willows and cottonwoods on them. After one and a half hours the Blacksnake Hills appear before us. Prior to this we again had a very bad passage with many snags in the river. We received sharp blows; the engine often stopped. View of the chain of hills and the forests all around here extraordinarily lovely, the gentle colors very lively, all broken by misty air.

We now reach a spot full of snags where we run aground on all sides. We received heavy jolts, but ropes were fastened with the boat to the logs; and after an hour we successfully wound our way through in this fashion. A flock of *Anser canadensis* is missed.⁴⁴ The bank on the left toward which we steered closely is steep, 29 feet high, shows excellent, often very black soil. Often pieces of rock and large limestone blocks on shore. The green color of the forest highly picturesque. Again we receive sharp jolts from snags, often get stuck, navigate only slowly, ultimately to the right bank. Here there was tall forest in which we see crows and ravens. With the



No. 4. Monument to Prince Maximilian erected in 1933 at Mount Vernon Gardens on the banks of the Missouri River by the German-American community of Omaha. . . . (Bottom) No. 5. Karl Bodmer, The Blacksnake Hills on the Missouri with Roubidoux's House, April 24th, 1833, watercolor and pencil.

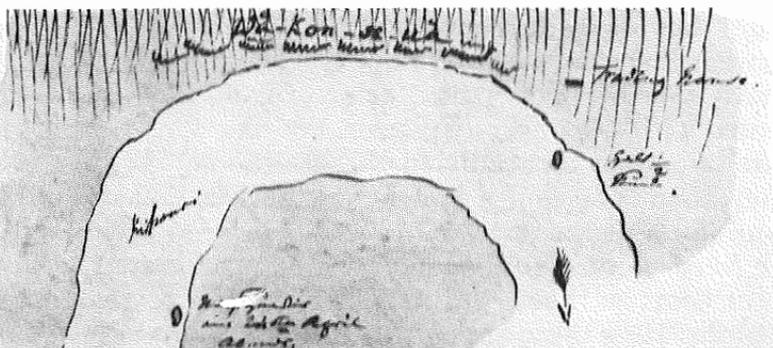


hunting rifle the pilot shot here a grey eagle which the boat brought us. We stop here and set into motion the axes which one can hear from all directions. On the ground the forest was overgrown only in part with dense rushes. Dreiboppel now brought back for the first time the completely opened blossoms of the papaw tree and a small species of *Equisetum*.⁴⁵ The flushed woodcutters came jumping down from the high banks and laid themselves flat on the beach or on the old trunks that could be found there and drank from the cold river. A Spaniard who recently did this experienced immediately afterwards violent body pains, which /2:35/ one of the clerks healed with a Spanish fly plaster. We had wind for the greater part of today, especially in the afternoon. We cast off and after about one and a half hours the Blacksnake Hills, *Wá-kon-seh-ud*^u of the Ayawa^u Indians, appeared before us. They are very picturesque, moderately high, forested with open green spots on them; and in front the river has steeply eroded the hills. Here there appear reddish-yellow, pointed wave-like bluffs, the entire forests most picturesque in their spring colors and in the most lovely evening illumination.

Mr. Bodmer make a sketch of the chain of hills and of the white trading house lying before them on an open green spot.⁴⁶ [See plate No. 5.] On the hills we saw upon closer approach sharp edges and ridges.^c A few men who are in the service of the Fur-Company dwell in the house. We landed here awhile. The men, obviously Frenchmen, came on board and related that a raiding party of the Ayawa^u Indians (they dwell 5-6 miles from the house) attacked a couple of huts of the Omawhaws [Omahas] (other side of the river) a few days ago, killed 2 men, 4 women and children and had taken a woman and child prisoner, and wounded several. The latter they offered for sale at the trading post. Dougherty,⁴⁷ in whose agency the Omawhaws belong, took up the matter and remained behind to reclaim the woman; Bodmer and Major Bean accompanied him. We navigated about a quarter of an hour farther where we stopped at the high bank, cut wood, and stayed for the night. Only about 11 o'clock did our traveling compa-

c. Here it must be noted that not the entire chain of hills but just the spot right on the river, with the yellow bluffs, bears the name "Blacksnake Hills"; the hill-chains themselves run one on each side of the river, and in the broad valley that lies in between them it turns back and forth.

nions come back. The Indians had assumed they would be upbraided and all got drunk, the chief not excepted. The prisoners were also drunk. They had sold their wool blankets and all kinds of objects for whisky. Since it was not now possible here, Dougherty undertook to retrieve the squaw from farther up. [See Drawing A.]



Drawing A. TRANSLATION—Top, "Wâ-Kon-se-üâ [Blacksnake Hills]"; top, right, "Trading House"; center, right, "Halt for half an hour"; center, left, "Missouri [River]"; center, bottom, "Night quarters on the evening of April 24."

April 25: Early morning cloudy, afterwards lightly overcast sky and at 9 o'clock strong wind. Yesterday Bodmer had brought back from the prairie by the trading house a lovely orange-colored flower (*Batschia canescens*)⁴⁸ which often grew there; we had not yet seen it. In the vicinity of the trading house settlers are supposed to have settled as far as 15 miles inland. From the house it is only 8 miles to the Little Platte River, and on high land between both rivers is situated a little village of the Ayawäs, who had now committed the murder of the Omawhaws. To the left we had early today lovely hills with rather light-colored forest, its soil completely [covered] with lively green sprouting plants; the May apples especially /2:36/ were growing here. After breakfast we reached an ugly place full of snags on the right shore. To the right large sandbanks now faced us. Large, broad sediments (*Böden*), washed up and deposited by the river, fill the bends in its course; they are overgrown with grasses and other plants. A cross section in the water shows a layer of 3-4-5 feet of this completely black soil at the top. Towards 9 o'clock an unpleasant, strong wind arose. By a willow thicket on the left bank a wild turkey was moving which, however, did not stay. To the

right on shore is now the outlet of the channel behind Nadaway [Nodaway] Island, called Nadaway Slew [Slough], which separates the island from the mainland; about one and a half miles from here the Nadaway River opens up into it. The island is large and beautifully wooded. Before we reached it, we saw to the right on the hill the loveliest trees in bloom, especially the redbud and white *Crataegus*⁴⁹ or *Pyrus*⁵⁰ (without thorns).

The banks of the Nadaway Slew are very picturesquely covered with tall timber, now especially with fresh green. By that Slew the Missouri turns left and runs to the other side against the chain of hills S2W. To the left on shore a bald eagle nest. The lovely bird roves about. Before long on the steep banks a sand deposit of the river covered with young cottonwoods; here, from the bank in the river, someone shot at the coot. Farther on a few sandbanks. There were a few jolts from snags. Somewhat farther still, a place where we could not find any channel at all. Here we stopped at the right bank and sent the woodcutters out; the Frenchman Roubedoux⁵¹ who has recently been behaving badly on ship has already made some wood. We left these people on Nadaway Island. Since we could not get through in this channel, we turned around to about three-quarters to 12, back again, where we came from, until beneath the sandbank that separated us from the Missouri channel on the left and which likewise was full of snags. After our boat had fathomed this channel and returned, we steered into it. Noon at 12 o'clock 72°. Now we immediately found in the channel a very bad place full of snags. This first one was left behind, before long a second one; but in this one we ran into a snag and in order to get away, we let the ship drive against the bank where we collided, especially against the driftwood lying here. After our meal we had passed the third very bad place and had somewhat more open water. On this entire shore there is green underbrush and rushes in the forest, above it the tall timber apparently dried out because of flooding and storms. Facing us we now have to the right in the river the place where we turned around this morning. On Nadaway Island Capt. Martin⁵² wintered with 20 men 2 years long; they lived from hunting. In one year they shot 1800, in another 1600 head of game (*Cervus virginianus*)⁵³ and shot and wounded just as many that they did not get; in addition,



No. 6. Karl Bodmer, Snags in the Missouri River, April 25, 1833, watercolor. . . . (Bottom) No. 7. Bodmer, Missouri River-Nodaway Island, April 25, 1833, watercolor and pencil.



they still shot elk and bear. The elk is now rare in the area. On the left bank the young cottonwoods were wildly shattered (40 foot high trees) and their branches wildly intertwined and entangled. In the river few snags now. Before long a pretty wooded island with washed-off, step-like banks; it is off to our right, and we move over toward the right bank. Right away a number of snags again and now more collisions.

We land at Nadaway Island and take in the wood prepared by the cutters. Here we stopped for half an hour. At the end of the island the upper Nadaway "Slew" opens up, over which we (250 paces past the outlet) landed again, also to bring in more wood here.^d On the northern shore of the channel, on the sand, stood 5-6 and, in the forest, yet another or a pair of Indian hut scaffoldings which probably /2:37/ were made by the Sakis or Ayaways and formerly covered with bark. Lovely, splendidly wild forest in which these huts were situated. It began to rain here, and a dark thunderstorm was rising. A poodle which was lost swam after the ship, and he was brought in with the boat. Right where the ship lay one could see an otter in the sand. In the lovely forest over the high sandy banks the redbud bloomed very beautifully. Mr. Bodmer sketched the upper slew of the island,⁵⁵ but from this vantage point could not see the Indian wigwams. After 20 minutes, departure. The hill on the right was covered with clear forest. The *Podophyllum [peltatum]* with its large, bright green leaves covered the ground. Many horse chestnuts (*Aesculus*)⁵⁶ grew here; their large lovely green leaves were out. The redbud and *Crataegus (azarolus?)* or *Pyrus* mingled their red and white blossoms. Colossal overturned trunks in the water. Splendid view of the forests which, 2 days after the rain, have become almost completely green—magnificent color mixture of spring. Ducks paired everywhere. In a dark forested valley I saw on the right bank a large, long Indian hut which filled it up cross-wise; it appeared to have been built for many men. Its location was wild and lovely. The *Podophyllum* extended its large beautifully-shining bright green leaves all over; the fruit which appears here in quantity is heavily eaten by the Indians.

d. This halt provided us the blossoms of the white ash and a *Crataegus*, probably *azarolus*.⁵⁴

Somewhat farther, on this wild shore, between two high cottonwoods, stood a tall, parched trunk, without branches, out of which flew a wild goose (*A. canadensis*); it had its nest here. Not far away the nest of a white-headed eagle stood on a tall tree. A dark thunderstorm and clouds rose up. Thunder and lightning could be heard, but only moderately. To the right in the forest it was burning; smoke was rising in several places, and the forest was scorched black in spots on the ground for a sizeable stretch. Indians or travelers along the river had done this. If the Indians want to make their tracks unrecognizable or hide them, they light the grass and shrubs behind them. To the right and left there were now sandbanks. We rush to the left shore. Many ducks fly in all directions, most of them paired, all woodducks. Out of a cavity of the steep bank to the left emerged a pair of woodducks. Also here [are] remnants of Indian huts probably of the Sacs who have canoes. The underbrush in a few places in the forest was entirely red from redbud, farther on entirely uninterrupted. Here we reached again the chain of hills which was very steep. In the narrow strip of forest between the hill and the river lay 8 Indian hut scaffoldings. Here a great deal of *Aesculus* grew in the forest; it is supposed to have yellowish blossoms; up to now is still not blossoming. Farther on an island, the river on both channels very shallow. We get stuck, then in the channel to the left farther upwards. Here to the left on shore picturesque hills with rounded-off summits, but remarkably descending edges, everything covered with clear forest, mosses, and plants. Just before twilight we find ourselves before the outlet of the Wolf River [Wolf Creek], which discharges picturesquely from dark forests. At its outlet an eagle's nest.

April 26: Morning lightly overcast sky, pleasant. Some wind. At 7:30 68°. River without great variation. In several places on the shore to the right of us the scaffolding of many huts of the Saks and Ayawas. The river is rather good today, and we move along rapidly. On both sides of the shore sandy beach; on it large lying trunks. A tall cottonwood which slid down still stands and grows afresh in the water. Many wild ducks, a large eagle to the left. A wild goose (*A. canadensis*) /2:38/ with its four small downy young ones on the beach. Shots are fired at her; she returns to her young. The little ones

are olive-yellow with such a streak under the eye, upper parts olive-greenish, neck and lower parts yellow. To the right large sandbanks, low-lying shore; to the left steep and high. Beautiful view of the chain of hills with remarkable edges running off them; the forest on it is clear, magnificently colored. Nasty bend in the river full of snags. To the left a large sandbank; behind it the picturesque forested hills. To the right an island. Then, on the right shore, a true wilderness, a deeply cut creek full of uprooted wood. To the right the forest [with] cottonwood and *Platanus*⁵⁷ with different kinds of undergrowth. The woodduck everywhere very numerous paired. Lovely view of the Missouri before us; it appears to go through a narrow ravine. We hurry over to the left.

In the young forest 5-6 Indian huts built by the Sacs or Sakis are situated here, merely of poles like those mentioned above. Picturesque hills, the forest very lovely, their summits or foremost parts now cut off to yellow bluffs. Magnificent view of redbud in the bright spring green. While the river turns to the right, there now follows, after the chain of hills, a low-lying place overgrown with willows where a nice river, the Grand Nemawhaw [Big Nemaha], discharges. The Ayawã, Oto, Omahas, and Yanktons⁵⁸ (a branch of the Sioux) gave their half breed Indians, of whom there are about 150-200, the region around this river up to the Little Nemawhaw [Nemaha]. The land belonged to the Otos; the other Indians paid for it in order to accommodate their half breeds (offspring of Indians and whites).^{59e} Large, extended sandbanks now followed to the left. Shallow water. On the banks to the left is a thicket of willows. For a long time we could not get away from this spot here and often ran aground^f but finally with minimal force from the engine moved on. We reached the shore on the left and followed it. We reached the chain of hills which here are covered only a little with wood, spotted with gray and green. The hills are gently pointed or rounded off at the top and follow wave-like to the shore; on their ridges stood isolated forest trees. 12 o'clock noon 77°. On the left a large amount of soil has been washed up before the chain of hills, with a steep bank; on it grow young, slender cotton-

e. It has been 2 years now since they received this land, but they are not yet using it.

f. Here the Tarkio River discharges behind an island.

woods 20-25 feet high. To the left large sandbanks arise again in the river. In the water on the shore we saw a large, very lovely yellowish and black spotted snake. The river makes a small bend to the left, but not toward the chain of hills on the right. The bank steep. Forest full of redbud. The leaves of the *Platanus* are over half open. The forests this spring are—as I have been assured—green 10-14 days earlier than usual. To the right sandbanks now appear. As we navigate over to the left, we get stuck, but soon come loose again. To the right completely green willows in front of the tall forest which likewise is entirely green. We ran aground again. The strong wind drives the sand everywhere in the air and in our eyes. We now proceed to the steep left shore on which there is clear forest above. This is again such deposited or washed up soil, /2:39/ behind which one begins to see the bare prairie mountains overgrown with grass alone.

Indian huts in the forest. They consisted of poles, and the cover was likewise laid with roots. Somewhat farther stood other round huts of the usual form. Here we noticed a tree, the branch of which had been hewed out by the Indians for honey. We now experienced a violent collision against a snag and soon a second one, but apparently without being damaged. Oaks on shore covered with fresh green foliage and blossoms, very green. Picturesque ravines full of the most beautiful fresh foliage. On a clear spot in the tall forest, before the spreading rim of a hill, protected from behind by other summits, about 7 Indian huts stood close to the river. The river turns to the right; to the left now large sandbanks. Left and forward the rows of hills now appear very low; afterwards they rise again as one comes closer to them. To the left washed up soil very picturesquely overgrown, green with grass; behind it the tall forest trunks. In the river snags and sandbanks; we often ran aground. To the right before the picturesque chain of hills trails a narrow prairie which runs up from the nearby outlet of the Nishnebottonah [Nishnabotna] up to Council Bluff. We now were immediately situated by this outlet which lies in extremely picturesque fashion between tall green trees. On the beach under the outlet stood an Indian canoe. In the tall timber at the tip of the outlet Dougherty once shot one winter 20 head of elk from a flock of this game. They separated and part of them fell into the ice of the

Nishnebottoneh where the pursuing Oto Indians⁶⁰ found them. The river just-mentioned is beautiful and was formerly rich in beaver which have given way to European greed and destructive expertise.

In the evening sun sinking deep behind the forest, illuminating the area in an indescribably beautiful fashion. We had a magnificent view back toward the violet-red and shining purple chain of hills. Before us the broad reflection of the river in fire, the tall shore-line forests in fiery, vivid green, the deep peace of all nature. The wind had abated. Only our roaring steamboat turned dangerously around between the many tips of snags peering out of the water. A snag moved under the ship; and when the latter slid over it without mishap, it came under the boat, and this was likewise pulled entirely loose from the ship and over water. The steamboat was unable to move forward; we let it move backward and now drove with the force of the river against new snags, but fortunately more on the side facing the wood piled up here in masses, upon which a group of men immediately jumped and shoved off from land. Finally we moved on, after about a half hour and stopped here on the left shore. Behind us now on the left bank was the site where there once stood a trading house for the Oto Nation, of which nothing can be seen anymore. Before us at some distance lay Morgan's Island. Our woodcutters and hunters went ashore but brought nothing home since the forest consists only of cottonwoods.^g

On the morning of April 27. Overcast skies, faint glimpses of sun, strong wind. Until 6 o'clock we stayed put and wood was brought in; then we moved on. Off to the right on the shore we soon saw the prairie of the Nishnebottoneh again. At 7:30 67°. We proceeded to the shore on the right. Here in the forest grows much black walnut which no one uses. To the left we now have Morgan's Island overgrown with cottonwoods and a sandbank in front. /2:40/ To the right in the forest much red-bud is growing. On the shore to the right the strata were very distinct; good earth, some of it very black alternates with layers more mixed with sand. Also one often finds pumice stone in the Missouri on the banks, without knowing a site

g. The Whip-poor-will (*Caprimulgus*),⁶¹ a bird we had not yet encountered, was common here and often heard.

from which it actually comes. These rivers wash it down from the Rocky Mountains, but there, too, no one is aware of its existence. The Indians use it for rubbing their tanned hides. About 8 feet deep on the bank a nearly 2 foot imposing, entirely black stratum like coal shale. Above on the bank in the forest all the shrubbery is colored red from redbud blossoms. We are now facing the upper end of Morgan's Island with a sandy promontory and large driftwood pile on it. Mr. Bodmer draws his island with the dividing channel.⁶² The channel on the right bank is shallow and full of snags. To the left are low, steeply cut hills on which stone strata alternate. The river here is very narrow. We soon run violently aground just as we are facing the Little Nemahaw River which is opening on the left. There where the vast prairie joins with thickets the river emerges. Somewhat farther ahead shallow spots and violent jolts. A storm with heavy rain lasts about an hour. We navigated somewhat farther and then landed around noon on a sandbank. The boat was sent out for fathoming, but the wind, which was beginning to blow more violently from out of the prairie at S2W, drove us even more closely onto the sand, often inclined the ship to one side. Hence the ship was first firmed up on a log on the sandbank left; and when this no longer did any good, ropes were fastened to snags in the current.

After eating our hunters went ashore, but they had scarcely gone before such a violent storm arose that there was grave concern about the ship. Several objects—chicken coops, for instance—were blown down from the deck, floated up to the sandbank, and part of the chickens drowned. One chimney was blown down by the wind. We dreaded that the wind would rip the deck off the steamboat. Fortunately our rope held firm. The first squall abated, but very soon after another one arose. The captain's wish was that he could put the ship under the steep bank of about 20 feet in height which was on our windward side, but in this storm this could not be attempted. We were also blown ever more firmly into the sand. During the windstorm it was not cold: at 12 o'clock the temperature was 73°. Rain intermittently accompanied this unpleasant storm. The broad sandbanks around us were covered with dust, and a few crows flew about us. Also a *Totanus* with yellow-red legs (doubtless *calidris*)⁶³ moved up

to the edge of a sandbank not far from the ship. A few of our hunters, including Bodmer and Droidoppel, appeared on the edge of the bank on the prairie and wished to be brought on board, but the boat had been drawn in—indispensably necessary in our situation. Therefore, they turned around and sought shelter from the storm. Mr. Makenzie [McKenzie]⁶⁴ and others very familiar with the Missouri unanimously assured that they had never experienced so violent a storm on these waters. The boat was sent around, to fish out /2:41/ different lost objects and those driven against the sandbank. The ship's carpenter patched things up here and there; after about two to two and a half hours the storm had abated. The crows now came flying along the sandbank, and rifles were turned against them but without hitting one of them. In the tall timber encompassing the prairie off in the distance we heard several shots from our hunters on land.

After 4 o'clock the violent wind had abated somewhat. The hunters came back and Mr. Bodmer had killed the lovely yellow-headed troupial (*Icterus icterocephalus Bonap.*)⁶⁵ new to us, which we recently encountered near Leavenworth, still with the red shouldered one and *Quiscalus versicolor*.⁶⁶ Bonaparte⁶⁷ seems to have depicted this beautiful bird. The golden orioles (*Pirole*) were still all together in flight. At 4:30 we were able to leave our spot. We moved successfully through the bad spot filled with many snags and along the steep bank where the redbud bloomed very beautifully. After a time Messrs. Sanford⁶⁸ and Dougherty appeared here and wanted to be brought in by boat. They had killed a raccoon and a mouse which they brought to me; it was of the kind that usually has been regarded erroneously as *Mus sylvaticus* in natural historical works.^h They had tracked only limited game and seen none at all. We later moved over to the left bank. Here an island soon appeared before us and when we arrived at the channel (Slew) dividing it from the mainland, the sun set; and we saw its magnificent evening red between the thin cottonwood trunks covering the island, whereupon we were told that this island had the name *Isle au Bon Soleil* (Good Sun Island). At twilight we stopped at this island. The crew left to prepare wood. The island is large, 4 to 5 miles long. The rac-

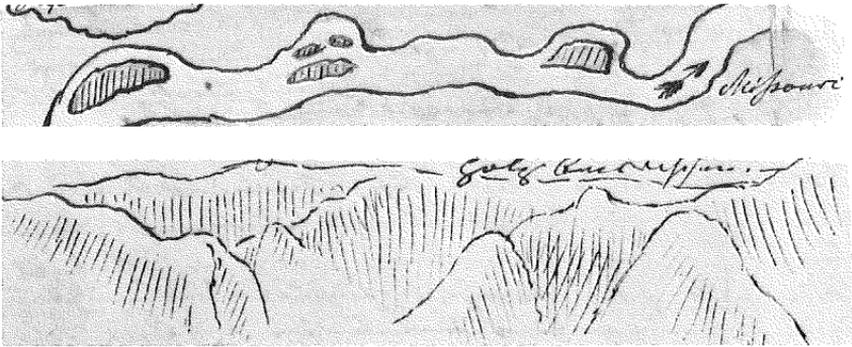
h. See zoological diary where it is listed under the designation *M. Macrocephalus*.⁶⁹

coon killed by Sanford made an appearance already that evening in disrobed form on the gallery of the back side of the steamboat where all kinds of meat was always hanging out. Here, next to beef and pork, appeared chickens, turkeys, and rabbits; marmots and raccoons were not shunned by the Negroes and Canadians if they could only get them.

April 28: Early in the morning we had gloomy, overcast skies, moderate wind and rain. We went somewhat farther to Sun Island and landed there again since there was no water to continue the journey. The boat fathomed around us but found no passage. So they began to unload all the loaded wood and other articles to lighten the ship. At 7:30 64°. We went on the island, but its entire ground was overgrown with rushes; since, however, sounds of small birds could be heard, Bodmer and Dreidoppel went ahead to shoot. There were many signs of game on the island. A ship's carpenter who had gone somewhat astray heard a large animal near him run away and asserted it was a panther. Dreidoppel had found several birds already familiar to us, including the towi bunting (*Fringilla Erythrophthalma*)⁷⁰ which is common here. After the ship was lightened, the engine was started up and an attempt was made to move on, but we soon ran aground again. It seemed that we would not get away from here today. At 12 o'clock 71°, but with intermittent rain. The anchor was dropped. In the afternoon several violent rain showers. Last year the steamboat was stranded here 5 days due to lack of water. Several attempts were made to move forward. But since these did not succeed, the ship was allowed to go back from the place where it had been unloaded, and towards evening it was moved over to the right bank where we remained for the night. Towards 5 PM a flight of at least 100 pelicans passed over us in a northerly direction. They had formed a wedge and occasionally a semi-circle and often broke into 2 formations but always restored the old order. One could see their /2:42/ dark pinions very clearly distinguished, as well as the folded up neck and the beak bent up front. Since I had never seen pelicans in their natural state, I thought at first they were cranes.

April 29th: In the morning mist and fog, even rain. More water was found early and we left rather quickly. At 7 o'clock a flock of 200 pelicans passed by us. A number of shots were

fired, and finally there also fell a bird who seemed only lame in the wing. Unfortunately, we could not get a boat to retrieve it; it was left on the sandbank. Also early this morning, two wild turkey hens were shot at dawn and plucked immediately. At 7:30 58___. We moved over to the right bank where there were many snags and found ourselves at the spot which is called Narrows of Nishnebottoneh. Here, about 30 miles from the mouth of this small river, it comes in front of the strange chain of limestone hills so close to the Missouri that there remains only an interval of 200 paces. [See Drawing B.]



Drawing B

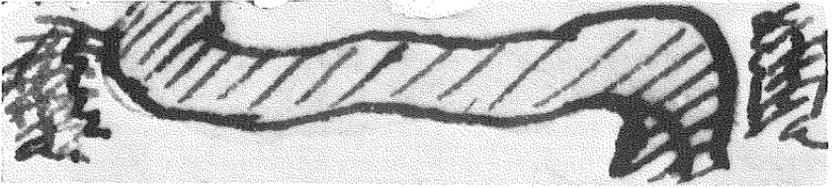
The view of the chain of hills, before which the Nishnebottoneh flows, is noteworthy. It has highly odd limestone edges which now and then are formed like entrenchments on sharply protruding bastions, overgrown in part with green and then spotted yellow, or reddish and yellowish-red from stones and earth. A few are covered with timber. Before them a splendid carpet of grass spreads itself out freshly green from the Nishnebottoneh to the Missouri on completely level washed-up soil. The Nishn. itself is encompassed with a tall forest of hickory, cotton-wood, *Platanus*, Ash, and other species of trees. Soil extraordinarily fertile. Here settlements could be established to great advantage. Once one could see here hundreds of elk and deer, now only a few. Twelve miles above the narrows the Nishnebottoneh divides into three tributary arms. Here in this region the Otos, Ayawás, Sakis, and Muskoke (Foxes) hunt in accordance with a general agreement. The Missouri makes a big bend to the left at the site of the narrows; an island is situated here, which is named for this place. Farther on, in the big bend of the river, the shore was inhabited

by white-bellied swallows. Then we moved right over the river and encountered a dangerous spot full of snags. The trees which make up the shore in this region of the Missouri have already diminished in number of species. They approximately consist of the following:

Black oak

1. Red Oak
2. Red Elm
3. Cottonwood in the bottoms and 4. different species of willows
5. Sycamore (*Platanus*) until about Council Bluff
6. Black Walnut
7. Papaw tree (goes about up to the Platte River, a few somewhat higher)
8. Box-elder (still continues up, growing on the creeks of the prairies)
9. Hyckory
10. Ironwood
11. Hackberry
12. White Ash
13. Honey Locust
14. Red Mulberry
15. Redbud

/2:43/ On the shore to the left, in the direction of the picturesque chain of hills, we now had many snags in the river and piles of wood. A number of ducks stopped here. The chain of hills here was mostly overgrown with green; in all their ravines tall forest trees. One never sees bluffs simultaneously on two turns of the river in "a" and "a" [note letters at sides of river in Drawing C] but rather always on one side only. Farther on wild geese appeared on the sandbanks to the right; they were fired upon, but they were not frightened by the bullets striking the sand. To the left there was a fertile bottom washed up by the river, overgrown with young cottonwoods. We moved on (or rather crept since we could only use half-speed) along this bank where the row of hills remained very close to us for some time. On it one could observe walls with withered grass and a large number of now yellowish or brownish-green blossoming oaks. On the river of the hills the redbud blossomed in marvelously beautiful fashion. The *Urubu* or turkey buzzard hovered about over the hills. In a few places the redbud had



Drawing C

unfolded its leaves somewhat; on the edge of the shore abundantly bloomed the sky blue plox [*sic*] which we so often harvested and which here and there colored everything blue. At 12 o'clock noon 72° Fahrenheit. There now followed tall, steep banks or bluffs, colored yellow-red or ash-gray-blue on which slippages appear now and then; a place of this kind is well-known, we saw several smaller ones where springs were probably the cause. In a few places these banks were reddish-brown, and Dougherty told me that the Pawnee Indians⁷¹ paint themselves with a clay of similar color since they have no lovely red clay. We now turned over to the right bank where before long we landed to get wood. Instantaneously the withered trees especially fell right and left; the blow of the axe echoed in every direction. The ground of the forest was densely covered with rushes (*Equisetum hyemale*)⁷² on which insects, probably young ants, were sitting almost everywhere in large numbers so that one could not reach about oneself without coloring one's hands violet-red with their juice. Otherwise one noticed few living animals in the vicinity; only the blue bird appeared in the vicinity to let its unimpressive song be heard.

When I was ready to return to the ship, a man shouted out to me—he was half of the Ojibbeway⁷³ Race—to be careful: on that trunk lying there was a rattlesnake (*Crotalus tergeminus* Say);⁷⁴ he heard him rattling. I immediately found it, beat it senseless, and we put it in a tin cannister next to a *Heterodon* and a black snake where it soon became completely active again. Later it was placed in whisky but had not bitten the two other snakes. The weather during the afternoon was very pleasantly warm. We had a few nasty spots with snags. A couple of dogs had stayed behind on land; they ran and swam after us for a long time, ran themselves to exhaustion on the steep bank; finally mercy triumphed over greed and they were taken in. The river formed a beautiful broad surface. All around its green banks. Below a fringe of willows over which the forest of cottonwoods arises. On the left bank there was

also another forest. The passage was too shallow, but broad. In the middle of the river lay several snags. We remained still, and the boat fathomed all around. In the forest on shore a few thrushes were singing. We advanced a bit up to a broadly extended sandbank in the river, upon which the wood, boards, and many barrels were unloaded to lighten the ship.

Dougherty and Sanford took their rifles to go hunting even though the day was drawing to a close. They found the island surrounded by water and waded through almost up to the arms but returned late empty-handed. The rest of us investigated the sandbank and found tracks of wild geese and sandpipers, also a broken, completely white /2:44/ egg of a wild goose. Driftwood lay everywhere on this large sandbank; one also found the so-called local pumice stone which, to me, had the appearance of slag. It is blackish in color. The items unloaded from the steamboat were brought a couple of hundred paces farther, for which purpose the wild, raw army of our Canadian *engagés* was set in motion. We stayed here for the night. The sandpiper which I saw here on the beach I regarded as *Calidris arenaria*.^{75 i} We found a few common white snails like those common to all rivers of North America. Dougherty told us that on his return from hunting the Indians had ignited the prairie, something they often do, and that they still found it smouldering. Later, in the moonlight, Dreidoppel found the nest of a wild goose with 3 eggs on the sandbank. In the twilight he had seen a number of blackbirds.

April 30: Early morning, sky overcast; cool; fresh wind. With great effort the wood and the barrels are re-loaded and after 7 o'clock the journey is resumed. At 7:30 58°. At the outset we stopped almost in the middle of the river, for on the left bank there were a number of snags. To the left a couple of islands. Because of the sandbanks we move over to the right, but soon were stuck again. The boat now goes out to fathom; we lay for several hours at one and the same place. Sanford and Dougherty had themselves put ashore to go hunting. Towards 11:30 an attempt succeeded and we were free, also navigated immediately along the left shore. Sandpipers were rather frequent here. Thirty men were set ashore to lighten the ship. Here at this spot very large wolf tracks stood in the wet

i. This presupposition turned out to be unfounded.

sand on shore. At 12 o'clock 71°. We left behind the island which we had had so close to us the entire morning. The crew, which had been set out, ran to the shore to come along, but suddenly we were stuck again. The boat now fathomed everywhere and returned with the sad news that nowhere was there enough water for our ship. Pairs of ducks flew up out of the island channels everywhere. Already earlier Mr. Makenzie had sent a man up the river in order to procure a keelboat to ship out a part of the cargo.

Since no one saw a means of going farther, [the ship] was turned around and we moved back to the spot on the south Missouri shore where we previously set the crew out. Here everyone was hunting. Soon one could hear shots in all directions—most, however, only at ducks. In the vicinity of the shore I immediately found horse dung—it could only be that of Indians—in addition, the tracks where deer had trod the previous year, which completely coincides with this time in Europe. I saw few birds, no amphibians at all, found blooming elms, an interesting grass, a couple of pretty blooming species of willow, and the *Prunus padus virginiana*⁷⁶ as well as *Crataegus* (probably *Azarolus*).^j Rain announced its coming; it thundered; I went back. Soon several hunters followed. Mr. Bodmer had killed a *Tringa*.⁸⁰ But now a violent storm and such a violent downpour began that everything was swimming in water. The sky was darkened. Fishing rods were cast out, but a colossal catfish soon ripped our line. Just before dusk Messrs. Sanford and Dougherty came back; apparently they shot a few ducks and a wild goose. /2:45/ They also brought me *Strix nebulosa*⁸¹ and *Coluber constrictor*;⁸² they were dripping with rain. Other hunters had killed several ducks and other animals. That evening the rain ceased. One of our *engagés* had handled or broken off a poison wine [vine?] (*Rhus radicans*).⁸³ His entire face was swollen and distorted; but in this country nothing is made of such a poisoning since it soon disappears of its own accord.

May 1: Early in the morning rain; sky very dark and cloudy. The forest dripping with water. Yesterday a number of flashing insects (*Lampyris*)⁸⁴ had been seen flying in it. This

j. A few species of *Vitis*,⁷⁷ *Rhus*,⁷⁸ and *Smilax*⁷⁹ were on the verge of fully forming their flowers.

morning the mating ducks (*Anas sponsa*)⁸⁵ came very close to us, also the *Tringa* we obtained yesterday. Swallows of two kinds had made their appearance in number and flew about the ship. One could see large, numerous groups of them; they had just arrived. At 7:30 65½°. On the nearby trees one could see blackbirds in flocks. Despite the extraordinary wetness one heard the shots of our hunters ringing in various directions of the forest. The river had fallen still more during the night. The clerk soon returned with 4 killed woodducks. Towards noon no more rain but dark overcast sky. Interesting plants were brought in, including a *Convallaria*.⁸⁶ At 12 o'clock 71° Fahrenheit. The direction of the river on the spot where we lay was W5S. The forest in our area now stood in the full beauty of its spring garb. A number of swallows suddenly flew about us; they appeared to have arrived just now in flocks and were of two different kinds, a large and small one; at noon now we saw no more; they had slipped away. The pilot brought in a wild goose. The great osprey and common raven flew about us. Dreidoppel had lured the latter with the bird call of the European common raven; another man unfortunately missed it.

At 12:30 a heavy catfish (white catfish) got caught on our fishing line; another one ripped the strong line. Soon a second catfish somewhat heavier still (the first weighed 60, this one 65 pounds) caught on; and then the largest of all 100 pounds heavy, and this one also had the ripped-off line in its jaws with which it had returned for food. In its stomach and those of the others were found large pieces of pork, chicken bones, goose feet (trash from the ship), the extremities of a raccoon, large bones, and the entire gill system of a large fish (see natural historical diary). The white catfish grows so large only on the lower Missouri; farther up only smaller ones are caught. Its white color underneath and light blue-gray on upper parts account for its name. The length of the largest fish caught was 53¾ *zoll* [inches]. Its body was fat, the belly swollen, and the head very broad and smooth with 8 whiskers around the mouth. A great many leeches had attached to its gill openings. A still smaller catfish was also caught, colored olive-brownish on its upper parts. All these fish were attracted by the numerous rubbish of our kitchen. In the afternoon a new storm rose out of the West. Dreidoppel returned just at the

right time. He had shot but not captured a rabbit. He had seen a shrew and heard a new bird call. The captain went out and found a deer antler. The face of the man who had touched the *Rhus radicans* was still very thickly swollen today. Amidst the most violent rain, food, consisting of pork and corn, was brought to the 15 woodcutters on the other side of the river. Mr. Bodmer came back from the hunt soaked with rain; he had been unable to shoot anything. Towards evening the sky cleared somewhat in the West; we had reason to expect good weather in the morning. Of the few birds of the neighboring forest we had got nothing other than *Fringilla erythrophthalma* which is very common here. /2:46/

May 2: Early in the morning sunshine but still dark clouds nearby. At 7:30 66° Fahrenheit. The sun climbs higher and the sky becomes clearer. The river has risen a little during the night. Mr. Bodmer went out with the woodcutters. I was on land for a moment. A few small birds sang their soft, pathetic song, but here in these forests in the most lovely time of spring nothing of the animated singing of the birds of our German fatherland could be heard. Among the local songbirds was a thrush, but I did not see it—also *Fringilla erythrophthalma* and a lemon-yellow song-bird, perhaps *Sylvia aestiva*.⁸⁷ I found few plants in bloom, the grape vines had buds. I looked for snakes but found nothing. In the prairie on the right one could see traces of fire; the bushes and trees were partly black. Around 5 minutes before 11 the engine was started; steam had long been building up. We moved again, as we had done lately, crosswise over the river until facing the sand islands which lie to the left, but water began to diminish again and we stood still. A very strong wind had arisen which blew from S.W. Mr. Bodmer came back and brought lovely plants, the *Prunus padus virginiana*, the red oak still another, low with cork-like bark, a *Fraxinus*,⁸⁸ *Aquilegia* [blank]⁸⁹ with lovely red flower, yellow on the inside, a Plox [*sic*] with whitish and bright blue flower, the orange yellow [blank] from the prairie, etc. In addition, he brought an interesting snake, alive, *Coluber flaviventris*⁹⁰ of Say⁹¹ described in Longs travels⁹² by this name. At 12 o'clock 71°. We could finally continue the journey, landed before long on the lovely, freshly green tall forest of the left bank where the woodcutters had arranged a

part of the wood needed. Here Dreidoppel who had been held up by a loudly gobbling turkey gobbler also came to us again. He brought still more lovely plants and had shot two specimens of Wilsons *Turdus aurocapilla*.⁹³ They had seen 2 blacksnakes.

After lunch we reached bluffs or steeply sliced hills on the left shore, whose bases [consist of] violet clay. About them lay blue gray, in the summits red yellow clay. In a few places one could see a number of swallows' nests on them like a colony, all attached at one spot. The river has an island, the edge of which [is] sand, but the surface is covered with willows and cottonwoods. Between the island and the bluffs Table Creek (*Rivière a Table*) which is still small discharges by the left bank. The island is also often called Table Island. On the tall steep banks to the left the redbud shone prominently in the light spring-green of the forest. In the bend of the river to the right by the island we again had very little water. We were pushed back, made a detour, and reached the promontory to the right where we found again a part of our woodcutters who had timber ready. The logs were hurled down from the tall banks and loaded. From here on we found more water, thus moved rapidly on. After about an hour we had to our left open prairie hills covered with grass, that is lowlying green ridges, which again, however, had a level fertile soil (Bottom) with tall forest farther ahead below by the water. Here on a wide spot the river was flat. We hit upon a sandbank, received jolts, turned around, let ourselves be driven back, then followed more closely the left shore. To the left farther on lowlying freshly green hills, lowlying bluffs of limestone; on the edge moderately high oaks, elms, cottonwoods, and other trees. Weeping Water Creek now opens up to the left out of lovely bushes before the hills. Between it and the /2:47/ Missouri extends a fertile alluvial soil which is overgrown with very high luxurious forest and dense underbrush. The bank here was steep, 10 feet high; before it a number of snags in the river. On the shore *Tringa* rather common. The growth of the forest is very vigorous here. There soon follows an island to the right and on this bank a great many snags; ducks sat on them. On the shore to the left sandbanks.

On a broad spot of the river we saw before us the first of 4 to 5 Five Barril Islands (*Isles aux cinq barrils*). The view there

was lovely, illuminated by the brightest evening sun which gave the spring green an incomparable sheen. A number of paired ducks, all from the species of *Anas sponsa*, flew up in front of us. We proceeded to the left bank which was rather ravaged here with withered and shattered trunks; behind them dark, freshly green bushes, and steep hills. The forest was picturesque but not high. The *Prunus padus virginiana* bloomed here in quantity; *Cercis canadensis*⁹⁴ was almost faded and already dull red; the red oak had dried-out blossoms; grape vines were climbing through these trunks. In the rocks of the hills blue *Phlox* formed blue patches. Farther on a steep stone hill entirely overgrown with blooming *Prunus Padus* and another shrub which to me appeared to be *Staphylaea trifoliata*.⁹⁵ After supper one could see a canoe on the river; it was being rowed up and contained a certain Fontenelle⁹⁶ in the service of the Fur Company who still had a man with him. He lives at the Post where Major Dougherty owns a house when he travels as Indian agent of the nations of the Otos, Omawhaws, and Pawnees. Mr. Fontenelle is supposed to undertake a journey to the Rocky Mountains with a party of *engagés* from the Teton River [Bad River]. He remained with us today, and shortly we landed on the left bank.

May 3: Morning lovely bright sunshine. We pass one of the hills to the left which is taller and more isolated than the others; it bears the name Iron Eye (*Ischtå-må-såh* in the Oto and Omåhå language). A small crick with the same name descends here into the Missouri. Somewhat farther on we did not have enough water. We fastened the ship to a few trees and had it swung around, whereupon the rope was taken in and the ship turned around, made a curve, and then moved up to the right bank. At 7:30 67°. In the forest single but sparse redbud blooms. We are now vigorously approaching the large Platte River. Already 4-5 miles from the mouth one can distinguish its water from that of the Missouri since it is clear and blue. It ran separately to the bank lying to our left, actually the right one, of the river. A mile farther the Platte water is nearly covered with white foam bubbles because this river has grown, and in this way we also got more water. Beyond the mouth of the Platte the Missouri—according to Mr. Fontenelle—is supposed to be very small. Left on shore one



No. 8. Karl Bodmer, Missouri River Below Mouth of the Platte, May 3, 1833, watercolor.

now observes pretty forest hills; to the right many snags on the steep bank. We land here to prepare wood. We moved in its shade. A level, fertile surface was protected by tall shaded trees and overgrown with lovely fresh grass and many kinds of plants. The *Gleditsia*⁹⁷ had almost opened its blossoms as well as the *Oxalis*⁹⁸ and other plants.

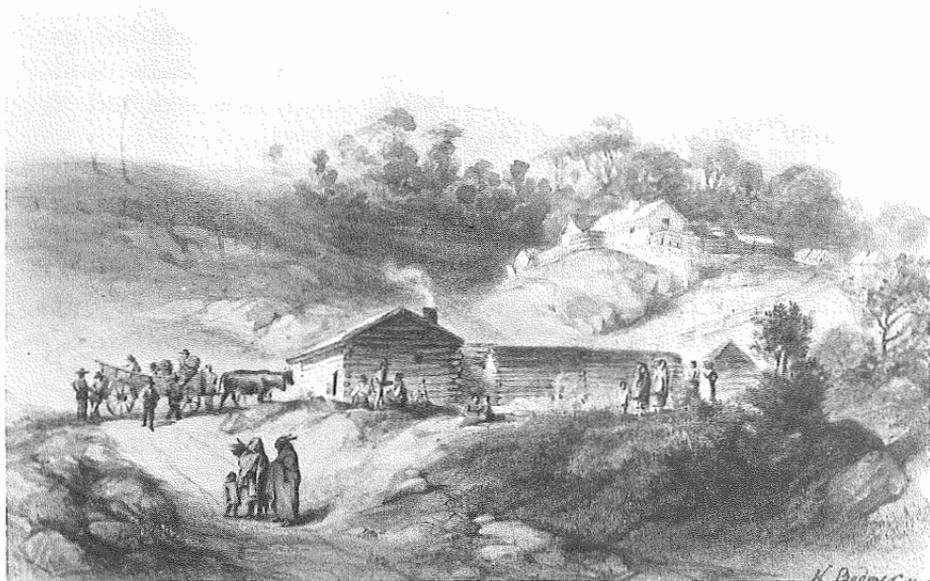
Deer tracks and droppings were very frequent, also dung from the horses of the Indians. The raven and the red-shouldered golden oriole and many small birds could be seen. We now moved on. Beyond in the river lay a broad, white band of foam and small driftwood, which the Platte River drove forth ever more vigorously now. Before the hills on the left bank forest was situated. Before long green overgrown prairie hills. Before them one could see a few tall, parched trees covered, it seems, with caterpillar nests. Several small runs open up here. Swallows in the /2:48/ air. A half hour farther we reached the first mouth of the Platte River on the left bank. It is divided from the 2nd by a flat island. Behind it lay pretty green hills gently levelled-off. The second mouth is the most powerful. On the sandbank on the island great piles of driftwood. The Platte was very high; it floated down wood and foam. Its bluish water, if not clear then at least much clearer, was very distinctly truncated in arch-like fashion in a semi-circle. The view backwards toward both river outlets is very beautiful. The blue circle of water in the foreground, the green hills on the right Platte bank in the background. To the right facing the outlets is forest, in part soil overgrown with willows and cottonwoods; and if the willows are missing, one can see in between the tall shade-bearing forest trees. On the sandy promontory on the Platte geese were moving about.

Twenty minutes farther the Papilion [Papillion] Creek opens up from willow shrubbery. At this place the Missouri River has isolated tall trees, almost in a row on the edge of the prairie. At 12 o'clock 75°. To the right sandbanks with low-lying willows. Before us we saw the green prairie hills and particularly 3 to 4 on which Bellevue, Dougherty's Agency, is situated. This place was formerly a trading post of the Missouri Fur Company.⁹⁹ The latter failed and sold it. Mr. Fontenelle acquired it and sold it to the government which built out of it the agency, which Dougherty now has, for the Otos, Omawhaws, and Pawnees. A subagent, Major

Beauchamp, and a couple of blacksmiths live here. Mr. Fontenelle settled about 4-500 paces farther down. The government bought the entire right Missouri side down to the Big Sioux River from the Indians, but up to now has not taken possession of it.^k Here the river had a number of sandbanks on which we saw many wild geese, including a pair of completely white ones with black pinions (*Anser hyperboreus*)¹⁰¹ (here called Brant) which are nesting here. Toward 2 o'clock we reached Mr. Fontenelle's dwelling which consists of a few buildings with lovely cornfields, situated before pleasantly green, densely forested hills. Part of these fields belong to the government. Behind the hills extends the wide prairie. The land is extraordinarily fertile here: a badly cultivated acre gives 100 bushels of Indian corn, much more when it is carefully cultivated. From here we reached the Bellevue Agency, quite prettily situated upon a summit, the cemetery entirely on the summit. The direction of the river here is N10W. Below by the water a few huts are situated. On the summit the agency building, the dwelling of a smith with his family, and still other buildings.

Here also dwell a few men who have Indian women who are from the tribes of the Otoes and Omahas. They came on board, were clothed red and blue with characteristic broad faces and large features, round fat heads, sagging breasts, small hands and feet. Their children had very dark brown hair but nice faces and snow-white teeth. The women wore their clothes with white borders. It was here where 12 Ayaways (Ioways) recently set out over the river and pursued a group of unarmed Omawhaws who had just left here, caught up with them in the prairie 3 miles from here, and killed and plundered all but a few which they thought dead since they were severely wounded. The victors returned by another route. A woman and child were returned. Dougherty left /2:49/ now with the intention of clearing this matter up with the Omáwhas. We landed here, viewed the layout of the place and its lovely view on the river. On the hill blue phlox and the *Staphylea trifoliata*, also the red *Aquilegia*, bloomed in mass. The Indian corn which had especially lovely, lively colors—black and red mixed and the like—was loaded. I received a

k. About this sale see pag. 319 of this diary.¹⁰⁰



No. 9. *Karl Bodmer*, Bellevue Agency Post of Major Dougherty, May 1833, *watercolor*.



No. 10. *Karl Bodmer*, Two Omaha Indians, *watercolor*.

lovely snake (*Coluber eximus H.?*)¹⁰² which is regarded as poisonous.¹ Towards 4 o'clock or 4:30 we left this place, and steered along the left wooded bank. Here we reached 2 Mackinaw boats which had fetched our crews.

We also suddenly saw the first Omawhah Indians, 3 in number, who were creeping along the beach. An older and a younger man, and a woman. They were wrapped in buffalo robes. The young man had a bow in his hands and a quiver with arrows, of hide, on his back. He was painted white about his eyes and the nose. The woman is the well-known Mitain¹⁰³ ("n" as in French) of whom Say relates in Long's journey that her white man left her and took her child with him, whereupon she followed him quite a distance and showed much loyalty.^m She was recently stabbed in the chest by the Ayawás and by chance not scalped; her son, likewise wounded, is also on the path of recovery. The Mackinaw boats were fastened to our ship. After we had turned right from the forested summits on which Belle Vue is situated, we had sandbanks and washed up soil on the sides. The river turns right and then left again, makes several significant bends, where, on the whole, one is sometimes quite close (by land) to Belle Vue.

This region is the true dwelling place of the Omawhaw Indians¹⁰⁴ who roam on both sides of the Missouri from Boyer River up to the Big Sioux River and still higher to the Jaque [James] River. Furthermore they hunt between Running Water (*L'eau qui court*) [Niobrara] River and the Platte River. Their nearest village is 25 miles distant from Belle Vue. About them it has already been said that they plant Indian corn and in the intervening time, when this cultivation doesn't occupy them, devote themselves to buffalo hunting. The nation is not numerous now, about [blank] warriors. Smallpox and other diseases have reduced them greatly; they have few young vigorous people and, on the other hand, many old people. Earlier we had gone through the region of the Otoes who hunt the same area with the Ayawás. The Omawhaws have a special language which distinguishes them from the remaining

1. The variety of mountains here is limestone with very many conchylia. I noticed only the two-shelled ones but did not have the time to make the appropriate investigations which certainly can be better done on our hoped-for return this fall.

m. For the story of this woman see Major Long's exped. to the Rocky Mount. [3 vols., (London: Longman, 1823)] (Vol. 1, p. 223) where Say relates it extensively.

tribes except for a few words. See the following page on top, where about 20 sample words are listed. Their pronunciation is not difficult. The "a," which is pronounced full between "a" and "o," occurs very frequently; the English language reproduces this sound, for example, in the syllable "haw"; I prefer to write it as "â." The figure shows two of the Omahas seen today: [Drawing missing]

/2:50/ Language Samples of the Omahas:

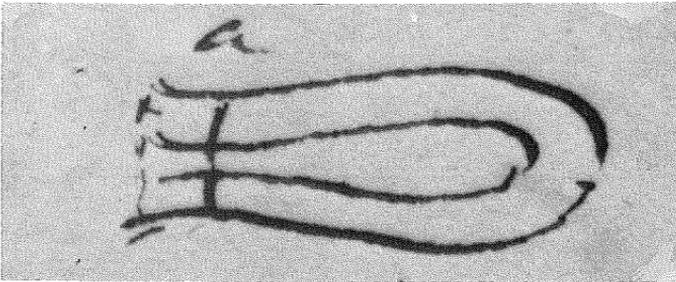
Words

| | |
|----------|---|
| sun | <i>Mih</i> |
| moon | <i>Mih-om-bá</i> |
| star | <i>Piká</i> |
| God | <i>Wâhkonda</i> |
| fire | <i>Pâdé</i> |
| water | <i>Nih</i> |
| earth | <i>Moniká</i> |
| man | <i>Nuh</i> |
| woman | <i>Wâh-úh</i> |
| child | <i>Schinga-schinga</i> |
| head | <i>Nasch-keh</i> |
| arm | <i>Ah-schih</i> |
| hand | <i>Nom-bâ</i> ("om" as in French) |
| hair | <i>Pâ-hí</i> |
| eye | <i>Isch-tá</i> |
| mouth | <i>Hih</i> |
| bow | <i>Mondâhí</i> |
| arrow | <i>Mâh</i> |
| pipe | <i>Ninibâh</i> |
| tomahawk | <i>Mâse-pâjinga</i> ("se" short, as in French, last word rapid) |

Towards evening we dropped off Messrs. Dougherty and Fontenelle at the left bank covered with dense cottonwood forests, and from here they went back to Belle Vue by foot whence they had only a couple of miles to go. This bank was very wild, full of timber; on it a picturesquely wild forest. Wood ducks and sandpipers live on these shores. These regions, especially the prairies, are very favorable for livestock-raising. Cattle thrives very well here, gives a lot of milk, but from time to time must get salt. Mr. Fontenelle said he would have 5000 head of swine in a few years if the Indians would not shoot away too many of them. Our group has

already diminished today. Tomorrow Mr. Pilcher¹⁰⁵ will also leave us. Towards evening we landed on the left bank. The evening was warm and pleasant.

May 4: In the morning bright and only lightly clouded sky, pleasant. Late yesterday evening it was so lovely, and the moon was shining so clearly that we sat until 9 o'clock on the rear balcony of the ship. Quiet prevailed over the whole landscape; only the whippoor-will called out in the forest. The moon reflected splendidly in the smooth surface of the river where a couple of young people including Bodmer were bathing. Later two storms arose, it thundered, and there was lightning. Today at 7:30 $69\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$. Lovely low-lying prairie hills envelop us and before them flat washed up soil with a lovely growth of grass. The river has risen about an inch. On the wide sandbanks lies much driftwood. Wild geese flew before the steaming monstrosity. Before us we now have nearby a row /2:51/ of picturesque hills, Ards Hills, also incorrectly called Hards-Hills. They have remarkable edges and novelly formed tops and ridges. Here was once situated a trading house which has gone out of business. Mr. Bodmer made a sketch of the hills.¹⁰⁶ The river makes a big bend here. [See Drawing D.]



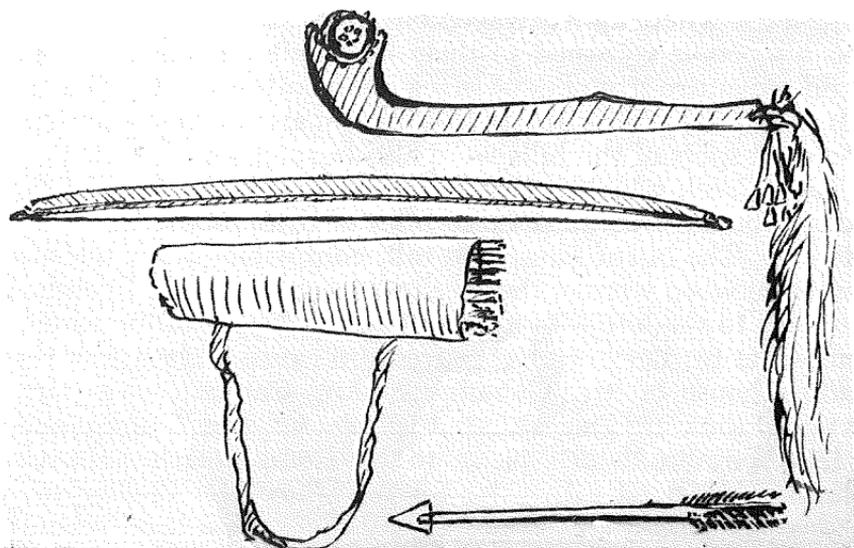
Drawing D

It broke through in "a", but the opening filled up again. Now there followed in the river a very low-lying spot where the ship violently ran aground. The boat fathomed and found a deeper channel. On the right a washed-up ground with willows and cottonwoods. Large trunks formed the basis of those alluvia. Some of them peered forth 4-5 feet long from the steep bank. The river turns left. The promontory on the left is sand with a big pile of wood. The river runs past not far from

the chain of hills which remains on the right, but we are now leaving it. Little water in the river. We collide with a sandbank. Wild geese swim and fly about us. We stop left at a sandbank or sand island and hew the driftwood lying here into logs and firewood. On the tip of the island we found the nest of a wild goose (*Anser canadensis*) with 4 incubated eggs. Once again novel views of Ards Hills; see the sketch. We had little water, we turned back again after an hour and took a short detour. Already part of the cargo had been unloaded in the Mackinaw Boats. We now encountered more water. On both shores there was low-lying alluvial land with about 8-10 foot high banks; on the right it was overgrown with willows and cottonwoods. On the left 6-8 pairs of wood ducks flew up. Now we moved again toward the chain of hills of the left bank. Some were colored green, some blackish-violet. Before one could get there, someone showed us on the green prairie ridge a site where an Ayaway village once stood; the chief died and his people returned to their kin. Left on the shore one could see entire stretches of black dead cottonwoods. The Indians light the prairie and in this fashion also burn the timber. The dark spots of the hills were also burned forest.

Roy's Creek which is quite small opens on the left. In the vicinity of the riverbank large piles of driftwood chaotically piled up. The burnt forest had tall, completely black trees; a few in between were of the loveliest green. At a small bend of the river to the left we found tall yellow bluffs in the forest. Somewhat farther ahead appeared the white buildings of the trading house of Mr. Cabanné.¹⁰⁷ Mr. Cabanné is a part-owner of the Fur Company, not young any longer, and wants to leave here in about 2 weeks for St. Louis to retire. He is a relative of Mr. Chouteau.¹⁰⁸ In the future Mr. Pilcher will take his place. At our approach cannons were fired several times. In the very tall yellow bluffs to the left thousands of swallows nested. The land of hills has collapsed and slid here in many places in great layers with all its forest trees; it forms ledges and levels, a 2nd front-lying bank. These bluffs appear [to be] of reddish yellow clay; under them are layers of gray blue. As we arrived we saw to our delight a number of Indians: Otos, Omähäs, and an Ayawä who lives with the Otos. Behind a bush sat an older man, with gray-white hair, covered with a bison skin. Most of the Indians had buffalo hides with

the hairs hanging outward—some blankets, mostly white, that they paint with colorful stripes. In their features they are not especially distinctive from the ones seen earlier; they were not as handsome as the Sacs and Foxes. Many scarred by smallpox; a couple with one eye; a film on the other, probably from smallpox.ⁿ They had let their hair hang down in disorderly fashion to their necks, /2:52/ never shaved off. Some of their leggins were very nicely sewed. Their war clubs (see the illustration) [Drawing E] were mounted on top with a round ball of white wood studded with yellow nails; on the end of the handle the hide of a quite colorful skunk. A bundle of teeth of slain enemies was attached. They had bored through their ears with a few holes on the edge; there [they] wore blue and white wampum¹⁰⁹ strings. Their mouths and noses were not deformed.



Drawing E

Their bows were about 3 feet long, of white wood, simply and smoothly made. The quiver is a simple leather sack in which the 3 times feathered [blank] inch long arrows stick. They are colorfully painted, the feathers colored, and the tip is

n. Their faces were painted with red stripes—for some with chin and forehead red, for others merely stripes down over their cheeks. In the evening at a dance their faces were painted white. A few of them had bent noses, some a small bump on them. Their eyes in part small, in part fewer, and seldom drawn down in the corner as this often occurs among the Brazilians.

of iron. The faces of the women were not so smooth and flat as in the case of the Sacs and Foxes, their noses longer. Mr. Bodmer sketched an Omaha certainly 10½ to 11 zoII [about 6 feet, 4-5 inches]¹¹⁰ tall and his nice child [see plate No. 11],¹¹¹ whom the father had painted since he was supposed to be drawn.^o He had shaved his head and left a tuft of hair standing behind and in front; in the middle of his head a large white feather was fastened. From an Ayawä (also 10 zoII [about 6 feet, 4 inches] tall) living here with the Otos I bought a bow and arrows, a pair of beautifully decorated leggings, and an interesting whip made of elk bones on which figures of Indians are sketched, one with a scalp in hand. It is studded with yellow nails. This man had a nice friendly face. He lives here near the Omahas who recently overran his people in war, but is not worried because it is known that he does not live with his tribe.^p All had black and red Sioux pipes, decorated with tin or lead, which they did not want to give away cheaply. A child recently wounded by the Ayawäs with 2 wounds in its chest was brought on ship by its parents. It moved about naked under a wool blanket, and the wounds were almost entirely open and exposed to the air. One saw here more older than younger people and many women of whom some are married to whites. A few wore white, others yellow arm bands.

Mr. Cabanné ate with us at noon. Afterwards I visited him and found in his house, which is also the store for the Indian goods, a beautiful view on a balcony which provides a view onto the river. He showed me the nearby cornfields where 15 acres produce 2000 bushels of corn every year. The fertility is supposed to be quite extraordinary. Later, when the Indians were on the ship, I showed them a rattlesnake in whiskey, and they said that recently a child was bitten by one on the left riverbank and died.^q

A strong wind blew the entire day; the heat, however, was very great where the wind did not reach. At 4 o'clock in the

o. He spit in his hands where he held the cinnabar, made the dough, and rubbed and painted the head of the child with it.

p. The name of this man was Nih-yu-ma-nih (pronounced together), in translation: "Falling or Blowing Rain."

q. Here we were brought a live beaver, still very young, about 10-12 inches long, already entirely formed like the other animal, of a rather light brown color. Under different circumstances I would certainly have bought him.



No. 11. Karl Bodmer, Omaha Child at the Middle Missouri, Summer 1833, watercolor.

afternoon 78°. The ship remained here today since many matters had to be taken care of. The evening was very pleasant. On the balcony of Mr. Cabanné's we enjoyed the magnificent evening. The proud Missouri shone splendidly in the still evening air. Only the /2:53/ frogs croaked and the whip-poor-will called incessantly until finally the moon in full sphere rose up over the horizon. The Indians had left the ship where it was extraordinarily warm.

May 5: We were called late yesterday evening to Mr. Cabanné to see a dance of the Omáhás. About 20 of these Indians had gathered before the house in bright moonlight. The main dancer—a large, tall man over 10 *zoll* [inches] (Prussian measure)—wore on his head a colossal feather headdress like those of the Camacans¹¹² in Brazil made from very long tail feathers and pinions of owls and birds of prey. In his hand he carried a bow and arrow. His upper body was bare up to a whitish hide which covered his right shoulder and chest and was decorated with bundles of white and black feathers. His arms and bare parts were painted with white stripes. He had his breech cloth around his hips, and the leggings were of leather and painted with dark diagonal stripes, covered underneath with a large amount of fringe. He looked wild and warlike, [an image] to which his athletic figure further contributed. A second one with muscular body was completely bare in his upper parts, painted white, the war club with skunk hide (see p. 52 [of MS diary]) in his hand and a similar feather headdress on his head. These two men, as well as several younger ones and boys formed a line, opposite which a row of Indians had set themselves down.

In the middle of it there was one who beat a kind of drum in rather rapid time, others had decorated their warclubs with little bells which they were shaking and moving in equal time. They were all likewise painted, mostly white, and all made music and rang "he-he-he" and so forth; at times loudly shouting for joy. The dance consisted of jumping simultaneously with both feet, firmly stepping forward without lifting oneself high, the upper body posed somewhat forward, often holding the weapons up high. So they often jumped about against one another for about an hour long until water flowed from their heads whereupon a heap of tobacco was tossed to them, a present usually given them at such occa-

sions. The view of this dance was extremely interesting, especially when one thinks of it in connection with this entire, most interesting American evening. The moon appeared full and clear as though it were day on the vast interesting wilderness of the Missouri which we surveyed right and left from this summit. Before us the wild noise and bustle of the grotesquely decorated Indians. On both sides in the forest the loud incessantly and rapidly repeated calls of the whip-poor-whip, so that one could not observe this quite exquisite evening scene without the greatest of interest. The above-named feather headdresses have, as mentioned, the closest resemblance to those of the Brazilians. They also made use in the dance of similar calabashes (see the description of my journey in Brazil)¹¹³ like the Brazilian *Maracas* or *Tamaracas*, in which clattering stones are enclosed.

In stature the Omáhás are supposed to be the largest Indians of this region. One finds tall athletic figures among them. And if their eyes are less drawn down in the corners than those of many Brazilians, still the affinity between /2:54/ both races is not to be mistaken. Their small hands and feet, generally nar-

Drawing F



row hips, thin legs with muscular body build, broad shoulders, and bony faces with strong features are not to be mistaken.^r Only late did we take leave of Mr. Cabanné and go to the ship.

At day break of the 5th the *Yellow Stone*¹¹⁴ left this place. The morning was bright, clear, and very pleasant. Not far beyond the trading house where Mr. Pilcher had stayed behind and a young Englishman, Mr. Ashworth, traveled in his place, we landed on the left bank and took in wood. Before breakfast the journey continued onward. The view back on the building of the trading house remained with us for a time. The direction of the river following it downward is straight west. We saw the building directly behind us. Left on the river were yellow bluffs overgrown on top with green shrubs and forest; before them, below on the shore, driftwood on limestone banks. The river turns right. On its left bank are great alluvial bottoms covered with willows and plant growth. This is the case for a long stretch this morning. Great banks with driftwood. In the distance the lower prairie hills. The river turns left toward Council Bluff.¹¹⁵ We had navigated to our right past Boyer Creek. Here Say had found a special kind of turtle (see M. Long's voyage). Many times I saw the black coot swimming here on the shore. Now we approached a steep bank covered with short shrubbery, on the upper end of which we saw the ruins of the buildings of Council Bluff. Wild geese and ducks in number were all paired up.

Of the ruins of the fort abandoned here in 1827 there now stand only the walled chimneys, and in the middle a stone supply house under a roof. The Indians have taken away all other useable objects. The military post at Council Bluff was established here in 1819 and set up for 1,000 men, even though the 6th Regiment, now garrisoned in Jefferson Barracks, which was stationed here only comprised about 500 men. In 1827 these troops were removed from here and the post at Leavenworth was established.¹¹⁶ The troops leaving Council Bluff brought 700 cattle down with them. The fort or actually the barracks form a square, with a bastion on two corners. It

r. Finally I must also note that the old Oto and Omaha women, whom I saw here, were, indeed, very ugly and several had inflamed eyes; but their faces were not so smooth as those of the Saki and Muskoke women.

has been maintained that for the observation of the different Indian tribes the position at Council Bluff is far more favorable than at Leavenworth, and some assume that the troops will also be transferred here again. Right before the spot where the place was situated is a tall yellow bluff cut off at angles like a turret. At this spot the river comes directly from the N.W. Before we got there, one or a pair of paddles on one of the wheels broke. We let ourselves be driven back because of a sandbank, made a small detour, and then followed the same bank. Behind the ruins the prairie spreads out with gentle hills and ridges. On the edge of the high Council Bluff we met Mr. Sanford with a companion who had gone this way by land. Before one reaches the bluffs, but close nearby, the ruins of a wood house apparently of two stories, now almost concealed by a few tall cottonwoods, can be found under the summits. Now rattlesnakes are supposed to inhabit this lonely, desolate place. /2:55/

Mr. Sanford brought a blue-blossoming plant, apparently an *Aconitum*.¹¹⁷ The bluffs which we now passed are 50-60 feet high, inhabited in the gullies and cavities by swallows. The round semi-spherical nests sit ever more sociably next to one another; a number of small swallows fly about them. On these steep banks, too, one notices great cave-ins or erosions similar to avalanches. On the other side of the high bank the washed-up soil, densely overgrown with willows and cottonwoods, starts up again. Here, somewhat inward, a military post had been established in the first years, and then 500 men died of scurvy in one winter (see M. Long's voyage).¹¹⁸ Mr. Sanford once found down on the river here at Council Bluff great molars of a mastodon which he gave to General Clark¹¹⁹ in St. Louis where I saw them. Presumably they had been washed up by the river. A very strong wind has been blowing today ever since 9 o'clock; the sand of the banks flies about everywhere. Somewhat landward to the left over the bluffs is situated a long pond or pool, called Deserter's Pond, in which Mr. Sanford caught several paddle fish, old and young. On this Missouri bank there is an extraordinarily dense growth of willows; behind them a strip of tall forest. We collided with a sandbank where right around 12 o'clock there was a delay. The thermometer now showed 77°. After one and a half hours we had on the left shore a spot with many snags called the

devils race ground. Here we ran into snags and sand, but without damage. The region was now low-lying and unvaried until we again reached the encompassing chain of hills which, while somewhat bare, had peculiar shapes and was covered with the most pleasant green. On the right we now follow wide sandbanks. To the left alluvial soil with prairie or willows, for a long time monotonously the same.

Wild ducks in number. Great tree trunks in number in the washed up land; they stand 15-20 feet long horizontally over the river. Now and then one steers from one bank to the other; first this one, then that one [is] higher. Willow sandbanks with wood and sand blown in the air alternate with dense willow and cottonwood forests. Other forest trees grow here and there where the soil is old enough. On the bank to the right [there are] now many tall withered trees, probably due to fire. Afterwards there follows on the right shore lovely tall forest which is shady and clear below, then a chunk of prairie. On the shore one sees individual sandpipers everywhere. Very many bad snags on the right bank; their bark hangs down in shreds; and the branches still continue turning green. Left on a sandbank great piles of wood, then on this side tall bank, often angular and sharply truncated with corners just like turrets, with alluvial land covered with dense, crowded rosemary willows and cottonwoods. An *engagé* who brings a letter from the steamboat *Assiniboine*¹²⁰ awaits us on shore; he is retrieved. After a half an hour Soldier River, now a small creek, opens picturesquely on our right amidst wooded banks. The upper bank is low-lying willow growth, the lower one very shadowy forest which stands out on the river just like a thicket but moves farther inland. The entire voyage up to evening moves along alluvial land. Before dusk we reached sand. The boat fastens the ship to the shore. Dark clouds climb up all around. Summer lightning and lightning on the northwest and southern sky. Finally the lightning is very strong. The thunder can be heard somewhat. With it warmer wind. /2:56/

May 6: During the entire night they had worked with great effort to let the *Yellow Stone* down from the sandbank during which time a rope broke. The coming morning was pleasant. Lightly overcast sky. We stopped at the right bank and cut wood. At 7:30 68°. On both sides alluvial land with willows

and cottonwoods also mixed with other forest trees in some spots. Here we saw two large wolves trotting on a sandbank; they looked around frequently and viewed us. Farther along we navigated close to the left shore; it is washed up, 6 feet steep, with willows and cottonwoods on top. The young Englishman Ashworth^s told me today of his stay among the Sakis who live on the Missouri. He saw them on a horse alone, naked, without saddle and reins, shooting with a bow at their target. They ran in full flight toward the target and fired off four of their arrows, of which two hit the center; all the while they were painted, decorated with the red deertail, otherwise completely naked. Afterwards he saw the wolf dance. The music consisted of buffalo hooves on strings (in the case of the Camacans antelope hooves) which they shook, as well as little bells. The two dancers were naked from the waist up but had fastened behind on their belts a wolf tail, which stood out and on which end a little bell hung. In this fashion they jumped around against each other. Among the Omãhã he saw the bell dance. The men sat in a circle around the fire. Around it danced a little girl. She had attached a little bell behind her and moved around the circle about the fire, all the while moving her legs as little as possible—which, one upon the other, were pushed forward only barely, with the little bells ringing all the while.

On the Missouri we now frequently had lovely forest on our right; to the left willows and cottonwoods. Everywhere washed-up soil. Farther on the wild geese were moving on a sandbank and stretched their long necks up high. Here in the river was situated a spot frightfully larded with snags. To the left a vast prairie then followed. On the right wild geese were swimming in the river. After the prairie follows wildly collapsed banks with willows which lay confusingly crisscross, still greening. Then farther on, to the right, a wild, lovely forest, dark, shaded, and—since it was airy—covered below with luxuriant plant growth, very entangled by creeping plants. The wild grape vines (*Vitis*) were beginning to bloom. The sarsaparilla grows frequently here; people look for its roots. These woodlands make a picturesque wilderness. We stopped

s. He claims to be a midshipman of the English Marine or Navy and appears to have really visited many countries, especially coastlands.

for a moment. The shore, however, was indeed not approachable. The journey was continued. On the left we found large banks and behind them the endless prairie. At 12 o'clock 75° Fahrenheit. The river is supposed to be rising. During the entire morning today we had observed what was almost mountain forest on the shore to the right. Now the Little Sioux River opens up on this bank. Lovely, tall clusters of forest with slender, stalk-like trunks alternate in this area with low-lying streaks of willow. On all shores lie a number of paired ducks, almost always *Anas sponsa* whose vivid colors can be recognized even in flight. The Omahás hunt in the area to the right and left of the river. They are the most indolent, dullest and—as has been said—cowardly of the area's Indians. Toward 2 o'clock we landed on a washed-up prairie soil, with long streaks of clear tall trees, especially cottonwoods. Here the dry tall trunks were falling in rapid succession, /2:57/ for a good 40-50 men were swinging their heavy axes.

The entire prairie was overgrown luxuriantly green with all kinds of grasses and plants, but we also could not find a single flower. Everywhere black, burnt wood was lying about, proof that the Indians had burned off everything here. We did not find a single amphibian. Butterflies flew about, especially the *Papilio Plexippus*¹²¹ which often even flew about us on the ship. Only a few birds appeared. I shot *Muscicapa tyrannus*¹²² (the kingbird) of which a few pairs were living here, just as we also saw a red bird, perhaps *Tanagra rubra*,¹²³ which we did not get. The ship's carpenter had shot a dove this morning. After a half hour we moved on. The area is now becoming ever more smooth and flat. Sometimes very lovely forest on the bank; sometimes it is open with isolated tall trees; sometimes sandbanks with or without wood piles; now endless prairie; then low willows again and tall cottonwoods mixed with tall, narrow-leaved willows. Ducks and geese everywhere in number. Behind willow bushes stood the skeleton of an Indian hut, before long that of a second one; by the first one had been planted a pole on which a red cloth rag was hanging. 300 paces farther we landed at a lovely tall forest. Here the crew of the *Assiniboin*, which had about a 2 to 3 day headstart on us, had cut much cordwood in two places and we took some in. By this magnificent forest and wildly cut bank the river makes such a great bend around sandbanks. In the background one

sees the gentle, uniformly extended prairie hills. Before twilight we stopped for the night. A lot of wood was cut. The forest here was without any opened blossoms; it had been flooded. We only brought back a 15 foot tall shrub with young winged seeds [blank]. That night began so soon that one also could not shoot anything.^t

May 7: Today we have been gone from Neuwied for exactly a year. Early this morning excellent weather, bright sunshine. The region is rather uniform. Cottonwoods and willows. The short or free alluvial prairie. At times sandbanks with or without driftwood. Often wide extended prairie or green hills where the river turns toward the chain of hills. Here and there they have picturesque shrubbery, small gulleys, and a few runs; on their torn banks luxuriantly green bushes and forest trees. Toward 7:30 on the left bank bluffs, yellow clay, and limestone; lovely shrubs in it. On the right large sandbanks; on them driftwood. Farther on, to the left, a splendid steeply cut-off yellow limestone bluff where countless swallows are nesting and fly about just like a swarm of bees. The bluffs have the name "Woods hills." Here the river turns right again, and immediately the bare bluffs come to an end. They are only at places where the river touches the hills, which now in the form of green gentle summits ramble straight away until one reaches them again at the next turn of the river. To the left washed up soil now follows again. At 7:30 65° Fahrenheit. The river flows against Woods Bluffs or Woods Hills in S.W. direction. [See drawing G.]

Since we were surrounded by sandbanks at this spot, a boat was lowered. The halfbreed Chipewa [Chippewa] Defond, the one Spaniard, Hernandez, and 3 *engagés* go out to fathom. In the meantime we drove back until 20 paces of woods Hills so that we could see closely and distinctly the swallows' nests adhering there to the hollows and fissures. They are [made] of loam (*Letten*) stuck against the rocks so that the rock wall provides the background of the dwelling and one sits closely next to the other. Bare wreaths of clay, on the side in front with the entrance. The shallow water held us up here for a very long

t. We had glimpsed much game in the forest on the landing place, the tracks of *Cervus virginianus*. The fellow who had recently been bound at the trading house of Mr. Cabanne had deserted today and had uttered violent threats against Mr. Makenzie.



Drawing G

while. The engine was run with less power, so we drove slowly along the sandbank along the left shore. Before long lovely, tall, freshly green cottonwood forest on the shore to the left, amidst which a green undergrowth. Here on the steamboats mostly green cottonwood is burned, which, however, heats better than farther downstream because the ground here is drier and the wood less juicy.

Now we see on the left on the green chains of hills—where the river always slithers from one to another—the foothills—as appears to me—which are called Blackbird Hills, because here the famous Omãhã chief Wha-sching-gha-sa-ba (Blackbird) is buried.¹²⁴ The chain of hills (of which Mr. Bodmer made a sketch [see plate No. 12])¹²⁵ is in part forested green. On the foothills is a tall peak; before it a small one on which the grave is located—so it appears from some distance. On the right large washed-up sandbanks where the vegetation just began on the sand. Behind them are situated willow bushes and tall cottonwood forest. At 10:30 we reached the hills. Before them lay an alluvial soil with willows and cottonwood and patches of meadow. Behind them rises a tall cottonwood forest, behind which the hills were initially concealed from us. At their foot lay an extremely picturesque, wild woodland with the freshest green foliage, all overgrown with green. Here and there the brushwood was withered. The tops of the hills now came into view again. The ridge and the tops are bare, covered only with grass. [see Drawing H.] On them one sees in “a” a small mound; this is the grave of Blackbird in which we could recognize one or a pair of poles. Wha-sching-gha-sa-ba (Blackbird) was the most powerful chief on the entire Missouri and his people, the Omãhãs, then very numerous and powerful. Smallpox and their enemies, the Sioux and Sacs, reduced

Drawing H



them to the powerless state they are now in. Blackbird was so powerful that the traders gave him what he demanded unconditionally. He was carried on mats, and his people dared not wake him loudly when he slept but rather tickled him with straw stems when he wanted to wake up. Once he stabbed one of his wives because she had done something that displeased him. In Long's journeys-one can see a number of reports about this subject.

He had himself buried on that summit sitting on a living mule, and one can still see the grave. In the Omāhā language the hills are called [blank].^u Beyond the area where the grave is located Wāhkonda Creek [Blackbird Creek] opens up into the Missouri. We now turned left again away from the hills. The entire region all around is flat, surrounded everywhere by forest. Soon we ran into sand; the boat goes out for fathoming; then we went on again. The chain of hills left, which we again approached, was covered quite freshly green with forest. /2:59/ At 12 o'clock noon 77°. On the left we reach bluffs again, overgrown on top with beautiful wild forest. In the ravines and cavities on the precipices many swallows' nests sociably next to one another, but we saw not a single swallow here. On these summits one now observes for the first time conifers and broad-leaf trees mixed for the first time. The conifer is probably *Pinus resinosa*.¹²⁸ In these forested hills can be found some extremely picturesque limestone walls, and below on the shore the narrow-leafed willow groups very tall. Facing us, the other shore covers tall airy timber on the washed-up level land. On the left new bluffs soon on the forested hills. But as we observed them, we ran into a snag which partly shattered our right wheel; but this does not hold us up for long. This morning we had seen on a small insignificant creek the first traces of beaver. One tree had been gnawed around by them and lay there bent down—the bark and wood were gnawed through all around. After we had left behind the bluffs and lovely woodlands, we found wood piles on a large sandbank to the right and a nest of a wild goose on one heap of

u. The head chief of the Omāhās is now Ong-pa-tong-ga (Big Elk).¹²⁶ See drawing of him in Godman's natural history.¹²⁷ He lives on the Horn [Elkhorn] River which pours out into the Platte River about 20 miles beyond its outlet. The Omahas are now supposed to be about 3-4000 warriors strong.



No. 12. Karl Bodmer, View of the Missouri, with Blackbird's Grave in the Distance, *watercolor*. . . . (Bottom) No. 13. Bodmer, Washinga Sahba's Grave on Blackbird's Hills, *aquatint based on original watercolor* (plate No. 12).





No. 14. Ong-Pa-Ton-Ga or The Big Elk, Chief of the Omahas, engraving from a painting by Charles Bird King, Joslyn Art Museum.

twigs and wood in the water. The birds left it and acted worried; a crow immediately took their place.

Thick clouds arose in the distance, but the strong wind dispersed them. On the bank we did not find enough water, drove back and lay for a long time by the nest of the wild geese. Finally our boat found a channel along the steep left bank. We followed it. A wild forest covered the shore—the ground covered with grass and plants, over them a wild cottonwood thicket. This forest merged with a large sandy plain overgrown with green before which lay a mass of snags in the river. They held us up somewhat. Then the river bends left, very abruptly, and we followed the left, steep, tall-forested shore; and when this levelled off, we landed before twilight on a sand-beach before the forest, cut wood, and spent the night here. A great fire soon flared on the beach. We all spread out to investigate the area and to get some exercise. The forest was thick full of dried rushes and plants and without any open blossoms.^v On the beach it was cool and pleasant, but the mosquitoes (*Culex*) soon became very troublesome. Fireflies (*Lampyrus*) flew in every direction in the forest. On the shores of the river at twilight the wild geese were now calling, and in the woods on both sides of the river the call of the Whipperwipp now echoed unceasingly.^w Such a bird which we had not yet shot at all sat down next to me on an overturned trunk, and I had no rifle. Tracks of wolves and deer (*Cervus virginianus*) we had tracked fresh on the beach, and in the forest we had followed the little path trod by the Indians (Omahas). Dreidoppel shot a duck and Spring, our dog, brought a live young wild goose (*A. canadensis*). Mr. Bodmer had been late and almost lost his way while he was following a wild turkey; he had also seen the Whipperwipp.

May 8: Morning lovely bright weather. The area rather uniform. We saw a wild goose with 4 young ones who could not be driven off at all. Finally there appeared on the right the first tall bluff since Ards Hills. It forms sharp green entirely novel ridges which rise above the forest on shore. Here we ran

v. The wild grape vines that grow in number everywhere here had large blossom buds just like *Cornus*¹²⁹ and other species of shrub.

w. In America one usually writes and pronounces the name of this bird "Whip-poor-will"; but when one listens closely, it sounds like "Whip-per-wipp."

aground several times. At 7:30 64°. The edge of the shore is low on both sides. On the left cottonwood forest. On one of the hills to the right, which rises just like a roof over the forested embankment and which we reached 20 minutes before 10 o'clock, Sergeant Floyd, of the Lewis /2:60/ and Clark party who died here then is buried.¹³⁰ The grave is right on the height of a ridge and designated with a short staff which is frequently replaced by the whites when it has been consumed by prairie fire. This Floyd was of a good family, a nephew of a governor of Virginia. The green hills or ridges continue farther upwards. Somewhat farther above Floyds [Floyd] River or Creek emerges. In the forest on Floyds Hills one notices individual conifers. The forest before the hills extends up to Floyds Crick on the upper bank of which only a narrow fringe of willows and then a lovely green prairie, with lovely green hills off in the distance, extends. It is a brook weaker than the Windbach; ducks swim in it. At the same time many wild geese on the Missouri. The green carpet of the prairie was magnificent; isolated small bushes in it off in the distance. The bank lying opposite low with cottonwood forest. On the shore lying to our right the forest begins again, in part tall and picturesquely wild. On the shore ducks and sandpipers. Above the prairie hovers a white fork-tail, doubtless *Falco furcatus*.¹³¹ On the shore steep green hills now alternated again. Below, on the shore, chalk banks and great limestone boulders. Previously a small creek opened. On the hills now follow some tall yellow bluffs, in the rocky necks and cavities of which—some deep below—countless swallows were constructing their nests and swarming about them.

Strips of forest on the shore alternate with yellow bluffs, even while such a long wall now follows, the upper edge of which is gently wave-like. In the small ravines bushes. On the left we now have a slew which divides a large sand island from the shore. Not far over the tall bluff, one half hour from Floyds River, the Big Sioux River opens up; willows and cottonwoods on its banks, ducks on its surface. It is now small, about 60 paces wide, and navigable about 100 miles upwards with Mackinaw boats.^x About 120 miles upstream on it dwell

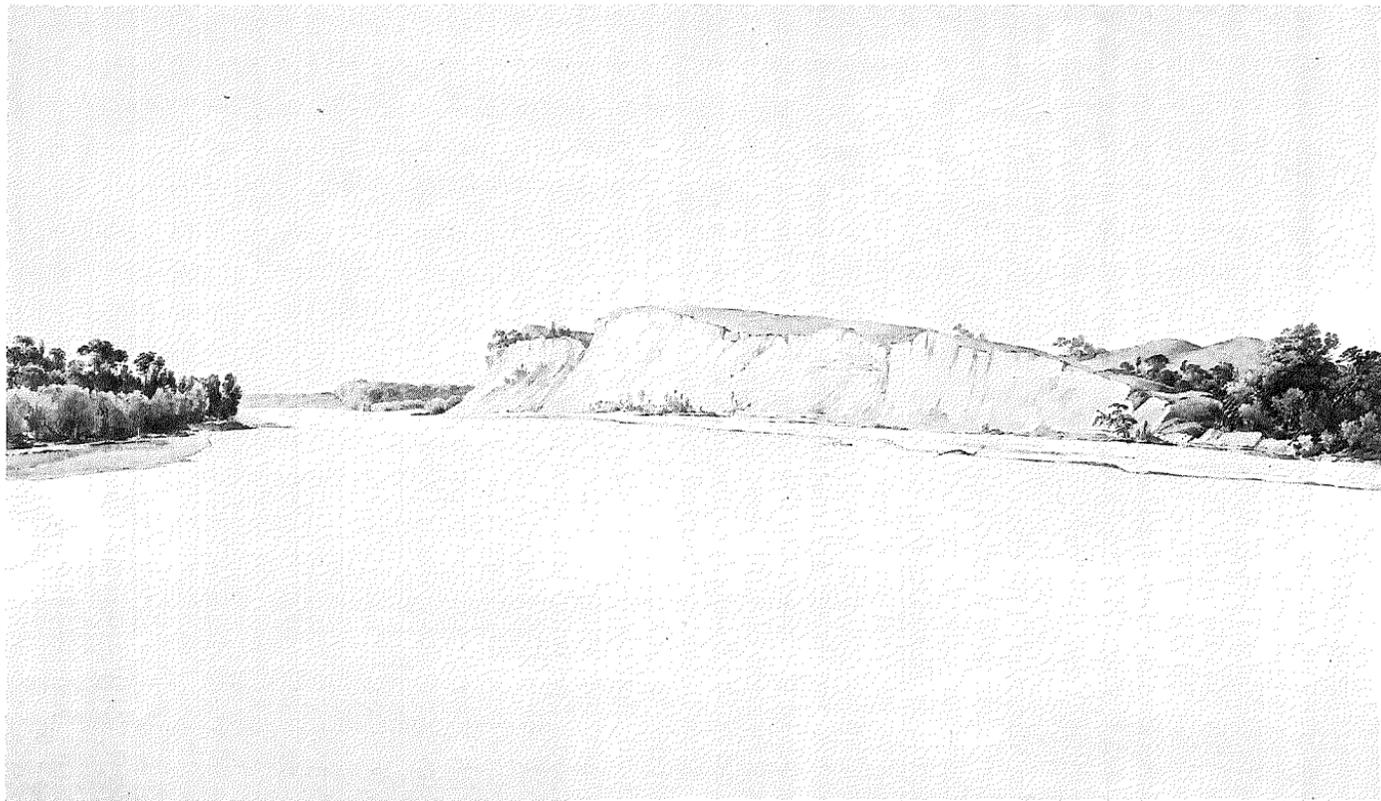
x. On a small river which discharges into the Big Sioux, about 40 miles upstream, the red pipe stone from which the Sioux make their pipes is broken. The Sacs and Foxes

the Sioux or rather Dacota¹³³ (so this nation calls itself) band which is known by the name *Waach-pe-ku-teh*¹³⁴ (pronounced as in German) (those who shoot at a leaf). It and another band of this people plant Indian corn on the Mississippi; all the others [do] not. Those on the Mississippi live in the vicinity of Lake Pepin. Here on the Big Sioux River the true land of the Sioux begins.^y Before 1830, in July, when the above mentioned land sale was concluded, it went down still farther. The water of the Sioux River is significantly distinct in color from that of the Missouri. The chain of hills now moves away again from the shore, and washed up soil forms the bank of the Missouri. The river now turns left and before long to the right. The region is flat. On the horizon one sees willows and cottonwoods as well as a few rows of prairie hills. To the right behind us one still saw the green hills on the Big Sioux River which we later approached closely through the powerful bends of the river. On the large wide sandbank to the right we saw swarms of wild geese and ducks. A strong wind drives the sand of the banks into the air. At 12 o'clock 75°.

After lunch we wanted to bring in wood from the left shore, but due to lack of water we could not land here. Farther on we found shallow water, drove back, and while the boat was fathoming, stopped left on a sandbank and chopped up driftwood. The wind was now so strong and the air so full of dust that one could not see. All clothing, even in the cabins, was full of mud and dust. The /2:61/ sand on the bank was covered with young cottonwoods or willows about 1 foot high scattered separately about. These grow up here and soon provide the forestation usual here for the first period. Old driftwood trees lay half buried in the sand or blown away. Bodmer ran

call this small river Pipe River. The Dacota on St. Peters [Minnesota] River make the most beautiful pipes. People who have been at the site of the pipestone have assured me that it appears intermittently in strata, and in this way forms a steep, colorfully striped wall.¹³² The strata or layers of the red stone are not thick—the thickest about a foot—most thinner. They alternate with whitish, yellowish, bluish, diversely colored clay. The earth and turf are cut off at the summit on top; the top part penetrated, and the clay strata, where one then is supposed to find the red stone [are] often almost blood-colored. The upper visible part is not colored as vividly or lovely. One can make lovely tabular plates from it. The Indians of different tribes come here and retrieve the stone. They are supposed to do no harm to each other at the site itself but must be careful as soon as they approach or leave.

y. Their enemies the Ojibua's [Ojibwas] (*Sauteurs* of the French) call the Dacota *Nandoesi* from which *Nadowessis* has been derived, as Carver¹³⁵ and others call them.



No. 15. Karl Bodmer, Mouth of the Big Sioux River, May 8, 1833, *watercolor*.

toward the somewhat distant forest, but the bell called him back too quickly. We had remained in the vicinity. After a half an hour we navigated farther. The river now forms a vast broad surface where we had the green chain of hills of the bank off to our left (the right one) before us again. The geese flew in pairs in all directions. Sandbanks far and wide. Tall woods form strong divisions and gradations. The wind is so strong that it clouds up the horizon completely and moves the water so violently that the pilot cannot easily discern the sandbanks and logs. On the left we reach a lovely forest on the tall bank. On the right vast sandbanks, overgrown completely green, with extremely picturesque gradations of willows and cottonwoods. Somewhat farther lovely cottonwood forest on the shore. Here we land before twilight. At once the woodcutters began their work in every direction. After we scaled the steep bank which, with 40-50 woodcutters, looked like the scaling of a fortress wall, we immersed ourselves in forest which consisted of cottonwoods, narrow-leaved willows, some few other species of trees, of which the underbrush was of various kinds but not very diverse. Vine branches covered with their flower buds engulfed the shrubs, and the red willow (*Cornus sericea*)¹³⁶ also grew here frequently.

We followed the riverbank and came into a small prairie where we tracked the elk (*Cervus canadensis*) as well as common deer. In the north the lightning was very strong, the wind was no longer so strong. The wild geese were calling on the river, but the Whip-per-wipp did not yet call today. Dreidoppel shot *Tringa pusilla* (Wils [on])¹³⁷ on the beach, and in the dark Mr. Bodmer went in the forest to such an extent that he could hardly find his way back to the ship. At 8:30 several storms arose and with an exceedingly pleasant mild temperature the thunder and lightning were very violent. Rain fell down. The lightning bolts were most prominent; all around they illuminated the entire horizon as bright as day and on bright firey ground long naked zigzag lines of lightning that encompassed the bright horizon. The rain storm lasted some time; along with it there was only a light wind. By nighttime it approached in full force.

May 9: Early morning gloomy skies, rain, strong wind. The rain storm raged frightfully yesterday evening, and such a

violent windstorm accompanied it that around midnight one would have had to be concerned for the ship had it not lain protected by the shore and the forest. The wind often tore open the doors of the upper cabin and flooded us with rain. Toward daytime the rain storm returned to us with new energy. At dawn followed blow upon blow. Thunder and lightning were one, and everyone believed the ship would be struck. Up to then the temperature of the air was very warm, but now after the most violent blows it fell suddenly, and at 7:30 the thermometer stood at 56°. Just as the rainstorm departed, the ship left its position. On the left bank forest which we followed; to the right a low deposit with willows and cottonwoods. A wild goose with her 4 young ones on shore. Towards 8 o'clock we run aground without significant delay. We have reached on the left the chain of hills which appear frightfully wild here. Much wood is burned. The hill collapsed, torn, divided into wild terraces. It soon draws back, and there remains on the river a steep 40 foot high bank overgrown with bushes and short devastated trees. Here red willow (*Cornus sericea*) in bloom and other bushes. Then there again arise /2:62/ higher hills or bluffs partially bare with stone, mostly covered with forest, in which isolated conifers. Splendid wild ravines and gorges with shade in them, on which the dark bushes hardly allow a view. The magnificent springtime green refreshed with rain. A few bushes not yet seen appear on the hill, especially the buffalo berry [blank] with bluish green foliage and the cedar trees between the conifers. On the lower section of the hill clay slate appears clearly divided in narrow horizontal layers—underneath partially blackish-blue, above them reddish-yellow. On the right we have washed-up soil with tall forest. We run aground here. On the left bank the conifers multiply ever more in the forest. There is a beautiful view in the blending with the light spring green of the broadleaf trees. Immediately behind the bluffs the Ioway [Ayawá] River [Iowa Creek] opens up, a brook which is completely filled with broken wood. [See Drawing I.] The sandpipers and other birds fled before the roaring steamboat into this creek. On the promontory "a" between the brook and river we landed. The woodcutters and hunters climbed out. The fishermen set out their rods. They saw very lovely fish (pikes) but caught nothing. Rain began anew. In the dense



Drawing 1

forest "b" there were tall cottonwoods mixed with deciduous trees. The buffaloe berry also grew here.

Our dog, Spring, had immediately jumped on land and got lost. We stopped only 20 minutes. 5-600 paces farther on this shore in the dense willows and cottonwoods we saw an Indian wigwam. The red willow (*Cornus* [blank]) frequently grew and blossomed between the narrow-leaved willows. In the river vast sandbanks now follow which we leave on our right; on them wild geese, ducks, and sandpipers. After 10 o'clock the sun emerges; it becomes pleasantly warm. As we navigated along the left forested bank after a few hours, we saw 2 wild geese with their 5 young ones. The mother stayed a long time. Then she flew anxiously away and gave out her lure call. The young ones fled from the shore into the river where one could see them swim. New lovely wild bluffs soon followed. Blue limestone banks. Swallows swarm about. Above the bluffs grass hills join together, and in the dividing gully before them is wild, splendidly illuminated light green forest. There now follow bluffs with wildly devastated and eroded shores. Conifers (cedar) are mixed with deciduous trees. Right of us a deposit with willows; behind it forest arises. Another wild goose with 4 young ones. At [blank] o'clock we stop on the right bank and prepare wood. The forest here was very wild and extraordinarily entangled. Elms, ash, oaks—particularly those with cork-like sharp bark—box elder, *Rhus*, *Vitis*, *Smilax*, currants with yellow flowers (the berries are supposed to be black), gooseberries, the red willow (*Cornus sericea*) and many others form these thickets mixed with cottonwoods and several kinds of willows. Beautiful birds could be heard—a yellow song-bird, the Baltimore (as it appeared), and several others. The great swallow hovered in the air. We looked for snakes, particularly rattlesnakes, but the latter are supposed to appear primarily in the /2:63/ prairie.

After lunch the steam engine was started and we left. After awhile we cut across the river and followed the left bank. Here too there was tall lovely forest before which sandbanks soon

emerged (*legten*) which drove us over to the right again. Noon 12 o'clock [blank]°. Now washed-up soil follows again, and we approach the green hills which have several picturesque tops. Before we came there we stopped to the right on the shore by a vastly extended prairie. Mr. Makenzie perhaps wanted to found an economic institution here. The entire plain was overgrown with tall, withered grass. On the river a lovely fringe of tall timber in which the turtle dove (*Columba carolinensis*)¹³⁸ calls and blackbirds swarm about. In front of the forest which consisted of tall scattered trees, we found in the prairie ash, red mulberry, interlaced with *Rhus*, *Vitis*, *Smilax* and other creeping plants and especially yellow blooming currant bushes. We did not stop long but approached the hills a little, but very soon we had no water. The boat fathomed for a long time, and for several hours long we did not get away from this spot. Facing the prairie we visited, one first observed willow bushes and then a shore strip of tall forest over which the green prairie hills peered forth. They have novel forms with special edges and several lovely gentle tops. Mr. Bodmer sketched them from 2 sides.

The entire chain of hills is covered with the loveliest green carpet. There was too little water here. A sandbank was marked with a pole, the engine driven back, and after a long time we finally moved forward. As the sun was setting, we passed by lovely hills. We moved right along the shore. Here one looked into the shadows of a dark forest through which one saw the light of the prairie shimmering. The evening was still and lovely. On the banks a number of ducks and sandpipers. Somewhat farther we stopped by the right shore. On the bank tall airy timber could be found. On the river behind it extended an endless prairie entirely overgrown with yellow, dry grass. The ax echoed in all directions, and the large trees fell rapidly. When it was dark, we ignited the prairie grass for fun and had a lovely, lofty view; but there was no wind, and the fire did not burn long. Mr. Makenzie had several items shipped out here; probably he wants to establish a settlement and plantations here.

May 10: In the morning dreary sky, wind, rain. The river has risen but is now very turbulent. Among the crew that Mr. Makenzie set on land yesterday evening is a Frenchman from

Rheims, François Roi ["king" in French], whose name was the cause of joking.¹³⁹ One pondered the name which was to be given the newly founded kingdom (*Royaume*). At 7:30 58°. Towards 8 o'clock we land on the left bank where the *Assiniboïn* had left a lot of good fine cordwood for us. As a marking sign someone had flattened the trees on the shore. We climbed on land, but rain prevented us from going far. Under the cottonwoods there grew here a number of vine branches with still closed flowers, the red willow [*Cornus* [blank]], a small rose which I had already encountered earlier (*Rosa* [blank]), bushes of willows, ash, etc. The vegetation was still too young to turn up interesting species. In the forest only a few birds were singing, including a thrush. /2:64/ Today our voyage from St. Louis has lasted exactly 4 weeks. The trip now continued quickly along the left bank. The skeleton of a deer with head and antlers was observed here. In this region of the river one often sees in the prairies in winter already many bison (buffaloes, *Bos Bison*).¹⁴⁰ Now we shortly reached on the left bank the chain of hills which rise picturesquely above the forested shore. The summits are gentle, some of the edges novel. They are covered partly with lovely green carpet, partly with yellow grass—up in front mostly steeply cut-off bluffs. On the opposite [side] washed-up soil with forest. On the bluffs a few conifers are mingled here between the deciduous trees. In the ravines between the peaks are bushes.

The color of the bluffs here is brownish-violet, underneath partially mixed with red clay. The river runs rather long here in the direction of the chain of hills. On the hills buffalo berry grows in quantity. As the hills come to an end—that is, as the river turns away from them—tall forest arises in the underbrush in which red willow (*Cornus*) blooms very frequently. Farther on, the forest on the bank is extraordinarily entwined with creeping plants. Then more cottonwoods and willows follow. Frightful destruction of the slender, narrow-leaved willows on the shore. Everything lies confusedly in all directions. Many willow trunks lie crosswise in the river and are still bound to the forested shore through long vine branches just like ropes. We still had a beautiful view back on the chain of hills; gradually their character changes more and more. Now they are already considerably more barren, the woodlands lower. Soon they will be even more barren,

overgrown with short grass which also ultimately comes to an end. To the left we have enormously wide extended sand-banks, behind them the gently elevated edge of the endlessly extended prairie. Before these banks we ran onto sand. The boat fathomed. After some time we continued toward the right washed-up bank overgrown with willows until we again reach the long green row of hills which approach the river. Before it extends the prairie which has a fringe of forest or willow bushes on the Missouri. On the highest ridge of those hills close to the river one sees the grave of poles and wood of three Sioux (Dacota) Indians who were struck down by lightning here. It was approximately this form [See Drawing J.]



Drawing J

Not far behind this chain of hills—that is, beyond the place where they came so close to the Missouri—a small river opens up—the Vermillion River (White Stone River on Lewis and Clark map).¹⁴¹ It falls at an acute angle into the Missouri. Wild geese and ducks in number. A couple of beautiful large birds of the former kind with 6 young ones swam at its outlet and strove anxiously to bring their young into safety. They brought them into the willow bushes, and one of the parents remained nearby; the male probably did not remain quite as long. Here on the outlet of the Vermillion one is supposed to be able to catch very good fish easily. Noon 12 o'clock 61°. It continued to rain incessantly until 1 o'clock. Then it cleared up. The sun appeared for a short time, but the sky remained overcast. After some time we again reached bluffs on the left. Their walls are steep; they are wildly overgrown on top with short old timber. From these heights the river turns right again. We followed the right bank where we observed the nest of an eagle on a tree. In the shallow water we had a long halt. The region was now very flat all around. On the horizon strips of willows and tall forest appeared. Behind us we saw the /2:65/ lovely chain of hills in all its extension. Mr. Bodmer sketched a pretty view of it yesterday. To the right of us now

lay a broad sandbank with driftwood, so we proceeded by fits and starts. Soon we had little, then more water.

Long held up by sandbanks, we finally navigated still farther but received heavy jolts. Left on the edge of the shore in the forest appeared a remarkable pair of hills, cut off from the river, but just green. The actual chain of hills before us was hidden by the forest; later it emerged very picturesquely. Vast sandbanks in the river. Then the region was flat for a long time. Finally the steep bluffs again, which are very high, behind the forest. On some conifers, without doubt *Juniperus virginiana* (Cedar),¹⁴² grow. On the slope buffalo berry grows frequently. Below on the shore a dense wild woods of moderately tall trees, between which [there are] also conifers. Soon washed up soil links up, and immediately on the shore here there is dense willow and cottonwood forest with a dense now generally white-blossoming underbrush of red willow (*Cornus sericea*). Behind this shoreline forest rise up tall chalk bluffs which rest on clay slate or graywacke, perhaps coal shale. Some tops are remarkable. On the spots overgrown with wood stand low, old, very curled branched trees. At the level, narrow ground we landed in front of the hills at 5:30 and took in wood which stood ready here. On the darkly colored hills the fresh and brightly green colored vegetation was extremely picturesque. Below before the hills there grew among the cottonwoods and willows: *Cornus sericea*, *Aquilegia* [blank] with red flowers, an *Aralia* [blank]¹⁴³ a viola with white and violet flower—light inside (*Viola* [blank]),¹⁴⁴ the *Prunus padus* etc.

At 6 o'clock we navigated farther. One of the tall bluffs now appeared black like coal shale. We moved right over the river. Here was a tall shady grove of slender spread-out cottonwoods and among them a beautiful green carpet. Turtle doves (*Columba* [blank], *carolinensis*) were here in number; they drank at this river. This beautiful grove alternated on the shore with prairie and clear forest patches. Behind this forest fringe the prairie extended endlessly outward. If one looked toward the tall cottonwood forest, the tall gray-white shafts shone splendidly against the black gaps. Somewhat farther there appeared on the shore the first beaver hut which we saw on the Missouri; it was made of driftwood driven together, but not completely. Not far from here we found the thick cottonwoods gnawed through which had collapsed and fallen down in all

directions. The beaver had gnawed only a narrow ring around the tree—by far not so wide as when one tries to cut with the axe. We navigated still somewhat farther and then stopped for the night on the right bank (by the right bank is meant the left one of the river).

May 11: In the morning good weather, lightly overcast sky, some wind. At 7:30 53°. Early on we had to the right a vast prairie—also to the left, but not so much. On the shore to the right individual willow bushes here and there. Two prairie hens (*Tetrao cupido*)¹⁴⁵ sat on the bank and were not timid; they did not fly away at all. There, when the prairie ended (i.e. on the bank) the Jaques River^z which one cannot see opens up behind a sandbank. On the left there soon follows on the shore a strange chalk hill like a devastated turret with rubble and cross layers. /2:66/ On the summit grow bushes in which a great many withered trees appeared. Two cranes followed over by us; hence they nest here. The ground was full of sandbanks. The boat went out to fathom. In the meantime we received violent jolts and fell between the snags. One came under the ship and lifted it; thereupon it drove against a second one which broke in pieces. Before us an extended prairie.

On the river a few tall thickets of tall trees. In other places willow bushes and forest. On the right we now reached a vastly extended prairie where one could see a couple of antelope (*antilope furcifer*)¹⁴⁶ [on] the gentle green hills; they quickly hurried away over the summit. Farther on lovely green hills on the left. In front of them grow old logwood with thick trunks and broad branches distorted by knots, and on the right such hills are now also approaching. On the shore to the left a green ground with shady trees very picturesquely covered. Then steep chalk bluffs in whose ravines short forest and withered trees stand, mixed with conifers. The yellow bluffs which, according to Lewis and Clark's map, are called Calumet Bluffs have deep ravines, are ash blue underneath, and yellow above. A large island in the river—Sego Island, according to Lewis and Clark (now called Bull Island, *Isle au Boeuf*) op-

z. One finds the red pipe stone upstream on this river on a small tributary or descending creek which the Indians call Pipe Creek. The rock is found in masses a few 100 paces from the shore in a chain of hills. The Indians often go there to get it. On [the] St. Pers [Peters = Minnesota] River the loveliest and cheapest pipes of this sort are made.

posite it. We lack water. The ship was driven back to the Calumet Bluffs. On them one sees buffaloe berrys and red willow (*Cornus sericea*) and other shrubs in the vicinity. We navigate around Segó Island. A white goose (*Anser hyperboreus*) is sighted. On the right vastly extended gently green prairie now follows again. In it lies a single forest thicket with tall timber. Farther on, this prairie has a steep bank. In it there was a wildly picturesque water gorge with tall timber, especially cottonwoods in it. To the right on the bank now follows a fringe of cottonwood forest of which much timber was burned black. On the left bank one sees picturesque prairie hills with bluffs and bushes in the distance. We stopped at the prairie on the right by the fringe of forest after 10 o'clock. Wild doves flew before us. Wood is prepared here. We found very beautiful plants, the small flesh-red *Oxalis* [blank] with nobby or bulbous roots.

In the ravines ash, *Prunus padus*, cottonwoods, elms, and apparently box elder and hornbeam. Mr. Bodmer shot the shiny blackbird (*Quiscalus versicolor*). Thrushes and a few other birds stopped at the forest ravines. From here we moved on after an hour. We reached White Bear Bluffs (according to Lewis and Clark) which Mr. Bodmer sketched. The area round about was extremely picturesque. Magnificently green hills far and wide; thickets of willows and cottonwoods before them. At noon 63°. After lunch we suddenly saw a steamboat before us; it was the *Assiniboin* which we reached after half an hour. It did not have water enough to come farther. This boat had a vastly larger, lighter cabin than ours and no passengers at all. A female bear had been killed, and two young ones were living on board. Yesterday they had seen elk. They also had a few handsome fox and beaver pelts on board. As we were still on the ship to view it, there appeared yonder on the sandbank Indians, a good 15-20. They had been seen coming, riding down over the hills. Meanwhile no one seemed inclined to send them a boat or to travel over to them. Thus we had to content ourselves with viewing by telescope. /2:67/ The prairie next to us was wet, and puddles and mud holes stood on it. Beyond one could see after it a long row of interesting bluffs moving along after it, of which the sketch here gives only an idea of a small part. [See Drawing K.]

They extend themselves broadly in a long line, and before



Drawing K

them there is only a gentle indentation, but which shows that the river formerly flowed by here. One also still sees on the steeply cut through hills, which have yellow chalk walls on their tip, that they were cut off vertically by the water in this fashion. We made excursions into these prairies and found a few kinds of plants with long turnip-like roots, the one with nice yellow flowers [blank], the other with lovely violet-red ones ([blank]). The great yellow-breasted lark (*Sturnella*)¹⁴⁷ was scattered individually everywhere in the prairie. Its short thrush-like luring call and then a short, to be sure, but pleasantly whistling stanza could be heard. In addition, a few birds were still seen. Dreidoppel encountered 8 prairie hens, a kind of curlew (*Numenius*),¹⁴⁸ and one bird related to *Totanus*¹⁴⁹ which, however, he could not shoot. In the extended prairie one could find skeletons of bison, especially a very large skull which, however, was not entirely complete. When I returned home, I found to my great delight 3 interesting Punca Indians¹⁵⁰ in our ship: the chief of the tribe, his brother and a third man too. All of them large, well-built with strongly pronounced features, high cheek bones, strong bent noses, fiery dark brown eyes, their hair hanging down to and also over the shoulder—in the case of the chief somewhat shorter, he wore it twisted together behind in a braid. They were entirely naked to the waist, except for a decorated band around their necks. In the earlobe a large opening in which the chief wore an ornament of shells (wampum).

Around their wrist they had a small armband of white metal and, besides their very simple leggings, they were enveloped in large buffalo hides, the chief in a white wool blanket. The name of the chief was Schuh-de-ga-cheh ("ch" guttural sound), that is "He who smokes."¹⁵¹ The brother was called Passitopa^{aa} (which means the number *four*) and the name of the third Indian, a bold warrior, was Hã-cha-gã ("cha" guttural) or the "deer antlers with the velvet." The Puncas are

aa. Mr. Bodmer drew both men.¹⁵² Pass-si-to-pa was well known because he killed an Indian who was out to kill a white man with them.



No. 16. Karl Bodmer, Schuh-de-ga-che (Smoker), Chief of the Ponca Indians, May 12, 1833, gouache, pencil and wash. . . . (Top right) No. 17. Bodmer, Passitopa, Brother of the Chief of the Ponca (Indians), May 12, 1833, watercolor and pencil. . . . No. 18. Bodmer, A Young Ponca Indian (Ho-Ta-Mek), watercolor and pencil. . . . (Bottom right) No. 19. Bodmer, Two Ponca Indians, watercolor.



originally from the same tribe as the Omahas, also speak the same language.^{bb} They have been divided from them for a considerable time and dwell on both sides of the Running Water River (*L'eau qui court*). They formerly lived like the Omahas in earth huts on the mouth of the river, but their enemies, the Sioux or Dacota and Pawnees, destroyed their huts, and since then they have adopted the life style of the Dacota, moving about more and living in leather huts. Their dress and appearance is approximately identical to that of the Omaha. They have suffered much from smallpox and their enemies, but are supposed to have been brave warriors. Even now one can see many pock marks among them. Now they can put no more than 300 warriors in the field.^{cc} They plant corn and indeed sell this product to the Dacota.^{dd}

Major Bean¹⁵⁵ is the agent of these Indians; they come, therefore, to speak with him about certain matters. The chief had formerly received from Bean in the name of President Madison a large silver medallion which he wore on his chest.¹⁵⁶ /2:68/ This man had a lovely, manly decorum and an intelligent, thoughtful face. With the others he smoked the only pipe they had with them, but several pipes were soon circulating among us all in accordance with Indian custom. The evening was very cool, and a few had no leggings on. Therefore we took the Indians—after they had partaken of their pork, bread, and tea which Mr. Makenzie gave them—to our room and they were drawn. The one made me a present of his wooden war club; the other, Pas-si-to-pa, gave me a pair of moccasins from elk leather colored blackish with the juice of white walnut. They presented a second beautiful pair to Major Bean, who gave it to me afterwards. These Indians were otherwise unarmed. The interpreter told us these Indians had long been separated from their comrades. They themselves did not know where they were but presumed that they were hunting at the sources of the Running Water River.

bb. Lewis and Clark call them "Poncaras" (Vol. I, p. 66);¹⁵³ now they are generally named "Puncas." The French say *Les Pons*. Those travellers call the crick on which these Puncas dwell Poncara Crick (*ibid*). Also, in Longs exped. to the R. Mount. this name is accepted (Vol. I, p. 120).¹⁵⁴

cc. The band, which we are referring to here, consists of 8 huts and now dwells at the mouth of Basil [Bazile] Creek.

dd. For about 3 years now they no longer cultivate this product; since then they get it from the Omahas but want to start up with it again.

May 12: Lovely clear morning; there is supposed to have been frost. The Indians appeared covered in their buffalo hides, and the chief was sketched. In the tall timber beyond the river before the prairie hills they had set up their huts and the rest of their band could be found there. Their actual dwelling place is higher upstream and we will speak of it.^{ee} At 8 o'clock the *Assiniboin* moved backwards to avoid the sand-bank. It was supposed to make an effort to get through the shallow places. It went back far. Messrs. Makenzie and Sanford were on board. We stayed with the *Yellow Stone* to which we were amenable since Mr. Bodmer wanted to finish the Indians. A large catfish had been caught. The spot where we lay provided an interesting view. All around the beautiful, cheerful region; the beautiful broad river in the brightest gleam of the sun; the one steamboat riding at anchor; one group of men on shore and a steamboat in motion; a large keelboat in the river—everywhere this isolated wilderness full of life. On the shore one could see the novel-looking Indians covered in their buffalo hides whom Mr. Bodmer sketched below:¹⁵⁷ [blank space for a sketch]

Dreidoppel went out with the shotgun. Later the chief spoke with the agent Major Bean. The sense of all these speeches is always that they want more items given them as presents by their great father (the President). So they demand, for example, hoes for working of the field to cultivate corn. The decorum of the chief during this speech was beautiful. His noble face with the beautiful white teeth had a manly expression. He kept his right shoulder and often his entire upper body free. He gesticulated strongly with his right arm and hand. His language, too, did not sound bad—see the language samples on the following page where one will note immediately the correspondence with the Omãhã language. He did not have his leggings on.

His calves were rather strong and marked with a pair of short intersecting bluish-black stripes; otherwise they were not tattooed nor painted. In part, they were inoculated against, /2:69/ smallpox.^{ff} They received tobacco, powder, lead and the chief a red woollen blanket as presents.

ee. They had lived some time among the Omaha where they now came from.

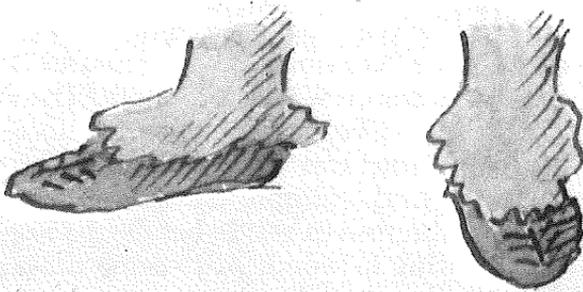
ff. Major Bean had taken a doctor among them the previous year who had inoculated 2600 Indians of different tribes. Many had no confidence in this cure and

| Words | 20 Words of the Punca (Omâhâ) Language |
|----------|--|
| Sun | <i>Mih</i> |
| Moon | <i>Mih-om-bah</i> |
| Star | <i>Mih-ka</i> |
| God | <i>Wâh-kon-da</i> |
| Fire | <i>Pâhd</i> |
| Water | <i>Nih</i> |
| Earth | <i>Tân-dđ</i> |
| Man | <i>Nûh</i> ("u" between "o" and "u") |
| Woman | <i>Wah-u</i> |
| Child | <i>Schinga-Schinga</i> |
| Head | <i>Nan-schti</i> ("an" as in French) |
| Arm | <i>Adn</i> ("dn" hardly heard) |
| Hand | <i>Nom-bđ</i> ("om" as in French) |
| Hair | <i>Nan-schi-ha</i> ("an" as in French, "ha" short) |
| Eye | <i>Isch-tá</i> |
| Mouth | <i>Hih</i> |
| Bow | <i>Man-deh</i> ("an" as in French) |
| Arrow | <i>Man</i> (as in French) |
| Pipe | <i>Ninibá</i> |
| Tomahawk | <i>Manse-pâschinga</i> ("an" as in French, "se" short) |

Later Mr. Makenzie reproached these Indians for planting too little corn and supplying too few hides; one could not buy anything from them. Whereupon the chief replied: he could not properly look over them; there was no unity among them since they lived too scattered and thus could not obey him properly. Since it was very warm now, they had no leggings on, but merely moccasins; but the old Hâ-cha-ga wore them, and they were made with large cuffs hanging down over the moccasins. [See Drawing L.]

Noon 12 o'clock 67°. Towards noon the keelboat *Maria* pulled up next to our *Yellow Stone*. The fathoming boats returned. Mr. Bodmer had had time to make two quite representative drawings of two of the Indians. Dreidoppel returned with empty hands; a couple of species of plants were the entire proceeds of his excursion. He had gone far, up over

replied: they were now healthy. When they became ill, they would want to undergo the operation. The chief had a large round scar on the upper arm which was burnt with a pipe—a self-inflicted penance on occasion of the death of a related person.



Drawing L

to the lovely prairie hills, but had seen no animals of significance, /2:70/ other than a couple of gray *Numenius* again. There was energetic labor until almost 1 o'clock in order to lighten the steamboat, while a part of the cargo was brought into the keelboat *Maria*. About 2 o'clock we weighed anchor and moved backwards and around a sandbank in order to navigate over to the other river bank. The boat moved down so quickly with the stream that the Indians, who had never experienced anything like this, became dizzy and bent down or sat. After 20 minutes or a half hour we reached the sandbank in front of the coastal forest left where the entire band of Punca Indians was assembled and awaited us. It was amusing to see how the colorful crowd came together covered in brown hides, white and red blankets—otherwise bare and dark brown. The small children with thick bellies, thin legs, dark brown, their bows in hand, ran on the beach or cowered down like little monkeys. The men stepped along gravely with tomahawk (they call it *Manse-päschingá*) or battle axe in hand.

In the tall shady cottonwood forest behind the sandbank were situated the huts of the Indians [see plate No. 20]. I counted 6 of them. One could not see all of them. They were conically pointed and yellowish in color, so-called skin lodges or leather huts of bison hides. As we came close to the sandbank, our 3 Indians in the boat were set on land, and the boat brought back an otter and beaver pelt. As the steamboat navigated onward, the Indians all turned back to their huts. A few dogs, a large one shaped in wolf-like fashion, ran with them. In order to reach their huts, they had to go through a strip of standing water on the sandbank, and the interpreter, too, did not long pause to reflect here; he immediately ran through it. The river soon became very narrow, and numerous

snags were lying in it. We reached a spot on the left bank where the crew of the *Assiniboin* had prepared wood and started a fire; a part of our crew was also there. The forest and the prairie was ablaze; in a few moments one could see a flame of a good 100 feet height, and a whirlwind had formed an enormous tall, thin, round, column-like mass of smoke which in a most strange fashion rose in gentle bends up to our zenith. We stopped here to bring in wood. After some time we found bluffs to our right on the river. Farther on, low land with cottonwoods and willows. To the left 15 foot high bank with more prairie, behind which arose gray-green hills with many kinds of ravines and edges. Some have a bare appearance; in their cavities there are small bushes. Parched grass still covers these hills because they have not been lit. Somewhat farther on, the front portion of the hills extends forward to the river; this is beautifully green just like a carpet because the Indians have burnt off the old grass here. At its foot this section of the hills has a beautiful strip of forest which is mixed with cedar and decorated here and there by yellow bluffs of rock. It moves away in an angular $\frac{1}{2}:\frac{71}{1}$ line from the river.

For a stretch the forest then covers the left bank of the river with old but not tall trees which, however, form a dense dark jungle intertwined with very many vines. (*Vitis*). Large doves (*Columba migratoria*)¹⁵⁸ fly in it. Before long prairie follows again. The yellow hills still have yellow grass. After awhile some prairie on the right and behind it hills with bluffs. Before long, to the right, on the river also bluffs again; they have little shrubbery and most of it in the ravines. Immediately behind the steep bluffs Manbel's [Emanuel] creek opens up—so named after the Spaniard Manbel Lisa¹⁵⁹ who first traded here (see Major Long's expedition). Dougherty was often with him. Towards evening we have the *Assiniboin* in front of us, which we overtake in the dark, and halt in the vicinity of Basile Creek, where Puncas once dwelled whose graves are found here in number on the hills. Earlier, when it was still day, snags had come between our right wheel and had significantly damaged it. The captain of the *Assiniboin* and Mr. Sanford, who spent the time on his ship, spent the evening with us. Evening very cool.

On May 13: Early morning light overcast sky, cool, some

wind. At 7:30 55°. We moved early past the mouth of the *L'Eau qui Court* (Running Water River).^{gg} Upstream Punca Indians dwell on both sides of it. A number of graves of this people are found on the summits. It is a pretty river. Beautiful bluffs, round on top, alternate on both sides of the Missouri. Very early we saw the *Assiniboin* in front of us. If one sees bluffs on one side, then the other is level and has none. Often the summits are lovely green, often yellowish, after the grass was burned, or not. In the small valleys between them stand isolated tall trees or small shrubs. The rock walls on the bluffs are extraordinarily mangled and weathered, full of rubble with horizontal layers and tears in which rows of swallows' nests stand. Water drain cut in in noteworthy way. A creek, Punca River [Ponca Creek], now discharges; it runs along the chain of hills diagonally down towards the Missouri. In the period when the Puncas separated from the Omãhã, they constructed a kind of fort with cast-up earth, which they no longer inhabit, a few miles upwards on the river. Inwards on this small river there are hot springs, just as in many places of the Missouri.

To the right on the bluffs we saw a small spring. They are rare here and now are supposed to become even rarer. On the Punca River upstream there are many prairie dog villages and a number of rattlesnakes which also live in these holes. It is said they both live peacefully together, but Mr. Sanford thinks differently since he often saw abandoned villages full of rattlesnakes. On the right a small crick without name opens up, actually a run. In the bluffs on the right are found deep water-crevices [running] down vertically, cedar bushes (*Juniperus virginiana*) distributed singly in them. Left on the shore willow and cottonwood forest on low land before the receding summits. To the right before the bluffs lie sandbanks. The *urubus* [turkey vultures] flew over the green hills. Out of the ravines between the hills there now also emerge dry deep runs notched in. On the left bank is level prairie. In the distant background the chain of hills before which /2:72/ the Punca River descends in a slope.

^{gg}. In American travel descriptions this river is usually called in incorrect fashion "*Qui Courre River*", instead of "*Qui Court*." See Lewis and Clark Vol. I, p. 67 and Long Exped. to the R. Mount. Vol. II, p. 120 and Brackenridge views of Louisiana, p. 235.¹⁶⁰



Drawing M

Suddenly we saw on the elevated bank of the prairie 3 interesting Punca Indians in buffalo hides, the flesh-side outward. They carried their bows on their quivers tied together in a special case on their backs. [See Drawing M.] One of them had the hair on his head bound together in an erect tuft. The one beckoned with his hand, and they followed him along the bank; but the boat did not stop, so that after a quarter of an hour there was no more hope of getting to know these interesting people better. After some time we ran aground, but the ship still continued ahead. We now moved diagonally over the river towards a prairie with a fringe of timber consisting in large part of withered cottonwoods, some burned. Somewhat farther on, a slew opens up on the left and divides Punca Island from the coast. The island is overgrown with willows and cottonwoods. A strong, unpleasant wind has arisen and stirs up the air with sand and dust. In front of us the *Assiniboin* takes in wood. It stopped at a prairie with a fringe of timber which is largely parched and burnt. We pass it. The timber is low, thick, old, has maimed, crushed-down, curly crowns. *Columba carolinensis* on the bank. Individual burnt trees in the young lovely grass created by fire in the prairie. On their hills separate snow-white stones lie distributed everywhere. A couple of beautiful birds of prey in the air. We move along the right 10 foot-high steep prairie bank where there is no forest. 5-600 paces from shore the chain of hills moves dead straight

ahead with yellow bluffs over the prairies and moves away gradually in oblique direction from the shore. Before it is perfect beautiful green prairie. On the shore to the left is a low-lying area of cottonwoods and willows. Behind it arises the chain of hills with yellow bluffs. They are now becoming lovelier with much shrubbery in the ravines. Before them broad sandbanks lie in the river. On the right bank a lovely forest. Here the sandbanks drive us over to the left, but water was lacking here.

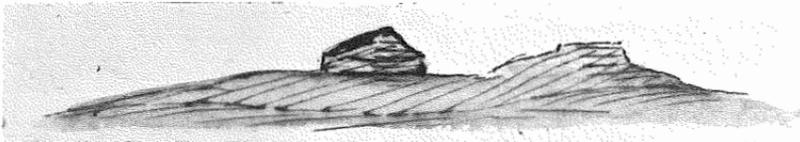
The plumbline was tossed out, the boat fathomed, and we had a three-quarter hour halt. The wind was so strong that the steamboat did not want to follow the rudder properly. Left on the bank we now suddenly have the beautiful chain of bluffs; we finally reach them. It was split regularly into ravines in which conifers and deciduous trees were mixed, with small trees. In the horizontal strata under the ledge are attached a number of swallow nests which, however, are all unoccupied up to now. Probably the swallows have not yet come so far north. Remarkably contorted are the cedar trees (*Juniperus virginiana*) which often are as thick as a man at their trunks, often and frequently completely withered. Sandpipers fly on the narrow, steep shore. In all the ravines one sees the wild doves (*Col. carolinensis*) in pairs. The buffalo berries with their bluish green foliage grow abundantly on the slopes. On the right bank lay a lovely cottonwood forest; /2:73/ our firewood was used up; but we could not go there. On the left bank, where the steep bluffs continue on, there is no timber, only bushes and a few cedars. The bluffs are 70-80 feet high, but we move towards them for a whole hour and see the *Assiniboin* behind us. In a ravine a run; lovely tall cottonwoods and bushes on its bank. Somewhat farther we land towards noon to prepare wood. Genuine red cedars were cut, and their red fragrant wood lent the whole neighborhood a pleasant aroma. They were still festooned full of black berries. In the ravine, into which I went, grew elms, ash, *Prunus padus*, *Celtis*,¹⁶¹ cedar, *Mespilus*,¹⁶² *Celastrus scandens*,¹⁶³ *Vitis*, *Clematis*¹⁶⁴ (?), buffalo berry [blank], *Cornus sericea*, and others; and on the prairie hills a number of lovely plants, also one with long bright yellow sheaves [*Büschel*] of flowers (*Stanleya pinnatifida*),¹⁶⁵ which we had recently found in the prairie, also the wild turnip (*Psoralea esculenta*)¹⁶⁶ with thick, knobby edible roots which the Indians also eat.

We do not see many birds. Yellow and light gray hardened clay forms the bluffs here. When I returned home, I found one of the Indians whom we saw today on the ship. He was carrying a bow and arrows in a sheath of hide, his hair hung down to his shoulders and was twisted a little to a tail behind. He was enveloped in a buffalo hide and had a hussar's saber in his hand. His face was amiable. He was given powder and tobacco; and after he had eaten, he left. Whereupon we also moved on. In the afternoon the region was initially flatter, alternating low lying bluffs, the chain of hills more flattened off, not so lovely, also not so beautifully green. The water was often shallow, and we received violent jolts. Several objects were shattered. The chain of hills to the left which arise behind the front-lying willow and cottonwood shrubs [have] ever more strange forms, many summits formed like batteries and flattened off table-like on top. In the distance before us appears the Tower, a round hill or top. From the steep gray earth bluffs on the right which we navigated along we moved over diagonally where willows and, behind them, tall cottonwoods formed a fringe. The Tower appears ever clearer. On the right a vast sandbank lies in the river. Behind it lowlying willows and cottonwood shrubbery, behind which the gentle dull-green hills arise. [See Drawing N., top.]

On the left bank the hills have a steep appearance when one is close by beneath them. They are covered with parched grass and individual shrubs, perhaps low-lying oaks. As we approached the Tower, it appeared about 6-800 paces from the bank in a ravine somewhat like this [see Drawing N., bottom].

On the left bank a small deeply incised run on the left bank where strangely formed hills stand. One follows upon the other. On the shore lay a few bison skulls. In the ravines be-

Drawing N



tween the hills shrubbery. Here a few small birds. The hills now stand on shore but have no bluffs. Shrubs are often in front of them. On the right bank low-lying land with willows and cottonwoods. Left on the bank a few thickets of lovely, tall trees in the shrubbery. Between the hills one occasionally has /2:74/ views into gentle green valleys, in the background of which one could see strange hills situated. Several small runs fall into the river. Curly oaks about 40 feet high then follow as a clear forest before the short, strange shoreline hills. On the right in the river vast sandbanks move along. Beyond them a long row of red bluffs which in the distance appear like an American city of brick. Left on the bank much shrubbery between the hills in the ravines. *Picus erythrocephalus*¹⁶⁷ was seen a couple of times. Peculiar woods on shore of thick, old low [trees] which are all broken off on top, withered at the top or without actual top—this the result of storms and the hard cold winter. Small short, 40-50 pace long-hills on shore; before (some of) them the dense dwarf woods are situated. A lovely crick opens up here before long. On its bank more lovelier tall shrubs. Inwards one sees tall yellow walls on its bed.

Here the soil, like the entire character of the region, is totally transformed: where below it was entirely black and extremely fertile, here it is already infertile; here no one will cultivate any more. On the hills grow lovely 40-50 high cedars (*Juniperus virginiana*) formed as thick as a man like old spruce trees—many withered and with dry branches and tops. The lovely wood is unceasingly durable in the earth—after 40 years still unchanged. On this shore a lovely cottonwood forest with willows in front of it is later situated. On the right, on the other hand, a tall forest of cottonwoods for the most part completely dead, thanks to prairie fire; only isolated ones have some foliage on top. Behind this timber the prairie hills arise. Towards evening a tree hidden in the water broke our right paddle wheel in two. It cracked violently; a thick beam snapped off. To the right on land a chain of entirely novel wave-like, saw-like summits. On these hills one could see a couple of black animals running—probably wolves. On the right bank a beautiful dark forest with magnificent grass soil now followed, but the trees are not high. A number of vines of wild grapes twist around them. Swallows flew over this forest. At evening we land to the left by the tall forest, then went

there and started tall fires while the woodcutters felled the trees right and left, of which some of the green foliage—mostly of Ash and Box Elder (*Acer negundo*)¹⁶⁸ fell in our fire where the green, juicy foliage was greedily consumed. Climbing plants (*Vitis* and *Rhus*) formed clubs out of the old trees. The ground was for the most part covered with *Convallaria*. In the evening lightning and summer lightning.

In Nebraska Maximilian established the pattern followed during his journey along the Upper Missouri. The Prince dutifully made written observations while Bodmer rendered Indian portraits and scenes of the landscape, flora, and fauna. Dreidoppel, hunters employed by the American Fur Company, and frequently Bodmer helped to collect specimens of birds, animals, and reptiles.

At Fort Pierre near the mouth of the Bad River, Maximilian and his party transferred from the Yellow Stone to the more comfortable Assiniboine. They reached Fort Clark near the Mandan Villages on June 18, 1833, and Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone River on June 24. Since early steamboats could not meet the challenges of the Missouri River beyond Fort Union, Maximilian, Bodmer, and Dreidoppel traveled by keelboat between Fort Union and Fort McKenzie at the mouth of the Marias River in present-day Montana.

Maximilian remained at Fort McKenzie from August 9 until September 14. There he met individuals from the powerful and aggressive Blackfeet, Piegan, and Blood tribes. Perhaps the single most dramatic day of Maximilian's North American visit occurred on August 28 when 480 Assiniboin and 100 Cree warriors attacked a Blackfeet camp pitched beside the palisades of Fort McKenzie. Maximilian returned to Fort Union on September 29 where he resumed his studies of the Assiniboin and Cree tribes.

Before the onset of a bitterly hard winter they went downstream to Fort Clark near present-day Washburn, North Dakota. They remained there from November 8, 1833, until April 18, 1834. Fort Clark was located next to the Mandan and within close proximity of the Hidatsa. Despite a near-fatal bout with scurvy, Maximilian conducted his most remarkable and significant ethnological fieldwork among the Mandan and Hidatsa.

Maximilian departed from his Mandan and Hidatsa friends on April 18, 1834. Company employees loaded portions of Maximilian's collections, including two live grizzly yearlings who had wintered with him at Fort Clark. The American Fur Company provided a Mackinaw boat and an insolent, incompetent crew of Dauphin, Malone, Fecteau and Descoteau. The Prince firmly quashed their



No. 20. Karl Bodmer, Village of the Ponca Indians, *watercolor*.
. . . (Bottom) No. 21. Bodmer, Bivouac on the Missouri, 1834,
watercolor.



mutinous intentions; however, he could do little but lament their poor river skills. They reached Fort Pierre on April 26, and they passed the mouth of the Niobrara River on May 5. It is here that we shall resume the Prince's own narrative of the journey:

May 5: Gloomy sky, strong N.W. wind (scale of 9).¹⁶⁹ At 7:30 49°. The sail had been drawn, and we quickly approach the region of the Punca Indians. With the swift course of the boat we landed on sandbanks; and since the wind became too strong, we landed toward 8 o'clock at Punca Island, a large lovely island called *Isle des Pons* by the French. I immediately went out with Dreidoppel and Dauphin¹⁷⁰ with the shotgun, and we divided up: I for birds, the other two with the rifle to shoot game. This large island is covered with an airy forest of tall, slender cottonwoods which now were groaning from a powerful storm. An edge or fringe of willows (*Salix angustata*)¹⁷¹ surrounds the edge of the island; and its ground is densely overgrown with tall, now dried plants—some with *Xanthium strumarium*¹⁷² and other climbing plants 3-4 feet high—that moving was extraordinarily difficult. On some spots the undergrowth was intertwined with *Prunus padus*, *Symphoria*¹⁷³ and others with *Vitis*, in which all birds had now sought shelter from the storm. Here I found many nice little birds,^{hh} also *Turdus rufus*¹⁷⁴ which is very shy. *Troglodytes aedon*¹⁷⁵ sang very nicely. Woodpeckers hacked at the tall cottonwoods, and in the willow fringe of the bank *Fringilla erythrophthalma* was common.

When I returned to the boat Dauphin had killed a two-year old doe elk, and all our men had gone to the site with him to bring back the game. The rest of us waited a good one and a half hours by the fire until the men came, and we now wanted to board immediately; but Melone [Malone?] now stepped vehemently forward and vowed he would not depart until he had eaten his fill from the game. After a vehement exchange of words this bad man nevertheless had to board since his comrades did not share his rebellious spirit, and the journey was continued by way of trial. We navigated down by the island through the channel, but when we came to its tip the storm hit us in such a way that we had to hurry to reach the bank, which occurred with the loss of our sail. We landed. Here

hh. Among others I had [blank] a nice little bird. . . .

there was an extensive willow thicket so full of dry creeping plants that one could hardly penetrate it, but everywhere one found the track of game. All the birds had hid themselves from the wind in the deepest thicket; one saw almost no living being. Bodmer again shot the lovely songbird (*Sylvia* [blank]) killed on May 3, and Dreidoppel went out with the rifle while they were cooking some of the venison of our elk. The songbird just mentioned was still killed quite often, just like a turkey buzzard, from which my steersman Fecteau took out the gizzard [blank] while insisting this part was a major remedy against the bite of poisonous snakes.

Towards 5 PM the wind abated. We left the spot, navigated past the mouth of Punca Creek, and reached—as the sun had set—3 leather tents of the Punca Indians on the right bank where the Trader Dixon¹⁷⁶ had arrived with several *engagés* from the Little Missouri or Fort Pierre a few days ago. Among these men was also the Punca translator, Primo [Primeau],¹⁷⁷ who last year had /3:172/ communicated to me some Punca words on the steamboat. Here we were informed of the proximity of the Steamboat *Assiniboin* which we would reach tomorrow. The Punca Indians here looked wretched and dirty. Here on the river they were suffering considerably from hunger. They wore their hair cut off in the neck and over the forehead. Most from this tribe were just expected. A few skin lodges were painted, one yellow with all kinds of figures. The small camp was situated on a narrow surface before the hills which had been freed of forest by axe and fire. We navigated on after a quarter of an hour and crosswise over the river and lit our fire there in front of the steep rocky hills in the willow brush. This spot was exactly opposite the outlet of the *L'Eau Qui Court* or *Qui Court* and not *Qui Courre River*. We had been told we would find about 25 miles downstream on the Vermillion many Dakota who had migrated so far down. They are now friends of the Puncas. The night was pleasant but somewhat cool.

May 6: Early, before daybreak, a wild turkey gobbler began to gobble and cackle violently; he was not far from us. Early on we also saw 4 pelicans (*Schetecks*). The morning was cold. On the bank blackbirds in flocks. We passed *Rivière à Manuel*. Towards 11 o'clock we noticed before us the steamboat *Assini-*

boin which was situated on the left bank and apparently did not have enough water. Its chimney did not smoke. Because of the sandbanks and the powerful wind we could not, as my crew asserted, get there now. Therefore, we landed on the right bank opposite the *Assiniboin* by an extensive willow thicket and big forest above steep banks. By chance the woodcutters of the steamboat were about 1 mile above the place where we landed in our forest to cut fire wood; a clerk headed them. At noon we saw a boat bringing back over the river a part of these men. The rest of them who had seen our smoke sought us out and awaited by us the return of our boat since their number was too great for a journey.

When the boat of the *Assiniboin* returned, it brought a note from Captain Bennett in which he asked if I were not in the Mackinaw boat. If so, they wished to welcome us on board the steamboat. All the crew offered to bring over my barge without damage, and the undertaking was done immediately. A good 10-12 men set to work, and we conquered the wild, stormy river and quite easily avoided the sandbanks. Hardly arrived on the bank, we saw our old traveling companions, Messrs. Sanford, Major Bean, Capt. Bennet and some others coming toward us to welcome us. All were happy to see us and receive word from the Upper Missouri. Our conversation was very lively; we were detained until lunch and supper, after which we took leave to sleep on our boat. On board the steamboat we also found our friend Schudegacheh, the interesting Punca Chief, who was very friendly towards us and happy to see us again.

A second chief was here whose name is *L'Enfant Cheffre* [Child Chief]¹⁷⁸ as well as still more Punca men and women. Schudegacheh was especially beautifully attired, entirely in otter hide, an otter cap on his head,ⁱⁱ a tobacco bag of otter hide—everything altogether attired this beautiful, interesting Indian especially well. He had a long conversation with Major Bean, the agent of this tribe; and before he began the conversation with the help of the translator De [blank], the Indians all took off their clothes and made a present of them to the agent, whereby they all remained entirely bare right down to

ii. His garment consisted of a shirt of lovely otter hide with round neck of red cloth. The second chief (*L'Enfant Cheffre*) had a lovely robe painted with red fan figures.

their breechcloths. But Bean gave them everything back. They had to put their clothes on again, right down to Schudegacheh who did not want to take his otter garment back again. The village of about 100 lodges of these Indians was now situated about 4 days journey upstream on *L'Eau Qui Court*. When we came back to the boat, we found our men more or less in an agitated condition and some drunk. Dauphin alone seemed to be sober.

May 7: (Today we have been gone exactly 2 years from Neuwied). We cast off very early, Melone, Descoteaux and Fecteau /3:173/ were still drunk, and the boat journey proceeded poorly. They made a great deal of noise. We passed a bad turn of the river with very many snags. Blackbirds on the shore. At 7:30 46°. Wind N.W., scale of 8. Towards 11 o'clock we pass *Rivière à Jaques*. We land on the right bank since the wind again was very violent, but our situation was devoid of all protection. A league [4.6 English miles] from here there was a lake where Droidoppel went to search for water birds but found nothing other than a few ducks. In the willows on the Missouri they scared up 2 head of game (*C* [ervus]. *virgin* [ianus]). I went through the dense bushes of narrow-leaved willows, alternating with strips of rose, out far through it into the now lovely green prairie, saw a red fox (*C* [anis]. *fulvus*),¹⁷⁹ 2 or 3 species of swallows which were soaring about in no great number over the plain—especially the white-bellied ones separately in pairs—and a *Cypselus* [swift] above the hills. In addition, I found in the prairie the big lark, the yellowed-headed troupial (*Ict*[erus]. *icterocephalus*, Bonap[arte].), a couple of falcons with white uropygis (i.e. uropygium = the rump of a bird) (*F*[alco]. [blank]), the yellow songbird (*Sylvia* [blank]) three times in the willows, and *Fringilla* [blank], as well as *Picus auratus*,¹⁸⁰ *Corvus corax*¹⁸¹ and *corone*.¹⁸² *Papilio Plexippus* and *Libellulæ* [dragonflies] were flying here where it was very warm in the sheltered place.

We had no gathering by the fire. Most of the men lay about drunken in the highest degree—even the *Patron* [i.e. the head boatman]. Melone, formerly a soldier in the service of the United States, native of Liberty on the Missouri, a bad man, had wanted yesterday evening to persuade the other men to leave us all. Since he was counting on this, he now made

preparations, carried his things out of the boat, and one could see that he had prepared himself. He had sold his rifle on the steamboat, bought whisky, several hams, and other groceries for it. Now he called on the other men to keep their word and leave us; but since he saw that they did not go along, he exhausted himself in scornful words against them, finally gave way, and asked me for passage which I roundly refused him. He could now carry out alone his earlier plan of building a boat. Towards 5 o'clock the wind abated somewhat. We navigated on; but since the *Patron* was drunk, Dauphin had to take the rudder. Melone remained behind alone on land. Today we made about 12 to 15 miles. The region is rather flat but has lovely forests on both banks. When the sun had set, we landed on the right bank, on a lovely secure spot. A narrow strip of lovely, tall forest filled the space between the river and the steep whitish colored clay hills. Red willow (*Cornus sericea*) bush as underbrush was now opening its flowers. Several fires were flaring up on this pleasant spot, and we still went about with the shotgun. The finch with yellow eyebrows and cropped white throat (*Fring[illa]*). [blank] was numerous here, and game tracks were quite freshly imprinted on the ground in all directions.

At dusk a number of Whip-poor-wills (*Caprimulgus* [blank]) arrived which deafened our ears with their calling and flew about the fire within 3 paces. A couple of them were killed. They often sat themselves on the branches of trees which I have observed of no species of this genus to this extent. They are then easy to shoot down, and their calling becomes incessant—very rapidly expelled with vigor, one after the other. If this bird approaches at dusk one especially notices the 3 large white feather tips on each side of its tail. Opposite us on the yonder Missouri bank at two places smoke and flame were rising, probably started by the men of the *Assiniboin*. Today we had heard the first Whip-poor-wills; from here on down they are common and we often heard their calling. Our mouse and rat traps were /3:174/ put out in vain.

May 8: Pleasant morning. Wind S.W., scale of 5. At 8 o'clock 59°. Not far above the outlet of the Vermillion (opposite) we ran into large sandbanks on which we observed avocets (*Recurivostra*) which our hunters vainly lay in wait

for. Here several wild geese were resting. Lovely chains of hills adorn this region—by this time the banks of the river; they are covered with forest—or forests before them with much more variation than usual. Towards 10 o'clock we had left a green hill ridge level on top, on which a few Dakota graves are situated. At the beginning of this summit Vermillion River discharges. In this region several Sioux are supposed to have descended to hunt here. Farther on we had on the left bank a bad bay full of snags, but the wind was favorable to us and kept us on the edge of the other bank along the sandbank. In this region begin the tall forests which are unique to the lower Missouri. On the steamboat we had been told that a certain beaver trapper, Gardner,¹⁸³ one of the first Rocky Mountain hunters and the first pilot of the Missouri, had navigated ahead of us down the river, and we would overtake him since he had a bad heavily-laden canoe. I was advised to take him in with his load because we then would get a very certain steersman. Towards noon we now saw Gardner's canoe floating before us and soon overtook it.

The region here was very picturesque. The freshly green hill chains covered or surrounded with tall trees and forests, lovely bushes on the bank mixed with cedars. Around about 11 o'clock we had Gardner's quadrangular leather boat loaded with fur next to us, and I immediately made to him the suggestion of bringing his cargo on board and taking over our rudder, which he accepted with delight since he did not have much confidence in his boat. He had 2 rowers with him and was now coming back from his beaver trapping. We soon landed on the left bank to carry out the re-loading. In the meantime we went out with the shotgun. On the bank of the river was a fringe of willows and behind it an open space with tall old trunks and burnt wood; a forest fire must have destroyed the forest here. The ground, too, was black and covered with primarily fresh, young grass. In the colossal old trunks—that is in their hollow knots—the purple swallow (*Hirundo purpurea*)¹⁸⁴ was nesting; black troupials (Blackbirds) were halting in flocks on the ground; the wren (*Troglodytes aedon*) was singing here; *Falco sparverius*¹⁸⁵ sat on a tall tip of branch and on the ground. On the root of a tree we thought we saw a mouse running. We followed, but on closer observation we found that it was a small bird which let

us come up to 2 to 3 paces close and then ran all around the tree. One almost could not get it to fly up at all, and it was always too close for shooting. Finally we had the chance to shoot it with a quite small charge and now found that it was the extraordinarily nice, plainly but very nicely colored *Fringilla acutipennis*¹⁸⁶ which we saw today for the first and last time. Apart from this I also shot at the *Fringilla hyemalis*¹⁸⁷ which nests here thus.

About 1 o'clock we reached Le Roi's plantation which lies on the left bank and landed opposite on the sandbank since the wind was blowing very strongly. We let the boat glide down along the edge of the sandbank with the towrope, so that it could not be driven over into snags situated in the bay lying opposite. Then we navigated to the left river bank and tied down underneath the tall bank in the wind. At 12 o'clock 74°. The wind drove the sand down the shores and banks into the air. We immediately went deeper into the forest. On the bank there was a large, widely extended thicket—behind it a more clear thicket of the narrow-leaved willow and cottonwood, intertwined with /3:175/ many dry creeping plants and burs and made so impassible by dry, broken-up wood lying in all directions that one could get through only with great effort and by tearing one's pieces of clothing. Protected here against the wind, one felt great heat. The rust-red thrush (*T[ur]dus*]. *rufus*) and the wren (*Tr[og]odytes*]. *aedon*) dwelled in this wilderness. Ducks were swimming on the bank, including the blue winged teal. And tracks of game appeared everywhere. Towards evening the wind abated. We navigated on, saw a great many ducks, the cormorant which set itself on tall trees in the shoreline forest. The Whipp-poor-will called out, and bats were flying above the river. The evening was quiet and lovely. We lit our fire on the beach in front of the forest, and Gardner then told me of his many dangerous expeditions into the Indian country and of his fights with the Indians. It was he who killed the two Arikaras¹⁸⁸ of which I possess the scalp of one; the day before they had killed old Glass¹⁸⁹ and his two companions.^{jj}

jj. Old Glass had gone out with two companions beaver trapping from Fort Cass¹⁹⁰ on the Yellow Stone River; and farther downriver, as they were going over the ice on the Yellow Stone, all three were shot dead, on the yonder bank by a war party of about

May 9: Lovely, bright, quiet morning. Ducks and wild geese on the river. Lovely chains of hills with alternating rock clusters, green spots and lovely luxuriantly leaved forest; on the bank very stalky lovely cottonwood forests. At 7:30 60° Wind N.E., scale of 1. Many ducks, *Ardea herodias*¹⁹³ in shallow water on a sandbank. A band of 8 to 10 *Anser hyemalis*¹⁹⁴ is sighted, among which a pair of gray individuals was to be found. In the morning Ayawā River passed, and soon we already had before us the chain of hills at which on the left bank Big Sioux River emerges. A black headed gull roamed upwards past us. Noon 88½°. Toward 3 o'clock we reached on the left bank the mouth of the Big Sioux River which, as mentioned, flows out at an angle along the chain of

80 Arikkaras hidden behind it, scalped, and plundered. From here these Indians, so dangerous to whites, moved on toward the sources of the Powder River, and it happened by chance that Gardner with about 20 men and some 30 horses had camped right here. As the Americans were sitting in the dark by several fires, the Indians suddenly appeared, greeted them in the Grosventre language,¹⁹¹ surrounded the fire, and dried their shoes. Gardner, as a man experienced in dealings with the Indians, immediately took precautionary measures—especially since a Grosventre woman with him immediately informed him the strangers were Aricaras.

Now Gardner gradually had his men gather by the fire and hold their weapons in readiness. He immediately feared for his horses, of which some were already actually missing. At the same time he had also dispatched some of his men in order to construct a so-called fort of timber trunks for the night. It is a custom of the Indians, when they want to steal horses, of suddenly giving a sign, whereupon they all spring up, scatter the horses, and drive off with them. Gardner suspected this. So the horses were closely watched, and when they now really jumped up, 3 of them were seized, thrown down, and bound. When the Arikkaras noted this, several of them came back, posed as very innocent of the disappearance of the horses, and asked for their comrades. But Gardner declared to them: if they did not immediately bring the horses back, then the prisoners must die, of whom one, who had hidden his knife, in the meantime found the means of cutting the ropes and escaping. The Indians negotiated for a long time, but they were sent away. Since they foresaw their death, the prisoners began their death song and related their heroic deeds and that they were great warriors. One of them had Old Glass's knife; also the rifle of the murdered men had been seen in the band. The horses were not brought back. The prisoners claimed a bodily need, and they were led aside; and here in the dense bushes they tried to get away. One of them was immediately stabbed and several shots were fired towards the other whereupon he was likewise stabbed; they were scalped, and I own one of these scalps.

Gardner now had all the fires extinguished and spent the night vigilantly in the now completed wood fort, expecting an attack of the enemy every moment. But everything remained quiet, and the following morning it was learned that they had left with their booty and had sacrificed the prisoners for the horses. When they asked for their detained brothers, the Indians had always especially asked for the one, a famous warrior. They also even brought back 3 horses, bound them nearby, and said they should be retrieved; but they did not enter in on this and demanded all the horses back. The scalp which I have mentioned Mr. Chardon¹⁹² later gave me at Fort Union.

hills, and steep yellow clay bluffs follow immediately after its outlet. The heat today was very great. In the afternoon /3:176/ right after the river outlet we reached Floyd's Grave on the left bank, and on the next turn of the river left, one or a couple of miles into the prairie, a village of the Omãhã Indians is now situated which is supposed to contain about 50 huts. We could not stop long enough to search for it, also had neither guide nor interpreter; furthermore, today we had to use this lovely day because we had lost so much time due to the frequent storms. In the evening we spent the night on the left riverbank opposite Omãhã Crick. The weather was lovely. In the nearby tall willows, where farther inwards young cottonwood forest could be found, a large owl was calling out loudly, without doubt *Strix nebulosa*. *Caprimulgus* could neither be seen nor heard here. In the night a violent wind arose.

May 10: Bright, good weather; early in the day hot. At 7:30 72°. Wind N.W., scale of 9. We saw a great many woodducks (A[nas]. *sponsa*), mostly in pairs, and often several pairs together—also many pelicans in large flocks and many wild geese (A[nser] *canadensis*). At 9:30 we land opposite the grave of the great chief of the Omãhã, Waschinga-sahba, where we found a great many tracks of game. The hills, on which the already described grave of Blackbird lies, were now in their most lovely green. A wolf and also game had been seen. The wind turned stronger. We had departed but landed again after 1 to 2 hours because we had to pass a place with very many snags in front of us which could become dangerous with the wind. During our stop we went on land with the shotgun and found a path through the willow thicket very much trodden by the Indians. Beyond the thicket an overgrown open region was situated with tall cottonwoods and old willows in individual groups with tall grass, where the remnants of a number of huts of the Indians stood who had recently wintered here. Here we found *Fringilla erythrophthalma*, *melodia*¹⁹⁵ and saw the white-crowned finch, the Baltimore, the rust-red thrush, and the black-headed gull. Beneath the tall riverbank Dreidoppel killed *Anas Boschas fera*¹⁹⁶ and one *Anas sponsa*—which for a long time could not be found in the tall grass without a dog—moving over the land. After a couple of hours the wind abated. We then navigated through a very dangerous spot

with very many threatening snags, without, however, colliding since Gardner steered our boat splendidly and wound it through in the same way. The day was hot; the evening all the lovelier. Towards sundown we navigated past the outlet of the Little Sioux River. About 3 miles below this outlet we landed for the night on the opposite bank where an extensive growth of willows covered the land in which one could see tracks of game in number. The evening was lovely. The sound of ducks could be heard in our vicinity.

May 11: Pleasant morning, the sky lightly overcast, somewhat cool. Wind N. About 7:30 57°. We land for a quarter of an hour on the left bank. In the dense willow bushes of young, almost impenetrable young trees there were very many interesting birds, the rust-red thrush, the many-voiced *Icteria viridis*¹⁹⁷ with its splendid lemon-yellow throat, the lovely *Muscicapa ruticilla*,¹⁹⁸ *Sylvia aestiva*, and others. In addition, Dreidoppel killed a rabbit of a species which to me appears different from that of the eastern states in that its ears are far shorter and wider. We saw extraordinarily many wood ducks (*Canard branchu*), above the tall forest hovered the lovely white *Falco furcatus* in pairs, which we had already seen yesterday. Near S. Louis this bird is called *La fregate* [*Frégate* = frigate, frigate bird], and supposedly it does not go farther up the Mississippi. At noon we had a lot of wind. We landed at a tall bank with willow thickets on the right shore. In this thicket large open round places with burnt ground and young fresh grass appeared farther inwards. In many places of the willow thicket grew a dense underbrush of *Lonicera*¹⁹⁹ or *Symphoria*, *Cornus*, and the like, where the *Icteria viridis* very hidden. The magnificent Baltimore Bird flew about in pairs. *Sylvia aestiva* very numerous. The olive-gray flycatcher was very common. In the open meadow spots one found /3:177/ the red-eyed finch in pairs (*Fringilla erythroph*), on the river pelicans. Dauphin [brought] back the rabbit shot early today on his hunting trip. One of them had six young ones in its body. In the nearby forest and even in the thicket of young willows the ground was entirely and densely overgrown with 2-3 feet high, finger-thick rushes (*Equisetum hyemale*).

Towards 4:30 we departed. We had some river spots with snags and then reached a stretch of the river where its left

bank was steeply slanted. Here two head of game had crossed over and were trying to ascend the heights but always fell back again whereby we came close to them. Four to 5 shots were fired off at the frightened animals; but they were missed, ran along the bank, and finally escaped. Everywhere a number of paired woodducks were flying up in the coves of the bank. This duck is the most common one on the Missouri. They often sat in the forest on the bank since they nest in burrows and flew up from them. Sandpipers (*Tringa* or sometimes *Charadrius*,²⁰⁰ too) could be seen in number on the sandbanks. The tall forest consisted of cottonwoods (*P* [opulus]. *angulata*).²⁰¹ The evening was pleasant. Toward 6 o'clock we reached Soldier's River and then landed in a secure cove of the left bank, under a tall bank with extensive willow thicket. Here Dreidoppel immediately shot again one of the previously mentioned rabbits. The red thrush, yellowbreasted *Icteria*²⁰² and a *Caprimulgus* were observed.

May 12: In the morning, cool. Early in the day flocks of pelicans, a swan, many woodducks. Around 7:30 50° Wind N.W., scale of 11. We saw cormorants, a couple, of which the female alighted in the forest. Dreidoppel climbed out, crept up, and shot down this bird, new to us, with his rifle from its high position. Towards 10 o'clock we passed by Council Bluff and the ruins of the cantonment formerly situated here. Here one reaches the beautifully forested picturesque chain of hills. Now the wind arose. A flock of *Sterna Hirundo*²⁰³ swept up the river, of which Dreidoppel shot down a lovely specimen. At 12 o'clock we had 60° on the thermometer, the wind N.W., scale of 11. In the afternoon we soon reached Boyer's Creek from which there is still 3 miles to Pilcher's Trading post at which we found Mr. Cabanné in going up. Before we reached Boyer's Creek we observed the first *Platanus*, a very powerful tree. The river makes many turns. About 1 o'clock we caught sight of Major Pilcher's Trading House, and one half hour later we landed there after we had previously already seen a horse on the sandbank right.

Mr. Pilcher received us in a very friendly way, and we remained the entire day at this place. There was now a lawier [*sic*] here, Mr. Randolph, to investigate a criminal incident since recently an *engagé* here had shot his comrade, as it is put

here, in cold blood, and deliberately. At this moment there were few Indians here, yet several Otos, Omahas, Missouris, and a couple of Ayauás. Every day one expected the great chief of the Omahas, Ongpatonga (Big Elk), who, as mentioned, is accurately reproduced in Godman's *Natural History*. Mr. Bodmer drew an Omaha and an Oto Indian²⁰⁴ [see plates Nos. 22 and 23]; both peoples are not different in customs and costume. Their external appearance is also rather the same. They wear their hair short, their heads occasionally shorn down to a couple of hair tufts, their upper body naked, and in their ears wampum and other pendants. In Mr. Pilcher's house more cleanliness now seemed to have returned than previously. The store had been transferred; it is now in the upper story, and here we found a significant supply of hides including 24,000 muskrats, the packs of which are very nicely tied together in squares. Also many beaver pelts and buffalo robes piled up in layers here. Mr. Pilcher honored me with a lovely fur of a robust, black wolf killed on upper Boyer's Creek, which however, is not species but rather merely variety.

After lunch I undertook an excursion. The surrounding hills and forests now were resplendent in the most luxuriant foliage. Blackbirds, the fire-colored and black Baltimore bird, *Muscicapa ruticilla*, *Sylvia aestiva* [*Sylvia*], *sialis*²⁰⁵ were frequent. *Turdus migratorius*,²⁰⁶ *Columba carolinensis*, *Picus pubescens*,²⁰⁷ and many other birds, including *Fring[illa]. erythrophth.* and several other finches animated a lovely, gently ascending side valley, through which the Omahas /3:178/ have a path upwards towards their villages. In this greenly overgrown and clearly forested valley grew many kinds of lovely trees and bushes, including 20 foot high *Crataegus* or *Pyrus*, *Prunus padus*, all covered with their white flowers—in addition oak, elms, ash, *Celtis* up to one and one half feet in its trunk, several species of *Juglans*²⁰⁸ including lovely trees, also maples. I killed several interesting birds, also found in the vicinity of a forest marsh a small heron (*Crabier* [Fr. = crab eater]) sitting on the tip of highest tree. In the vicinity of the dwellings one saw lovely cattle, many pigs which likewise run about in the forest, and chickens. Not far from the building there are extended corn plantations and potato fields. Mr. Pilcher provided us with some provisions. Late last summer the cholera had been here, but not so many

men died of it as at Dougherty's Agency because Mr. Pilcher was provided with medicines. That evening we took leave of our kind host and slept on our boat.

May 13: Early in the morning cool. During the night a dog had stolen part of our meat supply from the cabin in which 3 people were sleeping. At 7:30 49°. Wind S.E., scale of 8. Soon afterwards we saw a wolf close by us. At 8 o'clock short stop at a lovely prairie of the right bank with pretty bushes and many individual scattered tall trees. Here many birds appeared, including *Icteria viridis* and the lovely black and white grosbeak with red breast (*Loxia ludoviciana*),²⁰⁹ of which several specimens were shot. Farther down we sighted a proud wild turkey on a sandbank in consequence of which the hunters were immediately put ashore but who returned without having achieved their purpose. At 12 noon we reached Bellevue, Major Dougherty's Agency, in a lovely location on the now vigorously and luxuriantly forested chain of hills of the right bank, on which Pilcher's post is placed. We landed, but unfortunately found Dougherty unavailable because he was expected only in July. At the time of the visit which the cholera made here last summer 7 of the 10 people living here died in a period of 24 hours, and one man had to bury all the others while he himself felt sick. Now there were no sick people in this region.

We found the surroundings at Bellevue very pleasant and especially interesting for naturalists. The lovely forested hills had shady ravines and small valleys where especially many large-leaved linden trees were growing; oaks delicately pointed and worn to shreds, ash, elms, *Celtis*, hornbeam, maples, hazel, witch hazel bushes, *Cornus*, *Prunus*, *Crataegus* or *Pyrus*, *Staphylaea trifolia*, climbing *Vitis*, *Humulus*,²¹⁰ *Smilax*, *Hedera*²¹¹—all in the most luxuriant foliage. On the ground a sky blue phlox was blooming magnificently in quantity just like yesterday, the strawberries in number. Otherwise one still did not see many flowers—only the light vermilion-red *Aquilegia canadensis*²¹² (?) A great many kinds of birds enlivened these lovely bushes. The coo-coo, the turtle dove, the red-breasted grosbeak, the green *Icteria*, *Sylvia aestiva*, *Fring[illa]. erythroph[thalma]*. and a finch (*Fr[ingilla]*. [blank]) new to us, many other small birds, lovely butterflies

—the large blue and black [blank], the *Plexippus*, and other less noteworthy ones. Here we received some few groceries and milk, which is supposed to be a major remedy against scurvy. By the dwelling of Mr. Fontenelle I saw a small pig being bought which we loaded after a long stay at Bellevue. Mr. Fontenelle had not yet returned from the Rocky Mountains from his undertaking of the previous year.

After 2 o'clock we departed. After some time Papilion Crick on the right. From Pilcher's house towards Bellevue there is supposed to be 24 miles. From Bellevue to the mouth of *La Platte* there are 6 miles; we reached it before noon. Beyond the outlets of these rivers the lovely chains of hills of the right bank were completely green, but some only sparsely timbered. They remained the entire afternoon very picturesquely on our right side, where we navigated past Iron Eye (*Ischtá-masó*) Hill. On the left bank in the tall cottonwood forest on the lowland we saw game 3 times, on the right in the hills a /3:179/ wild turkey. The lowlands are overgrown with cottonwood, all the hills, on the other hand, with hard timber. Dreidoppel was put out on land to the right to make a hunting excursion. The sun was now close to setting. We passed Five-barril Crick and camped opposite the islands of the same name on the right Missouri bank. As soon as we landed, I went on land with the shotgun. At first, one penetrated a rather airy thicket of young willows, then a very long narrow reedy marsh overgrown with *Typha*,²¹³ the ground of which was rather dry but still somewhat soft. Here raccoons had prepared completely bare trodden paths. Beyond the marsh extended the chain of hills greenly overgrown with trees and bushes where the Baltimore was seen and *Icteria viridis* was extremely common. Its song, similar to that of the nightingale in some strophes, resounded everywhere, and especially towards evening these birds are extremely mobile and restless. In the tall willow thicket on the bank the whip-poor-wills were very frequent at dusk, and their loud call resounded everywhere. Left, in the direction of the outflowing of the river, was a small lake.

May 14: Lovely, bright morning. Pretty region. Ducks and geese in number on the river. One shoots in vain towards some turkeys. Lovely forested chain of hills right. We traveled past Weeping-Water River (*L'Eau qui pleurt*). Somewhat farther

on the right bank a small crick where one heard turkeys calling. We landed and 4 hunters shot at and missed their favorite birds. The place where they had been encountered was very lovely. The crick made a strong bend, which formed a deepened, level depression overgrown luxuriantly green and shady with grass and tall stalky trees. Linden, oak, elm, *Celtis*, maple, and other colossal trees touched each other with their crowns. The ground was densely covered with lovely plants in which 3 wild turkeys had been found standing. The lovely red-breasted grosbeak was here, and we shot the nice *Sylvia trichas*.²¹⁴ From this lovely spot we navigated farther and in the river surprised two head of game which, however, eluded us since they reached a sandbank in the river. Farther down we found a number of wild geese in the vicinity of the Table River; one vainly shot toward them. At 7:30 we had 58°; the wind was E. After 10 o'clock we landed right at the forest where we pushed into the splendid primeval forest. Caterpillars made all these forests, especially the willow bushes on the bank, unpleasant; our clothes were immediately full of them. The forest consisted of all kinds of local trees. The *Zanthoxylum*²¹⁵ grew very abundantly here. *Vitis*, *Hedera quinquefolia*, *Rhus*, *Smilax* densely intertwined and entangled everything. The ground was wildly covered with bushes and fallen down trees; branches made moving difficult. Here many kinds of lovely birds could be found: the *Icteria*, *Sylvia aestiva*, [*Sylvia*] *Trichas*, and others, the catbird, *Muscicapa ruticilla*—in short a number of different species.

After a half hour we navigated on. At 12:30 69°. We soon ran aground which led to a delay. The lovely region is very forested. On the right there is always the chain of hills with hard timber forest, left the lowland with softwood, willows, and tall stalky cottonwoods. This afternoon we noticed the first parakeets. Gardner had these lovely birds before we reached him—that is, roughly on the *L'Eau qui court*. In the evening one saw game on the bank. When the sun went down, one had to make an effort to steer through a spot which was dangerously filled up with snags. We navigated along the right bank and reached Little Nemaha Crick which Dauphin calls Omaha Crick, as one is accustomed to doing. Some 100 paces farther we ran aground and then landed about 1 mile under the outlet of the crick on the left bank. Here a single swimming

pelican was wounded which, however, reached a sandbank on which it could not be followed. As soon as the fire was burning, Dauphin went fishing and caught a 15 pound white catfish.

May 15: Lovely bright morning, on the river fog. /3:180/ From our night quarters it is 5 miles to the outlet of the Nishne-bottoneh. Very early the hunters went after the wild turkeys, but got nothing, and we soon heard from these birds once more. At 7:30 54°. At 8 o'clock we reached the outlet of the river just mentioned on the left, in a lovely wilderness of tall, dense forest. Opposite, in front of the willows, stood 2 head of game (C[ervus]. *virgin[ianus]*.) of which someone shot one of them, followed the trail of blood, but did not get it. Here we killed several small birds, including *Trogl [odytes]*, *aedon* and a swallow with white belly [*H[irundo]*. [blank]]. The lovely wilderness was inhabited by all kinds of birds—*Icteria*, *Sylvia trichas*, and I shot the short-eared rabbit.

An hour farther on, someone had the idea of looking for honey; we landed on the right bank. The hills here were isolated and covered bush-like with shady, tall trees, among which there were tall sugar maples, the soil was covered densely and freshly green everywhere with plant growth. The fire was started on the beach and lunch cooked. In a small ravine lay old Indian huts. *Picus erythrocephalus*, *auratus*, *carolinus*²¹⁶; *Columb[a]. carol [inensis]*; *Icteria viridis*; *S[ylvia] trichas* and several other lovely species, for example [long blank space] were observed here—also the large yellow-bellied *Muscicapa [blank]*²¹⁷ was shot here. The cardinal (*Fring[illa]. cardinalis*)²¹⁸ and the Baltimore (*Ict[erus]. Baltimore*)²¹⁹ likewise animated these shadows. Along the bank—through dark shade of the tall, splendid forest trees—ran an Indian path which I followed down away and shot the gray squirrel (*Sciurus cinereus*).²²⁰ In the afternoon we navigated on and towards 4 o'clock passed the *Rivière de Sakojóh*²²¹ on the left bank, and hardly after a quarter of an hour from here the Grand Nemahaw River opened up on the right. We set up evening bivouac opposite Salomon-Island, up 6 miles above Wolf-River [Wolf Creek]. Here in the forest there was an unbelievable number of caterpillars spread out everywhere. Their color was greenish-blue with paired black

and varying yellow spots. The Whip-poor-will called out on the bright day. A flycatcher similar to the *Gabier* [?], *Muscicapa ruticilla*, and the *Icteria* were shot.

May 16: In the morning much fog, thus could only depart late. Afterwards wind soon arose on the river. At 7:30 outlet of the Wolf-River on the right. Before we reached it, we saw 6 or 7 head of game right on the beach in front of the forest. At 7:30 63°. At 9 o'clock we land on the right bank. The tall forest had dense underbrush of box elder (*Acer Negundo*) and *Cornus*. In it everything was full of caterpillar webs and caterpillars; all one's clothing was immediately full of them. Mr. Bodmer shot the lovely *Sylvia* [blank].²²² At 12 o'clock 72°. A wild turkey was chased in vain. Between 12 and 1 o'clock on the left bank the outlet of the Nadaway River. Splendid forest; a magnificent, tall-forested island. Luxuriant primeval forest scenes: tall tree trunks entirely enveloped with young green up to the outermost tips of the branches. They stand there in number like the most lovely, bright green columns—their foliage radiant, swelling with sap, bright green like all the surrounding magnificent forest vegetation. In this luxuriantly radiant foliage we could recognize even from the ship the vermilion red tanager (*Tanagra rubra*) and the bright red cardinal (*Fringilla* [illa]. *cardinalis*) which shone like flaming plumes. The French in the region of S. Louis and on the Missouri know the former bird under the name of *Pape* [Pope] which in New Orleans is given to *Fringilla ciris*.²²³ A shining sun splendidly illumined the sublime forest scenes just mentioned where the redbud and the other early blooming trees had already lost their radiance. Most deciduous trees of these forests do not have, as in South America, lovely radiant blossoms but rather for the most part catkins (*Amenta*) and unimpressive flowers. Here one observes for the first time after a long while the kingfisher (*Alcedo alcyon*).²²⁴ Towards 4 o'clock we reached the lovely chain of hills *Uakanseud* ("an" as in French, "e" and "u" separate) or the Blacksnake-hills and nearby Roubedoux Tradinghouse in the vicinity of the Ayawās and Saki Indians. The lovely summits and the extended prairie lying before it are resplendent in the most magnificent green. On the hills left on the river, which had novel forms, splendid forest. Both /3:181/ houses situated here are plastered neatly



No. 22. Karl Bodmer, Omaha Indian at Pilcher's Trading Post, May 12, 1834, pencil and wash. . . . (Top right) No. 23. Bodmer, Oto Indian at Pilcher's Trading Post, May 12, 1834, wash, pencil, charcoal, and gouache.



No. 24. Bodmer, Mahinkacha (Maker of Knives), a Missouri Indian, May 16, 1834, pencil and wash.

white, whereby they provide a cheerful view seen from the river, surrounded by the lively fresh green. Lovely cattle graze in the plain, and behind the dwellings on the hills and between them are situated large implanted corn fields.

Mr. Roubedoux and his son were absent. A few coarse *engagés* who were present unfortunately could not grant our wishes that we harbored with respect to a visit by the neighboring Indians. Also, we could not get any provisions, however we were given fresh milk for free. About 30 Oto and Missouri Indians had arrived here a couple of days ago and gone to the nearby Indian villages to get whisky. About 6 miles from here a village of the Ayauás is situated and about just as far, not far downstream from the Missouri, a village of the Sakis. These Indians receive as much whisky as they want from the farthest settlements dwelling about 15 miles distant of the Americans who trespass the boundary or protective line established by the government which delimits the Indian country at the height of Cantonment Leavenworth. The ease in getting cheap whisky is most detrimental for the Indians and quickly drags these men more and more down under. Now too, we were told it was not advisable to visit the villages since these Indians for several days now had done nothing but drink whisky and were now in a dangerous condition. Several Indians were among us, but every moment more were arriving, most on horseback and some with 4 to 5 containers with their favorite drink hanging from their horses. The drunken condition of the Indians prevented us from going there, especially since no one wanted to give us any horses.

The Oto, Missouri, and Ayauá (the English write "Ioway") Indians, or at least the young ones, had shorn off hair in the fashion of the Sacs and Foxes, but [one] also sees many, especially the older ones, with hair cut down crosswise at the nape of the neck; and a Missouri wore his long, hanging half way down his back. Their costume and customs are supposed to be the same as among the Sakis. In the holes at the edge of their ears they wore thick bundles of wampum strings. A few young men had wrapped red cloth about their shorn heads. The Otos and the Missouri want to return again today with their sweet cargo of nectar to their villages upwards beyond the Missouri and wanted to be ferried over by us—which, however, did not happen. One of the Otos had on his head a

cap made out of the head-hide with the ears of a reddish-brown bear. All these Indians are smaller and more fragile than those of the Upper Missouri, especially the Mönnitarris and Mandans. In our boat Mr. Bodmer sketched a young Missouri²²⁵ (see plate No. 24) of this formerly powerful nation, which through a defeat at the hands of the Sakis, Foxes, and Wosays [*sic*] lost their independence and since then live mingled with the Otos. This work of drawing attracted to us a whole group of these men onto the ship, which was very bothersome with the heat. They were, however, very trusting and friendly and left us only at nightfall. Although the day was hot and the evening magnificent, the *engagés* nevertheless burned an open fire in the house. In the prairies and the neighboring tall trees one saw beautiful birds. The partridge flew up in pairs before us, Dreidoppel shot the kite with the white lower back (*Falco* [blank]), and blackbirds were numerous as well as several interesting birds which we could not reach. In the house they were keeping a young black bear. One saw the indigo blue finch (*Fr*[ingilla]. *cyanea*),²²⁶ the yellow-headed and other troupials, which do much damage to the corn. In the prairie one heard the partridges (*P*[erdix]. *virginiana*)²²⁷ calling. Beautiful plants were blooming in the plain, including a dark blue *Delphinium*,²²⁸ a flesh-colored Geranium, and other species. The plant growth is luxuriant. A small deeply incised crick rushes quickly past the dwellings to the Missouri. We remained for the night here on the bank. /3:182/

May 17: Lovely, hot day. At 8:30 62°. Wind S.W., scale of 4. Region on both banks covered uninterruptedly with tall forests. With contrary wind we navigate between the forested banks. At noon 75°. Since the wind turned somewhat cooler, we landed on the right bank and plunged into the forests for hunting. The young cottonwood trees on shore were in part already completely defoliated by the countless caterpillars. On the branches they sat in masses. The soil was literally covered with their excrement. If one went into the bush for a moment, one was covered with caterpillars. We killed the gray squirrel, *Fring* [illa]. *Cardinalis*, *Icteria viridis*, the lovely yellow-bellied song bird with titmouse-like yellow and black head (*S*[ylvia]. [blank]), the red-eyed flycatcher (*M*[uscicapa].

[blank]), the small orange-pated thrush (*T[urdu]*). [blank]). These birds were resting in the splendid forest which extended before the hills and [consisted] of *Platanus*, many kinds of oak, walnut trees, ash, elms, maples, *Celtis*, *Cercis*,²²⁹ cottonwoods which formed a dark shade with their extended crowns and colossal trunks, all kinds of the local creeping plants crept up high on them and covered the trunks with their leaves—which offers many kinds of birds the opportunity to nest in them. The ground densely covered with freshly green grasses. Here in quantity *Podophyllum*, *Cypridedium*²³⁰ with light yellow flowers, Phlox with light violet flowers, and many other lovely plants. All the wood was rotting here.

At 4 o'clock we departed. The wind was still strong. At the same time very warm. Towards 6 o'clock we saw on the left bank an Indian on horseback, his upper body naked, who shouted out to us that he was a Saki. These people often ride out hunting and shoot very well on horseback. Right afterwards we reached Cow-Island, whence it is still 9 miles until Cantonment Leavenworth. On the island we sighted grazing cattle which belong to the military post. As the sun almost set, we reached a house on the right bank where a white man conversed with our men in the French language. A couple of Indians on horseback on the bank, somewhat farther several. Then, somewhat into the forest, is situated a village of the Kickapush transplanted here from the East. Here *La rivière du village de douze* [The river of the village of twelve],²³¹ as the Canadians call it, also emerged into the river. We landed on the right bank for the night. Several of our men, including Gardner too, immediately went towards Leavenworth. On the summit of the bank on which we lay, was situated a lovely wide level surface overgrown with bands and stripes of tall isolated timber, and farther inwards a lovely clear oak forest with slender trunks. The partridge was calling here; the many-voiced singing of the *Icteria* could be heard; several small birds and some falcons were resting in the trees.

May 18: In the morning, overcast sky, warm, some rain. We remained until almost 9 o'clock and then navigated toward the military post. Between 8 and 9 o'clock 63°. Calm. When we had gone 3 miles, we reached Leavenworth. We hear musket fire which occurs when the guard is relieved. With cocked rifle

and with a very clear demonstration the sentry compelled us to all remain together, so that we could be led to the commandant, Major Ryley.²³² All my men were with me as though we were prisoners. The major received us in his house rather politely and had the desired food delivered to us, including meat and bread.

The position of the Cantonment is pleasant. About 10-12 rather nice houses with galleries or verandas all around harbor 2 companies of the 6th Regiment—only about 80 men strong—over whom there are about 10 officers; the rangers formerly here have been withdrawn. They expect to be relieved by cavalry. The local military doctor, Dr. Fellowes,²³³ who came out with us last year, invited us to his table, and without the violently /3:183/ falling rain we would have seen the place better. The situation is pleasant on green prairie hills, alternating with lovely tall timber. All around it is luxuriantly green, the soil very fertile but, with today's rain, dissolved in mud. About 4 miles from here, somewhat backwards, the Indian line divides the Missouri at a right angle on the yonder bank. In the vicinity is situated the village of the Kickaphus, which is only inhabited by a poor, degenerate people. A certain Morgan (Major) has the store here where most of the different, necessary wares can be found. With Gardner he had the fur trade, and therefore the latter remained here. He wanted to get Descoteaux drunk, urged me to leave him behind merely in order to get his beaver hides from him afterwards—something I did not do, however. In the vicinity there is supposed to be game in number. I received a specimen of *Icterus icterocephalus* Bonap. which is common here as well as one species of the Gopher (*Goffers*) different from the two Mandans.²³⁴ Here there are sufficient cattle and pigs, milk, fresh butter and cheese. The troops are detached from the 6th Regiment at Jefferson-barracks.²³⁵ In the afternoon we departed towards 4 o'clock amidst heavy rain. Our men were in part drunk, as was Gardner who had to unload his wares in rain and mud.

After two years in an unfamiliar land—and having spent a good year in its wilder regions—the three Europeans were understandably eager to return to their homeland. So their trip eastward was a hurried one with Maximilian and his entourage reaching St. Louis

late in May, then hastily proceeding down the Mississippi and up the Ohio. They traveled through New York state, viewed Niagara Falls, briefly visited a few Indian tribes, and finally arrived at New York City on July 5. A week later they boarded a ship destined for Le Havre where they arrived on August 8. After a strenuous journey, with a few adventures and many hardships, Maximilian, Bodmer, and Dreidoppel were home at last.

NOTES

1. On Maximilian's life see Ph[illip]. Wirtgen, *Zum Andenken an Prinz Maximilian zu Wied* (Neuwied: Neuwieder Anzeiger, 1867); F[riedrich]. Ratzel, "Max Prinz von Wied-Neuwied," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 23, 559-564; Karl Viktor Prinz zu Wied, "Maximilian Prinz zu Wied: Sein Leben und seine Reisen," in Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Unveröffentlichte Bilder und Handschriften zur Völkercunde Brasiliens*, ed. Josef Röder & Hermann Trimborn (Bonn: Ferd. Dummler, 1954), 13-25; Josef Röder, "Vida e Viagens de Maximiliano, Príncipe de Wied," in Maximilian Alexander Philipp, Príncipe de Wied, *Viagem ao Brasil, 1815-1817: Excertos e Ilustrações* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1969), 5-17; Karl Viktor, Prince of Wied, "Maximilian Prince of Wied: A Biographical Survey," *Proceedings of the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists Held at Cambridge 1952*, 30 (London, n.d.), 193-194; Philip Drennon Thomas, "Maximilian zu Wied," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 14 vols. (New York: Scribners, 1970-76), vol. 14, 328-329.

2. Maximilian to Heinrich Rudolf Schinz, July 7, 1811, Zentralbibliothek, Zürich. Schinz (1777-1860), a distinguished Swiss naturalist, was a lifelong correspondent of Maximilian's.

3. Maximilian to Schinz, October 22, 1814.

4. On Maximilian's journey to Brazil see Maximilian Alexander Philipp, Prinz zu Wied-Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: H. L. Brönnner, 1820-21). The work was soon afterwards translated into French, Italian, and Dutch but unfortunately only the first volume, which lacks the major ethnographical information, into English. The most recent and accessible edition is in Portuguese: Maximiliano (Príncipe de Wied-Neuwied), *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. Edgar Sóssekind de Mendonça & Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo, ed. Oliverio Pinto, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1958). See also: Luis da Camara Cascudo, *O Príncipe Maximiliano de Wied-Neuwied no Brasil 1815/1817* (Rio de Janeiro: Kosmos, 1977); Afranio do Amaral, "Maximiliano, Príncipe de Wied," *Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), 7, no. 3 (1931), 187-210; Herbert Baldus, "Maximiliano Príncipe de Wied-Neuwied," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 74 (São Paulo, 1941), 283-291; see also the catalog of the exhibition, 16 December 1982-22 January 1983, in West Berlin commemorating the 200th birthday of the Prince and his expedition to Brazil: *Die Reisen des Prinzen Maximilian zu Wied 1815-1817 in Brasilien* (Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, 1982).

5. Josef Röder, "Der zeichnerische Nachlass der Brasilienreise des Maximilian Prinzen zu Wied," in Maximilian, *Unveröffentlichte Bilder*, pp. 109-15; Hermann Trimborn, "Acuarelas y dibujos inéditos del Príncipe Maximiliano de Wied, referentes a la etnografía del Brasil," *Anais do XXXI Congresso Internacional de Americanistas São Paulo 1954* (São Paulo, n.d.), pp. 245-250; Röder, "Vida e Viagens de Maximiliano," pp. 10-13; Josef Röder, "Maximiliano, Príncipe de Wied e o Folclore Brasileiro," in *ibid.*, 93-100. Maximilian's Brazilian sketches are reproduced in *Viagem ao Brasil* (1969) as well as in the aforementioned (note 4) exhibition catalog.

6. Maximilian, *Reise nach Brasilien*, I, 77-78, 162; II, 41.
7. Maximilian to Heinrich Boie, January 8, 1822, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek, Kiel.
8. See the summary of an 1863 lecture in *Verhandlungen des naturhistorischen Vereines der preussischen Rheinlande und Westphalens*, 20 (Bonn, 1863), 55-56.
9. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, "Einige Bemerkungen über Geo. Catlins Werk: Lettres and notes on the manners, customs and condition of the North-American Indians," *Isis* (1842), 726, 727.
10. Cascudo, *O Principe Maximiliano*, 118-119.
11. Maximilian to his sister, Luise, December 5, 1833, The InterNorth Art Foundation, Center for Western Studies, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; Maximilian to Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, January 6, 1835, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Martius (1794-1868) was an even more celebrated later explorer of Brazil.
12. Maximilian to Schinz, February 6, 1822. Similar plans were also mentioned in letters of March 1 and [after September] 1822, March 29, 1823, and in a letter to Heinrich Boie, November 26, 1823.
13. Maximilian to Schinz, April 23 and June 26, 1826; February 5, 1830.
14. On Bodmer's life see Hans Lång, *Indianer waren meine Freunde* (Bern and Stuttgart: Hallweg, 1976); William J. Orr, "Karl Bodmer: The Artist's Life and Career," in *Karl Bodmer's America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming).
15. Maximilian to Friedrich Boie, September 8, 1834, October 14, 1835, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek, Kiel; Maximilian to H. Schlegel, March 4, 1836, University Library, Leiden; Maximilian to Martius, January 6 & 25, 1835.
16. *Reise in das innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834*, 2 vols. (Koblenz: J. Höltscher, 1838-41).
17. *Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique du Nord exécuté pendant les années 1832, 1833 et 1834*, 3 vols. (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1840-43).
18. *Travels in the Interior of North America*, trans. H. Evans Lloyd (London: Ackermann, 1843).
19. For details see Orr, "Karl Bodmer."
20. Karl Viktor, "Maximilian Prinz zu Wied," 23; Orr, "Karl Bodmer"; Maximilian to F. Boie, December 28, 1839; Maximilian to Martius, December 23, 1840; Maximilian to Schinz, July 21, 1841.
21. Maximilian to F. Boie, August 11, 1841.
22. "Verzeichniss der Vögel welche auf einer Reise in Nord-America beobachtet wurden," *Journal für Ornithologie*, 6 (1858), *passim*, 7 (1850), *passim*.
23. *Verzeichniss der auf seiner Reise in Nord-Amerika beobachteten Säugethiere* (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1862). Also *Archiv für Naturgeschichte*, 27 (1861), 181-288; 28 (1862): 65-190.
24. *Verzeichniss der Reptilien, welche auf einer Reise im nördlichen Amerika beobachtet wurden* (Dresden: E. Blochmann, 1865).
25. See source cited note 9.
26. See source cited note 8.
27. J. A. Allen, "On the Maximilian Types of South American Birds in the American Museum of Natural History," *American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin* II, no. 3 (1889): 209.
28. Walter Krickeberg, *Aeltere Ethnographica aus Nordamerika im Berliner Museum für Völkercunde* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1954), 10; Axel Schulze-Thulin, *Indianer der Prärien und Plains: Reisen und Sammlungen des Herzogs Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg (1822-24) und des Prinzen Maximilian zu Wied (1832-34) im Linden-Museum Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: Linden Museum, 1976).
29. Marion Dexter Learned, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1912), 322-324.

30. Addison Erwin Sheldon, *Nebraska: The Land and the People*, 3 vols. (Chicago: Lewis, 1931); I, 222-223.

31. François André Michaux, *The North American sylva, or A description of the forest trees of the United States, Canada and Nova Scotia. . .to which is added a description of the most useful of the European forest trees. . .* (Paris, C. D'Hautel, 1819). See footnote a, page 342.

32. Noted for the prowess of their warriors, the Osages belong to the Dhegiha division of the Siouan linguistic family. In 1830 the Osages numbered approximately 5,000 people, and they lived along the Verdigris and Neosho Rivers in present-day Kansas and Oklahoma. John Joseph Matthews, *The Osages: Children of The Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 87-91, 548-583.

33. The Kansa tribe is a member of the Dhegiha or Qeigiha division of the Siouan linguistic family. In the 1830s an estimated 1,500 Kansa or "Kaw" Indians lived in semi-permanent villages along the Kansas River between the Wakarusa River and Red Vermillion Creek. William E. Unrau, *The Kansa Indians: A History of The Wind People, 1673-1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 22, 214-215.

34. The Army created this post on May 8, 1827. The War Department designated it Cantonment Leavenworth on November 8, 1827, and it became Fort Leavenworth on February 8, 1832. Fort Leavenworth is located near present-day Leavenworth, Kansas. Francis Paul Prucha, *Guide to the Military Posts of The United States* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), 85.

35. The Kickapoo are members of the same group of the Algonquian linguistic family as the Sac and Fox. In the mid-1600s they lived near the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. A fierce desire to resist acculturation and land cessions compelled the Kickapoo to move frequently. In 1832 the Kickapoo numbered about 2,000, and their bands ranged from Lake Michigan to the Rio Grande. A.M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 3-16, 109.

36. The Iowa tribe belongs to the Chiwere division of the Siouan linguistic family. In the historic period they ranged west from the Mississippi River along the Des Moines River, occasionally reaching the Pipestone Quarry. In 1829 there were an estimated 1,000 Iowa Indians. Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, 1965), 158-159.

37. Members of the Algonquian linguistic family, the Sac and Fox tribes, lived in northern Wisconsin and Upper Michigan, but by 1800 they resided in the Mississippi Valley between the Rock River and the Prairie du Chien. In 1832 a Sac leader, Black Hawk, led a faction of the Sac and Fox in an effort to reclaim their land along the Rock River, triggering the Black Hawk War. In April of 1833 Maximilian met Sac and Fox delegates who came to St. Louis to intercede for the imprisoned Black Hawk. William T. Hagan, *The Sac and Fox Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 3-5, 20-21, 141-191.

38. Here and subsequently in this translation the volume and page number of the manuscript diary are given to indicate where the corresponding original German text begins.

39. *May, apple, wild mandrake.*

40. *Cathartes aura* = turkey buzzard.

41. Presumably Maximilian is referring here to a brook near his home in Neuwied.

42. Karl Bodmer, *Missouri Hills Where Formerly a Village of the Kansa Stood, April 23, 1833*, Watercolor and pencil, EA 125. The InterNorth Art Foundation, Joslyn Art Museum. All Bodmer paintings and sketches subsequently referred to are from this collection.

43. *Heterodon platyrhinos* (Latreille) = eastern hognose snake.

44. *Branta canadensis* (Linnaeus) = Canada goose.

45. Genus of *Equisetaceae* (horsetail) family comprising several species of horsetails and scouring rushes.

46. Karl Bodmer, *The Blacksnake Hills on the Missouri with Roubidoux's House, April 24, 1833*, EA 127. One of the first non-Indian inhabitants of the Council Bluffs area, Joseph Robidoux (1783-1868) was a prominent trader and formidable rival of Manuel Lisa. (See note 159.) Historians are uncertain when Robidoux founded his post at Black Snake Hills, but it existed by 1825. His post and the accompanying settlement became the community of St. Joseph, Missouri. Merrill J. Mattes, "Joseph Robidoux," LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, 10 vols (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965-1972), VIII, 287-314.

47. A Kentuckian, John Dougherty (1791-1860) emigrated to St. Louis where he joined the Missouri Fur Company. Active as a trapper and trader, Dougherty had ranged across the Continental Divide by 1811. During his career Dougherty was a trapper, conscientious Indian agent, Army-post sutler, and prominent politician in Missouri. Merrill J. Mattes, "John Dougherty," Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and Fur Trade of the Far West*, VIII, 113-141.

48. *Lithospermum canescens* (Michx.) = hoary pucqoon.

49. Genus of *Malaceae* (apple) family comprising over seventy species of thorn or haw (hawthorn).

50. This genus name in Latin means "pear," but in Maximilian's day the term was applied also to species of crab apple (now *Malus*) and occasionally to chokeberry (*Aronia*). Today the main species in the genus *Pyrus* is *P. communis* (Linnaeus) = choke pear.

51. This individual is probably a relative of Joseph Robidoux (see note 46).

52. Wyly Martin joined the Twenty-Fourth Infantry as a lieutenant in 1813. He became a captain in the Third Rifle Regiment in 1814. He received an honorable discharge in 1815, and he rejoined the crack Rifle Regiment as a captain six months later. In 1821 he transferred to the Sixth Infantry. He resigned his commission in 1823. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 2 vols., (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903; Reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), I, 693.

53. *Odocoileus virginianus* (Zimmermann) = white-tail deer.

54. As *Crataegus azarolus* (= azarole) is native to Southern Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, Maximilian would appear to be in error here. See footnote d, page 351.

55. Karl Bodmer, *Missouri River—Nodaway Island, April 25, 1833*, Watercolor, EA 128.

56. Genus of *Aesculaceae* (buckeye) family comprising several species of buckeye.

57. *Platanus occidentalis* = button-wood, button-ball, plane tree, or sycamore.

58. The Yanktons or "Nah-kota" are one of the seven divisions of the Sioux tribe. The Yanktons were closely allied to the Upper Yanktonai and to the Lower Yanktonai or Hunkpatina (the latter was the parent group of the Assiniboin tribe). By 1804 Yankton bands ranged below the Great Bend of the Missouri River. In 1840 there were approximately 2,600 Yanktons. George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1937, 1976), 4, 28. Doane Robinson, *A History of The Dakota or Sioux Indians* (Pierre, S.D., 1940; Reprint, Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1967), 24.

59. See Article X of the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, 1830. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Treaties 1778-1883* (1904; Reprint, New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972), 305-310.

60. The Oto tribe belongs to the Chiwere division of the Siouan linguistic family. In the historic period they lived south of the mouth of the Platte River along the Missouri River. In 1832 there were an estimated 1,300 Oto and related Missouri Indians. John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952; Reprint, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 287-289.

61. *Caprimulgus vociferus* (Wilson) = whip-poor-will. In his unpublished zoological diary (p. 237) Maximilian noted: "I have found it only on the Missouri, and, indeed, in its middle region. Very common in the region of the Platte near Cabanne's Trading House but not on the Upper Missouri where only [*Caprimulgus virginianus* [= *Chordeiles minor* = common night hawk] lives." See footnote g, page 355.

62. Karl Bodmer, *Morgan's Island, Missouri, April 27, 1833*, Pencil, EA 129.

63. *Tringa totanus* = redshank. According to Nuttall (*A Manual of Ornithology of the United States and Canada: The Water Birds* [Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co., 1834], 155), this primarily European species "... seems from its rarity little more than a mere straggler in the American continent. . ." To judge from the question mark placed in the margin of his diary next to the name of this species, Maximilian himself may later have had doubts whether this was what he actually observed.

64. A Scot, Kenneth McKenzie (1797-1861) worked for the North West Company before emigrating to St. Louis where he became a partner in the Columbia Fur Company. In 1827 his company merged with the American Fur Company, and McKenzie became head of the Upper Missouri Outfit. After the government discovered an illegal still operated by McKenzie near Fort Union, he found it convenient to go to Europe where he visited Maximilian. The energetic, ruthless, and innovative McKenzie was one of the ablest traders of the American Fur Company. Ray H. Mattison, "Kenneth McKenzie," Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and The Fur Trade of the Far West*, II, 215-224.

65. *Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus* = yellow-headed blackbird. In a later publication (*Journal für Ornithologie*, 6 [1858]: 262-263.) Maximilian noted that he first encountered this bird in the prairies by Cantonment Leavenworth, and added: "All these birds are good to eat, and they are shot for this reason. From here on they are extended through all western regions."

66. *Quiscalus quiscula* = common grackle.

67. Charles Lucien Bonaparte, *American Ornithology: or The natural history of birds inhabiting the United States, not given by Wilson. With figures drawn, engraved, and coloured, from nature* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1825).

68. A Virginian, John F. A. Sanford (1806-1857) became a clerk in the office of William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in 1825. From 1826 until 1834 Sanford was sub-agent among the tribes of the Upper Missouri. A brother-in-law of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Sanford represented Chouteau's financial interests, eventually becoming a millionaire. Sanford briefly owned slave Dred Scott, and became the defendant in *Scott v Sandford* [sic], one of the most significant lawsuits in American legal history. Janet Lecompte, "John F. A. Sanford," Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and The Fur Trade of The Far West*, IX, 351-359.

69. In his zoological diary (p. 68) Maximilian noted that the mouse he captured had: "Form roughly of our large field mouse (*M. sylvaticus*)." To judge from his later published account about this species (*Archiv für Naturgeschichte*, 28 [1862]: 108) and cross references with other works cited there, what he saw was *Peromyscus leucopus* = white-footed mouse. See footnote h, page 357.

70. *Pipilo erythrophthalmus* (Linnaeus) = eastern towhee, towhee bunting.

71. The Grand Pawnee, Republican Pawnee, Tapage Pawnee, and Skidi Pawnee comprised this tribe of the Caddoan linguistic stock. Before removal to Indian territory in 1875, they lived in sedentary villages along the Platte, Loup, and Republican Rivers. The Pawnee may have been in this area since A.D. 1250. In 1838 there were an estimated 10,000-12,000 Pawnee, but epidemics reduced their population to 4,500 by 1849. Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe* (New York: Basic Books, 1965), 3-8.

72. Common scouring rush.

73. The Ojibwa tribe, Algonquian speakers, lived along the northern shore of Lake Huron and along both shores of Lake Superior. Ojibwa groups ranged as far west as North Dakota and Saskatchewan. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, 260.

74. *Sistrurus catenatus* = massasauga.
75. *Crocethia alba* (Pallas) = sanderling.
76. *Prunus virginiana* or *Padus virginiana* = wild black cherry, cabinet or rum cherry. However, in the published account of his journey (*Reise*, II, 686) Maximilian expressed reservations whether this was what he actually observed.
77. Genus of *Vitaceae* (grape) family comprising several species of grapes. See footnote j, page 363.
78. Genus of *Anacardiaceae* (sumac) family comprising different species of sumac. See footnote j, page 363.
79. Genus of *Smilacaceae* (smilax) family comprising several species of smilax, green-brier. See footnote j, page 363.
80. A genus of birds comprising several species of sandpipers. Genus name now largely superseded by *Erolia*.
81. *Strix varia* (Barton) = barred owl.
82. Blacksnake or racer.
83. *Toxicodendron radicans* (L.) = poison, climbing, or three-leaved ivy; poison oak; or climath.
84. A now obsolete genus name for fireflies.
85. *Aix sponsa* (Linnaeus) = wood duck.
86. Probably *Vagnera* or *Smilacina* = wild or false lily of the valley, false Solomon's seal.
87. *Dendroica petechia* (Linnaeus) = yellow warbler.
88. Genus of *Oleaceae* (olive) family comprising several species of ash.
89. Genus of *Ranunculaceae* (crowfoot) family comprising species of columbine.
90. *Coluber constrictor flaviventris* = blue racer. Say's reference is in Part I of James's Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, vol. 14 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1905), 271-272.
91. Entomologist, conchologist, and naturalist, Thomas Say (1787-1834) was the zoologist with Major Stephen H. Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1819-1820 and with the Long expedition of 1823 to the headwaters of the Minnesota River. Maximilian spent the winter of 1832-1833 with Say at New Harmony, Indiana.
92. Edwin James, *Account of An Expedition From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and '20*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1823); see also Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels 1784-1846*, vols. 14-17 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905).
93. *Seiurus aurocapillus* (Linnaeus) = ovenbird. In a later work (*Journal für Ornithologie*, 6 [1858]: 177f.) Maximilian noted that this bird was common on the Missouri, especially in thickets.
94. Red-bud, American Judas-tree.
95. American bladder nut.
96. Born south of New Orleans, Lucien Fontenelle (1800-1838 or 1839) joined the Missouri Fur Company in 1819, and he became prominent as a trapper and trader. In 1824 he married the daughter of the Omaha chief Oⁿ poⁿtoⁿga_x (see note 126), and in 1825 their son, Logan, was born. On May 18, 1833, Fontenelle led sixty men and 185 horses from Bellevue overland to Fort Pierre. At Fort Pierre on June 8, Maximilian saw Fontenelle and his party depart for the Green River rendezvous. Lucien and his son Logan, who became an Omaha chief, are buried in Fontenelle Forest, Bellevue, Nebraska. Alan C. Trottman, "Lucien Fontenelle," Hafén, ed., *The Mountain Men and The Fur Trade of the Far West*, V, 81-89.
97. Genus of *Caesalpinaceae* (senna) family comprising species of locust (trees).
98. Partially obsolete genus name for various species of wood-sorrel.
99. Manuel Lisa (see note 159) and his partners formed the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company in 1809, and they reorganized it as the Missouri Fur Company in 1812. Among the associates of Lisa were Pierre Chouteau, William Clark, Reuben Lewis,

and Pierre Chouteau, Jr. Never recovering from a Blackfeet attack on one of its brigades, the company went out of business in 1825. Richard E. Oglesby, *Manuel Lisa and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 117, 187.

100. Here Maximilian excerpted sections of the treaty cited in note 59. See footnote k, page 370.

101. *Chen hyperborea* = snow goose, white brant. In a later publication (*Journal für Ornithologie*, [1859]: 167) Maximilian indicated that this is what he thought he saw; no specimen was actually captured.

102. What Maximilian actually observed is somewhat in question. *Coluber eximius* = *Lampropeltis triangulum triangulum* = milk snake. In his zoological diary (p. 166), however, the German naturalist placed a question mark after this designation. The specimen captured he described as having "50 brownish yellow diagonal bands on its back, beautifully reddish-yellow on its tail; they are separated by broad black-brown spots, divide at the sides where a black spot stands between them. Belly whitish-yellow with large quadrangular black spots; crown of its head dirty brownish-yellow with round black spots. Pupil large, iris yellowish-white; plates at edge of jaw white, enclosed neatly in black; snout plate very long, rising in conical fashion, below very large and characteristic. Lower edge of jaw drawn back wide, rounded off very bluntly. Lip plate small and broadly triangular; 2 colossal chin plates. Underside of head white, the rim scales of the lower jaw and a few next to them enclosed in black; back scales bent down, broad and smooth on the sides, sides close to the belly plates large and smooth; tip of tail an almost 3 inch long horny prod; . . . tail short and conical . . . length 50 inches." Maximilian alleged: "This is doubtless the chicken snake of the Americans. . . ." but clearly his description does not match that for the species commonly known by this name.

103. The daughter of an Omaha chief, Mitain married Manuel Lisa (see note 159) in 1814. By marrying this woman of a prominent family, Lisa aligned the Omaha tribe to American interests during the War of 1812 and insured that their harvest of furs and robes came to his trading post. Lisa lived with Mitain at his trading post, returning to St. Louis and his wife each spring. Lisa and Mitain had a daughter and a son. Lisa took the daughter to St. Louis in 1817. In 1820 Indian agent Benjamin O'Fallon prohibited Lisa from taking the son from Mitain. Edwin James, *Account of An Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1784-1846*, vol. 15, 27. Richard E. Oglesby, *Manuel Lisa and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade*, 153, 163, 178.

104. The Omaha are members of the Dhegiha division of the Siouan linguistic stock. The Dhegiha Siouans include the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw people. The Dhegihans migrated from the southeast onto the prairies. The Omaha and Ponca probably reached their historic range by 1700. Omaha villages were located along the Missouri River between the Platte and Niobrara Rivers. They used hunting grounds between the Des Moines River and 105th meridian. Other tribes disputed Omaha claims to this territory. Alice C. Fletcher and Francis LaFlesche, *The Omaha Tribe* (1911; Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 35, 88-89.

105. A Virginian, Joshua Pilcher (1790-1843), became a partner in the Missouri Fur Company in 1819 and head of the company after the death of Manuel Lisa. After trading and exploring in the Pacific Northwest in the late 1820s, Pilcher encouraged American settlement in that region. He joined the American Fur Company in 1833. From 1834 until 1838 Pilcher was Indian agent on the Upper Missouri, and from 1839 to 1841, he was successor to William Clark as Superintendent for Indian Affairs. A conscientious agent, Pilcher worked hard, including attempts to inoculate Indians against smallpox. John E. Sunder, *Joshua Pilcher: Fur Trader and Indian Agent* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

106. Karl Bodmer, *The Missouri in the Morning of May 4th, 1833: View of the Hill Below Council Bluffs*, Watercolor and pencil, NA 7.

107. Born in France, John (Jean) Cabanné, Sr. (1773-1841) became a trader upon his arrival in St. Louis in 1798. He joined Berthold, Chouteau, & Pratte, known as the French Company, as a partner in 1821. (In 1823 the company became B. Pratte & Company.) In 1819 Cabanné took charge of their post at Council Bluffs, and in 1823 he became the resident partner in their post near Fort Atkinson. Cabanné remained at the post after the American Fur Company absorbed his old company. In 1833 Joshua Pilcher relieved Cabanné at Council Bluffs after the latter seized 250 gallons of alcohol and goods from an independent trader. Marvin F. Kivett has verified the site of Cabanné's post in a field next to the river road below Hummel Park, three miles north of the Mormon Bridge, Omaha, Nebraska. Ray H. Mattison, "John Pierre Cabanné, Sr.," Hafén, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* II, 69-73.

108. Cabanné was a brother-in-law of Pierre Chouteau, Jr. (1789-1865). A member of the significant and numerous Chouteau family, Pierre was prominent in the fur trade, and he was active in several companies. Along with Kenneth McKenzie, Chouteau advocated using steamboats on the Upper Missouri. He was responsible for the purchase of the *Yellow Stone* in 1831 and the *Assiniboine* in 1833. In 1834 Pratte, Chouteau and Company acquired the Western Department of the American Fur Company, and in 1839 this organization became Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Company. A successful entrepreneur, Chouteau died a multi-millionaire. Janet Lecompte, "Pierre Chouteau, Jr.," Hafén, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, IX, 90-123.

109. Maximilian wrote: "These small shell cylinders are known to be cut out of the shells of the *Venus mercenaria*, and strung on threads; they are arranged blue and white alternately. All the northern and eastern nations, in the neighborhood of the great lakes, and even the tribes on the Lower Missouri, use this ornament, but not those on the Upper Missouri."

110. The German *zoll* or inch was usually 1/12—or occasionally 1/10—of a foot. In the military recruits were measured by the number of inches above 5 feet, 6 inches or some other standard height.

111. Karl Bodmer, *Unfinished Sketch of Omaha Indian, May 4, 1833*, Watercolor and pencil, NA 91; Karl Bodmer, *Omaha Child at the Middle Missouri, Summer 1833*, Watercolor, R 4.

112. The vanished Camacan tribe inhabited the inland area between the Rio das Costas and the Rio Grande de Belmonte, just to the west of the coastal city of Ilheus. Prince Maximilian gave a detailed description of this tribe in the narrative of his Brazilian journey, Maximilian, *Reise nach Brasilien*, II, 214-224.

113. See Maximilian, *Reise nach Brasilien*, II, 220-221.

114. The American Fur Company first employed steamboats in 1831. That year the 120-foot *Yellow Stone* reached Fort Tecumseh. Artist George Catlin was a passenger on the *Yellow Stone* in 1832 when it reached Fort Union near the mouth of the Yellowstone River. Maximilian, Bodmer, and Dreidoppel traveled on the *Yellow Stone* during its fourth voyage up the Missouri River. David Lavender, *The Fist in the Wilderness* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), 393-394.

115. Council Bluffs is located on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River near Fort Calhoun in Washington County. Sally A. Johnson, "Fort Atkinson At Council Bluffs," *Nebraska History* 38 (September 1957), 229.

116. In the autumn of 1819 soldiers of the Sixth Infantry and Rifle Regiments constructed Cantonment Missouri upstream from Council Bluffs. The following June floods destroyed the cantonment. Soldiers then built a new post on Council Bluffs. In 1821 Secretary of War John C. Calhoun designated it Fort Atkinson. In 1827 the Army ceased to use the fort. The site of Fort Atkinson is the South 1/2 of Section 12, Township 17 N., Range 12 E., Fort Calhoun Quadrangle (U.S. Geological Survey, 7.5 minute series) in Washington County, Nebraska. Sally A. Johnson, "Cantonment Missouri, 1819-1820," *Nebraska History* 37 (June 1956), 121-133; Sally A. Johnson,

"Fort Atkinson at Council Bluffs," *Nebraska History* 38 (September 1957), 234-235; Gayle F. Carlson, *Archeological Investigations at Fort Atkinson (25WN9) Washington County, Nebraska 1956-1971* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1979), 1.

117. Genus of *Ranunculaceae* (crowfoot) family comprising species of wolfsbane.

118. During the winter of 1819-1820 more than 160 soldiers died of scurvy and fever at Cantonment Missouri. Sally A. Johnson, "The Sixth's Elysian Fields—Fort Atkinson On The Council Bluffs," *Nebraska History*, 40 (March 1959), 2.

119. William Clark (1770-1838), along with Meriwether Lewis, commanded the Lewis and Clark Expedition from 1803-1806. President Thomas Jefferson appointed Clark as the Indian agent for the Louisiana Territory and made him a brigadier general of the territorial militia in 1807. In 1822 Clark became Superintendent of Indian Affairs, responsible for dealing with the tribes of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

120. Built in Cincinnati, the 130-foot *Assiniboine* accompanied the *Yellow Stone* upriver in the spring of 1833. At Fort Pierre, Maximilian and his men transferred to the more comfortable *Assiniboine*. In 1835 the *Assiniboine* burned near present-day Bismarck, North Dakota, destroying a portion of Maximilian's hard-earned North American collection. Donald Jackson has identified the vessel in Bodmer NA 15 as the *Assiniboine*. Bernard DeVoto, *Across The Wide Missouri* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), 133; Donald Jackson to Joseph C. Porter, May 21, 1983.

121. *Danaus plexippus* = monarch.

122. *Tyrannus tyrannus* = eastern kingbird.

123. *Piranga olivacea* = scarlet tanager.

124. Wha-shing-gha-sa-ba or Blackbird (-1800), an Omaha chief, became notorious for using arsenic to poison his critics. Closely aligned with white traders, Blackbird protected their interests among his people. Blackbird died in a smallpox epidemic which struck the Omaha. Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche insist that the story of Blackbird being buried on horseback overlooking the Missouri River is apocryphal. James, *Account Of An Expedition From Pittsburgh To The Rocky Mountains, Performed In The Years 1819, 1820*, Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* Vol. 14, 317-319; Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, 82.

125. Karl Bodmer, *The Blackbird-Hills (Missouri), May 7th, 1833*, Pencil and watercolor, NA 9; Karl Bodmer, *Blackbird Hills (Missouri), May 7, 1833*, Pencil and watercolor, NA 9A; Karl Bodmer, *View on the Missouri, with Blackbird's Grave in the Distance*, Watercolor, R 5.

126. A principal chief of the Omaha tribe, Oⁿpoⁿtoⁿga or Big Elk (-1853) was an intelligent and brave leader. He foresaw the changes that white settlement posed for his people. Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, 83-84. See footnote u, page 388.

127. John D. Godman, *American Natural History*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Carey, 1826), I, 34. This specific picture is an engraving by Hugh Bridport after an original painting by J. Neagle. See footnote u, page 388.

128. Canadian, Norway, or red pine.

129. Genus of *Cornaceae* (dogwood) family comprising numerous species of cornel or dogwood. See footnote v, page 390.

130. A resident of Kentucky, Sergeant Charles Floyd (1782-1804) died near present-day Sioux City, Iowa. He was the only member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to perish during their journey. Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783-1854*, Second Edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 366, 370.

131. *Elanoides forficatus* = swallow-tailed kite. In his zoological diary (p. 240) Maximilian noted: "I never caught this beautiful bird but saw it hovering high in the air especially on the Lower Missouri. At St. Louis on the Mississippi it is called *La Frégate*. It does not go far up the Missouri."

132. The source of the red stone, catlinite, the Pipestone Quarry is located in Pipestone County in the southwest corner of Minnesota. See footnote x, page 392.

133. The Santees, Yanktons, Yanktonai, and Tetons comprise the people called Sioux. The word "dah-kota" means "allies" or "alliance of friends." The Santees pronounce the word "dah-kota," the Yanktons and Yanktonais, "nah-kota," and the Tetons, "lah-kota." Europeans first encountered the Sioux along the Upper Mississippi River. By 1780 Teton hunting parties may have reached the Black Hills, and the Yanktons and Yanktonais had moved within the vicinity of the Pipestone Quarry. Between 1800 and 1825 Teton groups dominated the plains between the Missouri River and the Black Hills. George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of The Oglala Sioux Indians*, 20-28, 33.

134. The Wahpekute belong to the Santee or "dah-kota" division of the Sioux. Between 1800 and 1851 the Wahpekute and other Santee bands ranged from the Mississippi River west into Southern Minnesota. Maximilian noted that the Santee raised corn, while the Teton, Yankton, and Yanktonai Sioux relied primarily on hunting. Roy W. Meyer, *History of The Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 41.

135. Jonathan Carver, *Travels Through The Interior Parts of North-America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (London: Printed for the author; Reprint, Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1956; Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1974). See footnote y, page 392.

136. *Cornus amomum* (Mill.), more commonly known today as silky cornel, kin-kinnik.

137. *Erolia minutilla* (Viellot) = least sandpiper.

138. *Zenaidura macroura carolinensis* = mourning (turtle) dove.

139. The name François Roi or Roy appears frequently in documents relating to the fur trade, including the records of the North West Company, the Missouri Fur Company, and Pierre Chouteau and Company. Annie H. Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal At Fort Clark 1834-1839* (Pierre, S.D.: Lawrence K. Fox, 1932), 288.

140. *Bison bison* = buffalo. Even at this date the observant Prince Maximilian was aware of the drastic extent to which both whites and Indians had reduced this animal. In his zoological diary (p. 186) he wrote: "Formerly the bison was extended over the greater part of N. America; now it has been driven back so far that one can expect none below Council Bluff on the Missouri. And then they are still rather rare until one has passed the Teton River, and even here one sees almost none for many a year."

141. In April of 1833 Benjamin O'Fallon provided Maximilian with a "Special map of the Missouri River in the years 1804, 1805, and 1806 surveyed by the famous travelers, Captains Lewis and Clarke [*sic*]." Maximilian received thirty-seven sheets, thirty-five of which were copies from the originals made by William Clark. They depicted Lewis and Clark's route from present-day Omaha to present-day Great Falls, Montana, and then the vicinity of Three Forks, Montana up the Yellowstone River to its mouth. The original maps by Clark covering their route from Omaha, Nebraska to the Knife River in North Dakota, and portions of the original pertaining to the Yellowstone River were lost. W. Raymond Wood and Gary E. Moulton, "Prince Maximilian and New Maps of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers by William Clark," *Western Historical Quarterly* 12 (October, 1981), 372-386.

142. Red cedar.

143. Genus of *Araliaceae* (ginseng) family comprising species of spikenard, Indian root, sarsaparilla.

144. Genus of *Violaceae* (violet) family comprising numerous species of violets.

145. *Tympanuchus cupido* = prairie chicken (pinnated grouse).

146. *Antilocarpa americana* = pronghorn.

147. *Sturnella magna* (Linnaeus) = eastern meadow lark.

148. Presumably *N. longirostris*, the only species cited in Maximilian's zoological diary and elsewhere in the diary of his journey to North America = *N. americanus* (Bechstein) = long-billed curlew.

149. A partially obsolete genus name for several species of sandpipers.

150. Members of the Dhegiha division of the Siouan linguistic stock, the Ponca were formerly one people with the Omaha. They separated into two tribes between 1690 and 1720. They lived along the Niobrara River and claimed the area along the Missouri River up to near the White River. Events surrounding removal of the Ponca to the Indian Territory in 1877 divided the tribe into northern and southern groups. James H. Howard, *The Ponca Tribe* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin #195 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 2, 6-7, 10.

151. Šúde-gáxe is variously translated as "He Who Smokes," "Smoke Maker," and "The Smoker," and it was the name of several Ponca chiefs. In 1832 George Catlin painted portraits of Šúde-gáxe and members of his family. Karl Bodmer did a portrait of Šúde-gáxe on May 11, 1833. Šúde-gáxe deeply impressed Catlin and Maximilian. In 1881 this same old man told members of the Ponca Commission that he recalled when his people worked the ground with buffalo-shoulder blades "and raised good crops always." Šúde-gáxe insisted that, as a boy, he witnessed Lewis and Clark. James H. Howard, *The Ponca Tribe*, 22, 27-28; Diary of Captain John G. Bourke (Originals at United States Military Academy, West Point; Bell and Howell Microfilm Edition), vol. 38, 1003-1004; William H. Truettner, *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 169-170.

152. Bodmer's portraits of Ponca Indians include: *Schuh-De-Gá-Che (The Smoker), Chief of the Ponca Indians, May 12, 1833*, gouache, pencil and wash, NA 96; *A Young Ponca Indian (Ho-Ta-Mek)*, watercolor and pencil, NA 97; *Passitopa Brother of the Chief of the Ponca (Indians), May 12, 1833*, Watercolor and pencil, NA 98; *Two Ponca Indians*, watercolor, NA 100. See footnote aa, page 404.

153. Paul Allen, *History of The Expedition Under The Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*. . . , 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814). See footnote bb, page 406.

154. Maximilian is referring to volume II, p. 120 of the narrative of the Long Expedition; Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition From Pittsburgh To The Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820*, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1823). See footnote bb, page 406.

155. Jonathan L. Bean was agent to the Sioux from 1827 until 1834. The Upper Missouri Outfit of the American Fur Company regarded Bean as their opponent. Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark 1834-1839*, 203, 234.

156. Government officials presented silver medals to Indian dignitaries. There were three sizes of President James Madison medals—1.76 mm, 2.62 mm, and 3.51 mm. The front of the medal carried a facial profile of President Madison with the inscription, "James Madison President of the U.S. A.D. 1809." The reverse depicted crossed calumet and tomahawk, clasped hands (one Indian, the other with a cuff), and the slogan, "Peace and Friendship." The United States Mint at Philadelphia struck the Madison medals in 1814. Francis Paul Prucha, *Indian Peace Medals In American History* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin; reprint ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 96-98.

157. The drawing to which Maximilian is referring is probably: Karl Bodmer, *Two Ponca Indians*, Watercolor, NA 100 (see plate no. 19).

158. *Ectopistes migratorius* = passenger pigeon, now extinct. In his zoological diary (p. 138) Maximilian mentioned seeing several of these birds on the Upper Missouri.

159. A primary architect of the Missouri River and Rocky Mountain fur trade, Manuel Lisa (1772-1820) established the principles for the profitable conduct of that enterprise. Lisa was active in the Missouri Fur Company throughout its various reorganizations. In 1814 William Clark appointed Lisa as subagent for all of the Missouri River tribes above the mouth of the Kansas River. He was instrumental in countering British influence among the Sioux during the War of 1812, and his marriage to Mitain secured the loyalty of the Omaha tribe to the American cause. Richard E. Oglesby, *Manuel Lisa and The Opening of The Missouri Fur Trade*.

160. H. M. Brackenridge, *Views Of Louisiana; Together With A Journal Of A Voyage Up The Missouri River, In 1811* (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear, and Eichbaum, 1814), 235. See footnote gg, page 411.

161. Genus of *Ulmaceae* (elm) family comprising several species of hackberry.

162. Obsolete genus name for species of chokeberries, June berries, thorn.

163. Shrubby or climbing bittersweet. Waxwork. Staff-tree.

164. Genus of *Ranunculaceae* (crowfoot) family comprising a few species of virgin's bower.

165. Stanleya.

166. Pomme blanche, prairie apple or turnip, or Indian bread-root.

167. *Melanerpes erythrocephalus* = red-headed woodpecker.

168. Box elder.

169. Presumably Maximilian was following here the Beaufort scale which measured wind intensities on a scale of 1 to 12.

170. At least four men with the surname Dauphin were on the Upper Missouri in the 1830s; however, there is no information about Antoine Dauphin whom Reuben Gold Thwaites insisted accompanied Maximilian between Fort Union and Fort McKenzie. Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal At Fort Clark 1834-1839*, 295.

171. *Salix cordata* (Muhl) = Heart-leaved willow. Missouri or diamond willow.

172. *Xanthium americanum* (Walt) = American cocklebur or burweed.

173. *Symphoricarpos* = a genus of the *Caprifoliaceae* (honeysuckle) family comprising species of snowberry, waxberry, wolfberry, coral berry, and Indian currant.

174. *Toxostoma rufum* (Linnaeus) = brown thrasher.

175. House wren.

176. William Dickson was the son of Robert Dickson and a Santee Sioux woman. A Scot, Robert Dickson had represented British interests during the War of 1812. Robert Dickson and his two sons, William and Thomas, were active on the Missouri River. Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal At Fort Clark 1834-1839*, 199, 219, 229; Lavender, *The Fist in the Wilderness*, 389.

177. Either Joseph Emilien Primeau (1803-1836) or his brother Charles Primeau. Indians killed Joseph in 1836. Charles was a clerk with the American Fur Company, and in 1846 he became a partner of Harvey, Primeau and Company. He eventually rejoined the American Fur Company and later served as an interpreter for the government. As late as 1896 Charles was living at Fort Yates, North Dakota. Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal At Fort Clark 1834-1839*, 296; Elliott Coues, ed., *Forty Years A Fur Trader On The Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative Of Charles Larpenteur 1833-1872* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1898), I, 227.

178. Ish-ca-da-bee, or Child Chief, was a signatory of the 1825 treaty between the Ponca tribe and the United States. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Treaties 1778-1883*, 227.

179. *Vulpes fulva* = red fox.

180. *Coláptes auratus* = yellow-shafted flicker.

181. Common raven.

182. *Corvus brachyrhynchos* = common crow.

183. Little is known about Gardner (-1833?). He may have been with William H. Ashley's fur-trading expeditions, and the records of the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company mention Gardner. A comrade of Hugh Glass, Gardner and friends reportedly killed the Arikara Indians who had murdered and scalped Glass. One version of the episode tells that Gardner scalped and then burned the Arikara alive. Soon after other Arikara captured Gardner and killed him in the same way. Aubrey L. Haines, "Johnson Gardner," Hafén, ed., *The Mountain Men and The Fur Trade of The Far West*, II, 157-159.

184. *Progne subis* = purple martin.

185. Sparrow hawk.

186. This nomenclature (literally: sharp-feathered finch) has not been located in other contemporary ornithological works, suggesting that Maximilian was unable to identify the species positively. In his zoological diary (p. 240) he described a specimen as follows: "*Fringilla acutipennis*, see *murina*. *The Mouse Finch*. Male. Beak slender and low, very compressed from the sides; tongue very pointed; wing short, rounded, tail feathers bent, the third one the longest; tail short and narrow, consisting of 12 long pointed little feathers; the wings hardly reach over the roots of the tail; legs strong and long, heel high, toes large, the outer ones united at the roots; rear nails long and gently bent. *Color*: Sides of the head and crown whitish, 2 powerful black-brown stripes run down from its sides; a powerful stripe above the eye, throat, lower neck, upper and side chest are light rust-red, the latter streaked black-brown with broad, pale yellow brownish feather rims, on the back, especially on the sides; tail pale gray-brown, with a dark streak on the shaft; back of neck grayish, with small, light rust-brown little spots; beak pale gray; legs pale flesh-brown, iris dark gray brown. *Measurements*: length 4 inches 5 1/2 lines (one line = 1/12 or 1/10 of an inch); width 6 inches, 1 line; length of the beak 4 3/4 lines; length of wing 1 inch, 11 lines; length of the tail 1 inch 8 lines; height of the heel 8 1/2 lines; length of middle toe 6 lines, length of rear toe 3 lines. This small bird runs along the ground and often cannot be induced to fly, is very tame, creeps in the grass and then resembles a mouse."

187. *Junco hyemalis* = snowbird, eastern snowbird.

188. The Arikara are members of the Caddoan linguistic stock, and they are related to the Skidi Pawnee. They live in sedentary villages along the Missouri River between the Cheyenne and the Cannonball Rivers. After 1823 hostility toward white traders, epidemics, and the animosity of the Sioux compelled the Arikara to move frequently. Eventually the Arikara joined their former enemies, the Mandan and Hidatsa at Fort Berthold, North Dakota. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, 273-275.

189. Hugh Glass (-1833) may have sailed with the pirate crew of Jean Lafitte, and he lived with the Pawnee Indians. There is little certain information about him, however, before he joined William H. Ashley's fur-trading expedition in 1823. The Arikara wounded Glass when they attacked Ashley's party. Later that same year a grizzly bear severely mauled Glass, who was left to die by a youthful Jim Bridger and John Fitzgerald. Incredibly Glass recovered. In 1832 or 1833 the Arikara killed Glass and two companions. John Myers, *The Saga of Hugh Glass: Pirate, Pawnee, and Mountain Man* (Boston: Little Brown, 1963; reprint ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976).

190. Fort Cass, built in 1832, was an American Fur Company post located at the junction of the Big Horn and Yellowstone Rivers.

191. Maximilian is referring to the language of the Hidatsa, a Siouan speaking people. See footnote jj, page 425.

192. Francis A. Chardon (-1848) was a Philadelphian of French descent. He went to work for the Upper Missouri Outfit in 1827 or 1828. He became the bourgeois at Fort Clark in January of 1834. He witnessed the destructive impact of the smallpox epidemic among the Mandan in 1837. Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark 1834-1839*, xv-xlvi. See footnote jj, page 425.

193. Great blue heron.

194. Literally "winter goose." Such a species, however, is not cited in any contemporary ornithological work nor is it described in Maximilian's zoological diary.

195. *Melospiza melodia* = song sparrow.

196. *Anas platyrhynchos* (Linnaeus) = mallard.

197. *Icteria virens* (Linnaeus) = yellow-breasted chat.

198. *Setophaga ruticilla* = redstart.

199. Genus of *Caprifoliaceae* (honeysuckle) family comprising over a dozen species of honeysuckle.

200. A genus of the *Charadriidae* (plover) family.

201. *Populus deltoides* = cottonwood, necklace poplar.
202. Here Maximilian is almost certainly referring to *Icteria viridis* (see note 197).
203. Common tern.
204. Karl Bodmer, *Omaha Indian, Pilcher's Trading Post, May 12, 1834*, Pencil and wash, NA 92; Karl Bodmer, *Oto Indian, at Pilcher's Trading Post, May 12, 1834*, Wash, pencil, charcoal, and gouache, NA 95.
205. *Sialia sialis* = eastern bluebird.
206. Robin.
207. *Dendrocopos pubescens* (Linnaeus) = downy woodpecker.
208. Genus of *Juglandaceae* (walnut) family comprising species of walnut.
209. *Pheucticus ludovicianus* (Linnaeus) = rosebreasted grosbeak.
210. *Humulus lupulus* (L.) which has no English common name.
211. *Hedera quinquefolia* = *Parthenocissus quinquefolia* = virginia creeper, false grape, or American ivy.
212. Wild columbine, rock-bells.
213. Genus of *Typhaceae* (cattail). There are two common species, *T. latifolia* and *T. angustifolia* = broad-leaved and narrow-leaved cattails.
214. *Geothlypis trichas* (Linnaeus) = yellow throat.
215. Genus of *Rutaceae* (rue) family comprising species of prickly ash.
216. *Centurus carolinus* = red-bellied woodpecker.
217. Genus of flycatchers. Nomenclature now obsolete.
218. *Richmondia cardinalis* (Linnaeus) = cardinal.
219. *Icterus galbula* (Linnaeus) = Baltimore oriole.
220. *Sciurus carolinensis* (Gmelin) = gray squirrel.
221. Maximilian is probably referring here to the Tarkio River.
222. A genus name for numerous species of warblers.
223. *Passerina ciris* = painted bunting.
224. *Megaceryle alcyon* (Linnaeus) = belted kingfisher. In his zoological diary (p. 103) Maximilian noted that this bird did not seem to be common on the Missouri.
225. Karl Bodmer, *Mahinkacha (Maker of Knives), A Missouri Indian, May 16, 1834*, pencil and wash, NA 94.
226. *Passerina cyanea* (Linnaeus) = indigo bunting.
227. *Colinus virginianus* = bobwhite.
228. Genus of *Ranunculaceae* (crowfoot) family comprising several species of larkspur.
229. *Cercis canadensis* = redbud.
230. Genus of *Orchidaceae* (orchid) family comprising species of ladies' slipper.
231. Maximilian must be referring to Plum Creek or Corral Creek in Leavenworth County, Kansas, or Bear Creek or Bee Creek in Platte County, Missouri.
232. Bennet Riley (-1853), a Marylander, joined the Army as an enlisted man in 1813. He worked his way up through the ranks and was a captain in the Sixth Infantry Regiment when Maximilian met him in 1834. He was awarded the rank of brevet major in 1828 for ten years of service in the grade of captain. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 831.
233. Benjamin Franklin Fellowes of New Hampshire joined the Army as an assistant surgeon in March of 1833, and he resigned in 1839. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 416.
234. Members of the Siouan linguistic family, the Mandan lived in earth lodge villages along the Missouri River in present-day North Dakota. When first visited by Europeans in the 1730s, the Mandan may have numbered 10,000 people who lived in nine villages near the Heart River. Epidemics struck the tribe in the 1770s, leaving approximately 1,500 people. Maximilian wintered among the Mandan in 1833-1834. In 1837 another epidemic spared less than 100 Mandan. Alfred W. Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).
235. The Army established a post on the west bank of the Mississippi River below St. Louis in July, 1826, and designated it Jefferson Barracks on October 23, 1826. Prucha, *Guide to the Military Posts of the United States*, 81.