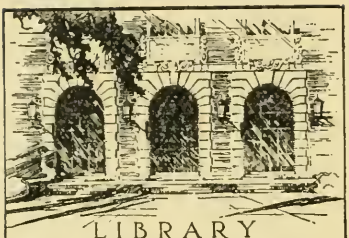
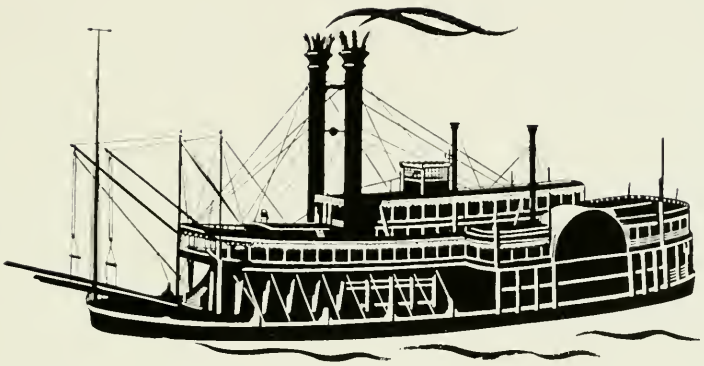
Mississippi Panorama



MISSISSIPPI PANORAMA



George Caleb Bingham *Raftsmen Playing Cards*
Collection City Art Museum of St. Louis

MISSISSIPPI PANORAMA

the life and landscape of the Father of Waters and its great tributary, the Missouri; with 188 illustrations of paintings, drawings, prints, photographs, bank notes, river boat models, steamboat appurtenances and the Dickeson-Egan giant moving Panorama of the

MISSISSIPPI

Edited with an Introduction by

PERRY T. RATHBONE

CITY ART MUSEUM OF ST. LOUIS

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COLOR PLATES

FOREWORD

THE IDEA of the exhibition on which this book is based was suggested, almost inevitably, by the paintings of river boat life by George Caleb Bingham, three of which are treasured in St. Louis. From that important nucleus, for a matter of years, notes from reading and research as well as suggestions from many interested and helpful people were gathered into a file that expanded beyond expectations, and is, in fact, still growing. It soon became apparent that the great waterways of the mid-continent had been a more fertile source of inspiration to the artist than is generally realized. And what was at first envisioned as a display of modest dimensions, drawn mainly from local sources, grew to be an exhibition comprehensive in scope and gathered from many quarters of America.

While still in the early stages of planning, it was decided that it would be an artificial limitation to rule out of an exhibition devoted to the Mississippi the art of that even greater river, the Missouri. That, it seemed, would be like representing a giant tree with only one branch and a fraction of the trunk. It was easy to agree with Captain Marryat who in 1839 wrote in his *Diary in America:* "It was a great mistake of the first explorers, when they called the western branch, at the meeting of the two rivers, the Missouri, and the eastern the Mississippi; the western branch, or the Missouri, is really the Mississippi, and should have been so designated; it is the longest and farthest navigable of the two branches, and therefore is the main river." Moreover, an exhibition of the Mississippi alone would hardly be appropriate to St. Louis; for it is well known that the pre-eminence of the city in this far-reaching valley has been due to its advantageous location at the confluence of the two great streams. It has always looked westward up the Missouri as well as up river and down on the Mississippi. It has only been less conscious of the Ohio. And ideally, the Ohio should be embraced by this display. Only limitations of space and time forced us to place it out of bounds.

Although the exhibition is comprehensive—it contains many items never before exhibited or published—it lays no claim to being complete. Not only have certain paintings, considered essential to the exhibition, been unobtainable for various reasons of ownership or prior commitment; but there are, no doubt, many others that remain in total obscurity. It is hoped that this enterprise will bring some of these to light and aid thereby in their preservation. It must be added that while the exhibition includes much, in reviewing the material for it one restraining principle above all has been observed: to resist the purely historical, however tempting.

Not only does the title of the exhibition—Mississippi Panorama—point to that extraordinary American art form so characteristic of the age, the moving panorama, a rare example of which is the central feature of the display; it also serves conveniently to connote the sweep of the exhibition. By panorama we have meant an assemblage of those visual objects of man's handiwork—the great majority of them pictorial, to be sure—that would in any way reveal the look and character of the rivers and the life they created and sustained in the nineteenth century. In this connection, the contents of the catalogue are accompanied by selections from the most familiar travel literature of the age, not for descriptive reasons so much as to extend the meaning and add another dimension to the matter at hand. The intention, then, has been to show not only the art of the rivers, but to present in terms both visual and verbal a review of American social history as it unfolded along the Mississippi and the Missouri in the last century. To achieve this end it was necessary to be inclusive. In consequence a great number of the popular lithographs of the era have been included as well as a selection of recent photographs of the plantation architecture of the lower valley, peculiar to the Mississippi, and a remarkable group of architects' drawings from the same place and time. In addition, a revealing and fascinating assemblage of river boat models, ranging in type from the most primitive bark to the "floating palaces" of the 'seventies, has been arranged in a special

setting. As an extension of the steamboat display, a variety of now rare and remote appurtenances of the great packets, from boiler room to gambling saloon, has been brought together: for all these objects, humble or elegant, were made not only for utility but for visual effect. A number of the most eye-catching decorated menus and bills of lading, as examples of the minor craft of the artist-painter, have been included. Of more artistic importance are the remarkably fine bank note engravings that constitute a display in themselves. The selection has been made to complement the pictorial record of river life in the paintings and prints, for the bank-note engraver was at pains to reveal aspects of that life that was otherwise neglected. In short, the display ranges from the most familiar picture of a Mississippi steamboat race to objects that today are unrecognizable to the average person.

Finally, there is the Panorama itself which by the paradoxical good fortune of neglect has been preserved, the one remaining work of seven of its kind that were devoted to the Mississippi. Unrolled repeatedly in this exhibition, it is seen as a moving spectacle of the river for the first time in probably no less than ninety years.

In bringing together this exhibition it would be impossible to acknowledge completely the debt we owe. So many people have come to our assistance with invaluable suggestions and counsel as well as with material help that their names would fill a small-town telephone directory. But the charity and patience of a few in particular must not go unrecorded.

In addition to the many generous lenders to the exhibition throughout the country, including museums, historical societies and the private owners who have made this exhibition possible, the Museum is especially indebted to the following individuals in St. Louis: to Miss Ruth Ferris, an enthusiastic collector and an authority on the lore and history of the river, for much valuable information not to be found in books; to Captain Donald T. Wright, Editor of *The Waterways Journal*, for help in securing exhibits and for sharing his encyclopedic

knowledge of river boats and river traffic; to Mr. Charles van Ravenswaay, Director, and Miss Marjory Douglas, Curator of the Missouri Historical Society, the former for valuable suggestions, and the illuminating historical introduction to this catalogue; his colleague for helpful research; to Mr. John A. Bryan and Miss Temple Burrus of the National Park Service, for help in securing exhibits from the Old Court House; to Miss Dorothy Breen of the Public Library and Miss Elizabeth Tindal of the Mercantile Library for bibliographic assistance; to Mr. Irving Dilliard for having long ago made the lives of two great river personalities a matter of accurate record in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and for valuable publicity suggestions; and to Mr. John McDermott, who, without hestitation, has shared his fund of scholarly information, as yet unpublished, pertaining to the earliest artists and the panoramists of the river mentioned in the catalogue; and to the Landesman Galleries for lending a Victorian chandelier. Finally, the Museum is deeply indebted to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and to Mr. Russ David of their radio-television staff for directing the presentation and providing the musical accompaniment for the Panorama of the Mississippi.

In New Orleans, the Museum is no less indebted to the following: to Mr. Alonzo Lansford, Director of the Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, in particular, for his never failing kindness, not only in scouting for works of art germane to the exhibition, but in providing important information about them from unpublished sources, and in handling many irksome details of a practical kind; to Dr. Garland F. Taylor, Director of Libraries, Tulane University and to Mr. James J. A. Fortier, Curator of the Louisiana State Museum, for valuable assistance in arranging loans; to Mr. Albert Lieutaud for many helpful suggestions; and to Mr. Frank Boatner for his gracious assistance.

In Minneapolis, Miss Bertha Heilbron of the Minnesota Historical Society and Mr. Richard S. Davis of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts have both earned our gratitude for many favors and for their patient attention to our problems.

The Museum is also most grateful to the following for numerous

courtesies: Dr. F. Alden Mason of the University Museum, Philadelphia; Dr. Hans Huth of the Art Institute of Chicago and Dr. H. Maxson Holloway, of the Chicago Historical Society; the Staff of the Frick Art Reference Library in New York; Mr. Harry Shaw Newman of New York; Mr. Charles Walker of Hannibal, Missouri; Mr. K. D. McClelland, Acting President of Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois; Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; Mr. A. Remington Kellogg, Director of the United States National Museum; and Mr. Paul North Rice, Chief of the Reference Department, New York Public Library.

In preparing the catalogue, the Museum has incurred the debt of the following: Charles Scribner's Sons for permission to quote from a particular work; Houghton Mifflin Company for lending the color plates of the Audubon *View of Natchez* and Mrs. George M. D. Kelly for her gracious permission to publish the same; The Travelers Insurance Company for generously presenting the color plates of the Currier and Ives lithograph; Mr. Clarence John Laughlin for permission to reproduce his copyrighted photographs; the American Museum of Natural History and the Macmillan Company for permission to publish the color engraving of the Catlin *Grand Detour;* and the Metropolitan Museum of Art for lending the color plates of the Bingham *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri.*

The exhibition has engaged the time and the talents of many members of our staff. Special credit is due the Curator, Dr. Hoopes, for his ingenuity and persistent devoted labor in mounting the Panorama in its framework and devising the mechanism for operating it. In this he has been ably assisted by the generous help of Mr. George Lamborn of the School of Engineering, Washington University; by Mr. Paul Bauer; and Mr. Ben Swartz of our staff. The catalogue would have been a pictorial record at best had it not been for the assiduous reading of nineteenth century authors by Mr. Leonard, Assistant to the Director, who selected the accompanying texts, and who scouted for material and did much of the research upon which the exhibition rests. Bibliographic assistance was given abundantly

by the Librarian, Mrs. Stewart and her Assistant, Miss Ellermann. For the complicated business of handling the diversified material of the exhibition and solving the untried problem of installation, credit is due to Mr. Thalinger, the Registrar. For their invaluable help in seeing the catalogue through the press, the Secretary, Mr. Hitt, and Miss Gray, his Assistant, deserve recognition, as Miss Filsinger does for helping with the manuscript. Certain exhibits have required special preparation for display—cleaning, restoration, painting and photographing. For this painstaking work Miss Filsinger, Mr. Linsenmeyer, Mr. Paul Piaget, Mr. Thalinger and his staff deserve much credit.

Finally, acknowledgment is gratefully made to the contemporary authors whose original research in the field of American painting covered by the exhibition has been frequently relied upon in preparing the introductory essay on the art of the Mississippi. Chief amongst them are the following: Porter A. Butts, David I. Bushnell, Albert Christ-Janer, Bernard DeVoto, Bertha Heilbron, Loyd Haberly, John McDermott, and E. P. Richardson.

Perry T. Rathbone

St. Louis, 1950

[*"Rafting on the River," engraving from a five dollar bank note of about 1857*]

STAGING "THIS GORGEOUS PANORAMA"

THE DICKESON-EGAN Panorama, while a work of art *(see pages 127-135)*, was also a theatrical enterprise. The mechanics of exhibition today presented the same problems as those that beset the entrepreneur a century ago. The necessarily ponderous mechanism was reconstructed to be as nearly like the vanished original as possible. Of this there remained one roller and set of spokes. A second identical one was made and each of the two rollers, mounted on bearings within heavily braced supports, was turned manually by a stagehand, according to original practice, so that one scene after another was exposed from behind the proscenium. Caution was necessary to insure that the muslin would not be torn and that, at the same time, there was enough tension to prevent it from slipping down on the rollers. Binding was stitched to both edges of the muslin to reinforce it against strain, and a vinylite fixative was sprayed over it to prevent flaking.

Panorama stage during performance: The Burial of De Soto showing translucent moon. For method of lighting same see backstage view on page 14.

Courtesy Life © Time, Inc.

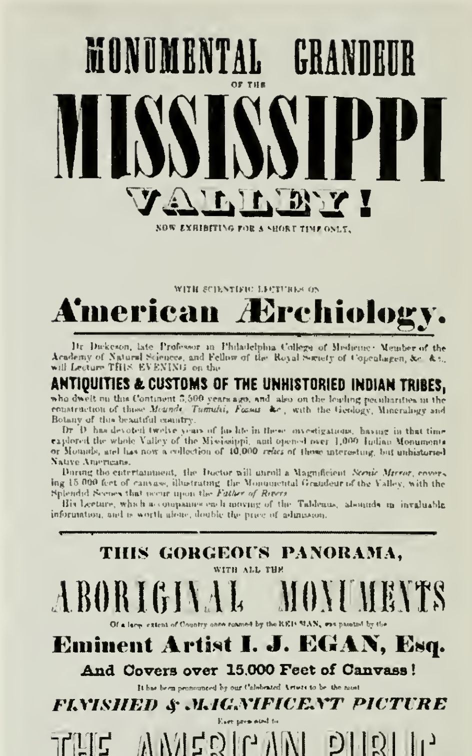
Backstage view of Panorama during performance showing method of operating roller and of lighting translucent moon for the Burial of De Soto scene.

Fixed to the inside of the proscenium, a metal track was reconstructed upon which, by means of wooden balls fastened to the top edge, the Panorama could travel and be supported between the rollers.

Blue, white and yellow footlights were played on the Panorama to dramatize the changing moods of moonlight, winter, cave and sunset scenes. Sound effects provided for the steamboat whistles, thunder and Indian war whoops; chopped paper added to the realism of a snow storm, the footlights were flickered to provide lightning for the Tornado of 1844, and a special light shone through a translucent moon to illuminate the Burial of De Soto. The red and gold ornamentation of the proscenium, a row of footlight reflectors and a gaslight chandelier suggested the theatrical atmosphere of the period. An informative lecture prepared by Dr. Thomas T. Hoopes combined extensive research with a literary style redolent of the nineteenth century to evoke the spirit and manner of Dr. Dickeson. The performance, lasting thirty-five minutes, was further supported by a musical score based on a romantic song, *The White Fawn of the Mississippi*, composed by Mme. Harriet Schwieso for the showing of Banvard's Panorama in London in 1850. This was integrated and transcribed with the lecture on tape to accompany the Panorama when moving forward. Reversed and re-transcribed, it accompanied the next performance of the Panorama when it moved the other way, thus obviating the need for re-rolling. The original handbill, twenty inches long, advertising Dr. Dickeson's "magnificent scenic mirror," was reproduced in facsimile. With the name of the Museum inserted, copies were given to the audience as souvenirs of "this gorgeous Panorama."

The original handbill is reproduced on the following page and is transcribed below.

"*Monumental Grandeur of the Mississippi Valley! Now exhibiting for a short time only* [at the City Art Museum of Saint Louis] *with scientific lectures on American AErchiology. Dr. Dickeson, late professor in Philadelphia College of Medicine; member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and Fellow of the Royal Society of Copenhagen, &c., &c., will lecture this evening on the Antiquities & Customs of the Unhistoried Indian Tribes, who*



MONUMENTAL GRANDEUR

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ANTIQUITIES & CUSTOMS OF THE UNHISTORIED INDIAN TRIBES,

who dwelt on this Continent 3,500 years ago, and also on the leading peculiarities in the construction of those *Mounds, Tumuli, Fossas &c*, with the Geology, Mineralogy and Botany of this beautiful country.

Dr D has devoted twelve years of his life in these investigations, having in that time explored the whole Valley of the Mississippi, and opened over 1,000 Indian Monuments or Mounds, and has now a collection of 40,000 *relics* of those interesting, but unhistoried Native Americans.

During the entertainment, the Doctor will unroll a Magnificent *Scenic Mirror*, covering 15,000 feet of canvass, illustrating the Monumental Grandeur of the Valley, with the Splendid Scenes that occur upon the *Father of Rivers*

His lecture, which accompanies each moving of the Tableaus, abounds in invaluable information, and is worth alone, double the price of admission.

THIS GORGEOUS PANORAMA,

WITH ALL THE

ABORIGINAL MONUMENTS

Of a large extent of Country once roamed by the RED MAN, was painted by the

Eminent Artist I. J. EGAN, Esq.

And Covers over 15,000 Feet of Canvass!

It has been pronounced by our Celebrated Artists to be the most

FINISHED & MAGNIFICENT PICTURE

Ever presented to

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC,

Each View and Scene is taken from DRAWINGS MADE ON THE SPOT, by

Prof. M. W. DICKESON, M. D.,

Who spent TWELVE YEARS of his Life in opening

Indian Mounds.

SECTION I.

Marietta Ancient Fortification—A grand view of their Walls, Bastions, Ramparts, Fosse and Wells, with the relics therein found—Circleville Aboriginal Tumuli—Cado Chiefs in full costume—Youths at their War Practice—Hanging or Hieroglyphical Rock—Colossal Bust at lower water mark, used as a metre by the Aborigines—Portsmouth Aboriginal Group, in a Storm—Cave in the Rock, Stalagmite Chamber and Chrystal Fountain, Desecrated and Mummied Bodies in their burial places—Magnificent effects of Crystalization—Terraced Mound in a snow storm at sunset—Twelve gated Labyrinth, Missouri—Indians at their piscatory exploits

SECTION II.

Bon Hom Island Group—Distant view of the Rocky Mountains—Encamping Grounds of Lewis and Clark—Louisiana Swale Group, with extensive Walls—Lakes and Sacrificial Monuments—Natchez Hill by Moonlight—Indian Encampment—Distant view of Louisiana—Indians preparing Supper—The Tornado of 1844—Destruction of Indian Settlements—Horrid loss of Life—Louisiana Squatter pursued by Wolves—Humorous Scene—Prairie with Buffalo, Elk, and Gigantic Bust on the ledge of a Limestone Rock—Spring Creek, Texas—Fort Rosalie—Extermination of the French in 1729—Grand Battle Scene—Mode of Scalping

SECTION III.

Chamberlain's Gigantic Mounds and Walls—Natchez above the Hill—Indians at their Dances—Baluric Shells, Mounds—Ferguson Group—The Landing of Gen. Jackson—Lake Concordia and Aboriginal Tumuli—Huge Mound and the manner of opening them—Cado Parish Monument—De Soto's Burial at White Cliffs—Mammoth Ravine—Exhuming of Fossil Bones—Temple of the Sun by sunset

Exhibition to commence at 8 every evening, and at 3 o'clock every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon.

Admission - - - - - - - - 25 cents.
Children under 12 - - - - - 12½ "

During the week a FREE ENTERTAINMENT will be given in the Afternoon, for the examination of the *Indian Museum.*

PRINTED AT THE MERCURY OFFICE NEWARK, N J

dwelt on this continent 3,500 years ago, and also on the leading peculiarities in the construction of those mounds, tumuli, fossas, &c., with the geology, mineralogy and botany of this beautiful country.

"Dr. D. has devoted twelve years of his life in these investigations, having in that time explored the whole Valley of the Mississippi, and opened over 1,000 Indian monuments or mounds, and has now a collection of 40,000 relics of those interesting, but unhistoried native Americans.

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"His lecture, which accompanies each moving of the tableaus, abounds in invaluable information, and is worth alone, double the price of admission.

"This gorgeous Panorama, with all the aboriginal monuments of a large extent of country once roamed by the red man, was painted by the eminent artist I. J. Egan, Esq., and covers over 15,000 feet of canvass! It has been pronounced by our celebrated artists to be the most finished & magnificent picture ever presented to the American public. Each view and scene is taken from drawings made on the spot, by Prof. M. W. Dickeson, M.D., who spent twelve years of his life in opening Indian mounds."

CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Charles van Ravenswaay

Geographers tend to disregard the clean upper stretches of the Mississippi, and to consider the great river's true source as the headwaters of the Missouri. Their combined 4200 miles of waterways have bound the Alleghenies to the Rockies, and helped keep the expanding nation "one and indivisible." The Mississippi has shaped the lives and attitudes of all those who have lived in its valley, and through them, much of the character of our mature nation. Too big and too subtle to catch in a phrase, even the garrulous frontiersman found no nickname for it, but the Negro's "old man river," fits as well as any.

Thousands of tributaries, many bearing names of Indian, French, or Spanish origin, feed the Mississippi. Its waters are muddy and turbulent, its temper uncertain. In the 1850's a Waverly, Missouri, newspaper bragged that the Missouri was "the muddiest, the deepest, the shallowest, the bar-iest, the snaggiest, the sandiest, the catfishiest, the swiftest, the steamboatiest, and the uncertainest river in all the world." Residents along the Mississippi banks boasted that they were such "go-ahead" people they had no time to filter the water. They drank it mud and all, and called it fresh, sweet, and healthful. "And besides," a steamboat captain once explained to a shocked New Englander, "it scours out the bowels, Ma'am."

The Mississippi has a life and a personality of its own, which all the pioneer tall tales, and all the books of description and statistics, and all the canvases painted by artists along its shores, only help to catch and explain. The muted sounds of river life are not in the rhythm of modern civilization, and the familiar scenes along the Mississippi banks take on new meaning to those who travel its waters.

The river can be soft and gentle, flowing in a silver, rose, or lavender haze. Or it can be a brown and sinister fury, lashed by wind and swollen by floods which surge out of the channel to wash away houses, barns, and crops. Its banks, between the grimy crags of modern cities, are tree lined and beautiful, broken by towering limestone bluffs. At many places along its ways are ancient Indian

mounds. Once the exposed surfaces of the bluffs bore weird Indian paintings such as the Piasa bird, near Alton, Illinois, which was a crude representation of a creature half bird, half serpent. These have long since weathered away, or been blasted off to make way for railroad tracks or highways.

At the Grand Chain of the Mississippi, about thirty miles above the mouth of the Ohio, the river boils against Devil's Bake Oven on the Illinois shore, and is thrown back against Grand Tower on the Missouri bank. In this turbulent spot, just above the point where the valley widens into the fertile delta of the lower river, pioneer boatmen used once to initiate greenhorns into their trade. In the bottoms along the river, an occasional swamp or lake marks the channel's former course. In these are found fascinating birds and fish, and many varieties of plant life, all guarded by swarms of mosquitoes which in an earlier time were the deadly enemy of the entire valley.

On the sand bars and lonely islands the entire length of the great waterway are thickets of willow and poplar and sycamore, where wild ducks and blue heron take sanctuary in seasonal flights, and the native mushroom, the morel, is to be found on the first warm days of spring. Pioneer records tell of green and orange parakeets in great number, and passenger pigeons that darkened the sky in their flight, but these varieties are now extinct. The enormous size and whiskered ugliness of the Mississippi catfish terrified early travelers. Now they are caught and sold by fishermen who live in huts along the banks, and vary their fishing with snagging driftwood during the spring "rise" to use as fuel.

The Mississippi has served the nation as a highway, and as a battleground; it has been a road to opportunity, and a barrier to religion and the law; an international boundary, and a unifying force. It still remains the dividing line between "back East" and "out West".

De Soto was the first white man to see the Mississippi nearly four centuries ago. Marquette and Joliet began the first real exploration of the river in 1673. Shortly after that, French-Canadian trappers, traders, and priests began nosing their canoes into every tributary of the river, searching for furs, or souls to be saved; seeking gold, or waterways to the Pacific.

Villages slowly grew up along the routes of these explorers. The earliest permanent settlement was at Cahokia, Illinois, in 1699.

During the following century other villages were established along the fertile banks all the way to New Orleans. For their settlers the only real link with each other and with the outside world was the river. During the years of French, Spanish, and English occupation, the river and its remote settlements were on the outermost fringe of the civilized world, but nevertheless they served as pawns in the game of international politics for the control of the continent. From the Revolution to the Civil War, the valley and the river played a vital part in military strategy.

The western farmers and merchants depended upon the river to get their produce to eastern or European markets, and by the thousand they loaded their grain, lead, cattle, salt, and furs onto flatboats, and headed for New Orleans. Thus they saw more of the world than many of their descendants, and came to know a national pride and solidarity. In contrast, the southern common man, who rarely left his home, did not feel as strongly that the river and its tributaries had bound the nation into an indissoluble union. But so she had, and these bonds were to survive even the Civil War.

Indian canoes provided the first means of transportation on the river. In the upper stretches, where frequent portages were necessary because of rapids or shallows, the canoes were generally of birch bark. In the lower reaches the much heavier *pirogues*, made of hollowed logs, were used. The larger of these were some thirty feet long, and with a three and a half foot beam, and a mast amidships with a square sail. Some boats of this type were used in southeast Missouri until the twentieth century. In areas where wood was not plentiful bullboats of a red willow frame covered with stretched buffalo hide were common.

French and Spanish settlers used a much larger craft, the keelless flat-bottomed *bateau*, which was maneuvered upstream by pole, sail, or oars. Sometimes the crew literally pulled it up by means of a towline, or *cordelle*. In the early nineteenth century, American settlers introduced keelboats, which had wooden ribs covered with planks, and also carried a sail. Long and slender, they could carry from fifteen to thirty tons of freight at a time. But like the *bateau*, they depended largely upon muscle power for upstream progress. In deep water oars were used, but generally the boats hugged the shore where the current was less swift. Here the crew pushed the boat along by means of setting poles, or used a *cordelle*. Sometimes

in difficult stretches of the river the boat was warped along by means of a line and windlass. Barges were also in common use at that time. Wider than a keelboat, and comparable in size to many ocean-going vessels of their day, they could carry up to fifty tons of freight. In 1802 the average trip from New Orleans to St. Louis might require as much as four months. Traveling downstream, the journey took from ten to thirty days, depending upon the stage of the river. For transporting the bulky, heavy freight to market, huge rafts were used which were square-cornered and flat-bottomed, called variously "flatboats", "Kentucky flats", or "broadhorns." Furniture and country produce of every kind was loaded on these and floated downstream. Once unloaded, the craft was broken up and sold for lumber, the crew returning by keelboat, or by land, and later by steamboat.

Since there were no highways, and travel by land on foot, horseback, or wagon was not only slow but extremely dangerous, the Mississippi was heavy with traffic even in these early days. Everyone rode the river; flatboatmen with their produce for market; settlers with their furniture seeking the promised land; theatrical troupes; bands of soldiers; merchants selling pottery and household gear. Many guide books of the river were published, giving distances, charts, navigation hazards, and landmarks, along with sundry bits of miscellaneous information, often of a curious nature. The *Navigator*, 1811, published by Zadok Cramer, throws in this interesting fact: "The Pelican is said to have a melancholy countenance . . . and is very torpid . . . It is asserted that they seem to be fond of musick."

The first flatboatmen were generally farmers who merely made a trip to market when they had produce to sell, or trappers who divided their time between trapping and boating. Before long, however, the traffic supported professional boatmen, usually Creoles—American-bred French or Spanish. Clad only in breech-clouts in summer, living on frugal and monotonous fare, they were docile, tractable workers who plied the river singing their traditional songs of Canada and France.

As the traffic increased and settlement developed, the Creole boatmen were superseded by lusty American roisterers who took the river as their own. Generally honest and faithful, they were none the less heavy drinkers, foul-witted and prodigal. Almost to a man they were great fighters. Mark Twain tells that, upon landing, the strongest

of each crew would put a red feather in his cap to challenge any one on shore to fight, "fair" or "rough and tumble." A rough and tumble fight ended only when one contestant was maimed or disfigured for life. "Whoo-oop," a typical flatboatman hollered as he came ashore. "I'm the old original iron-jawed, brass mounted, copper bellied corpsemaker from the wilds of Arkansas! . . . Lay low and hold your breath, for I'm about to turn myself loose!" Drunken crews and their lawless friends made Natchez-under-the-Hill, and many other spots along the river, notorious.

Probably the most famous of the rivermen of that day was Mike Fink, a slow spoken man of prodigious endurance, who was a crack shot and had a woman named "Pittsburgh Blue." An Indian fighter in his youth, he became a keelboatman of great popularity in his middle years. He brawled his way in and out of every town along the Mississippi, boasting that he was "half-man, half-alligator, and chock full of fight." One of his favorite exhibitions was to shoot a cup of whiskey off the head of a trusting companion, until the inevitable day when his rifle "slipped." Eventually, when he had retired from the river and become a trapper in the Far West, he was shot by a friend of the man he had killed.

Because traffic on the river was rich and lush, and law enforcement practically non-existent, criminals were naturally attracted. The particularly unsettled condition which followed the American Revolution fostered an outbreak of pirates along the lower Mississippi. Working in bands, the pirates would either lure their victims ashore, or board them on the river in traditional pirate fashion. Cave-in-Rock, on the lower Ohio, became notorious. Even the wife and children of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat of St. Louis were captured and held for a time. With the coming of a more settled government, and the development of the steamboat, both the pirates and the brawling keelboatmen were driven from the river. With them went the mellow notes of the boatman's horn across the water, and the echo of such songs as:

Some rows up, but we rows down,
All the way to Shawnee town,
Pull away—pull away!

They were followed by restless, improvident shanty-boatmen, whose "driftings" have been transferred by the jalopy to our highways.

After the invention of the steam engine in the late eighteenth

century it was, of course, but a short step to the development of steamboats. Who actually invented this craft has long been debated. Oliver Evans proposed their use on western rivers in 1785; John Fitch and others had begun experiments on such craft before 1800. Livingston and Fulton, after successful experiments on the Hudson, joined with Nicholas J. Roosevelt in building a steamboat at Pittsburgh in 1810. Roosevelt took the boat on her maiden voyage to New Orleans during the following year, but not without adventure. As they neared New Madrid, close to the mouth of the Ohio River, they were caught in the most violent earthquake America has ever known. The earth heaved and split, and the Mississippi waters flowed backward. The 116-foot boat was severely tossed about, but eventually weathered the cataclysm. Other boats in the vicinity were totally destroyed, some being literally swallowed whole. The little steamboat chugged on and pulled into the Natchez wharf with such a show of energy that a Negro on the bank threw up his hat and whooped, "Old Mississippi done got her master now!"

The boats which Fulton and Livingston designed for use on the Mississippi were deep-drafted, low-powered craft such as had succeeded on the Hudson River. Captain Henry M. Shreve, well-known as the Master of the Mississippi, finally developed a vessel more suited to the shallow waters of the great river and its tributaries. He also cleared the channel of snags and sawyers, and even of the hulks of wrecked vessels. In 1815, Shreve directed the building of the *Washington* at Wheeling. This boat had a shallow hull, with the boilers and engines on the main deck, and an added second deck. Its engines used stationary, horizontal cylinders with oscillating pitmans, a revolutionary design. The *Washington* demonstrated its superiority to all other steamboats of that time on its maiden voyage to New Orleans in 1816, and thereafter its model was the prototype of nearly all the boats used on the Mississippi and Missouri. Hundreds of similar craft were soon plying the waters. In a single generation freight rates from New Orleans to St. Louis were reduced from $1,000 a ton to $40.

The first steamboat to reach St. Louis came up from New Orleans in July of 1817. It was the *Zebulon M. Pike*, a single boiler boat. It made the trip in one-fifth the regular keelboat time, and steamboating was here to stay. Two years later the *Independence* proved the Missouri River navigable by journeying from St. Louis to Chariton and

return in twenty-one days. In the same year the *Western Engineer* accompanied Long's expedition to the upper Missouri, reaching a point 7 miles below Council Bluffs. This was one of the strangest vessels ever built. Its bow was shaped to resemble the head of a huge serpent, from whose gaping mouth issued smoke and flames, much to the terror of the Indians along the way.

Soon American "know-how" had provided fast, practical boats adapted to the streams they navigated. Immigrants moving west crowded their rails. Their lower decks groaned under produce from the farms and ore from the mines along the waterways. Streams which today seem incapable of floating a rowboat once knew the familiar sound of the steamboat whistle. Though they lacked the trim beauty of the larger ocean-going craft of the day, the steamboats were none the less handsome in their way. Many of the larger ones were fitted out with remarkable luxury. Their saloons sported crystal chandeliers, handsomely carved furniture, paintings and fine carpets; the cabins were spotless; a ship's band provided music. Their dining tables were beautifully set with the finest china, often specially designed for the boat, and massive silver. Drinks were served in sparkling, heavy glasses with flaring bases. Elaborately folded linen napkins were a point of pride. Fresh foods were taken aboard frequently, and the menus set a standard probably never equalled since. On each trip the pastry cook would plan a surprise for the passengers. One such surprise consisted of setting thirteen different, elaborate desserts before each guest at the end of a particularly hearty meal. The boat steward, as was natural under these conditions, was considered of almost equal importance to the captain, and often was paid as much. The captains were individualists, of many and divergent backgrounds. Captain Casa B. Green was a God-fearing Methodist minister; Tom Cushing had been a well-known opera singer in New York; Ageston Haraszythy, who commanded the *Rock River*, was a political refugee and a Count in his own right.

Many who had learned the river as keelboatmen became pilots on the steamboats, and their knowledge was invaluable. Since the river was constantly changing its course, maps were never reliable: the pilot had to know every bend, sandbar, and snag along the way, by night or by day, in fog or in storm. He was responsible for the safety of the boat, the passengers, and the cargo. The pilot was consequently paid quite fabulous wages, and many of them became

popular idols, as movie stars and baseball heroes do today. Some even sported specially designed clothes, such as pants with a map of the river woven in the fabric. Again like our modern sports heroes, the pilots were frequently known by descriptive nick-names. One very tall pilot with a long beard was known the length of the river as Swamp Angel; another was dubbed Tackhammer, from his manner of expectorating. A man who paced the deck in moments of stress was called Caged Lion. Still another earned the title Chief-Rain-in-the-Face, because he insisted upon sleeping in an Indian tepee back of the pilot house. The skill of the pilots was a blend of photographic memory, real understanding of weather and river signs, and superstition. The color of the water and the pattern of each ripple had its meaning to the pilot. Wind from the east meant rain; when the wheel became sticky in early evening it was a sure sign of fog before morning. To start the year's journey on a Friday brought bad luck for the entire season.

Every operation on a steamboat was done to the song of a leader, the crew working in rhythm and joining in the chorus. On one boat, whenever they left a wharf, a Negro would stand in the forecastle waving a small flag, and singing:

She's a bully boat, she's got a bully crew
And a bully captain too.
Let her go! Our work is done;
And now we'll rest and see her run.

An old riverman describes the scene at a wharf. "The palatial steamer, obeying every turn of the wheel like a thing of life, with a band of music and flags flying" would dance up to the landing to deposit her way-freight and passengers, "then out and away again, like a bird of passage, leaving behind her a surging, boiling passage-way."

The passengers were of every class and walk of life. On nearly every trip there would be one of the professional gamblers about whom legend grew. They were usually consummate actors, handsomely dressed and immaculately groomed, with a tradition of gentlemenly behavior, and their own strict code of honor. On most of the boats they were permitted to ply their trade without interference, though an occasional God-fearing captain would forbid gambling, just as a rare few did not sell liquor or run their boats on Sunday.

By the early 1850's "show boats" were plying the river, floating

theatres where river towns were first introduced to the sorrows of Little Eva, or the histrionics of Hamlet. Medicine men, with their spiels and lively entertainment, provided balms for all ills. River cities received the great or the notorious visitor with a water pageantry of music, flags, cannon salutes, and the graceful movements of escorting vessels. Excursion parties found relaxation on trips to the falls of St. Anthony, viewing in luxury the upper river world which was only then emerging from Indian days, but which had already become a romantic theme in poetry and art; or they journeyed to Louisville, or floated downstream to exotic New Orleans.

There was considerable competition among the many boats for both passengers and freight. Success naturally depended largely upon the pilot's reputation for safety, but speed was also of great importance. Designers were constantly on the alert to improve the boats' potential speed. The fastest craft on the river was the *J. M. White II*, built at Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, and owned by St. Louisans. On her maiden voyage from New Orleans to St. Louis in 1844, piloted by the famed Isaiah Sellers, she broke all records, making the trip in three days, twenty-three hours, and nine minutes. It is doubtful if her speed, under comparable mileage and fueling conditions, has ever been bettered, even by the *Robert E. Lee* in its famous race with the *Natchez* in 1870. Captain Sellers, who taught Mark Twain much of his river lore, became a legend on the river even during his own lifetime.

Steamboat races were popular sport, and were both colorful and exciting, though they resulted in the frequent loss of both lives and boats. In order to gain speed in a race the safety valves were held down, and all too often the boiler exploded. Snags and sand bars took their toll of ships also. In 1873 John A. Scudder testified before a Senate Committee that five thousand boats lay sunken between St. Louis and Cairo alone. Probably the worst steamboat disaster ever to occur on the Missouri was the explosion of the *Saluda*, carrying two hundred and fifty Mormon passengers, near Lexington, Missouri, in 1852. Only one hundred of the passengers were ever accounted for after the calamity.

During the Civil War the river was used for moving troops, and for hospital ships and transports organized and directed by General Charles Parsons, in cooperation with United States army and naval officers. Through herculean effort, the river was opened to the sea, and ironclad fighting ships, made in the St. Louis shipyards under the

supervision of Captain James B. Eads, passed down the river. Captain Eads, who was without any formal training, also evolved techniques for raising sunken craft for salvage purposes, and constructed the South Pass jetties below New Orleans, which preserved the city as an ocean port. In 1874, his bridge across the Mississippi, with its long, graceful spans, was completed, marking the close of the golden age of steamboating.

[*John Senex's Map of Louisiana and the Mississippi, London, ca. 1720*]

THE ART OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Perry T. Rathbone

In New Orleans on a November day in 1803, J. L. Bouquet de Woiseri, a self-styled "designer, drawer, geographer and engineer," sketched out a long narrow strip of a picture. It was just the shape to accommodate his subject, a panoramic view of the capital of Louisiana [25] stretched in a crescent curve on the sea level banks of the Mississippi. Then he carefully painted each lofty tower, roof top and dormer window of the little city basking in the sultry warmth of the South, and fringed it with the seagoing vessels and up river craft docked at the long water front. It was the first of innumerable topographic views of the young settlements along the Father of Waters that would occupy artists for a century. And the painting would not be otherwise remarkable had Bouquet de Woiseri been satisfied alone with what he saw. That which he was inspired to add from his mind's eye was extraordinary. High above the city across the whole expanse of sky he unfurled a waving star-decked ribbon clutched at the center by a flying eagle and bearing the legend, "Under My Wings Every Thing Prospers." Bouquet de Woiseri's painting was, of course, political in its meaning, for it symbolized with jubilation the end of Spanish autocracy and French inconstancy that came with the Louisiana Purchase and the transfer of the colony to the democratic rule of the United States. And to make sure his sentiments were understood, Bouquet de Woiseri enlivened his view of the old French town with not one, but two American flags stretched to the breeze, and dedicated to President Thomas Jefferson the engraved reproduction of the painting that he promptly prepared for the market. The painting is also significant as the starting point of our story, for the art of the Mississippi commences with the American settlement of the valley. Likewise a keynote to the art the Mississippi produced is provided in Bouquet de Woiseri's factual delineation of New Orleans. This approach, handed from artist to artist, was not to change for a century.

At the end of the story stands another painting, *Bald Eagle* [92] bearing the date 1905, by the St. Louis artist, Frederick Oakes Sylvester. It too may be accepted as a symbol, designating the close of the century-long era during which the Mississippi was a never-failing

source of wonder and inspiration to native and European artist alike. No riverscape of the nineteenth century could offer greater contrast to Bouquet de Woiseri's meticulous delineation of New Orleans: the harbor city is as factual a record as the artist could produce; Sylvester's intention was to create a poetic mood. One picture, if you will, was made to be examined, the other, to be contemplated. Sylvester's painting is a mist-shrouded night scene in tones of blue; it is vague and Whistlerian to a degree. No life troubles the quiet waters save a lonesome river boat whose running light glimmers in the distance. That single light in itself is significant, a melancholy emblem that the steamboat pageantry of the great age had gone. With it the artist departed from the river: his work of depicting it was done. For a century, while the river remained a teeming avenue of commerce and travel, it was ever-present in the minds of those who saw it and in the imagination of the rest of the nation who heard about it and felt its prodigious influence. The artist supplied the insatiable demand for its image, an image that was realistic by intention, and picturesque, even at times glamorous, by reason of the subject itself. The rapid growth of swifter overland travel and the development of photography changed all that. The vast riverways of the Mississippi and its tributaries became incidental to continental travel and commerce whereas it formerly had been supreme; the camera usurped the once indispensable role of the artist as reporter and recorder. By the first centenary of the Louisiana Purchase the national mind had turned to other interests, the artist to other ways of seeing.

Sylvester, of course, was an impressionist, painting in the idiom of his day. But the significant fact for us is not his mode of expression, but his approach to painting. His exclusive interest was in the poetry of the river, the majesty of its watery expanses and towering bluffs. Its prosy aspects interested him not at all; nor would they have caught the fancy of his admirers who expected other things of art. His quiet scenes are unpeopled, untouched by city or village. *The River's Golden Dream*, [91] as he called one of his paintings, is a transcendental reverie. His aim, like that of all his artistic generation, was esthetic, not informative.

Not so with Bouquet de Woiseri and his multifarious and busy successors. They were explorers, recorders, and reporters first of all, as thrilled and excited by what they saw as any new traveler in a foreign land. They had neither the time nor the inclination to dream,

but only to sketch and paint as accurately as they could every burgeoning town and village, every raft and keelboat, the endless banks and bluffs, the flora and fauna of the new inland waterway which had no equal in the world. The painters of the Mississippi were factual-minded, eager to preserve the visual experience of the life and landscape of the river even as it changed before their eyes. And while their activity paralleled the rising tide of romanticism in literature and art, the poetry and romance that speaks from nearly every picture they created was not so much the invention of the artist as it was inherent in the life they portrayed.

Who were the artists that created this panoramic record for a hundred years? Who were the men that fastened their gaze on all the living aspects of the great river and recreated them with brush and pencil? It is too early to deliver a definitive answer, and in this survey we must rely, for the most part, on the best known of them. At least four are renowned: Audubon, Bingham, Bodmer and Catlin: seven others, Richard Clague, Seth Eastman, Henry Lewis, J. R. Meeker, W. A. Walker, J. C. Wild and Charles Wimar, are familiar to students of history, art and anthropology. Enough of the work of their lesser brethren has been preserved and recorded to indicate that they were a numerous kind, to say the least. It is well known that the contemporary writers on the subject were legion, and their works have been published and republished, indexed, annotated and commented upon. The Rev. Timothy Flint, one of the most indefatigable travelers of the valley in the first quarter of the century, wrote in 1826, "There are such showers of journals, and travels and residences, and geographies and gazeteers; and every person, who can in any way fasten the members of a sentence together, after having traveled through a country, is so sure to begin to scribble about it, that I have felt a kind of awkward consciousness at the thought of starting in the same beaten track." It is from a few such writings that the quotations in this catalogue have been drawn to describe or elucidate the works of art that comprise the exhibition. Even though the English writer, Mrs. Jameson, could note in 1837 that "the country seemed to swarm with painters," the pictorial record can hardly match the written in extent; but just as the literary record is surprisingly large, so is the visual record more copious than one would suspect.

Of the painters of the Mississippi and Missouri whose achievement is established and widely known, only one, Richard Clague of

New Orleans, was a native of the valley. Indeed, of the eleven artists referred to above, six alone were born in America. While this fact is to be expected amongst the earlier painters who were carried into the valley in the endless stream of immigration following the Louisiana Purchase—sometimes as children as in the case of Bingham and Wimar—it is surprising that no artist of more than local reputation, save Clague, in the second half of the century was born amidst the scenes he painted. While, nevertheless, not a few of those who painted the great rivers could call the valley their home, some artists were only brief visitors at one river town or another; others like Audubon, Catlin and Bodmer were drawn to the Mississippi and Missouri, not to settle there, but for the sole purpose of traveling the length of them, exploring and recording their shores of swamp and prairie, forest and mountain, and the birds and beasts and Indians that lived in them. In consequence, the exhibition embraces the work of men who knew the great watercourse from mountain source to sub-tropical delta as well as of those who merely crossed it and passed on.

In a study of the procession of artists who made of the great river valleys a chief dominion of their activity, one fact stands out: the most distinguished and widely known of them were in pursuit of some particular aspect of the life that flourished there. And their fame, without doubt, rests in large part upon the steadfastness of that pursuit and the consistency of the subject paintings that it yielded. In the light of our present knowledge, we can say that these river artists number twelve, from the most famous as well as the earliest, John James Audubon, the naturalist, to August Norieri of New Orleans, who was not only amongst the last of the river painters and one who has remained in obscurity, but who also, strange to say, almost alone concerned himself with the most glamourous man-made feature of the river, the steamboat. Most numerous of the twelve were the painters of Indians; George Catlin, Seth Eastman, Charles Bodmer, and Charles Wimar. Second in number to them were the painters of landscapes and towns: John Casper Wild and Henry Lewis (the mid-century artists of St. Louis), and Richard Clague of Louisiana, who was working into the 'seventies. Related to them in his interest was Joseph Rusling Meeker whose imagination, though he lived in St. Louis, never ceased to dwell upon the desolate swamps and bayous of Louisiana. William Aiken Walker, who lived well into the twentieth

century, found enduring satisfaction in painting the Negro life of the cotton domain on Louisiana plantation and New Orleans levee. But without question, the greatest artist of them all was George Caleb Bingham of Missouri who in large measure devoted his wonderful gift to painting that prodigious species of man, the boatman, of whom Timothy Flint was moved to say, "when the warmth of whiskey in his stomach is added to his natural energy, he becomes in succession, horse, alligator, and steamboat."

But it is easy to get ahead of our story. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century there were, no doubt, numerous artists, in addition to the portraitist who does not concern us here, at work along the Mississippi. So far as we know, with the exception of one professional, Bouquet de Woiseri, their names are lost. Perhaps most of them were amateurs who painted the local scene for personal satisfaction like Christophe Colomb, the author of the charming prospect of White Hall Plantation [46] which dates from about 1800. Others may have been modest talents that were gainfully employed like the unknown "drawer and engraver" of the bank note woodcut [163] of 1817 who has provided us with the earliest known view of St. Louis, a view that tantalizingly appears to be a small slice of a larger composition. But in the wake of these slow beginnings, during the decade of the 'twenties, no less than seven artists whose names we know had filtered into the valley with their sketchbooks, pencils and paints. Of this pioneer contingent the most famous and the most obscure were the first to arrive—in 1820: Audubon and Joshua Shaw. Joshua Shaw is an almost legendary character so little is known of his movements. It has often been repeated without substantiation that he voyaged up the Missouri in 1820. In any case, he knew the Ohio and it is not improbable that he also reached the Mississippi by way of it. He is remembered for his drawings of river boatmen, efforts that are chiefly remarkable for their early date. His shadowy figure was followed by the more substantial Samuel Seymour, an Englishman who had established himself in Philadelphia as painter and engraver. Seymour at least crossed the Mississippi in 1819, and in 1823 returned to its headwaters as a commissioned artist in the company of a Government reconnaisance expedition. The outfit reached the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien in Wisconsin Territory, where Seymour painted not only the Indians, but also the bluffs of the river and other panoramic landscapes. Although the paintings are lost,

lithographs of them published in 1824 survive. Likewise it is only in lithographs that the work of James Otto Lewis, well known for his book the *Aboriginal Portfolio,* is preserved. Like Seymour two years earlier, he also visited Prairie du Chien in the capacity of an official artist and in 1825 painted the landscape and Fort Crawford there, as well as portraits. Another artist visitor to Prairie du Chien was Peter Rindisbacher, a Swiss, who arrived from Canada in 1826 by way of Fort Snelling in Minnesota and very probably painted the river near the little French outpost, as well as the Winnebago and Fox Indians who frequented it and who were his chief concern. In 1829 he settled in St. Louis. Meanwhile the Mississippi had been visited by the Philadelphia Frenchman Charles Alexandre Lesueur and Capt. Basil Hall of the Royal Navy. Lesueur, a naturalist who was remarkably handy with a pencil, voyaged on the river during 1827 and 1828 and made excellent drawings of river craft that were intended to illustrate his travels. Amongst them is probably the first of that rarest of subjects, the interior of a flatboat with its brick fireplace and furniture. The originals are preserved in the Museum of Natural History at Le Havre, of which Lesueur was curator for a time following his return to France in 1837. While Basil Hall's reputation rested primarily on his travels and writings, he is of interest to us as an accomplished sketch artist. Visiting the Mississippi in the late 'twenties, he made rather dry but factual drawings for his *Travels in North America* with the aid of the *camera lucida,* a portable optical device for rendering objects with accuracy and with more speed than is possible with the unaided eye.

More significant was the arrival at Fort Crawford in 1829 of Seth Eastman, a second lieutenant fresh from West Point, who was destined to become one of the best Indian painters America produced. He commenced at once to sketch his new environment, and enriched the beginning of the story of Mississippi art by making a drawing of Fort Crawford with the rounded hills behind it and the river in the foreground peopled with Indians paddling a canoe [52]. Born in Brunswick, Maine, in 1808, and educated on the Hudson, where at the Military Academy he studied drawing with John Whistler, grandfather of James McNeill Whistler, it probably remained for Eastman to find his life's work when he saw his first Fox or Winnebago at Fort Crawford, just as a similar experience likewise inspired Charles Wimar fourteen years later upon his arrival in St. Louis from the

Rhineland. Eastman's view of Fort Crawford was the first of many sketches involving Indian life—chiefly on the Mississippi frontier—that occupied him for twenty years and provided the models for his paintings. Before leaving Fort Crawford for Fort Snelling in 1830, Eastman is thought to have prepared the drawings for one of his most successful pictures, a scene on the banks of the Mississippi, *Squaws Playing Ball on the Prairie* [50]. It was completed at some later date and, with five other Indian paintings, was ultimately purchased and distributed by the American Art Union in 1849. Most of Eastman's experience of the river was gained during three tours of duty amounting to eight or nine years while stationed at Fort Snelling at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. That picturesque redoubt, high on a cliff overlooking both streams, was a recurrent subject with Eastman. But he also ventured into the virgin forests and spacious prairies of the upper Mississippi region, painting and sketching the Indians at their ceremonials and sports, as well as the landscape, presumably that of the *Site of St. Paul, Minnesota* [51] amongst others. Judging from the sketches that have been preserved, it would seem that 1847 and 1848 were Eastman's most productive years. It was largely upon the pictorial notes made then that he prepared his illustrations for Schoolcraft's great work, *History, Conditions, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, during the years 1850 to 1855, as well as those for his wife's book, the *American Aboriginal Portfolio*, published in 1853. In 1848 Eastman quit the Mississippi for the last time, and two years later he retired from the Army. But like his contemporaries who knew the valley, he continued to the end of his life to draw upon that never-failing resource, the indelible experience of his life on the river.

Meanwhile, in the decade of the 'twenties, the most renowned artist-explorer of the Mississippi, John James Audubon, had already come and gone after six years in the lower valley. Audubon was unquestionably the archetype of his generation. For the pattern of his experience was not only in every way characteristic; it was likewise so ample and so ramified, that it embraced, at least in principle, the activity of all the remarkable genus he belonged to, that of the artist-explorer of the river in the first half of the nineteenth century. Like Catlin, Eastman, Bodmer and Wimar in their chosen field, and Wild, Henry Lewis and Bingham in theirs, Audubon was a specialist in portraying the life of the river; he was also a keeper of journals like Hall and

Lesueur, Catlin, Wimar and Lewis; and again like Catlin and Bodmer as well as Eastman in aboriginal studies, and Wild and Lewis in landscape, Audubon was a creator of the great illustrated books of the age. Like all of them he was motivated by a driving inspiration as big in its own dimension as the territory he roamed; like all of them he was a pioneer at heart, a good shot and a traveler upon whom the sight of the distant horizon never palled but only beckoned.

Born in Santo Domingo in 1785, a natural son of his father, a rich French naval officer, Audubon first came to the United States in 1804 and two years later revisited France where, he reports in his journal, he received instruction in drawing in the Paris studio of the reigning classicist, Jacques Louis David. But even before he came under that valuable discipline, Audubon had made drawings of the birds of America. In fact it was this consuming interest in ornithology that bred in him a serious disinclination for business. After repeated failures in Pennsylvania the frontier attracted him and in 1807 he opened a store in Louisville, Kentucky, and shortly after moved his business to Henderson where he again met disappointment. The unprospering Audubon, in considerable despair, decided with his partner that a bright future was to be found at Ste. Genevieve in Missouri. Accordingly, he arrived there in January, 1810, but in 1812 he was back in Henderson. Although this final venture as a tradesman lasted seven years, it too ended in bankruptcy and Audubon turned to that familiar refuge of the frustrated painter, portraiture. For a time he was employed in Dr. Daniel Drake's natural history museum in Cincinnati. There it was that he decided upon his monumental life work, to portray in the color and action of life and in their natural haunts, all the birds of America. Even more startling, indeed utterly original, was his intention to render each bird in actual size, whether wren or Louisiana heron. Filled with this momentous ambition and resolve, Audubon at the age of thirty-five set out for the Mississippi and by way of the Ohio first entered the river as an artist by vocation in 1820 and floated down to New Orleans on a flatboat. In his diary under the date November 17th as his boat swung into the Mississippi, he noted, "here the Traveller enters a New World . . . the Passenger feels a different atmosphere, a very diferent prospect."

With New Orleans as his stamping ground Audubon labored for six years on his project, tutoring and painting portraits for a livelihood. And he also painted in 1822 his only pure landscape in the valley,

the enchanting view of Natchez [5] where for the first time he was instructed in the use of oil by an itinerant portraitist. Audubon embraced the pioneer life with a good heart and endured its rigours and hardships with cheerfulness. Traveling indefatigably on river boat and prairie nag, his ever ready gun—as important to him as his pencil—slung over his shoulder, he shot and sketched and camped in the wilderness, pursuing his seemingly inexhaustible enterprise with zeal and a singleness of purpose that has rarely been equalled. It was at this time that he painted the three great birds of the lower river that are included in the exhibition: the *Roseate Spoonbill, Wood Ibis* and *Louisiana Heron* [169-171] providing each of them with their proper habitat, the water-soaked, moss-draped riverscape of bayou or flooded bottom land of the South. With his hard-won specimens in his bag, Audubon tramped through swamp and canebrake, forest and prairie; and he knew squatters and runaway slaves as well as planters and plantation hospitality. A tireless traveler, as every artist of the Mississippi and Missouri wilderness was of necessity, he was also a keen observer of every form of nature. His superabundant energy, even at the age of fifty-eight when he reached the mouth of the Yellowstone, overflowed in his journals. For Audubon was a reporter in word as well as in picture and those who have read his travels and *Episodes* know that he was a gifted raconteur, and over and again recognize the truth of his remark, "the bow spring of my spirit is not slack."

The years from 1826 to 1831 Audubon spent largely in London, Edinburgh and Paris arranging for his great publication and getting subscribers for it. In England in 1826 he met and became friendly with Basil Hall, providing him with endless notes and introductions to Americans in preparation for the Captain's forthcoming journey in which he was to travel and sketch extensively on the Mississippi. Then during the next eight years he traveled again in America from Florida to Labrador to complete his study of birds.

In 1839 with an accomplishment behind him that would have satisfied a lesser genius as a life's work, Audubon set forth on another project no smaller in scope. Once more he sought the Father of Waters. His scheme now was to record in similar terms, with the obvious exception of size, the quadrupeds of America, and for this giant task he entered into fruitful collaboration with his two sons and his Lutheran minister friend of years, the Rev. John Bachman of

Charleston. By 1843, Audubon was ready to pursue his quest into the vast northwest region watered by the Missouri. He was the third great artist of the rivers to make the voyage, having been preceded a decade earlier by Catlin and Bodmer. Aboard the steamboat *Omega* he and his party made their way from St. Louis to Fort Union. Sketching and bagging specimens and game by day, but habitually shunning meat in his diet, and writing his *Missouri Journals* by night, Audubon endured the rigours of a pest-ridden boat with fortitude. But he abandoned his customary charity in his unsympathetic written record of the Indians he observed and his repeated criticism of Catlin's delineation of both the redman and the landscape. For two months Audubon was comfortably quartered at Fort Union, the most desirable outpost in the far Indian country. He also took occasion to make an overland trip up the Yellowstone before returning to St. Louis in October whence he departed from the Mississippi for the last time.

No less a traveler and no less tireless was George Catlin, the first painter of the landscape of the Far West, and a man who, incidentally, gave bread for a stone in always speaking most kindly of Audubon. Born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania in 1796, he tried his hand at law, having been educated for it at Litchfield, Connecticut. But finding this pursuit too dry for his temperament, he trained himself as a painter and hung out his shingle as a miniaturist in Philadelphia in 1820. In that city, whose artistic life at the time had no rival in America, he soon was exploring the wonders of Charles Willson Peale's museum. And it was also in Philadelphia that his first sight of Western Indians in full regalia en route from an official visit in Washington to their home on the Plains, inspired him to embark upon his unprecedented scheme to paint all the Indian tribes between the Alleghenies and the Pacific. His was the encyclopedic and all-embracing attitude of the age: it was the attitude of Audubon and his naturalist predecessors Thomas Nuttall and John Kirk Townsend, and, to a lesser degree, of Prince Maximilian of Wied who traveled with Bodmer: of Louis Agassiz in the field of botany who, later in the century, employed the painstaking St. Louis draftsman and painter of the river, Paulus Roetter. It was the fruitful attitude of the searching and fact-finding great historians of the nineteenth century, both in Europe and America. To expand and record man's knowledge of man and of the world was the consuming passion of Catlin's time. And for the artist-reporter

of the life and landscape of the West, the river and the steamboat were the avenue and the vehicle that made it possible.

With feverish eagerness Catlin arrived in St. Louis in 1830, sought out General William Clark for a permit to travel in the vast northwest region under his control, and painted portraits of visiting Indians. But before embarking on the Missouri, Catlin traveled on the Mississippi, trailing Eastman by a matter of months at Fort Crawford where Clark was conducting a treaty with the Indians. Perhaps before he boarded the famous steamboat *Yellowstone* for Fort Union in March of 1832 to paint the Indians and the Indian country, he brushed in a portrait of St. Louis itself [27] which exists in two versions and is one of the two earliest paintings of the city, the other being the work of the same date by the St. Louis artist, Leon Pomarede [82]. Catlin was the first artist to penetrate the Far West, and in the ensuing eight years during which he traveled widely through the country, south to Arkansas and New Orleans and Florida, and north to the catlinite quarries in Minnesota which bear his name, he painted upwards of five hundred canvases of Indian portraits and genre, wild animals and landscapes, fifteen of which are included in the exhibition [28-42]. Unlike Audubon who was a more careful and self-exacting workman, Catlin completed most of his paintings on the scene, husbanding his supply of oil paints by spreading them thinly on the canvas. But like Audubon's monumental volume, Catlin's book that resulted in 1841, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*, was of deep and lasting importance. Hardly less vital for the influence it had at the time and as a means of supporting his colossal project, were his gifts as a showman, for Catlin revealed the American aborigine to a host of white men by traveling in both Europe and America with his "Indian Gallery" of paintings and a troupe of redmen in full regalia. With the same flourish that characterizes his paintings, especially his landscapes, he wrote of the Indians, "I have flown to their rescue, not of their lives or of their race (for they are 'doomed' and must perish), but to the rescue of their looks and their modes, at which the acquisitive world may hurl their poison and every besom of destruction, and trample them down and crush them to death; yet phoenix-like they may rise from the 'stain on a painter's palette,' and live again upon canvas and stand forth for centuries yet to come—the living monuments of a noble race."

A far better and more convincing painter, albeit a less prolific one, was Charles Bodmer, the gifted Swiss who, in the employ of Maximilian of Wied, in 1833 boarded at St. Louis the same *Yellowstone* that had carried Catlin up river the previous year. Bodmer penetrated the Missouri valley farther than his predecessor, pushing on by keelboat beyond Ford Union to Fort McKenzie at the mouth of the Marias River where he spent two months. Still in his twenties, but with a solid Paris art training behind him, he made his reputation as an artist—at least for Americans—on the single great experience of the year he passed on the Missouri River. Later he became associated with the Barbizon School and at one time engaged the youthful Jean Francois Millet as a ghost artist on an assignment involving illustrations of Indian life.

Bodmer came upon the Western scene with all the benefits of advanced European training and he was the first full-fledged artist to do so. Like Audubon before him in David's studio, he had a similar rigorous schooling—only more of it. While Catlin learned to paint by observing a limited number of portraits in the Anglo-American tradition and thereby formed the habit of seeking an *alla prima* and decorative effect, Bodmer's art unmistakably reflects the emphasis upon drawing that Ingres, David's uncompromising successor as the leader of the academic French school, insisted upon. Accuracy of delineation and detail, even though it revealed the laborious effort behind it, was the ideal to be achieved in most Paris art circles, just as it was the prevailing goal at Düsseldorf where Charles Wimar was to commence his studies less than twenty years later. And Bodmer's treatment of landscape, atmospheric, expressive of mood and beautifully delineated, shows the impress of German romantic painting, a trait that links him to Wimar and the conceptions that the younger artist was able to bring forth on canvas after his German training. The romanticism of both artists' work, in fact, stems from this source, and rests not so much upon the strangeness and wonder of the subject as the quality of romanticism in Catlin's paintings does. At the same time, Bodmer's wonderful illustrations for his patron's scientific book, *Travels in the Interior of North America* [177-194], probably looked more objective and scientific to Maximilian, with eyes accustomed to the characteristic expression of the romantic age, than they do to us, a century afterward.

Twenty-six years later, Charles Wimar, the Rhineland boy who had

grown up in St. Louis, the youngest and the last of the river painters of the Indian, travelled farthest of them all, reaching Fort Benton at the mouth of the Teton River in the summer of 1859, at which time he made the preliminary sketches for his *Indians Crossing the Mouth of the Milk River* [101] and *Indians Approaching Fort Benton* [102]. Only three years remained to the artist after this important voyage, for he died in St. Louis, his life work barely begun, in 1862. Wimar probably contracted "Indian fever" earlier in life than any of his great predecessors, for he was the only one of them who grew up in a town where Indians were still a common sight. Arriving from Germany in 1843 at the age of 15, he was diffident, and shy in his use of English. Fortunately for him the Indians camped near where his family lived on the outskirts of the city, and it was natural for him to make friends with them. We may surmise that Wimar saw the Catlin paintings of Indians that remained in St. Louis. We know that he was encouraged in his interest by the kindly artist-decorator to whom he was apprenticed, Leon Pomarede, French-born and New Orleans-trained, with whom he voyaged up the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony in 1849. At length in 1852, Wimar managed to scrape together a meagre sum, enough to take him to Düsseldorf, the current mecca of American painters, to study. In the German town he was not forsaken by the influence of his youthful experience on the Mississippi. Indeed, his passionate devotion to the Indian seemed a bit peculiar to his fellows. But in spite of their jests on that account, he was never swerved from his chosen path to paint the Indian life of his adopted country. He even had Indian buckskins and beadwork sent to him from St. Louis to satisfy his desire for accuracy in his pictures, and his fellow students insisted he was at least part Indian himself. In fact, Henry Lewis, the St. Louis painter who had settled in the Rhenish town in 1851, introduced him as an Indian on one occasion as a joke. Like Bingham, who arrived in Düsseldorf the year Wimar left the Academy for St. Louis, and who continued while he studied to paint the river boatmen of his youth on the Missouri, and like Lewis who painted the Mississippi to the end of his life in 1904, Wimar was not allured by the historical and sentimental romanticism of Düsseldorf that was apt to overcome the more impressionable painter from the eastern seaboard who trained there. In the nature of all three artists, the experience of the Mississippi was too deeply engrained.

One is inclined inevitably to compare the accomplishment of Wimar

and Bodmer. If Wimar's paintings of the Indians and Missouri river frontier lack the delicacy and the precision of Bodmer's, it must be remembered that Bodmer was preparing plates for publication; Wimar was not. And if their relative importance in this story must be pointed out, we must consider that Wimar was concerned with the Indian and the Western rivers throughout his life; with Bodmer it was an interlude. Nevertheless, Bodmer was instrumental in sending his younger countryman, the minor artist Friedrich Kurz, to the Missouri years later, in 1847. For five years he remained in America writing a valuable journal of his trip to Fort Union and making many sketches incident to this voyage, chiefly of Indian life, that he rendered into watercolor upon his return to Switzerland.

Like Wimar and Bodmer, John Casper Wild, the first important landscape artist of the river, was born in Europe. From his birthplace, Zurich, he went to Paris, remained fifteen years and apparently studied art. Emigrating to the United States, he settled in Philadelphia for a few years and painted a panorama of the city. He came to St. Louis about 1840 where Henry Lewis, his younger contemporary, had been engaged for several seasons as a stage carpenter at the St. Louis Theatre. Wild was attracted to the river at once and his interest in it as an artist took a characteristic form. Such was the phenomenon of the Mississippi, with its endless stream of river boats forever pushing up or gliding down to distant shores, that the early landscape painters were compelled to think of it in terms of the whole valley. Not a few attempted to record it that way. Wild was amongst the first whose inspiration spurred him to such a project and he soon commenced to publish in periodical form with accompanying lithographs the *Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated* [265-268]. These thirty-four lithographs, fifteen of which show the Missouri or the Mississippi, are amongst the rarest of the early prints of the Middle West, and it is remarkable that their rarity was carefully noted by a writer of Davenport, Iowa, as early as 1858, twelve years after Wild's death. Wild prepared somewhat larger lithographs of his published views as pictures for framing. All of them are characterized by his ability to see his carefully drawn subjects enveloped in light and atmosphere, and by the sensitive coloring which he applied himself. Only less common are Wild's paintings. One of them, a view south from Carondelet, a picture redolent of the lovely rural atmosphere that fringed the cities of mid-nineteenth century America,

is included in the exhibition [99]. In 1845 Wild visited Davenport where he was described as a portrait painter as well as a landscapist and lithographer. He voyaged up the river to the Falls of St. Anthony the same summer Henry Lewis was there, in 1846, presumably in quest of subjects for finished paintings. Except for a view of the Falls, his work got no further than the sketch stage for Wild died the same year in Davenport at about the age of forty.

Wild was not the man to paint a panorama of the river. That remained for the energy and ambition of younger blood. Even at forty Wild was described as having a "worn and haggard look" which was attributed to probable ill health and certainly poor finances. But Henry Lewis, who was born in England in 1819 and came to St. Louis about 1836, was endowed by nature as a man for the job and equipped for it as a painter by having taught himself to draw and use brush and colors while engaged as a stage carpenter at the St. Louis Theatre. He may very well have been influenced in his art by his theatrical experience; perhaps he even conceived his panorama on the stage where scenic effects were the business of the day and where a familiarity with unwieldly backdrops well might dispel any qualms about coping with the mammoth canvas a panorama would consume. Lewis has even been credited with first conceiving a panorama of the Mississippi and with conveying the idea to John Banvard, who preceded him in the venture, and later became his rival. Be that as it may, John Rowson Smith, perhaps unbeknown to Lewis and Banvard, beat them both at this incredibily popular game by unfurling his huge canvas of the Mississippi in Boston in 1839. But St. Louis was the center of Mississippi panorama production; no less than five of the seven artists who painted panoramas of the river were sometime residents of the city. These include Pomarede, who for a time assisted Lewis and then painted a Mississippi panorama of his own, taking the young Wimar with him on his preliminary sketching expedition up river.

During three summers from 1846 to 1848, Lewis, not yet thirty, boated the whole length of the river from the Gulf of Mexico to the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota, where, at Fort Snelling, in 1848, he met Seth Eastman on his last visit. On this long voyage he made innumerable drawings of the scenery, the towns, the moving watercraft and the Indians, recording in his journal his adventurous experiences, his hellish battles with mosquitoes, and the beauty of

the river, and fortunately preserving between the covers of his sketch books, one of which is included in the exhibition [70], the living scene as he floated by. But as it happened, it was not only for his panorama that he engaged an objective and tireless eye on these solitary expeditions. For like Seth Eastman before him, the sketches he made were to be an enduring resource of his painting for half a century, as they were the reserve from which was drawn the seventy-eight illustrations for his remarkable book, *Das Illustrirte Mississippithal*, published in Düsseldorf from 1854 to 1858. A large selection of plates from it is included in the exhibition [209-248]. Lewis had the panoramic eye that was peculiar to the mid-nineteenth century in America: and its ambition was not unlike the all-embracing, encyclopedic attitude that drove Audubon to seek out and record the birds and animals, Catlin the Indians, and Prescott and Parkman the historic facts of man's career in the Western Hemisphere.

Two landscape artists of the river whose activity falls into the second half of the century were born in the 'twenties, Richard Clague of New Orleans in 1821 and Joseph Rusling Meeker in 1827. Unlike their predecessors they were Americans by birth. Both of them remain somewhat obscure figures in the development of painting in this country. They are familiar in New Orleans and St. Louis, but their art is little known outside the valley today. Having been born in Newark, New Jersey, Meeker came to St. Louis in 1859 after practicing for seven years as a painter in Louisville. Behind him was sound training at the National Academy of Design in New York, where he also developed his landscape style from studying the work of Asher B. Durand. Somewhat later, perhaps out of necessity, he turned his attention to portrait painting, and was astute enough to place himself under Charles Loring Elliott, who had settled in New York in 1839 and who was certainly the most gifted portraitist of the middle decades of the century. Meeker profitted greatly from this tutelage. A self-portrait and one of his wife in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, are indeed worthy of such an artistic heritage. In St. Louis the Civil War soon disrupted Meeker's progress as an artist, yet it also led him into those removed and desolate regions of the Mississippi that were to remain an enduring inspiration to him—the swamps and bayous of Louisiana. Assigned as a paymaster in the United States Navy, Meeker was in uniform four years and followed the Mississippi campaign to the lower reaches of the river. During these years he

made sketches and studies of the swamp lands, collecting a fund of pictorial notes that he employed repeatedly in his paintings of the 'seventies and 'eighties. Indeed, his rendering of this weird, dreary aspect of the river and its lugubrious beauty has probably not been exceeded in quality or extent. An exponent of the ebbing romanticism of the nineteenth century, Meeker was moved occasionally to people the prevailing dark green, brown and gray of his curtained swamps of cypress and Spanish moss with silent characters in historical costume, shades of Evangeline's Acadians and De Soto's men, as exemplified by the Museum's painting in the exhibition, *The Land of Evangeline* [73] and *Swamp on the Mississippi* [74].

New Orleans from the beginning of its history was culturally oriented towards Paris. Its artists have often been visiting Frenchmen; its native painters not infrequently got their training in the *ateliers* of Paris. In consequence, much of the painting produced there, even to the end of the nineteenth century, has borne a French stamp. Richard Clague was educated as a boy in Switzerland and trained as an artist at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris; but it is apparent in his painting that he found direction by his contact with the art of the Barbizon School. In revolt against the artificiality of academic painting, these artists sought to express the beauty in the honest toil of peasants and the humble life of the cottage, in the rugged majesty of the plane trees and oaks of the Fontainebleau Forest. Clague, upon returning to Louisiana, was probably imbued with this ideal, and with the realism of the Barbizon approach and a love for its rich use of paint. At home he found the counterpart of the Barbizon cottage and forest in the moss-draped live oaks of Louisiana, in the trapper's cabin and the fisherman's shack, and the little farms on the bayous. These he painted with a deep feeling, bred of his intimate knowledge of the subject, and with professional skill, an accomplishment that he fortunately passed on to his gifted pupil, Marshall J. Smith, Jr.

E. B. D. Fabrino Julio, a contemporary of Clague in New Orleans, studied under Léon Bonnat in France and also applied his gifts to recording the less familiar Louisiana of back woods and humble farm.

Clague's younger contemporary, William Aiken Walker, was born in 1838 in Charleston, South Carolina, and was a Louisianian by adoption, having been active in his native city as well as in Savannah and St. Augustine before his arrival in New Orleans. Walker was

alone in pursuing his particular interest, the life of the Negro on the cotton plantations of the lower river, and the busy export scenes on the levee at New Orleans. Long outliving the popularity of genre painting, Walker died in abject poverty in 1921, his pictures remembered only by two Currier and Ives plates of them made in the 'eighties.

Likewise the distaste for genre and subject painting that came with impressionism and the purely esthetic in art so successfully popularized by Whistler, hastened the almost complete eclipse of the greatest painter the Mississippi produced, George Caleb Bingham of Missouri. Not until the 'thirties of the present century did his art begin to attract attention again and awaken the admiration it so richly deserves. Migrating from Virginia with his family into the fertile Boon's Lick country in central Missouri in 1819, Bingham's boyhood was spent near the turbulent course of the great river of the West, and like the youthful settlers described by Timothy Flint, the young Bingham was probably magnetized by the half wild and carefree life of the boatmen as he longingly observed it from the river banks. Like the landscape painter Thomas Cole in backwoods Ohio, at precisely the same time, he may well have aspired to a painter's career by observing one of the army of itinerant portraitists who were painting everywhere on the frontier while the sound of the pioneer's axe still rang from the primeval woods. In any case, it appears that he was self-taught and that he resolved to become an artist only after reading both for the law and the ministry. His early attempts at portraiture were proudly acclaimed as the work of a young man who had never been east of the Mississippi since he was a child, and that he had become a painter "by means of his own unassisted application, and untutored study." These early works show a remarkable natural gift and Bingham was soon known throughout the region. In 1835, with the enterprise that characterized his whole life whether in art or in politics, he widened the sphere of his activity by setting himself up as a portraitist in St. Louis for a year, and late in 1836 he took a steamboat down to the affluent city of Natchez, where for about six months he busily painted portraits at forty and sixty dollars apiece.

In the autumn of 1837, having garnered sufficient funds, Bingham went to Philadelphia and for three months studied art at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. His contact with the quantity of paintings to be seen in that metropolis was of great and beneficial importance; for though his portraiture may have suffered from observ-

ing the rather shallow productions of the prolific Sully, that detriment was more than counterbalanced by his almost certain study of the genre painting he could not have seen in the West. And genre was the unparalleled contribution of Bingham to the art of the Mississippi. He alone preserved the image of that tough and roistering, oath-spouting, harum-scarum race: the bargee, the keeler, and the voyageur —the boatmen, not of the packets, but of the small craft that pioneered the river: and by virtue of Bingham's great gift he created an image that is undying. In Philadelphia the foundation must have been laid. It is significant that Bingham's art, though vastly superior, bears a certain resemblance to the work of one of the earliest American painters of daily life, John Lewis Krimmel, who at the age of twenty-three came from Germany to Philadelphia and painted there until his death in 1821. In Krimmel's massing of figures, his orderly but realistic crowd effects, in his clear spatial designs and atmospheric distances, Bingham may have found the key that unlocked his own visions of the everyday life of Missouri.

Bingham's method in picture making was to prepare accurate, even detailed drawings of individual figures from life and then assemble them into a group composition. One hundred and nine of these exceptionally handsome and vigorous drawings are preserved in the Mercantile Library, St. Louis, bound into a single volume, the "Sketch Book," which is included in the exhibition [21]. None of the drawings is dated, so it is a matter of conjecture as to when Bingham commenced his career as a genre artist. However, we know that in the years he spent in Washington painting portraits, from 1840 to 1844, he finished his first genre composition, *The Jolly Flatboatmen*, a lost painting that was bought by the American Art Union the following year and engraved in 1847 [173]. It caught the popular fancy at once, as well it might. Bingham was dubbed "the Missouri artist" and he suddenly had a reputation to live up to. No artist of the Mississippi and the Missouri before or after Bingham, whatever his gifts, captured as he did the essence of the river boat scene: the quiet floating on the bosom of the stream that was half the life of a voyageur; or the dreamy langour of those waters hemmed for miles by untrodden wilderness, and bathed with the sultry atmosphere and half-obscuring haze of the Midwestern summer—the high season of the boatmen. Bingham's first genre painting was followed by the splendid boatmen series: a second version of *The Jolly Flatboatmen*, *Fur Traders De-*

scending the Missouri [20], *Raftsmen Playing Cards* [15], *Lighter Relieving a Steamboat Aground* [13], *Fishing on the Missouri* [16], *Watching the Cargo* [19], and finally the third version of *The Jolly Flatboatmen* [18] painted in Düsseldorf in 1857. Of this painting, Bingham wrote, it "promises to be far ahead of any work of that class which I have yet undertaken." But it is more important to us as demonstrating the unshakable hold upon him of the river life of the distant Mississippi.

Meanwhile, Bingham had distinguished himself as a painter of the genre of country politics, a subject which, incidentally, reveals that a century ago in America a man could still live in a man's world; as in the case of the boatmen series, no crinoline or curl diverts the eye in these purely masculine pictures. Regrettably, politics offered Bingham a field of activity which increasingly occupied his abilities, robbing him of the energy that he formerly devoted to painting.

It has been pointed out that the Mississippi and its life was the passing interest of not a few visiting artists. While this was true in the upper valley which J. F. Kensett painted in 1855 [59] and in St. Louis where in 1853 Frederick Piercy, the Englishman, painted his striking wash composition of the upper levee and a steamboat in full stream [81], it was especially true of New Orleans. That picturesque city continued to hold a charm for Frenchmen that no other city in America did. Amongst these visitors from France were three highly trained artists, two of them very accomplished painters, Alfred Boisseau and Hippolyte Sebron; the third was a genius, Edgar Degas who visited his relatives in 1872 and painted the well-known *Cotton Bureau at New Orleans.* Boisseau, the first to arrive, was resident in New Orleans in the late 'forties and in 1847 painted *Louisiana Indians Walking Along a Bayou* [24]. Hippolyte Sebron visited America in the mid-nineteenth century and painted a winter scene on Broadway, New York, a panorama of the *Cataract of Niagara* and a *View of New Orleans.* But in our survey he stands out with great distinction as the creator of the classic steamboat picture, *Giant Steamboats at New Orleans* [88], in 1853. With an eye that does not suffer by comparison with Bingham's he saw in broad terms the bustle and excitement of the levee with steamboats still tied up to the landing, others already hitting the stream. Smoke plumes out of the towering stacks from the freshly stoked boiler fires of pitch and pine knots.

The scene is enveloped in a gray pall. Through it filters down the warm sun of late afternoon—the customary time of departure.

Of the resident painters of New Orleans, only two oddly enough, concerned themselves with more than passing interest in the unexampled parade of steamboat traffic. They were Edward Arnold [4] who collaborated with other painters, notably J. G. Evans [55], during the Civil War era, and August Norieri [77-79] whose activity accompanied the decline of the steamboat age in the 'seventies and 'eighties. It would seem that the grand spectacle of the mastercraft of the river stirred a feeling of nostalgia as it waned and disappeared.

No less strange is the fact that only the minor painters of Louisiana were attracted by the State's most celebrated feature, its splendid plantation architecture and the extravagant social life it sheltered. With the single exception of the amateur painter at the beginning of the eighteen hundreds and the quaint and charming art of Adrian Persac [80] in the mid-century, this phase of the life of the Mississippi has been neglected by its artists. But it has been compensated for in the exhibition by the art of a contemporary photographer, Clarence John Laughlin and by a remarkable group of hitherto unpublished architectural illustrations in ink and watercolor of a tobacco warehouse on the New Orleans levee and five plantation houses [300-304] dating from about 1835 to 1855, two of them by the celebrated New Orleans architect, James Gallier.

In looking back over the whole panorama of the life and landscape of the Mississippi and Missouri in the nineteenth century we are impressed by how very much of that wonderful and far-flung spectacle bore the mark of the white man's rapid settlement and exploitation of the rivers and their fabulous valleys, from the weathered palings of Fort Benton to the brick and stucco urbanity of New Orleans, a distance of some four thousand miles by water. We are amazed that such changes could have taken place in the eighty years that followed the somewhat exaggerated, but nevertheless indicative, estimate of Senator Benton and William Clark in 1820 that the Mississippi Valley had fifty thousand miles of boatable waters. This circumstance and the development it gave rise to had an immeasurable effect upon the economic life of America and the expansion of the nation westward. It also brought into being the artists' contribution of the image of that expanding life. But that which more deeply excited the imagination of America, indeed of the western world, was the last frontier of

wilderness that remained to it, a wilderness through which the rivers flowed. And our thoughts go back to the artist-explorer who, like all the painters of the early age, knew and loved the wilderness—captured its nature for the civilized world in word and picture. Our thoughts inevitably return to Audubon, the model of that artist who in later years, reflecting upon his experience on the frontier wrote " . . . I sit on a grassy bank, gazing at the glittering waters. Around me are dense forests of lofty trees and thickly tangled undergrowth, amid which are heard the songs of feathered choristers, and from whose boughs hang clusters of glowing fruits and beautiful flowers. Reader, I am very happy."

[*"Reclining Raftsman," pencil drawing from George Caleb Bingham's Sketch Book*]

ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES AND SELECTED COMMENTARY

PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

Arranged alphabetically by artist
Height precedes width in all dimensions given

1 ANONYMOUS: *Rafting Downstream*
Oil on canvas, 22⅛″ x 27⅜″; ca. 1840-50
Indiana University Library, Bloomington

"I may here remark, that this kind of questioning often gives occasion to that recontre of wit, that is commonly called blackguarding. I have more than once been compelled to smile, at the readiness or whimsicality of the retorts in these trials of vulgarity, between the people on shore and the boatmen. But I have much oftener been disgusted with the obscenity, abuse and blasphemy, which usually terminate the contest. We are told, that this proceeds sometimes to the length of exchanging musket shots."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

2 ANONYMOUS: *View of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri*
Pencil drawing, 14¼″ x 25¾″; ca. 1845-50
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

3 HOLMES ANDREWS: *St. Paul, Minnesota, 1855*
Oil on canvas, 15″ x 25″
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

"At last, after waiting three days at St. Paul, and having sundry false alarms of a start, it was intimated to us that we should be conveyed from the hotel in an omnibus to a steamer that really was about to leave for Galena. It was somewhat discouraging, when we bade adieu to one of our friends, to see him turn up his eyes when we told him the name of the boat. 'Wal, mister,' he said, 'it's your business, not mine; but I know something of that boat. She belongs to that darned picayunish old 'coon, Jim Mason, and he'll run her till she sinks, or busts up, and then God help the crowd' . . . so we drove down to the wharf, shook hands tenderly with the omnibus driver, and boots, who accompanied him to help us get our luggage on board, and went in search of cabins, in the course of which Bury found himself, by mistake, in the ladies' saloon—a fact he was politely informed of by one of the occupants, who said, 'Guess you *put* for the wrong pew, mister.'"

Laurence Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West* (1855)

[1]

[3]

4 Edward Arnold (1824-1866): *Battle of Port Hudson*

Oil on canvas, 30" x 40"; signed: E. Arnold

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

Edward Arnold was born in Heilbronn, Wuerttemberg, Germany, between 1824 and 1826. He married Caroline Mary O'Reilly of Ireland and appeared in New Orleans about 1853, living there until his death in 1866.

Port Hudson is on the left bank of the Mississippi about 135 miles above New Orleans. In 1862 the Confederates installed extensive batteries on the commanding bluffs for a stretch of about three miles. This was the strongest fortification between New Orleans and Vicksburg. On the night of March 14, 1863 Admiral Farragut, with seven vessels, attempted to run past the batteries. Four of his vessels were disabled and forced to turn back, the *Mississippi* was destroyed and only the *Hartford* and *Albatross* passed the batteries.

5 John James Audubon (1780-1851): *Natchez, Mississippi, in 1822* (Color plate)

Oil on canvas

Collection Mrs. George M. D. Kelly, Natchez

"from the River opposite Natchez, that place presents a Most Romantick scenery, the Shore Lined by Steam vessels Barges & flat Boats, seconded by the Lower town, consisting of Ware Houses, Grogg Chops [*read* Grogg shops], Decayed Boats proper for the uses of Washer Women, and the sidling Road raising along the Caving Hills on an oblique of a quarter of a Mile and about 200 feet High covered with Goats feeding peaceally on its declivities, while hundreds of Carts, Horses and foot travellers are constantly, meeting and Crossing each Other reduced to Miniature by the distance renders the whole really picturesque: on the Top of this the Traveller comes in sight of the town as he enters avenues of regularly planted Trees Leading to the different Streets running at right Angles towards the River: on the left the *Theater* a poor framed Building and a New and Elegant Mansion the property of Mr. Postlewait attracts the Anxious eye—on the right the rollings of the hearth thinly diversified by poor habitations soon close the prospect—advancing, he is Led into Main Street; this as well as the generality of the place too Narrow to be Handsome, few of which are Bricks—and at this season very much encumbered by Bales of Cotton—the Jail, Court House are New and tolerable in their form the Lower part of the former a Boarding House of some Note, there are Two Miserable Looking Churches; I dare not say unattended but think so—"

John James Audubon, *Journal* (December 27th, 1820)

6 John Banvard (1815-1891): *River Scene*

Oil on canvas, 8″ x 10″

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

John Banvard was born in New York and at an early age showed aptitude for painting and for creating mechanical effects. His ambition was to paint the largest painting in the world and his panorama of the Mississippi satisfied it. He took his panorama to London in 1850 where it was shown before Queen Victoria and vast crowds. His English successes were repeated in Paris. Other trips took him to Palestine and on his return to America he showed a panorama of the Holy Land and paintings in which all of the obelisks of Egypt were represented. He engaged in theatrical activities in New York and in addition to some plays he wrote more than seventeen hundred poems. He died in Watertown, South Dakota, May 16, 1891.

[6]

7 John Banvard: *Mississippi River Plantation Scene*
Oil on canvas, 7″ x 10″
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

[7]

7A Augustus G. Beller: *View of Weston, Missouri*
Oil on canvas: signed and dated: A. G. Beller 1879
State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia

8 C. E. Bigot: *Flatboating*
Oil on canvas, 24″ x 30″; ca. 1849
Collection Mrs. Helen Weber Kennedy, Stockton, California

According to family tradition, the artist appeared in California and sold this group of five paintings to Captain Charles Weber, a former resident of New Orleans, who recalled the Mississippi river with nostalgia.

"We now began to pass many rafts and flats and it was curious to hear them sing out to us—What you got to sell stranger? I would generally answer Elephants turks [tusks?] and Carcassian slaves, then there would be a pause and talking among themselves. We had many a pretty little bit of badinage of this kind as we pass'd the shore or rafts."

Henry Lewis, *Journal* (1848)

[7A]

9 C. E. Bigot: *Alchapalaia, Louisiana*
Oil on canvas, 28½″ x 36″; signed and dated: Bigot 1848 (or 9)
Collection Mrs. Helen Weber Kennedy, Stockton, California

10 C. E. Bigot: *The "Sultana"*
Oil on canvas, 26″ x 33½″; ca. 1849
Collection Mrs. Helen Weber Kennedy, Stockton, California

"I know of nothing so perplexing and vexatious to a man of feelings, as a turbulent wife and steamboat building. I experienced the former and quit in season, and had I been in my right senses I should undoubtedly have treated the latter in the same manner, but for one man to be teased with both, he must be looked upon as the most unfortunate man of this world."

John Fitch in his journal, quoted by E. W. Gould, *Fifty Years on the Mississippi* (1889)

[9]

[10]

[11]

11 C. E. Bigot: *Alligator Hunting*

Oil on canvas, 28½″ x 36″; signed and dated: Bigot 1849

Collection Mrs. Helen Weber Kennedy, Stockton, California

"I hate the Mississippi, and as I look down upon its wild and filthy waters, boiling and eddying, and reflect how uncertain is travelling in this region of high pressure, and disregard of social rights, I cannot help feeling a disgust at the idea of perishing in such a vile sewer, to be buried in mud, and perhaps to be rooted out again by some pig-nosed alligator."

Captain Marryat, *Diary in America* (1839)

12 C. E. Bigot: *Rafting on Southern Waters*

Oil on canvas, 21½″ x 26½″; ca. 1849

Collection Mrs. Helen Weber Kennedy, Stockton, California

13 George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879): *Lighter Relieving a Steamboat Aground*

Oil on canvas. 29½" x 35½": 1847

Private Collection

"During the whole of this trip I was much amused with our pilot, who, fully aware of the dangers of the river, was also equally conscious that there were not sufficient means on board to avoid them: when, therefore, we were set upon a sand-bank, or pressed by the wind on the sunken trees, he always whistled; that was all he could do, and on proportion as the danger became more imminent, so did he whistle the louder, until the affair was decided by a bump or a crash, and then he was silent."

Captain Marryat, *Diary in America* (1839)

14 George Caleb Bingham: *The Birch Homestead, Boonville, Missouri*

Oil on canvas; ca. 1875

Collection Mrs. Fulton Stephens, Esparto, California

"A Missouri planter, with a moderate force and a good plantation, can be as independent as it is fit that we should be. He can raise the materials for manufacturing his own clothing. He has the greatest abundance of every thing within himself; an abundance in all articles, except those which have been enumerated, as not naturally congenial to the climate, of which a northern farmer has no idea. One of my immediate neighbours, on the prairie below St. Charles, had a hired white man, a negro, and two sons large enough to begin to help him. He had an hundred acres enclosed. He raised, the year that I came away, two thousand four hundred bushels of corn, eight hundred bushels of wheat, and other articles in proportion, and the number of cattle and hogs that he might raise was indefinite; for the pasturage and hay were as sufficient for a thousand cattle as for twenty. If the summer be hot, the autumns are longer and far more beautiful, and the winters much milder and drier, than at the North, and the snow seldom falls more than six inches. Owing to the dryness and levelness of the country, the roads are good, and passing is always easy and practicable. Any person, able and disposed to labour, is forever freed from the apprehension of poverty; and let philosophers in their bitter irony pronounce as many eulogies as they may on poverty, it is a bitter evil, and all its fruits are bitter. We need not travel these wilds in order to understand what a blessing it is to be freed forever from the apprehension of this evil."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[13]

[14]

15 George Caleb Bingham: *Raftsmen Playing Cards* (Frontispiece)

Oil on canvas, 28″ x 36″; 1847

City Art Museum of St. Louis

"They scatter their wit among the girls on the shore who come down to the water's edge to see the pageant pass. The boat glides on until it disappears behind a point of wood. . . . No wonder the young, who are reared in these remote regions, with that restless curiosity which is fostered by solitude and silence, who witness scenes like this so frequently, no wonder that the severe and unremitting labours of agriculture, performed directly in the view of such scenes, should become tasteless and irksome. No wonder that the young people along the banks of the great streams, should detest the labours of the field, and embrace every opportunity, either openly, or if minors, covertly, to escape and devote themselves to the pernicious employment of boating."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

16 George Caleb Bingham: *Fishing on the Missouri*

Oil on canvas, 28¾″ x 35⅞″; 1851

William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City

"The catfish is a voracious creature, not at all nice in feeding, but one who, like the Vulture, contents himself with carrion when nothing better can be had. A few experiments proved to us that, of the dainties with which we tried to allure them to our hooks, they gave a decided preference, at that season to *live toads*. . . . Many 'fine ladies', no doubt, would have swooned, or at least screamed and gone into hysterics, had they seen one of our baskets filled with these animals, all live and plump."

John James Audubon, *Episodes* (1810)

17 George Caleb Bingham: *Landscape with Cattle*

Oil on canvas, 38″ x 48″; 1846

City Art Museum of St. Louis

". . . the shore on our left was densely wooded, and the somber shadow that fell from this forest was broken in one place by a long, ruffled trail that shone like silver; and high above the forest wall a clean-stemmed dead tree waved a single leafy bough that glowed like a flame in the unobstructed splendor that was flowing from the sun. There were graceful curves, reflected images, woody heights, soft distances; and over the whole scene, far and near, the dissolving lights drifted steadily, enriching it every passing moment with new marvels of coloring."

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

[16]

[17]

18 George Caleb Bingham: *The Jolly Flatboatmen*

Oil on canvas, 46¼″ x 69″; 1857

City Art Museum of St. Louis

"Almost every boat, while it lies in the harbour has one or more fiddles scraping continually aboard, to which you often see the boatmen dancing. There is no wonder that the way of life which the boatmen lead, in turn extremely indolent, and extremely laborious; for days requiring little or no effort, and attended with no danger, and then on a sudden, laborious and hazardous, beyond Atlantic navigation; generally plentiful as it respects food, and always so as it regards whisky . . . The hands travel about from boat to boat, make inquiries and acquaintances, and form alliances to yield mutual assistance to each other, on their descent from this to New Orleans. After an hour or two has passed in this way, they spring on shore to raise the wind in town. It is well for the people of the village, if they do not become riotous in the course of the evening; in which case I have often seen the most summary and strong measures taken. About midnight the uproar is all hushed. The fleet unites once more at Natchez, or New Orleans, and although they live on the same river, they may, perhaps, never meet each other again on the earth."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[18]

[19]

19 George Caleb Bingham: *Watching the Cargo*
Oil on canvas, 26″ x 36″; 1849
State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia

"Again the boat proceeds, but in passing over a shallow place, runs on a log, swings with the current, but hangs fast, with her lee side almost under water. . . . I shall not continue this account of difficulties, it having already become painful in the extreme. I could tell you of the crew abandoning the boat and cargo, and of numberless accidents and perils . . ."

John James Audubon, *Episodes* (ca. 1833)

20 George Caleb Bingham: *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri*
(Color plate detail)
Oil on canvas, 29 1/4″ x 36 1/4″; ca. 1846
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

"Said one of these men, long past seventy years of age: 'I could carry, paddle, walk and sing with any man I ever saw. I have been twenty-four years a canoe man, and forty-one years in service; no portage was ever too long for me. Fifty songs could I sing. I have saved the lives of ten voyageurs. Have had twelve wives and six running dogs. I spent all my money in pleasure. Were I young again, I should spend my life the same way over. There is no life so happy as a voyageur's life.'"

Quoted from James H. Baker, *Lake Superior*, Minnesota Historical Collections

[20]

21 George Caleb Bingham: *Sketchbook*

Mercantile Library, St. Louis

Five of the 109 drawings mounted in the book

(a) *Seated figure beating a pan*

(b) *Fiddler seated on a barrel head*

(c) *Standing man drinking from a jug*

(d) *Boatman with a setting pole.*

(e) *Reclining Raftsman* (Illustrated page 48)

These sketches are studies for *The Jolly Flatboatmen*, No. 18

"Whoo-oop! I'm the original iron-jawed, brass-mounted, copper-bellied corpse-maker from the wilds of Arkansas! Look at me! I'm the man they call Sudden Death and General Desolation! Sired by a hurricane, dam'd by an earthquake, half-brother to the cholera, nearly related to the smallpox on my mother's side! Look at me! I take nineteen alligators and a bar'l of whisky for breakfast when I'm in robust health, and a bushel of rattlesnakes and a dead body when I'm ailing. I split the everlasting rocks with my glance, and I squench the thunder when I speak! Whoo-oop! Stand back and give me room according to my strength! Blood's my natural drink, and the wails of the dying is music to my ear. Cast your eye on me, gentlemen! and lay low and hold your breath, for I'm 'bout to turn my self loose!"

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

George Caleb Bingham *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri* (Detail)
Collection The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

[21a]

[21d]

[21c]

[21b]

[22]

22 James M. Boal (1800?-1862): *Fort Snelling*
Oil on canvas
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

23 Charles Bodmer (1809-1893): *The Banks of the Mississippi*
Watercolor, 21″ x 28″; signed: K. Bodmer; ca. 1833
Collection Dr. J. T. C. Gernon, Chicago

"But what words shall describe the Mississippi, great father of rivers, who (praise be to Heaven) has no young children like him! An enormous ditch, sometimes two or three miles wide, running liquid mud, six miles an hour: its strong and frothy current choked and obstructed everywhere by huge logs and whole forest trees: now twining themselves together in great rafts, from the interstices of which a sedgy lazy foam works up, to float upon the water's top; now rolling past like monstrous bodies, their tangled roots showing like matted hair; now glancing singly by like giant leeches; and now writhing round and round in the vortex of some small whirlpool, like wounded snakes. The banks low, the trees dwarfish, the marshes swarming with frogs, the wretched cabins few and far apart, their inmates hollow-cheeked and pale, the weather very hot, mosquitoes penetrating into every crack and crevice of the boat, mud and slime on everything: nothing pleasant in its aspect, but the harmless lightning which flickers every night upon the dark horizon."

Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (1842)

[23]

24 Alfred Boisseau (1823-1852): *Louisiana Indians Walking Along a Bayou*
Oil on canvas. 24″ x 40″: signed and dated: Al. Boisseau 1847
Collection Mr. W. E. Groves, New Orleans

Boisseau was born in Paris February 28th, 1823, and died some time after 1852. He was a pupil of Paul Delaroche and exhibited in the Paris Salon in 1842, and again in 1847 when this picture was exhibited.

"The squaws went by, walking one behind the other, with their hair, growing low on the forehead, loose, or tied back of the head. . . These squaws carried large Indian baskets on their backs, and shuffled along, barefooted, while their lords paced before them, well mounted: or, if walking, gay, with blue and red clothing and embroidered leggings, with tufts of hair at the knees, while pouches and white fringes dangled about them. They looked like grave merry-andrews: or, more still, like solemn fanatical harvest men going out for largess. By eight o'clock they had all disappeared: but the streets were full of them again the next morning."

Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (1837)

25 J. L. Bouquet de Woiseri: *New Orleans in 1803*
Watercolor, signed and dated: Boqueto de Woieseri ficit [sic] in New Orleans, Novr. 1803
Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia

Mantle Fielding renders the name "J. L. Bouquet Woiseri". In the *Philadelphia General Advertiser* of February 21, 1804, de Woiseri offered two engravings for sale. One was the "View of the City of New Orleans". He referred to himself as a "designer, drawer, geographer, and engineer" and stated that he had lived in New Orleans for a number of years.

New Orleans in 1804 had "about one thousand houses, and eight thousand inhabitants, including blacks and people of color. Nearly the whole of the old houses are of wood, one story high, and make an ordinary appearance. The suburbs on the upper or north end of the city, have been built since the fire in 1794, and contain about two hundred and fifteen houses, mostly composed of cypress wood, and generally covered with shingles or clapboards. Among them is one elegant brick house covered with tile. Several of them are two stories high, and two in the same quarter three stories high. One of them cost eighty thousand dollars, and the rest from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. They are plastered on the outside with white or colored mortar: this, as frosts are seldom severe in the climate, lasts many years: it beautifies the buildings, and preserves the bricks, which, from the negligence or parsimony of the manufacturers, are usually too soft to resist the weather."

Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana* (1812)

[24]

[25]

26 Carl Christian Brenner (1838-1888): *Race on the Mississippi*

Oil on canvas, 28″ x 50″; signed and dated: Chris Brenner 1870

Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts

Brenner was born at Lauterecken in the Rhenish Palatinate. The family emigrated to the United States in 1853 by way of New Orleans to Louisville, Kentucky. In 1871 he began his career as a landscape painter. In 1884 he made a trip to the Rocky Mountains.

"An appearance, more or less common to all the western and southern rivers, struck me as being more distinctly marked in this river, than in any that I have seen. It is the entire uniformity of the meanders of the rivers, called, in the phrase of the country, 'points and bends.' . . . So regular are these curves in all the rivers of the lower country, that the hunters and the Indians calculate distances by them."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

26A Thomas H. Burridge: *United States Gun Boat "Osage"*

Oil on wood panel, 22″ x 30½″; signed: Thos. H. Burridge

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

The *Osage* was designed and built by Captain James B. Eads during the Civil War.

GEORGE CATLIN (1796-1872)

"There is now in this city a collection of paintings, which we consider the most extraordinary and interesting that we have ever witnessed; and one which constitutes a most valuable addition to the history of our continent, as well as to the arts of our country. Mr. Catlin engaged some time since in the very arduous and novel enterprise, of visiting the distant tribes of our western frontiers, for the purpose of painting from nature a series of portraits and landscapes illustrative of the country and its inhabitants, and has succeeded thus far beyond his most sanguine hopes. . . . His gallery now contains about one hundred and forty pictures: and we are informed that he has in his possession an equal number in an unfinished state . . .

"There is also a series of landscapes, embracing views of the scenery of the Missouri River. To us, who have traversed the prairie in its length and breadth, . . . these graphic delineations served to awaken agreeable images of past pleasure. To others they will communicate valuable information—to all who have never had the good fortune to see a prairie, they will convey some idea of the appearance of those vast meadows, so boundless, so beautiful, so rich in scenic attraction. The shores of the Missouri have a peculiar and strongly marked character. They are like nothing else in nature but themselves. . . . We are glad that we have a native artist, who . . . has had the good sense to train his taste in the school of nature, and the patriotism to employ his genius on subjects connected with his own country. We are proud of such men as Audubon and Catlin . . . "

Western Monthly Magazine, Cincinnati (1836)

27 GEORGE CATLIN: *St. Louis from the river below in 1832, a town on the Mississippi, with 25,000 inhabitants*

Oil on canvas, 19½" x 26½"

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

"We arrived at St. Louis too late in the evening to remove my canoe, and in the morning I was saved the trouble; and with it, on this occasion, had departed forever a large package which I had left in the cabin, with my name on it, containing several very beautiful articles of Indian costumes, pipes, etc. For the loss of these things on his vessel I remonstrated with the captain, and severely so, for the parcel taken from the cabin of his steamer with my name on it. For this he laughed me in the face again and said, 'Why, don't you know, sir, that if you leave a box or parcel in any steamboat on the Missouri or the Mississippi, with George Catlin marked on it, it is known at once by all the world to be filled with Indian curiosities, and that you will never see it again unless it goes ashore with you.' "

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

[26A]

[27]

[28]

28 George Catlin: *Madame Ferrebault's Prairie from the river above*
Oil on canvas, 19½" x 26½": dated 1836
United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

The title continues: "The author and his companion descending the river in a bark canoe, above Prairie du Chien, Upper Mississippi: beautiful grass covered bluffs. There is no more beautiful country in the world than that which is to be seen in this vicinity. In looking back from this bluff, towards the west, there is, to an almost boundless extent, one of the most beautiful scenes imaginable. The surface of the country is gracefully and slightly undulating, like the swells of a retiring ocean after a heavy storm, and everywhere covered with a beautiful green turf and with occasional patches and clusters of trees. The soil in this region is also rich, and capable of making one of the most beautiful and productive countries in the world."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

29 George Catlin: *View on Upper Missouri—Magnificent Clay Bluffs 1800 miles above St. Louis*
Oil on canvas, 11" x 14¼"; dated 1832
United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

The title continues: " . . . Stupendous domes and ramparts, resembling some ancient ruins; streak of coal near water's edge; and my little canoe, with myself and two men (Bogard and Bâtiste) descending the river. Painted in 1832."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

[30]

30 George Catlin: *View on Upper Missouri—Prairie Bluffs Burning*
Oil on canvas, 11″ x 14¼″; dated 1832
United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

"I beheld beneath me an immense cloud of black smoke which extended from one extremity of this vast plain to the other, and seemed majestically to roll over its surface in a bed of liquid fire; and above this mighty desolation, as it rolled along, the whitened smoke, pale with terror, was streaming and rising up in magnificient cliffs to heaven.

"I stood *secure*, but tremblingly, and heard the maddening wind which hurled this *monster* o'er the land—I heard the roaring thunder and saw its thousand lightenings flash; and then I saw *behind*, the black and smoking desolation of this *storm* of *fire!*"

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

[31]

31 George Catlin: *View on Upper Missouri; distant view of the Mandan Village, 1800 miles above St. Louis*

Oil on canvas, 11″ x 14¼″; dated 1832

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

"This tribe is at present located on the west bank of the Missouri, about 1800 miles above St. Louis, and 200 below the mouth of the Yellowstone River. They have two villages only, which are about two miles distant from each other; and number in all (as near as I can learn), about 2000 souls. Their present villages are beautifully located, and judiciously also, for defense against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower (or principal) town, in particular, is one of the most beautiful and pleasing that can be seen in the world, and even more beautiful than imagination could ever create. In the very midst of an extensive valley (embraced within a thousand graceful swells and parapets or mounds of interminable green, changing to blue, as they vanish in the distance) is built the city, or principal town of the Mandans. On an extensive plain (which is covered with green turf, as well as the hills and dales, as far as the eye can possibly range, without tree or bush to be seen) are to be seen rising from the ground, and towards the heavens, domes—(not 'of gold' but) of dirt—and the thousand spears (not 'spires') and scalp-poles, etc.,

etc., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

"The Mandan mud huts are very far from looking poetical, although Mr. Catlin has tried to render them so by placing them in regular rows, and all of the same size and form, which is by no means the case. But travellers have different eyes."

John James Audubon, *The Missouri River Journals* (1843)

[32]

32 George Catlin: *View on the Upper Missouri—Minataree Village, earth-covered lodges, on Knife River, 1810 miles above St. Louis*

Oil on canvas, 11″ x 14¼″; dated 1832

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

The title continues: "Batiste, Bogard and myself ferried across the river by the Indian woman in a skin canoe, and Indians bathing in the stream. Painted in July, 1832."

This is near what is now Mandan, North Dakota. The Minatarees are better known today as the Hidatsa.

"The principal village of the Minatarees, which is built upon the bank of the Knife River, contains forty or fifty earth-covered wigwams, from

forty to fifty feet in diameter, and, being elevated, overlooks the other two which are on lower ground and almost lost amidst their numerous corn-fields and other profuse vegetation which cover the earth with their luxuriant growth.

"The scenery along the banks of this little river, from village to village, is quite peculiar and curious, rendered extremely so by the continual wild and garrulous groups of men, women and children who are wending their way along its winding shores, or dashing and plunging through its blue waves, enjoying the luxury of swimming, of which both sexes seem to be passionately fond. Others are paddling about in their tub-like canoes, made of the skins of buffaloes."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

[33]

33 George Catlin: *View on Upper Missouri—View in the "Big Bend" 1900 miles above St. Louis*

Oil on canvas, 11″ x 14¼″; dated 1832

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

"Saturday, fifth day of our voyage from the mouth of Yellow Stone, at eleven o'clock.—Landed our canoe in the grand détour (or Big Bend) as it is called, at the base of a stately clay mound, and ascended, all hands, to the summit level, to take a glance at the picturesque and magnificent works of nature that were about us. Spent the remainder of the day in painting a view of this grand scene: for which purpose Batiste and Bogard carried my easel and canvas to the top of a huge mound, where they left me at my work: and I painted my picture [No. 33], whilst they amused themselves with their rifles, decoying a flock of antelopes, of which they killed several, and abundantly added to the stock of our provisions."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

[34]

34 George Catlin: *View on the Upper Missouri—River Bluffs and White Wolves in the Foreground*

Oil on canvas. 11″ x 14¼″: dated 1832

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

[35]

35 George Catlin: *View on Upper Missouri—Beautiful Prairie Bluffs above the Puncahs, 1050 miles above St. Louis*

Oil on canvas, 11″ x 14¼″; dated 1832

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

36 George Catlin: *View on the Upper Missouri—Buffalo Herds Crossing the River*

Oil on canvas, 11″ x 14¼″; dated 1832

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

"In one instance, near the mouth of the White River, we met the most immense herd crossing the Missouri River—and from an imprudence got our boat into imminent danger amongst them, from which we were highly delighted to make our escape. It was in the midst of the 'running season', and we had heard the 'roaring' (as it is called) of the herd when we were several miles from them. When we came in sight, we were actually terrified at the immense numbers that were streaming down the green hills on one side of the river, and galloping up over the bluffs of the other. The river was filled, and in parts blackened, with their heads and horns, as they were swimming about, following up their objects, and making desperate battle whilst they were swimming.

[36]

"I deemed it imprudent for our canoe to be dodging amongst them, and ran it ashore for a few hours, where we lay, waiting for the opportunity of seeing the river clear: but we waited in vain. Their numbers, however, got somewhat diminished at last, and we pushed off, and successfully made our way amongst them. From the immense numbers that had passed the river at that place, they had torn down the prairie bank of fifteen feet in height, so as to form a sort of road or landing-place, where they all in succession clambered up. Many in their turmoil had been wafted below this landing, and unable to regain it against the swiftness of the current, had fastened themselves along in the crowds, hugging close to the high bank under which they were standing. As we were drifting by these, and supposing ourselves out of danger, I drew up my rifle and shot one of them in the head, which tumbled into the water and brought with him a hundred others, which plunged in, and in a moment were swimming about our canoe, and placing it in great danger. [No. 36]. No attack was made upon us, and in the confusion the poor beasts knew not, perhaps, the enemy was amongst them; but we were liable to be sunk by them, as they were furiously hooking and climbing on to each other."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

[37]

37 George Catlin: *Buffalo Chase; Mouth of Yellowstone—Animals dying on the ground passed over, and my man Batiste swamped in crossing a creek*

Oil on canvas, 23″ x 27¾″; dated 1832
United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

38 George Catlin: *Upper Missouri—Grand Detour* (Color plate)

Oil on paper, 21¼″ x27¾″; ca. 1832
American Museum of Natural History, New York

" . . . we reached the place where the Missouri makes a great bend of fifteen miles, the distance across by land being only 400 or 500 paces. At this place the ice drives in spring over the flat land, or sandy point, and the tall poplars at the end of it were rubbed smooth, on the lower part, to half the thickness of their trunks. This bend is called Le Grand Détour, and there are several such in this river."

Maximilian Prince of Wied. *Travels in the Interior of North America* (1839)

GEORGE CATLIN *Upper Missouri—Grand Detour*
Collection American Museum of Natural History, New York

39 George Catlin: *View on the Upper Missouri—Prairie meadows burning, and a party of Indians running from it in grass eight or ten feet high*
Oil on canvas, 11″ x 14¼″
United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

"But there is yet another character of burning prairies . . . the war, or hell of fires! where the grass is seven or eight feet high, as is often the case for many miles together, on the Missouri bottoms; and the flames are driven forward by the hurricanes, which often sweep over the vast stretches of this denuded country. There are many of these meadows on the Missouri, the Platte, and the Arkansas, of many miles in breadth, which are perfectly level, with a waving grass, so high, that we are obliged to stand erect in our stirrups, in order to look over its waving tops, as we are riding through it. The fire in these, before such a wind, travels at an immense and frightful rate, and often destroys, on their fleetest horses, parties of Indians, who are so unlucky as to be overtaken by it; not that it travels as fast as a horse at full speed, but that the high grass is filled with wild pea-vines and other impediments, which render it necessary for the rider to guide his horse in the zig-zag paths of the deers and buffaloes, retarding his progress, until he is overtaken by the dense column of smoke that is swept before the fire—alarming the horse, which stops and stands terrified and immutable, till the burning grass which is wafted in the wind, falls about him, kindling up in a moment a thousand new fires, which are instantly wrapped in the swelling flood of smoke that is moving on like a black thunder-cloud, rolling on the earth, with its lightening's glare, and its thunder rumbling as it goes."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

40 George Catlin: *View on Lake St. Croix, Upper Mississippi*
Oil on canvas, 18¾″ x 26¼″; dated 1835
United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

41 George Catlin: *View on the Upper Missouri; Mouth of the Yellow Stone—Fur Company's Fort, their principal post 2000 miles above St. Louis, and a large party of Knisteneux encamped about it*
Oil on canvas, 11″ x 14¼″; dated 1832
United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

Fort Union, a trading post of the American Fur Company, was built in July, 1829. It was the first fort built on the Missouri above the Yellowstone. Built by Kenneth McKenzie; in 1831 it was burned and rebuilt and stood until 1868.

"Interesting . . . and *luxurious* for this is truly the land of the Epicures; we are invited by the savages to feasts of *dog's meat*, as the

most honourable food that can be presented to a stranger, and glutted with the more delicious food of beavers' tails and buffaloes' tongues. . . . He (McKenzie) has, with the same spirit of liberality and politeness with which Mons. Pierre Chouteau treated me on my passage up the river, pronounced me welcome at his table, which groans under the luxuries of the country; with buffalo meat and tongues, with beavers' tails and marrow fat: but *sans* coffee, *sans* bread and butter. Good cheer and good living we get at it however, and good wine also; for a bottle of Madeira and one of excellent Port are set in a pail of ice every day, and exhausted at dinner."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

42 George Catlin: *View on the Upper Missouri—Nishnabottana Bluffs, 1070 miles above St. Louis*

Oil on canvas, 11″ x W: 14¼″; dated 1832
United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

[43]

43 W. L. Challoner: *Harbor of New Orleans*

Oil on canvas, 30″ x 48″; signed: W. L. Challoner; ca. 1880
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

"It was a pleasure to hear the French language spoken, and to have our thoughts recalled to the most civilized parts of Europe by the aspects of a city, forming so great a contrast to the innumerable new towns we had lately beheld. The foreign appearance, moreover, of the inhabitants, made me feel thankful that it was possible to roam freely and without hindrance over so large a continent—no bureaus for examining and signing of passports, no fortifications, no drawbridges, no closing of gates at a fixed hour in the evening, no waiting until they are opened in the morning, no custom-houses separating one state from another, no overhauling of baggage by gens d'armes for the octroi; and yet as perfect a feeling of personal security as I ever felt in Germany or France."

Charles Lyell, entry dated February 23, 1846 from *A Second Visit to the United States of North America*

[41]

44 Richard Clague (1816-1878): *Trapper's Cabin, Louisiana*
Oil on canvas, 12″ x 16″; signed: R. Clague; ca. 1870
Collection Mr. W. E. Groves, New Orleans

Born in Louisiana, died in New Orleans. He studied with Ernest Hébert and at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He painted Louisiana landscapes and New Orleans street scenes.

[45]

45 Richard Clague: *Back of Algiers*
Oil on canvas, 13¾″ x 20″; signed: R. Clague; ca. 1860
Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans

46 Christophe Colomb: *White Hall Plantation, Louisiana*
Gouache on paper, 19″ x 22″; ca. 1800
Collection Mrs. Suzanne Bringier McConnell, New Orleans

White Hall was the plantation of the Bringier family whose daughter Fanny married Christophe Colomb. The home of this couple was Bocage which is to be seen in the architectural section of this exhibition.

Christophe Colomb introduces himself as the painter seated on the bank making the gouache which is seen here. He has exercised the right of the artist to tidy up and make the scene more comprehensible by reducing the width of the river and bringing the elements on the opposite shore closer to the house. Two young Bringiers study a flatboat tied up at the landing. Their father is seated on top of a vessel loaded with bales of cotton as his slaves strain at the oars. A sightseer on a passing barge examines the plantation through his spyglass.

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"The luxury of the table is carried to a great extent among them. They are ample in their supply of wines, though Claret is generally drunk. Every family is provided with Claret, as we at the North are with cider. I have scarcely seen an instance of intoxication among the respectable planters. In drinking, the guests universally raise their glasses, and touch them together instead of a health. In the morning, before you rise, a cup of strong coffee is offered you. After the dessert at dinner, you are offered another. It is but very recently, that the ladies have begun to drink tea. During the warm months before you retire, it is the custom in many places for a black girl to take off your stockings, and perform the ancient ceremonial of washing the feet.

"They are easy and amiable in their intercourse with one another, and excessively attached to balls and parties. They certainly live more in sensation, than in reflection. The past and future are seasons, with which they seem little concerned. The present is their day, and 'dum vivimus, vivamus', in other words, 'a short life and a merry one', their motto. Their feelings are easily excited. Tears flow. The excitement passes away, and another train of sensation is started."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[47]

47 George L. Crosby: *Down River View of the Mississippi and Hannibal Landing*

Oil on canvas, 30″ x 72″; signed and dated: Crosby 1869
Collection Mrs. W. M. Hawkins, Cambridge, Massachusetts; courtesy of the Mark Twain Museum, Hannibal, Missouri

George L. Crosby, born in Massachusetts in 1833, travelled west as a young man with settlers bound for Kansas. His impressions of that expedition were recorded in two paintings, "Kansas or Bust" and "Kansas and Busted". After his return to Massachusetts he was commissioned by investors in the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad to paint views of Hannibal and the surrounding terrain. Crosby married in Hannibal, returned to Marlborough, Massachusetts, and came back to Hannibal in the 1860's where he was active as a photographer and portrait painter until he and his family were drowned in a flash flood of 1877 or 1878.

In the distance is Jackson Island where Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn became pirates. The *Rob Roy* is docked at the boat and freight house. The Hannibal and St. Joseph roundhouse, shops and general office, the latter still in use, appear below Lover's Leap.

"The people of Hannibal are not more changed than is the town. It is no longer a village; it is a city, with a Mayor, and a council, and water-works, and probably a debt. It has fifteen thousand people, is a thriving and energetic place, and is paved like the rest of the West and South—where a well-paved street and a good sidewalk are things so seldom seen that one doubts them when he does see them. The customary half-dozen railways center in Hannibal now, and there is a new depot, which

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cost a hundred thousand dollars. In my time the town had no speciality, and no commercial grandeur: the daily packet usually landed a passenger and bought a catfish, and took away another passenger and a hatful of freight; but now a huge commerce in lumber has grown up, and a large miscellaneous commerce is one of the results. A good deal of money changes hands there now."

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

48 George L. Crosby: *Up River View of the Mississippi and Hannibal Landing*

Oil on canvas, 30" x 72": signed and dated: Crosby 1870

Collection Mrs. W. M. Hawkins, Cambridge, Massachusetts; courtesy of the Mark Twain Museum, Hannibal, Missouri

Commanding the scene on Holliday's Hill is the home of the Widow Douglas and at the left is Cardiff Hill.

"From this vantage-ground the extensive view up and down the river, and wide over the wooded expanses of Illinois, is very beautiful—one of the most beautiful on the Mississippi, I think: which is a hazardous remark to make, for the eight hundred miles of river between St. Louis and St. Paul afford an unbroken succession of lovely pictures."

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

[49]

49 Charles Deas (1818-1867): *Prairie Fire*

Oil on canvas, 29″ x 35⅞″; signed and dated: C. Deas 1847
Brooklyn Museum, New York

"I have often witnessed in this country a most impressive view, which I do not remember to have been noticed by any travellers who have preceded me. It is the burning of the prairies. It is visible at times in all parts of Missouri, but nowhere with more effect than in St. Louis. The tall and thick grass that grows in the prairies that abound through all the country, is fired; most frequently at that season of the year, called Indian summer . . . Thousands of acres of grass are burning in all directions. In the wide prairies the advancing front of flame often has an extent of miles. Many travellers, arrested by these burnings, have perished. The crimson-coloured flames, seen through the dim atmosphere, in the distance seem to rise from the earth to the sky. The view, before the eye becomes familiarized with it, is grand, I might almost say terrific; for nothing has ever given me such a striking image of our conceptions of the final conflagration."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[50]

50 Seth Eastman (1808-1875): *Squaws Playing Ball on the Prairie*
Oil on canvas, 25″ x 34″
Peabody Museum, Harvard University

Born in Brunswick, Maine, January 24, 1808 and died in Washington D.C., August 31, 1875. He entered West Point as a cadet July 1, 1824. He served at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin, 1829-30; Fort Snelling, Minnesota, 1830-31; and again at Fort Snelling from 1841 to 1846 and after a brief interruption again at Fort Snelling until 1848. In 1850 he was in Washington D.C. where he worked on illustrations for Schoolcraft's great book on American Indians.

George Catlin, who painted a similar scene, wrote that the day came when the men "wanted a little more amusement, and felt disposed to indulge the weaker sex in a little recreation also; it was announced among them, and through the village, that the women were going to have a ball-play!

"For this purpose the men, in their very liberal trades they were making, and filling their canoes with goods delivered to them on a year's credit, laid out a great quantity of ribbons and calicoes with other presents well adapted to the wants and desires of the women; which were hung on a pole resting on crotches, and guarded by an old man, who was to judge and umpire the play which was to take place among the women, who were divided into two equal parties, and were to play a desperate game of ball, for the valuable stakes that were hanging before them."

George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1841)

[51]

51 Seth Eastman?: *Site of St. Paul, Minnesota*
Oil on canvas, 24″ x 32″
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

"The town is one of the youngest infants of the Great West, scarcely eighteen months old, and yet it has in this short time increased to a population of two thousand persons, and in a very few years it will certainly be possessed of twenty-two thousand, for its situation is as remarkable for beauty and healthfulness as it is avantageous for trade. Here the Indians come with their furs from that immense country lying between the Mississippi and the Missouri, the western boundary of Minnesota; the forests still undespoiled of their primeval wealth and the rivers and lakes abounding in fish offer their inexhaustible resources, while the great Mississippi affords the means of their conveyance to the commercial markets of the world, flowing, as it does, throughout the whole of Central America down to New Orleans. Hence it is that several traders here have already acquired considerable wealth. . . . "

Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties* (Oct. 25, 1850)

[52]

52 Seth Eastman: *Fort Crawford—Prairie du Chien*

Pencil drawing, 4½″ x 7½″. Inscribed: [Mississippi] River. Fort Crawford Prairie du Chien 557 miles above St. Louis Oct. 1829
Peabody Museum, Harvard University

The Fort was constructed in 1816 and the following year Maj. Stephen H. Long wrote, "Spent the day in measuring and planning Fort Crawford and its buildings. The work is a square of 340 feet upon each side; and is constructed entirely of wood, as are all its buildings, except the magazine, which is of stone, it will accommodate five companies of soldiers."

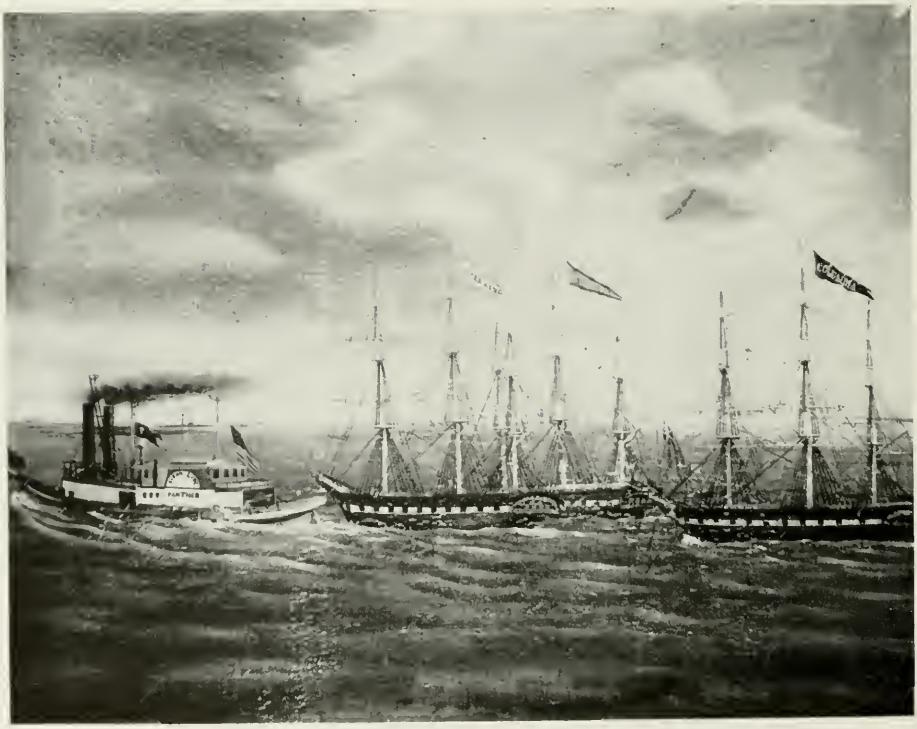
Maj. Stephen H. Long, *Voyage in a six-oared skiff to the Falls of St. Anthony in 1817*

53 Seth Eastman: *Wahbasha's Prairie—Mississippi River Scene in July 1848*

Pencil drawing, 6½″ x 9½″. Inscribed: Wahbasha's Prairie. Miss. River Scene in July 1848. Difficulty with the Winnebagoes while removing them to their present country
Peabody Museum, Harvard University

As Eastman was, at that time, Captain of the 1st Infantry commanding Fort Snelling, he may have been in command of the troops drawn up at the left in this drawing.

[53]



[55]

[56]

54 Seth Eastman: *View of Fort Snelling, Minnesota*
Oil on canvas
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

55 J. G. Evans and Edward Arnold: *The Tug-boat "Panther" towing the cotton ships "Sea King", "Themis" and "Columbia" up the river to New Orleans*
Oil on canvas, 44½" x 54½"; signed: Evans & Arnold
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

J. G. Evans is said to have been in New York and San Francisco as well as at the Rock of Gibraltar. In 1850 he had the intention of painting scenes in New Orleans in partnership with Edward Arnold.

56 William Jacobs Hays (1830-1875): *Fort Union, Mouth of the Yellowstone, Upper Missouri, June 16, 1860*
Pencil drawing touched with white, 11" x 14"
Collection Dr. Robert Taft, Lawrence, Kansas

Hays made a trip up the Missouri leaving St. Louis May 3, 1860 and arriving at Ft. Union June 15th on the *Spread Eagle*.

"From Mr. Jacob Linder, mate, and Mr. Joseph Mayhood, carpenter, of the *Spread Eagle*, we gather some news in regard to the upper country, and the up-trip of the fleet. Forts Clark and Kip on the Missouri and Fort Sarpy on the Yellow Stone have been abandoned by the Fur Company. The various tribes of Indians along the upper river are reported to be engaged in a war of extermination. Every-day almost, war parties were seen on the bank of the river. Bleeding scalps were seen dangling from sticks at the door of the lodges of the chiefs and big men. Murmuring out complaints were the burden of the speeches at every council held. They complain of the government of the Indian Agents and of one another. The probabilities are that they will allow no peace to each other till a strong military post is established at some point in their country, as the Agents feel that until this is done their influence has but little force in controlling the turbulent spirit of the young and ambitious warriors."

From the *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican, St. Louis*, July 12, 1860

[57]

57 William J. Hinchey (1829-1893): *Dedication of Eads Bridge, St. Louis, July 4, 1874*

Oil on canvas, 18″ x 30″

Collection Mr. A. S. Hinchey, St. Louis

William James Hinchey was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1829 and died in St. Louis in 1893. He was educated at Trinity College and continued his studies in art in London and Paris. In 1854 while painting in some

Parisian churches he was commissioned to come to the United States and do similar work. After his marriage in 1858 he established his home in St. Louis, but spent much time in other cities where he had commissions for portraits.

This painting was the result of sketches made from a steamboat in midstream. He chose that moment during the fireworks display when the National Capitol was represented.

[58]

58 E. B. D. Fabrino Julio (1843-1879): *Bayou Landscape*
Oil on canvas, 9½″ x 14½″; signed and dated: E. B. D. F. Julio 1877
Collection Mr. Albert Lieutaud, New Orleans

Everett B. D. F. Julio was born on the Island of St. Helena of a Scotch mother and a Spanish father who was at that time in the employ of the British government. He was educated in Boston and at the age of twenty-one came to St. Louis where he worked as an artist. In 1871 he went down the river to New Orleans where he stayed for three years before going to Paris where he studied under Bonnat for a year and a half. Upon his return he continued painting until he suffered from tuberculosis which caused his death in Kingston, Georgia.

"Amidst the desolation and abominable dirt, I observed a mosquito bar, a muslin curtain, suspended over the crib. Without this, the dweller in the wood would be stung almost to madness or death before morning. This curtain was nearly of a saffron colour; the floor of the

hut was of damp earth, and the place so small that the wonder was how two men could live in it. There was a rude enclosure round it to keep off intruders; but the space was grown over with the rankest grass and yellow weeds. The ground was swampy all about, up to the wall of the untouched forest which rendered this spot inaccessible except from the river."

Harriet Martineau. *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

[59]

59 John F. Kensett (1816-1872): *Upper Mississippi*
Oil on canvas, 18½" x 30½"; signed and dated: J. F. K. 55
City Art Museum of St. Louis

Kensett was born in Cheshire, Connecticut, the son of Thomas Kensett, an engraver and native of England. In 1840 he sailed for England and later toured through Europe visiting Paris, the Rhine country, Switzerland and Italy. During his European stay he turned from engraving to painting. In 1848 he returned to the United States and from then on was a frequent exhibitor in the National Academy of Design and the American Art Union.

". . . the great Mississippi, the majestic, the magnificent Mississippi, rolling its mile-wide tide along, shining in the sun; the dense forest away on the other side . . ."

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

"We remarked a curious but uniform circumstance, which applied equally to the Mississippi, and all its tributaries. It is, that with few exceptions, where the bluffs of the river rise immediately from the shore on the one hand, the bottoms broaden on the other: and when the bluff commences at the termination of the bottom, that commences on the opposite shore. Thus they regularly alternate with each other."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[60]

60 Cornelia A. Kuemmel: *Glasgow, Missouri*
Oil on canvas, 28″ x 42″
State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia

Miss Kuemmel, whose birth date is unknown, was a graduate of the St. Louis School of Fine Arts, Washington University, 1895. She taught at Pritchett College, Glasgow, in 1884-85 and again in 1895. She died in Kansas City in September, 1938.

61 Friedrich Kurz (1818-1871): *Packet Boat "St. Ange"*
Drawing, from the artist's sketchbook, dated July 2, 1851
Historical Museum, Bern, Switzerland

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Friedrich Kurz was advised by Carl Bodmer to become more proficient "in the drawing of natural objects and in the true representation of animals" before travelling to the United States. He left Bern in 1846 and on New Year's Day 1847 started up river from New Orleans. His manuscript journal and sketchbook record his travels up the Mississippi and Missouri until his return in 1852. In 1851 Kurz stayed at Sarpy's "trading house for the Omahaws" at Belle Vue, opposite Council Bluffs. On June 16, 1851 the American Fur Company's boat, *St. Ange*, arrived at Sarpy's and Kurz went aboard and soon was bound up the Missouri. The following day he wrote, "No doctor on board, two more deaths since yesterday! Evans, a professor in geology, prepared the remedy—meal mixed with whisky—that I administer." The *St. Ange* brought up the river, in addition to the normal cargo, several cases of cholera which caused the deaths just mentioned. Kurz entered the employ of the American Fur Company and was stationed at Fort Berthold where he found abundant material for his sketchbook. The chief, Le Corbeau Rouge, accused Kurz of being the direct cause of the great sickness, saying, as Kurz wrote in his journal, "my looking at everything and writing down what I saw was the cause."

David I. Bushnell, *Friedrich Kurz. Artist-Explorer*

In the upper right hand corner there is a sketch of the wooden framework for a bullboat.

"The frame of this boat resembles an ordinary canoe. It is formed by both sticks giving a half circle: the upper edges are fastened together by a long stick, as well as the center of the bottom. Outside of this stretches a Buffalo skin without the hair on: it is said to make a light and safe craft to cross even the turbid, rapid stream—the Missouri. By simply looking at them, one may suppose that they are sufficiently large to carry two or three persons."

John James Audubon. *The Missouri River Journals* (1843)

62 Edouard Coudroy de Lauréal (1808-1899): *The Home of Dr. Louis Vitalis, Carondelet, South St. Louis*
Oil on paper, 6¾" x 8¾"
Collection Miss Noemi M. Walsh, St. Louis

63 Edouard Coudroy de Lauréal: *View of the Mississippi, with Honeysuckle Bower*
Pastel, 8" x 7"; dated on reverse: 15 Aout 1871
Collection Miss Noemi M. Walsh, St. Louis

64 Edouard Coudroy de Lauréal: *View of Carondelet, South St. Louis*
Pastel, 9½" x 11¾"; ca. 1850: signed, E.L.
Collection Miss Noemi M. Walsh, St. Louis

65 Lemasson: *St. Louis River Front after the Great Fire, 1849*
Watercolor on paper, 5" x 46": signed: Lemasson
Mercantile Library, St. Louis

This artist is known only by this and a similar view, No. 66.

66 Lemasson: *St. Louis River Front after the Great Fire, 1849*
Watercolor on paper, 4½" x 29½": signed: Lemasson
Collection Mr. Monroe C. Lewis, St. Louis

This watercolor was formerly in the possession of Henry Lewis and was returned to this country with other effects after the death of the artist in Düsseldorf. For a long time it was believed to be the work of Henry Lewis, but the presence of Lemasson's signature at the extreme right establishes Lemasson as the artist.

[67]

67 Henry Lewis (1819-1904): *St. Anthony Falls as it Appeared in 1848*
Oil on canvas, 19″ x 27″; signed and dated: H. Lewis 1855
Minneapolis Institute of Arts

This is dated 1855, and therefore was executed at Düsseldorf from sketches made in 1848.

"At the foot of the Falls the voyageurs launched the canoe and prepared lunch, while we explored the neighbourhood and sketched the Falls. They are only twenty feet in height; but the scenery does not derive its interest from their grandeur, but from the perfect grouping of rock and wood and water on a magnificent scale. The Mississippi is upwards of six hundred yards wide above the Falls. These are quite perpendicular, and the water drops in beautiful single sheets on either side of a huge mass of white sandstone, of a pyramidal form, which splits the stream. The rapids below extend for several hundred yards, and are very broad, divided into various channels by precipitous islands of sandstone, gigantic blocks of which are strewn in grotesque confusion at the base of lofty walls of stratification of dazzling whiteness."

Laurence Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West* (1855)

[68]

68 Henry Lewis: *Cheever's Mill on the St. Croix River*
Oil on canvas, 20″ x 30″
Minneapolis Institute of Arts

"Steamers run up the St. Croix to Stillwater, a large town settled long before St. Paul, and owing its prosperity to the lumber districts of the headwaters of the river upon which it is situated. By ascending the St. Croix for a hundred miles in a bark canoe, and making a short portage to the Brulé River, Lake Superior is easily reached."

Laurence Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West* (1855)

69 Henry Lewis: *Gorge of the St. Croix*
Oil on canvas, 20″ x 30″; signed and dated: H. Lewis, St. Louis 184(?)
Minneapolis Institute of Arts

". . . Lake St. Croix, glowing in the evening sun, and surrounded by a charmingly diversified country, the hills swelling back from the water, and covered with prairie or forest and watered by large streams, abounding in waterfalls and trout."

Laurence Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West* (1855)

[69]

70 Henry Lewis (1819-1904): *Sketch Book*

Each sheet measures 5⅛″ x 9¾″; seventy-eight sheets bound in boards. The cover has a leather appliqué, is tooled and gilded with his name in the center.

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

In the illustrations on the opposite page the Sketch Book is opened to views of Alton, Illinois.

"As I looked I felt how hopeless art was to convey the *soul* of such a scene as this and as the poet wishes for the pencil of the artist so did I for the power of description to tell of the thousand thoughts fast crowding each other from my mind. But a truce to sentiment, here I am with pencil and sketch book ruminating and dreaming when I should be at work so here goes to make the effort if it is only in outline to carry to my friends at home and try and give them some idea of where I have been."

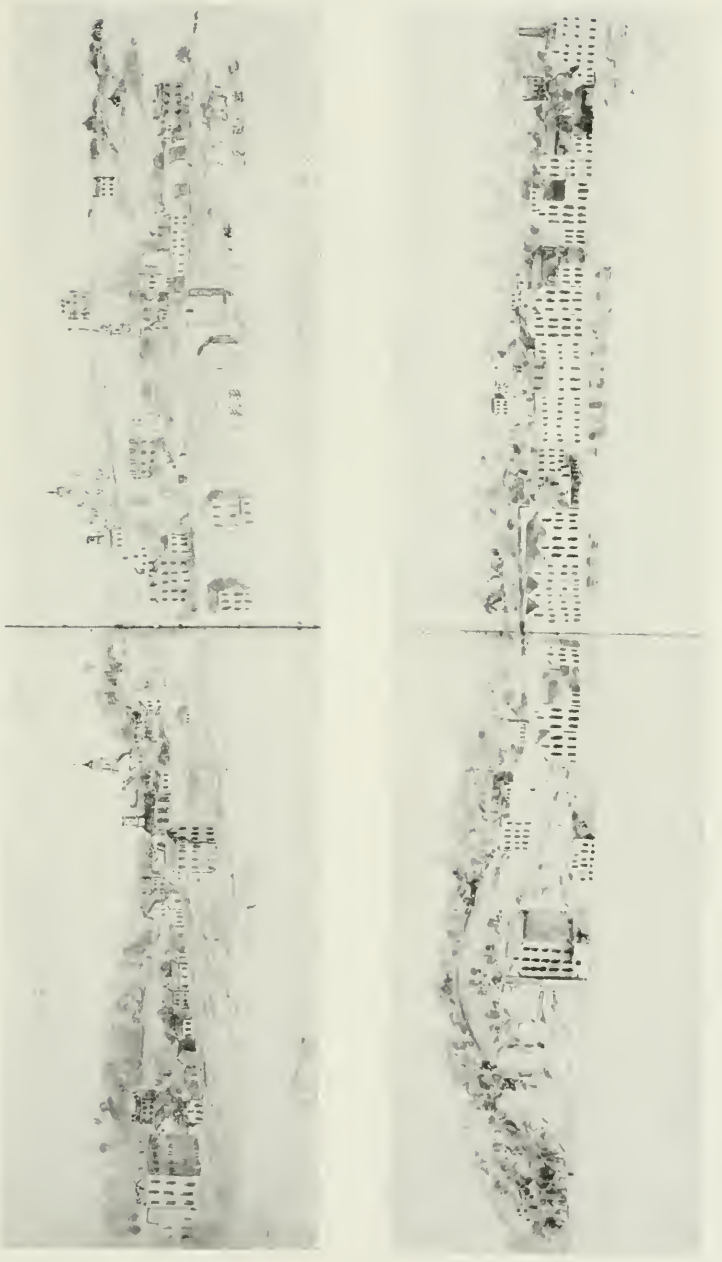
Henry Lewis, *Journal* (1848)

71 Joseph Rusling Meeker (1827-1889): *Mississippi Cypress Swamp*

Oil on canvas, 14¾″ x 18½″; signed: J. R. Meeker

Collection Ben Hirschfeld, St. Louis

In 1845 Meeker began drawing from casts for a scholarship in the Academy of Design, New York. He later studied under Asher B. Durand.



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In 1859 he travelled through a dozen large cities and finally settled in St. Louis. During the Civil War he was a paymaster for the United State Navy and it was at this time that he made his sketches of Southern swamp scenery.

"Beyond these lakes, there are immense swamps of cypress, which swamps constitute a vast proportion of the inundated lands of the Mississippi and its waters. No prospect on earth can be more gloomy. The poetic Styx or Acheron had not a greater union of dismal circumstances. Well may the cypress have been esteemed a funereal and lugubrious tree. When the tree has shed its leaves, for it is a deciduous tree, a cypress swamp, with its countless interlaced branches, of a hoary grey, has an aspect of desolation and death, that often as I have been impressed with it, I cannot describe. . . . The water in which they grow is a vast and dead level, two or three feet deep, still leaving the innumerable cypress 'knees', as they are called, or very elliptical trunks, resembling bee-hives, throwing their points above the waters. This water is covered with a thick coat of green matter, resembling green buff velvet. The musquitoes swarm above the water in countless millions. A very frequent adjunct to this horrible scenery is the moccason snake with its huge scaly body lying in folds upon the side of a cypress 'knee'; if you approach too near, lazy and reckless as he is, he throws the upper jaw of his huge mouth almost back to his neck, giving you ample warning of his ability and will to defend himself."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

72 Joseph Rusling Meeker: *Bayou Teche*

Oil on canvas, 30″ x 20″; signed and dated: J. R. Meeker 1879
City Art Museum of St. Louis

"When the river is high, it pours its redundant waters into these lakes and *Bayous*, and the water is in motion for a width of twenty miles. These lakes are covered with the large leaves, and in the proper season the flowers of the 'nymphea nelumbo', the largest and most splendid flower that I have ever seen. I have seen them of the size of the crown of a hat; the external leaves of the most brilliant white, and the internal of a beautiful yellow. They are the enlarged copy of the New England pond lily, which has always struck me as the most beautiful and fragrant flower of that country. These lakes are so entirely covered with these large conical leaves, nearly of the size of a parasol, and a smaller class of aquatic plant, of the same form of leaves, but with a yellow flower, that a bird might walk from shore to shore without dipping its feet in water: and these plants rise from all depths of water up to ten feet."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[72]

73 Joseph Rusling Meeker: *The Land of Evangeline*

Oil on canvas, 33″ x 45½″; signed and dated: J. R. Meeker 1874
City Art Museum of St. Louis

"The air was excessively sultry, and the musquitoes troublesome to a degree, which I have not experienced before nor since. I was obliged to rise from my bed at least ten times a night, for forty nights. I slept under a very close musquitoe curtain. I would soon become oppressed for want of breath under the curtain, and when I drew it up and attempted to inhale a little of the damp and sultry atmosphere, the musquitoes would instantly settle on my face in such numbers that I was soon obliged to retreat behind my curtain again. Thus passed those dreadful nights, amidst the groans of my family, calls for medicine and drink, suffocation behind my curtain, or the agony of mosquito stings, as soon as I was exposed to the air. These were gloomy days indeed: for during the day the ardours of the sun were almost intolerable. My accustomed walk, to change the scene and to diversify the general gloom a little, was down a beach toward the upper *Bayou*, under the shade of some lofty cypress trees: and even here, the moment I was out of the full heat of the sun, the musquitoes, which, during the heats of the day, took shelter in the shade, would rise in countless swarms from the grass to attack me."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[73]

74 Joseph Rusling Meeker: *Swamp on the Mississippi*
Oil on canvas, 32″ x 42″; signed and dated: J. R. Meeker 1871
M. Knoedler and Company, New York

75 Joseph Rusling Meeker: *Upper Mississippi*
Oil on canvas, 13⅜″ x 29″½
Collection Mr. and Mrs. Oliver M. Clifford, St. Louis

76 Antonio Mendelli: *View of Cairo, Illinois in 1838*
Oil on paper, 14½″ x 18½″; signed: A. Mendelli
City Art Museum of St. Louis (Gift of Mr. Joseph Verner Reed, New York)

He was a pupil of the Italian Parego, of Milan, and a designer of theatrical sets for Caldwell's American Theatre, New Orleans. Hs has been mentioned as a teacher of Leon Pomarede which might well be the case as he was his father-in-law.

"Early in the morning of the 20th of March (1833) we approached the mouth of the Ohio, where it falls into the Mississippi, 959 miles from Pittsburgh, and 129¾ miles from St. Louis. The tongue of land on the right, which separates the two rivers, was, like the whole of the country, covered with rich woods, which were partly cleared, and a few houses erected, with an inn and a store, and the dwelling of a planter,

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where we took in wood . . . the settlement, at which we now were, has no other name than Mouth of the Ohio."

Maximilian Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America* (1839)

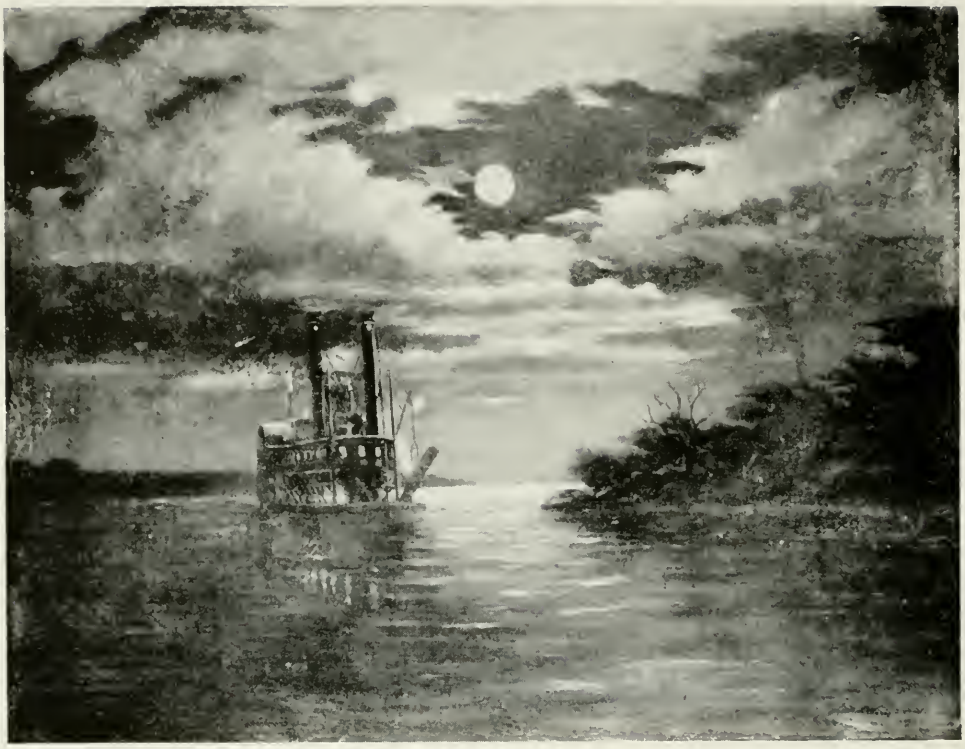
77 August Norieri (ca. 1860-1890): *The "Wade Hampton"*
Oil on canvas, 14½" x 20½"; signed: Aug. Norieri
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

Norieri was born about 1860 of Italian parents; died in Louisiana about 1890. He exhibited in New Orleans in the Second Annual Exhibition of the Artists' Association in 1877 and in the First Annual Exhibition of the Art Association in 1886. He painted river traffic and some portraits.

78 August Norieri: The *"Robert E. Lee" Bound Upstream at Night*
Oil on canvas, 25½" x 36"
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

"I find that we usually made much more way by night than by day, the balance of the boat being kept even while the passengers are equally dispersed and quiet, instead of running from side to side, or crowding the one gallery and deserting the other."

Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)



[79]

79 August Norieri: *The "Natchez" Bound Down the River at Night*
Oil on canvas, 27″ x 33½″; signed and dated: Aug. Norieri, 1890
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

"I did not expect that the muddy Mississippi would be able to reflect the silver light of the moon; yet it did, and the effect was very beautiful. Truly it may be said of the river, as it is of many ladies, that it is a candle-light beauty."

Captain Marryat, *Diary in America* (1839)

80 Adrian Persac: *Olivier Plantation*
Watercolor, 16¼″ x 22″; signed and dated: A Persac 1861
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

It was Persac's custom to cut out figures of men and women from contemporary publications and paste them on his paintings and drawings. These applied figures were then painted by the artist.

Persac was active in New Orleans between 1857, when he was said to have been making a chart of the Mississippi, and 1872 when he was

advertised as a commercial artist. In the meantime he referred to himself also as an architect.

"The opulent planters of this state [Louisiana] have many amiable traits of character. They are high-minded and hospitable, in an eminent degree. I have sojourned much among them, and have never experienced a more frank, dignified, and easy hospitality. It is taken for granted, that the guest is a gentleman, and that he will not make an improper use of the great latitude, that is allowed him. If he does not pass over the limits, which just observance prescribes, the more liberties he takes, and the more at ease he feels within those limits, the more satisfaction he will give to his host. You enter without ceremony, call for what you wish, and intimate your wishes to the servants. In short you are made to feel yourself at home. This simple and noble hospitality seems to be a general trait among the planters, for I have not yet called at a single house, where it had not been exercised toward me. Suppose the traveller to be a gentleman, to speak French, and to have letters to one respectable planter, it becomes an introduction to the settlement, and he will have no occasion for a tavern."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[30]

81 Frederick Piercy: *St. Louis, 1853*

Sepia wash drawing, 6⅞″ x 10″

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

This drawing was reproduced as a steel engraving for one of the illustrations in the artist's journal which was published as *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, London, 1855. Piercy's dates are unknown. There are records of his work between 1848 and 1880.

82 Leon Pomarede (ca. 1807-1892): *View of St. Louis from Illinois Town in 1832*

Oil on canvas, 29″ x 39″

Collection Mr. Arthur Ziern, St. Louis County

Leon Pomarede was born in Tarbes, France, about 1807. He came to New Orleans in 1830. Later newspaper accounts say that he had studied in the "best schools of Paris". His first work known is this view of St. Louis and this painting together with the Catlin view of St. Louis, also in the exhibition, are the earliest paintings of the city. This canvas was later donated to "the Ladies . . . for the benefit of a charity fair." Pomarede married Clementine Mendelli sometime between 1837 and 1840. His wife's father was a scenic artist in New Orleans and some of his work is to be seen in this exhibition. Pomarede was active in St. Louis where he decorated the Old Cathedral, the Mercantile Library, the Merchants Exchange and other buildings. He painted a panorama of the Mississippi in which he quite possibly had the assistance of the young Charles Wimar. In 1892 while decorating a church in Hannibal, Missouri, he fell from a scaffolding and died shortly thereafter.

"St. Louis, as you approach it, shows, like all the other French towns in this region, to much the greatest advantage at a distance. The French mode of building, and the white coat of lime applied to the mud or rough stone walls, gives them a beauty at a distance, which gives place to their native meanness, when you inspect them from a nearer point of view. The town shows to very great advantage, when seen from the opposite shore, in the American bottom. The site is naturally a most beautiful one, rising gradually from the shore to the summit of the bluff, like an amphitheatre. It contains many handsome, and a few splendid buildings. The country about is an open, pleasant, and undulating kind of half prairie, half shrubbery."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

83 Ferdinand Pritchard: *St. Anthony Falls, 1857*

Oil on canvas, 15″ x 26″; signed and dated: F. Pritchard 1857

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

[81]

[82]

[83]

"St. Anthony is a cheerful, pretty place, clean and well built, containing about 2500 inhabitants. A great rivalry exists between it and St. Paul; the former owing its prosperity to the conveniences it derives for timber operations from the magnificent water-power—the latter from its position at the head of Mississippi navigation. . . . St. Anthony is already a curious mixture of manufacturing town and (a) watering-place. The extreme beauty of the scenery in the neighborhood, the attractions of the Falls themselves, and the comfortable and civilized aspect of the town, are beginning to render it a fashionable summer resort, and picturesque villas are springing up on all available sites; but upon the bank of the river saw-mills, foundries, shingle-machines, lath-factories, etc., keep up an incessant hubbub—delightful music to the white man, who recognizes in the splashing of water, and the roar of steam, and the ring of a thousand hammers, the potent agency which is to regenerate a magnificent country, and to enrich himself—but the harshest sounds that ever fell upon the ear of the Indian, for they remind him of the great change through which he has already passed, and proclaim his inevitable destiny in loud unfaltering tones."

Laurence Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West* (1855)

84 Paulus Roetter (1806-1894): *Sugar Refinery, from the River at St. Louis*

Pencil drawing, 7″ x 9½″; signed and dated: Paulus Roetter 1854
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

[84]

Paulus Roetter's origin is somewhat obscure. One branch of his descendants says that he was born in Thun, Switzerland, and another branch places his birth in Nuremberg, Germany. He studied art in Düsseldorf and Munich before coming to St. Louis in 1845 as a member of a communistic colony. He taught here at Washington University, participated in some governmental scientific expeditions, and in 1867 worked with Louis Agassiz at Harvard University.

85 Paulus Roetter: *St. Charles, Missouri*
Pencil drawing, 7¼″ x 12¾″; inscribed: St. Charles Mo
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

86 Paulus Roetter: *The Mississippi from the Bluffs at Carondelet, South St. Louis*

Oil on canvas, 20″ x 30″; ca. 1857
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

"The vast size of their horses [in this Missouri community of Germans] their own gigantic size, the peculiar dress of the women, the child-like and unsophisticated simplicity of their conversation, amused me exceedingly. Nothing could afford a more striking contrast to the uniformity of manners and opinions among their American neighbours. I attended a funeral, where there were a great number of them present. After I had performed such services as I was used to perform on such occasions, a most venerable looking old man, of the name of Nyeswunger, with a silver beard that flowed down to his chin, came forward and asked me

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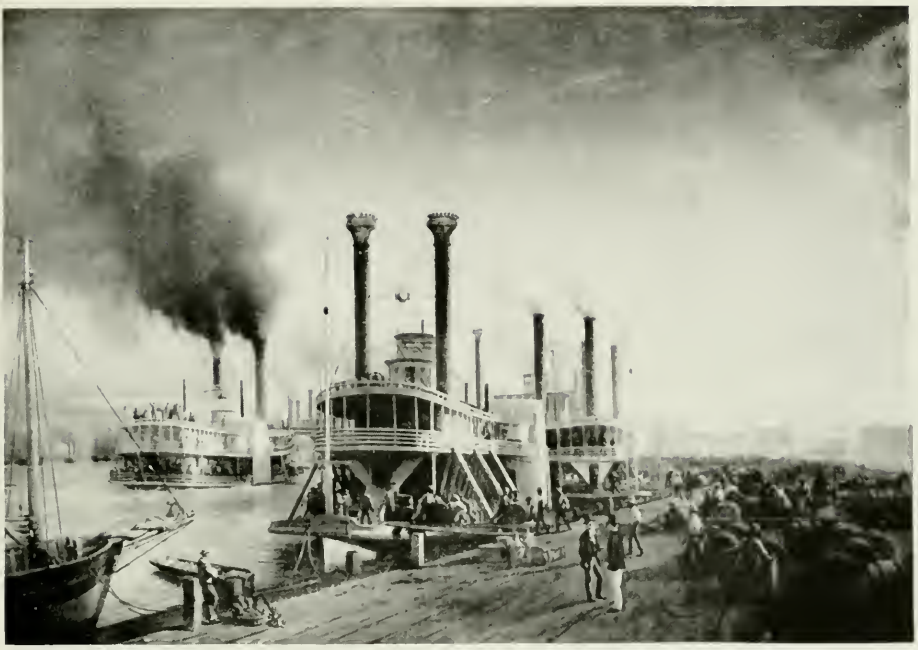
if I were willing that he should perform some of their peculiar rites. I of course wished to hear them. He opened a very ancient version of Luther's hymns, and they all began to sing in German. so loud that the wood echoed the strain: and yet there was something affecting in the singing of these ancient people, carrying one of their brethern to his long home, in the use of the language and rites which they had brought with them over the sea from 'fader land', a word which often occurred in their hymn. It was a loud. long. and mournful air, which they sung as they bore the body along. The words 'mein Gott', 'mein broder', and 'fader land' died away in the distant echoes of the woods."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

87 Harold Rudolph: *Indian Lodges on the Bluff*
Oil on canvas, 33″ x 21″
Louisiana State Museum. New Orleans

Rudolph was active as a portrait painter in New Orleans from 1871 to 1877.



[88]

88 Hippolyte Sebron (1801-1879): *Giant Steamboats at New Orleans*
Oil on canvas: 1853
Tulane University, New Orleans

Sebron came to New Orleans in 1852 with the reputation of being an established artist in France. He showed daguerreotypes, dioramas, pastels and a view of Niagara Falls. In the 1850s he was known to have been in New York where he painted *New York, Winter Scene in Broadway* which is now in the museum of Rouen, France.

"A multitude of Kentuckians and other western men had almost forced their way on board, as deck-passengers; men who had come down the river in flat-boats with produce, who were to work their way up again by carrying wood at the wooding-places, morning and evening, to supply the engine-fire. These men, like others, prefer a well-managed to a perilous boat; and their eagerness to secure a passage was excessive. More thronged in, after the captain had declared that he was full; more were bustling on the wharf, and still the expected party did not come. The captain ordered the plank to be taken up which formed a communication with the shore. Not till six o'clock was it put down for the dilatory passengers, who did not seem to be aware of the inconvenience they had occasioned. They were English."

Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

[89]

89 R. Sloan: *St. Anthony Falls, 1852*

Oil on canvas, 17″ x 20″; inscribed on back: Painted by R. Sloan
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

"The Falls of St. Anthony are not very imposing, although not devoid of beauty. You cannot see the whole falls at one view, as they are divided like those of Niagara, by a large island, about one-third of the distance from the eastern shore. The river which as you ascended, poured through a bed below the strata of calcareous rock, now rises above the limestone formation; and the large masses of this rock, which at the falls have been thrown down in wild confusion over a width of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty yards, have a very picturesque effect. The falls themselves, I do not think, are more than thirty to thirty-five feet high; but with rapids above and below them, the descent of the river is said to be more than one hundred feet. Like those of Niagara, these falls have constantly receded, and are still receding."

Captain Marryat, *Diary in America* (1839)

[90]

90 Marshall J. Smith, Jr.: *Bayou Farm, Louisiana*
Oil on canvas, 16¼″ x 26¼″; signed and dated: Marshall J. Smith, Jr. 1881
Collection Mr. W. E. Groves, New Orleans

Smith was a native of New Orleans where he studied under Richard Clague. He specialized in Louisiana landscapes and portraits.

91 Frederick Oakes Sylvester (1856-1915): *The River's Golden Dream*
Oil on canvas, 40″ x 30″; signed and dated: F. O. Sylvester 1911-12
City Art Museum of St. Louis

F. O. Sylvester was born in Brockton, Massachusetts in 1856. He studied at the Massachusetts Normal Art School. In 1883 he came to St. Louis and taught at Central High School and Principia.

"There is something in having passed one's childhood beside the big river. In my early years, the river made a great impression on me, and it was a treat to be taken down to the Eads Bridge in flood time. My people were Northerners and New Englanders, and I have spent many years out of America altogether; but the Missouri and the Mississippi river have made a deeper impression on me than any other part of the world."

T. S. Eliot in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 4, 1948

[91]

92 Frederick Oakes Sylvester: *Bald Eagle*
Oil on canvas, 25″ x 20″; signed and dated: F. O. Sylvester 1905
Noonan-Kocian Galleries, St. Louis

93 Frederick Oakes Sylvester: *The Eads Bridge*
Oil on canvas, 10″ x 14″; signed and dated: Frederick Oakes Sylvester 1898
Collection Mr. K. G. Sylvester, St. Louis County

94 Frederick Oakes Sylvester: *Sandbars on the Mississippi*
Watercolor, 1¾″ x 4¾″; ca. 1900
Collection Mr. K. G. Sylvester, St. Louis County

95 Frederick Oakes Sylvester: *Mississippi Landscape*
Pastel, 7″ x 12″; dated: 1895
Collection Mr. K. G. Sylvester, St. Louis County

[92]

[96]

96 William Aiken Walker (1838?-1921): *The Levee—New Orleans*
Oil on canvas, 20″ x 30¾″; signed and dated: W. A. Walker 1883
Collection Mr. J. Cornelius Rathborne, New Orleans

Walker was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and painted in Savannah, St. Augustine and New Orleans. Currier and Ives lithographed two of his Louisiana views, of which this is one. He was a musician as well as a painter.

"It was always the custom for the boats to leave New Orleans between four and five o'clock in the afternoon. From three o'clock onward they would be burning rosin and pitch-pine (the sign of preparation), and so one had the picturesque spectacle of a rank, some two or three miles long, of tall, ascending columns of coal-black smoke; a colonnade which supported a sable roof of the same smoke blended together and spreading abroad over the city. Every outward-bound boat had its flag flying at the jack-staff, and sometimes a duplicate on the verge-staff astern. Two or three miles of mates were commanding and swearing with more than the usual emphasis: countless processions of freight barrels and boxes were spinning athwart the levee and flying aboard the stage-planks; belated passengers were dodging and skipping among these frantic things, hoping to reach the forecastle companionway alive, but having their doubts about it; women with reticules and bandboxes were trying to keep up with husbands freighted with carpet sacks and crying babies, and making a failure of it by losing their heads in the whirl and roar and general distraction; drays and baggage-vans were clattering hither and thither in a wild hurry, every now and then getting blocked and jammed together, and then during ten seconds one could not see them for the profanity, except vaguely and dimly; every windlass connected with every fore-hatch, from one end of that long array of steamboats to the other, was keeping up a deafening whizz and whir, lowering freight into the hold, and the half-naked crews of perspiring negroes that worked them were roaring such songs as, 'De Las' Sack! De Las' Sack!'—inspired to unimaginable exhaltation by the chaos of turmoil and racket that was driving everybody else mad. By this time the hurricane and boiler decks of the steamers would be packed black with passengers. The 'last bells' would begin to clang, all down the line, and then the powwow seemed to double; in a minute or two the final warning came—a simultaneous din of Chinese gongs, with the cry, 'All dat ain't going', please to git asho'!"

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

97 William Aiken Walker: *Negro Fruit Seller on the Levee, New Orleans*
Oil on canvas, 6⅜″ x 12½″; signed: W. A. Walker
Collection Mr. J. Cornelius Rathborne, New Orleans

John James Audubon *Natchez, Mississippi, in 1822*

[97]

[98]

98 William Aiken Walker: *Mississippi Boatman, New Orleans Levee*
Oil on canvas. 17½" x 14"
Collection Mr. W. E. Groves, New Orleans

[99]

99 John Casper Wild (1804?-1846): *View of Carondelet, South St. Louis*
Watercolor, 19⅜″ x 32½; signed and dated: J. C. Wild 1841
Mercantile Library, St. Louis

"The French inhabitants from *Vide Poche* (Empty Pocket), now called Carondelet, would all be there with their little quaint carts loaded with vegetables or little loads of wood, the unvarying price of which was six bits. If you offered them 75 cents, the reply would be, 'no, no, six bit.' The men and women would keep up a constant chattering, gesticulating and shrugging of their shoulders, as they were making bargains with their customers for their various wares."

S. W. McMaster, *60 Years on the Upper Mississippi* (1893)

100 Charles Wimar (1828-1862): *The Missouri, Probably Near the Mouth of the Judith River*
Charcoal and chalk drawing, 7″ x 15″
City Art Museum of St. Louis

101 Charles Wimar: *Indians Crossing the Mouth of the Milk River*
Oil on canvas, 24¼″ x 48¼″; 1859-60
Collection Mr. and Mrs. Otto S. Conrades, St. Louis County

[100]

102 Charles Wimar: *Indians Approaching Fort Benton*
Oil on canvas, 24″ x 48″; signed and dated: C. Wimar, 1859
Washington University, St. Louis

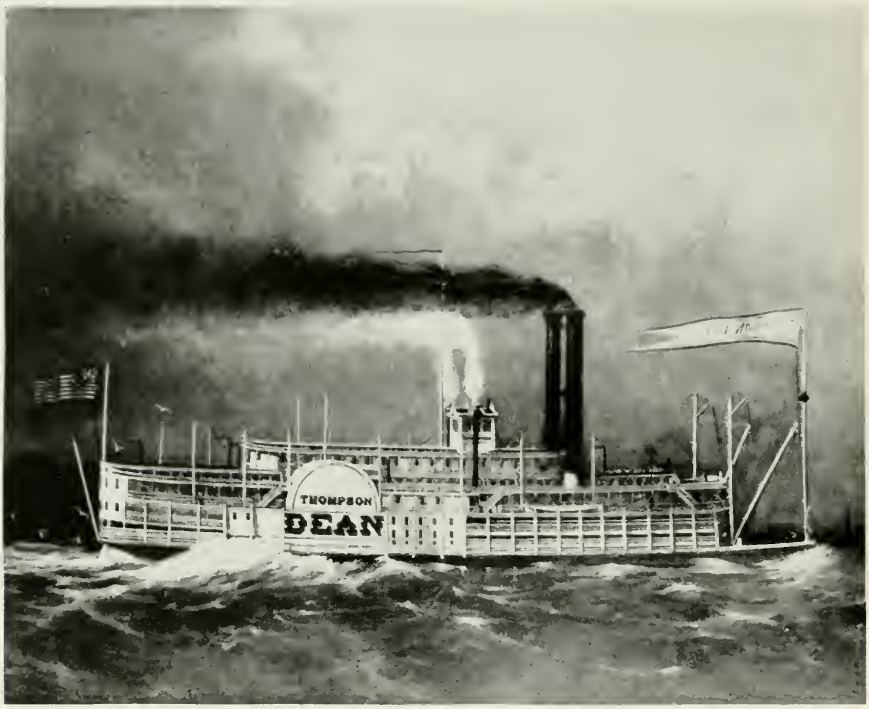
"Early this morning we received news that a band of (Indians) would come from their settlement and make us a visit. Finally, after all members of the group had their festive array in order, according to Indian custom that is of the greatest importance, they emerged from a grove and marched forward toward us. There were some on foot, while others on horseback flanked the column. Five chiefs, carrying ornamental peace pipes and displaying prominently their trophies in recognition of *coups*, formed the vanguard. Behind them were the warriors singing, beating their drums, and firing their guns. Then came three women. Last in the procession came young men who had not yet won distinction for themselves."

Friedrich Kurz, *Journal* (July 26, 1851)

103 Charles Wimar: *Buttes on the Upper Missouri*
Charcoal and chalk drawing, 6¾″ x 14¾″
City Art Museum of St. Louis

[101]

[102]



[104]

104 W. WINTER: *The "Thompson Dean"*
Oil on canvas, 25″ x 30″; signed and dated: W. Winter pinx 1872
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

105 Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson and I. J. Egan: *Panorama of the Monumental Grandeur of the Mississippi Valley*

Tempera on muslin sheeting, 7½′ x 348′; 1850

University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Dr. Montroville Wilson Dickeson was born in Philadelphia in 1810 and educated in Woodbury, New Jersey. While in school, he manifested a passionate interest in natural science and made collections of birds, insects, reptiles and shells. He added taxidermy to his accomplishments. One of his delights was the cretaceous marl beds of lower New Jersey, and he became known not only as a collector but as an authority on fossils. About 1828, he began the study of medicine and on graduation became a resident in the Philadelphia Dispensary. His interests in "AErchiology" led him to the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi between 1837 and 1844 where he, by his own admission, opened more than a thousand Indian mounds in the twelve (sic) years of this study. He collected more than 40,000 Indian objects and artifacts and made drawings for later use, some for this Panorama.

The handbill for the Panorama informs us that it was painted by the "Eminent Artist, I. J. Egan, Esq." whose name is given elsewhere as John J. Egan. Little is known of him save that about 1850, when the Panorama was painted, he exhibited some paintings in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The handbill further adds that the Panorama covers 15,000 feet of canvas and that it was taken from "drawings made on the spot by Prof. M. W. Dickeson, M. D., who spent twelve years of his life in opening Indian Mounds." Tall tales were told in the 19th century and panoramacists contributed their share. Simple arithmetic will reduce the 15,000 feet of canvas to 2610 square feet, a not inconsiderable shrinkage. Dickeson's pretension that every scene was based on a drawing made on the spot is difficult to reconcile with the fact that the Burial of De Soto is shown, an event of May, 1542. Such inconsistencies should not disturb us any more than they disturbed the good doctor's cash customers who, for 25 cents (children under 12 for 12½ cents), could view the wonders of the Panorama and his collection of Indian artifacts and curiosities. It is known that he toured the country with his Panorama about 1852. In Philadelphia he opened his exhibition for the benefit of the "Cooper Shop and Union Refreshment Saloons". The Indian collection, at least, was shown at later dates and was one of the features at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876. In 1899, the Dickeson collection was acquired by the University of Pennsylvania and is now a part of the University Museum. Now, and for the first time in perhaps ninety years, a Mississippi panorama has been unrolled before the public.

Together with the Panorama there exist three of the original advertising flyers on canvas, the original handbill which has been reproduced by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* with the insertion of the name of the City Art Museum and the dates of showing in the space provided, and a wooden sign setting forth the price of admission.

Europe had long been familiar with the cycloramas which were installed in a circular building so designed that the spectator, as the solipsistic center of the visible universe, stood in the middle of the room with a view of 360 degrees. A building large enough for cycloramas represented a capital expenditure, something rather difficult for artists to arrange. Yankee ingenuity brought about the development of the panorama which consists of a canvas wound from one vertical roller to another behind an enframement or stage opening. This arrangement did not require a special building as it could be shown in any auditorium, hall or theater. It had the added attraction of motion and the panorama itself could be moved from town to town with ever widening audiences for the artist-showman. Thus one scene after another was exposed, the motion interrupted for the grandiloquent or horrific descriptions given by the lecturer who at times might have been the painter himself, or, as in the case of this Panorama, Dr. Dickeson, whose remarks were colored by the importance, awareness, gullibility or sparseness of the audience.

Panoramas of the Mississippi were painted by John Banvard (1815-1891), Samuel B. Stockwell (? -1854), John Rowson Smith (1810-1864), Leon Pomarede (ca. 1807-1892), Henry Lewis (1818-1904) and one Hudson. These artists had many things in common. With the exception of those of John Banvard, Dickeson and Hudson, all these panoramas had their inception in St. Louis. The task of painting was accomplished in large part between 1845 and 1850. Almost all the panoramas were announced as having claims to greater accuracy, more completeness in picturing the scope of the Mississippi, to being superlatively endowed with beautiful effects and replete with tricks of showmanship, such as smoke and steam belching from the steamboats which may have been pulled across on a track in front of the panorama, as seems to have been the case in Leon Pomarede's panorama. Bitter competition and active showmanship marked the travels of the panoramas in America and Europe until, with the exception of the Dickeson-Egan Panorama, all shared the common fate of destruction, loss, or complete disappearance.

All of these panoramas were presented as educational entertainment; Indian artifacts were displayed with the Dickeson Panorama. All of them attempted to fulfill the exacting standards for highly moral entertainment which, while it amused and thrilled, instructed the young, and informed their elders. They were the precursors of the newsreel, the travelogue, the documentary film and the motion picture. Their contribution to art was not as great as their propaganda value which excited the wonder and amazement of audiences on the Atlantic seaboard and in European capi-

tals. John Banvard showed, for example, a lush prairie land that could be obtained for $1.25 an acre. Here he combined his rôle of artist and painter of the largest painting in the world with that of an apologist for any Midwestern land speculator. These panoramas presented a vast land, a river that drained from the Alleghenies to the Rockies. Dunbar in his *History of Travel in America* wrote about the settlement and expansion in the decade between 1840 to 1850, "Both the travel movement in question and the earth's area affected by it were, in respect of size, the most extensive and largest involved in any similar phenomenon within a like interval of recorded human history."

The yearnings of the romantic poets which led them to Italy and Greece, the vistas dreamed of by the romantic painters, the romantic desire for that which was distant in time or place, the delight and fascination of exotic cultures, all could be satisfied by the panoramas of the rivers with their wild and wonderful scenery stretching from the rice filled lakes of the North to the alluvial increments ceaselessly deposited at the Balize. The Indians were to Catlin, Bodmer, Kurz, Wimar and the others what the no less romantic Arabians were to Delacroix. Here was a strange and foreign culture still to be seen, then, as now, largely unknown; here were savage and primitive peoples—the famous massacre at New Ulm, Minnesota, was yet to occur.

The tradition of the polite, socially acceptable form of romantic painting was carried on concurrently in the works of the Hudson River School. The perhaps less polite, or more democratic expression was found in the panoramas which derived their technique from the fine arts, their form and manner from the theater, and some of their content and manner of exhibition from showmanship in which humbuggery was not an inconsiderable feature.

The other panoramas of the Mississippi had the scenery of the river as the major theme. The spectator either ascended or descended the river, depending on whether the panorama was being wound from left to right or from right to left. The Dickeson-Egan Panorama did not have this limited interest in landscape; it reflected to a great extent the Doctor's interest in Indian culture, archaeology, habits and customs. Opening, fittingly enough, with the historic Indian mounds at Marietta, Ohio, it continues down the Ohio to the Mississippi with attention to Cave-in-Rock where intrepid explorers are seen admiring the stalactites and pictographs inscribed on the walls. Continuing farther down the river, showing his interest in the geological, he introduces a distant view of the Rocky Mountains, a subject as extraneous to the river as it was to his theme. Since there is no record that he ever visited the Rocky Mountains, he may have borrowed from another artist, a practice as common as it may have been necessary. He drew on history for the scene showing the Burial of De Soto and the Massacre of Fort Rosalie and on contemporary events for the Tornado of 1844 and the views of the Mississippi River

steamboats. A Louisiana squatter pursued by wolves was introduced as a "humorous scene". This is the Panorama that Dr. Dickeson took with him on his American tour in 1852.

In *Life on the Mississippi*, Mark Twain records a stranger's monologue in which he recalled the beauties of the river in flamboyant phrases. The author concluded this episode by saying, "Sir, you must have travelled with a panorama."

Scenes selected from *The Mississippi Panorama* as described in the handbill, follow:

[105a]

(a) *Colossal Bust at lower water mark, used as a metre by the Aborigines*

A few miles above Portsmouth, Ohio, at the mouth of the Scioto there was, at least until 1848, a colossal human head incised on the face of a large rock which extended into the river. Familiarly known as the "Indian's Head", it was visible only when the river was at its lowest stage and then only once every four or five years. The artist has here taken certain liberties, making the head in the form of a bust. The pictographs have been shown with more romantic feeling than with archaeological skill. They may have been derived from pictographs Dickeson saw at Hanging Rock, Lawrence County, Ohio, about twenty-four miles above the mouth of the Scioto.

[105b]

(b) *Portsmouth Aboriginal Group, in a Storm*

This scene introduces mounds, a village, two steamboats and spectacular cloud effects and storms. This is probably a summary of scenes in the vicinity of Portsmouth, Ohio.

(c) *Cave in the Rock, Stalagmitic Chamber and Chrystal Fountain*

This limestone cavern at Ford's Ferry on the Ohio, was two hundred feet long, eight feet wide and twenty-five feet high at the entrance. It was long famous as the resort of Indians and later as the base of operations for gangs of white criminals that preyed on the flourishing river traffic. The painting shows it, however, as it was when first discovered. The torchlights of the intrepid explorers illumine the innumerable stalactites and stalagmites which have been enhanced by the artist who added tinsel and mica to suggest the crystaline formations. The skeletons and mummified bodies add to the mysterious quality. This was, undoubtedly, one of the long-awaited moments in the showing of the Panorama as the skeletons and mummies seen here had previously been exposed to the public in the advertising flyers.

[105c]

(d) *Twelve gated Labyrinth. Missouri—Indians at their piscatory exploits*

This twelve-gated labyrinth has been identified as being in Missouri; its exact location is not a matter of record. Some Indians are fishing with barbed hooks and a spectacular rainbow adds a final touch to this bucolic scene.

(e) *The Tornado of 1844 . . . Horrid loss of Life*

On the 25th of October 1844, a tornado overwhelmed a considerable part of Jackson County, Illinois, leaving behind a desolate path twelve miles long.

(f) *Louisiana Squatter pursued by Wolves*

The handbill refers to this as a "Humorous Scene."

(g) *Fort Rosalie—Extermination of the French in 1729*

Fort Rosalie, just below Natchez, Mississippi had been laid out in 1700 by D'Iberville, the first French Governor of Louisiana. Sixteen years later it was constructed on the summit of a mound two hundred feet above the level of the river. It was named for the Countess of Pontchartrain, whose husband, the French Minister of Marine Affairs, was

[105d]

[105e]

D'Iberville's patron. Tension developed between the French and the Indians and when Chopart, Commandant of the Fort, ordered the evacuation of an important neighboring village, the Natchez Indians complied, but planned a terrible revenge. At nine o'clock in the morning of November 28th, 1729, the Indians attacked and the French were exterminated save for a tailor and a carpenter who were spared to work in slavery for their captors. The heads of the victims were piled in a pyramid at the feet of the Chief.

The French wear garb varying from full armor of the seventeenth century to the buckskins of the frontiersman. The Indians are attired in paint, feathers and animal skins. Various combat actions are shown and details in the process of scalping probably brought great satisfaction to the younger visitors.

[105f]

(h) *Huge Mound and the manner of opening them*

In 1843 Dr. Dickeson opened some Indian mounds on the plantation of William Feriday in Concordia Parish, Louisiana. The doctor and a fellow archaeologist are seen watching the Negro slaves cut a vertical section through the mound. At the left the figure sketching may again be the doctor preparing one of his "sketches made on the spot". The mound reveals a shaft tomb, striated layers with skeletons neatly disposed, Indian pottery and miscellaneous relics.

[105g]

[105h]

"We had found the sun too warm on deck, and had had enough of mutual staring with the groups on the wharf: we turned over the books, and made acquaintance with the prints in the ladies' cabin: and then leisurely arranged our state-rooms to our liking."

Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

CURRIER AND IVES

Arranged alphabetically by title
Dimensions refer to picture size only

106 ANONYMOUS: *Bombardment of Island "Number Ten" in the Mississippi River*
Lithograph colored, 7⅞" x 12⅜". Currier & Ives, 1862
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

107 ANONYMOUS: *Bound Down the River*
Lithograph colored, 7⅞" x 12½". Currier & Ives, 1870
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"Comin' down de river
Settin' in de stern;
She had her hand on his'n
And he had his'n on her'n."

Eskew, *Pageant of the Packets*

108 ANONYMOUS: *Burning of the Palace Steamer, "Robert E. Lee"*
Lithograph colored, 8½" x 13½". Currier & Ives, 1882
University of Michigan Transportation Library

The fire took place 35 miles below Vicksburg on 30th September, 1882.

109 F. E. PALMER: *The Champions of the Mississippi "A Race for the Buckhorns"*
Lithograph colored, 18⅛" x 27⅝". Currier & Ives, 1866
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

110 ANONYMOUS: *City of New Orleans*
Lithograph colored, 8" x 12⅝". Currier & Ives. Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

[107]

[109]

111 Anonymous: *The City of New Orleans, and the Mississippi River. Lake Pontchartrain in Distance*

Lithograph colored. 25¼″ x 35¼″. Currier & Ives, 1868
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

This print is not listed in Bland, *Currier & Ives, A Manual for Collectors*

112 Parsons and Atwater: *The City of St. Louis*

Lithograph colored. 20½″ x 32½″. Currier & Ives, 1874
City Art Museum of St. Louis

"Account for it? There ain't any accounting for it, except that if you send a d——d fool to St. Louis, and you don't tell them he's a d——d fool, *they'll* never find it out. There's one thing sure—if I had a d——d fool I should know what to do with him: ship him to St. Louis—it's the noblest market in the world for that kind of property."

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

113 Anonymous: *Com. Farragut's Fleet Passing the Forts on the Mississippi, April 24, 1862. The U. S. Frigate, "Mississippi," destroyed the rebel ram, "Manassas"*

Lithograph colored. 7¾″ x 12⅜″. Currier & Ives, 1862
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

114 Anonymous: *Destruction of the Rebel Ram "Arkansas" by the United States Gunboat "Essex", on the Mississippi River, near Baton Rouge, August 4th, 1862*

Lithograph uncolored. 7⅞″ x 12⅜″. Currier & Ives, 1862
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

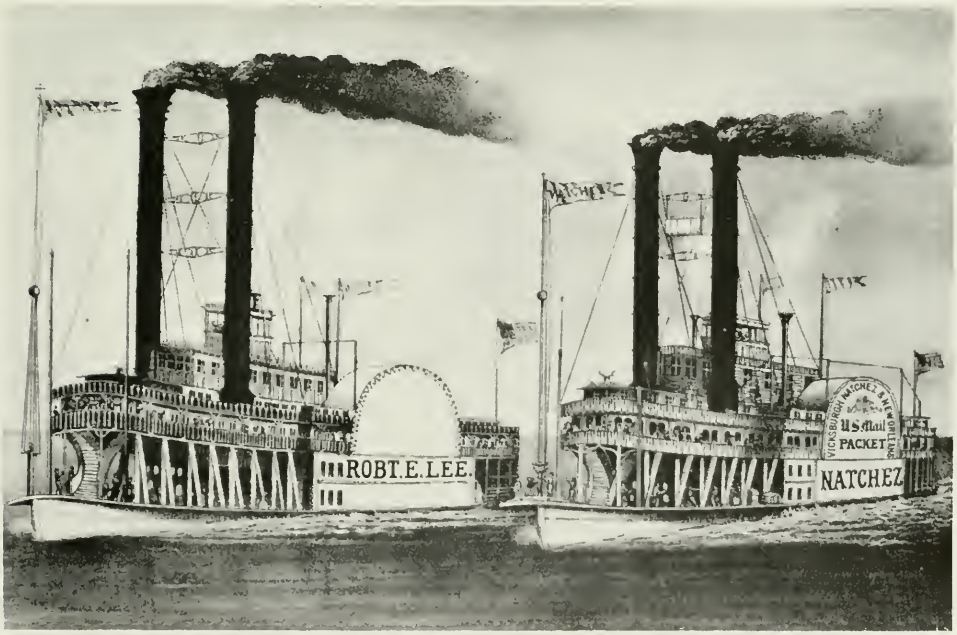
115 Anonymous: *Good Times on the Old Plantation*

Lithograph colored. 8⅜″ x 12½″. Currier & Ives. Undated
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

116 Anonymous: *The Great Fire, St. Louis, Missouri, Thursday Night, May 17th, 1849*

Lithograph colored, 8″ x 12½″. N. Currier
Mercantile Library, St. Louis

[116]



[118]

117 ANONYMOUS: *The Great Mississippi Steamboat Race*

Lithograph colored, 7⅞" x 12"⅜. Currier & Ives. 1870
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

This is the same stone as Peters No. 1330. There is a difference in the text.

"From New Orleans to St. Louis, July 1870. Between R. E. Lee, Capt. John W. Cannon and Natchez, Capt. Leathers. Won by R. E. Lee. Arriving St. Louis July 4th at 11:20 A.M. Time: 3 Days, 18 Hours and 14 Minutes."

"On board the Lee they plain could see
The Natchez' roaring fire,
And as they pitched the resin in
Could see the steam get higher."

118 ANONYMOUS: *The Great Mississippi Steamboat Race*

Lithograph colored, 7⅞" x 12⅜". Currier & Ives. 1870
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"From New Orleans to St. Louis, July 1870. Between the R. E. Lee, Capt. John W. Cannon and Natchez, Capt. Leathers. Won by R. E. Lee. Time: 3 Days, 18 Hours and 30 Minutes. Distance: 1,210 Miles."

"As the time approached, the two steamers 'stripped' and got ready. Every encumbrance that added weight, or exposed a resisting surface to wind or water, was removed, if the boat could possibly do without it. The 'spars', and sometimes even their supporting derricks, were sent ashore, and no means left to set the boat afloat in case she got aground. When the *Eclipse* and the *A. L. Shotwell* ran their great race many years ago, it was said that pains were taken to scrape the gilding off the fanciful device which hung between the *Eclipse's* chimneys, and that for that one trip the captain left off his kid gloves and had his head shaved. But I always doubted these things.

"If the boat was known to make her best speed when drawing five and a half feet forward and five feet aft, she carefully loaded to that exact figure —she wouldn't enter a dose of homeopathic pills on her manifest after that. Hardly any passengers were taken, because they not only add weight but they will never 'trim boat'. They always run to the side when there is anything to see, whereas a conscientious and experienced steamboatman would stick to the center of the boat and part his hair in the middle with a spirit-level."

Mark Twain. *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

119 ANONYMOUS: *The Great St. Louis Bridge*

Lithograph colored, 8" x 13⅝". Currier & Ives. Undated
University of Michigan Transportation Library

[122]

[123]

120 Charles Parsons: *High Pressure Steamboat "Mayflower"*
Lithograph colored. 16⅜" x 28½". N. Currier, 1855
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

121 F. E. Palmer: *"High Water" in the Mississippi*
Lithograph colored. 18" x 28". Currier & Ives, 1868
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois
Colored only light blue.

122 F. E. Palmer: *"High Water" in the Mississippi*
Lithograph colored. 18" x 28". Currier & Ives, 1868
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois
This version is in full color.

123 Anonymous: *A Home on the Mississippi*
Lithograph colored, 8⅜" x 12⅜". Currier & Ives, 1871
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

124 W. A. Walker: *The Levee—New Orleans*
Lithograph colored, 19⅞" x 29⅞". Currier & Ives, 1883
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois
The original painting is in the exhibition.

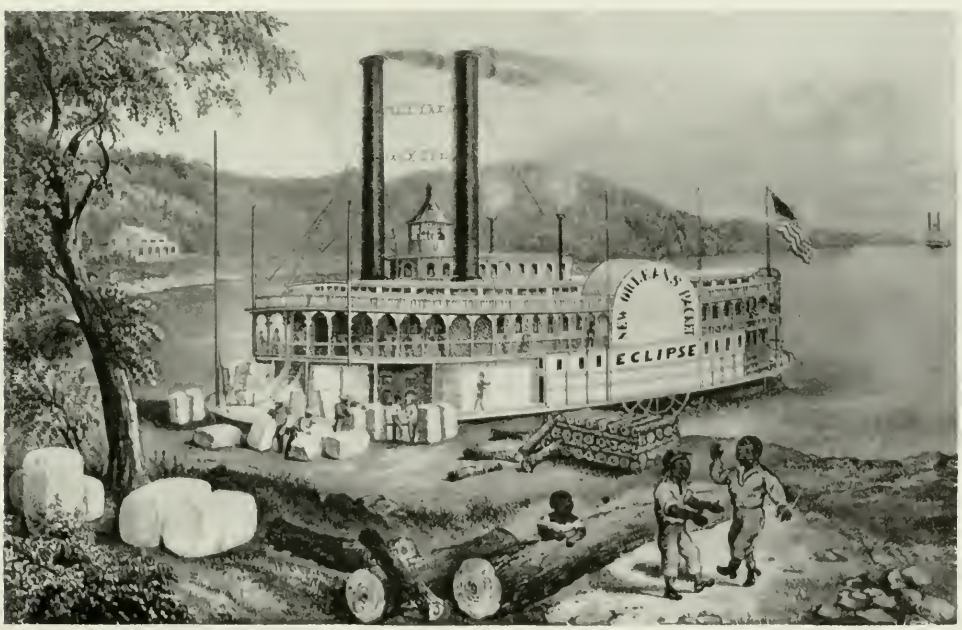
125 Anonymous: *Loading Cotton*
Lithograph colored, 8" x 12⅜". Currier & Ives, 1870
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

This is the same stone that was used in *On the Mississippi* showing the New Orleans Packet Boat, *Eclipse.*

" 'Here, now, start that gang-plank fo'ard! Lively, now! *What*'re you about! Snatch it! *snatch* it! There! there! After again! aft again! Don't you hear me? Dash it to dash! are you going to *sleep* over it! *'Vast* heaving. 'Vast heaving, I tell you! Going to heave it clear astern? *Where*'re you going with that barrel! *fo'ard* with it 'fore I make you swallow it, you dash-dash-dash-*dashed* split between a tired mud-turtle and a crippled hearse-horse.' "

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

[124]



[125]

126 F. E. Palmer: *Low Water in the Mississippi*

Lithograph colored, 18¼" x 28". Currier & Ives, 1861
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

Colored only a light blue.

127 F. E. Palmer: *Low Water in the Mississippi* (Color plate)

Lithograph colored, 18¼" x 28". Currier & Ives, 1868
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

This version is in full color.

"Mr. Dickens declined to agree that the Mississippi steamboats were 'magnificent', or that they were 'floating palaces'—terms which had always been applied to them: terms which did not over-express the admiration with which people viewed them.

"Mr. Dickens' position was unassailable, possibly; the people's position was certainly unassailable. If Mr. Dickens was comparing these boats with the crown jewels: or with the Taj, or with the Matterhorn; or with some other priceless or wonderful thing which he had seen, they were not magnificent—he was right. The people compared them with what *they* had seen; and, thus measured, thus judged, the boats were magnificent—the term was the correct one, it was not at all too strong. The people were as right as was Mr. Dickens. The steamboats were finer than anything on shore. Compared with superior dwelling-houses and first-class hotels in the valley, they were indubitably magnificent, they were 'palaces'. To a few people living in New Orleans and St. Louis they were not magnificent, perhaps; not palaces; but to the great majority of those populations, and to the entire populations spread over both banks between Baton Rouge and St. Louis, they were palaces; they tallied with the citizen's dream of what magnificence was, and satisfied it."

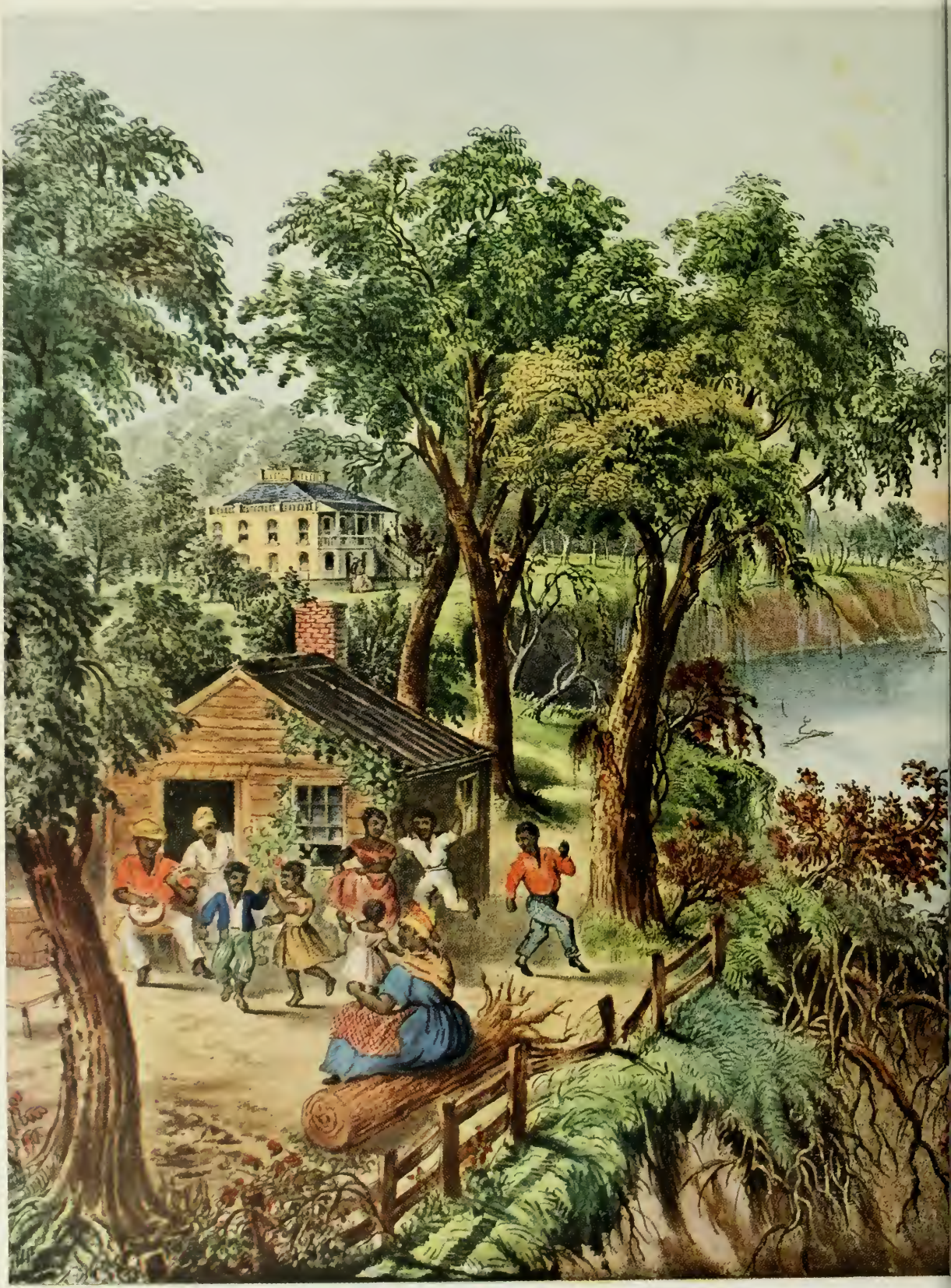
Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

128 Anonymous: *Maiden Rock*

Lithograph colored, 7⅞" x 12½". Currier & Ives. Undated
Collection Mr. and Mrs. Irving Dilliard, Collinsville, Illinois

"Winona's death-song on the rock [Maiden Rock] by Lake Pepin; Ampato Sapa's death-song on the waters of the Mississippi, when she and her children sought for the peace of forgetfulness in their foaming depths; and many other of their sisters who yet to this day prefer death to life, all testify how deeply tragical is the fate of the Indian women."

Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties*, letter of October 25, 1850




ROBT E LEE
GROCERY

Currier and Ives *Low Water in the Mississippi*
Collection Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

[129]

129 Anonymous: *Maiden Rock*
Lithograph colored, 8⅜″ x 12⅜″. Currier & Ives. Undated
University of Michigan Transportation Library

This rare version of the print is not listed in Bland, *Currier & Ives, A Manual for Collectors.*

130 F. E. Palmer: *A Midnight Race on the Mississippi*
From a sketch by H. D. Manning of the *Natchez*
Lithograph colored, 18″ x 27⅞″. Currier & Ives, 1860
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

Shows the steamboats *Natchez* and *Eclipse.* This was used as an advertisement with the title "Steamboat Race on the Mississippi".

131 Anonymous: *Midnight Race on the Mississippi*
Lithograph colored, 9″ x 13¼″. Currier & Ives, 1875
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

The boats shown are the *Memphis* and the *James Howard.* The stone is inscribed "M".

132 Anonymous: *The Mississippi Flotilla dispersing the Rebel Gun Boats*
Lithograph colored, 7⅞″ x 12½″. Currier & Ives, 1864
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

133 F. E. Palmer: *The Mississippi in Time of Peace*
Lithograph colored. 18¼" x 27⅝". Currier & Ives, 1865
University of Michigan Transportation Library

134 Anonymous: *Moonlight on the Mississippi*
Lithograph colored. 8½" x 12½". Currier & Ives. Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois
The stone is signed "G.M."

135 Anonymous: *The Old Plantation Home*
Lithograph colored. 8½" x 12½". Currier & Ives. 1872
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

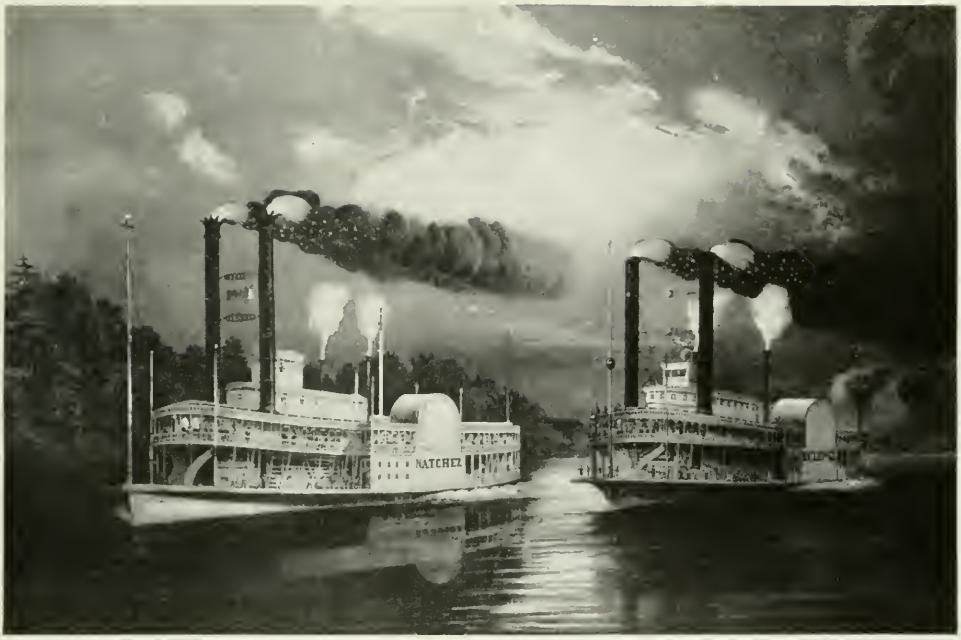
136 Anonymous: *On the Mississippi*
Lithograph colored. 8" x 12½". Currier & Ives, 1869
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"Conceive the pleasure of rushing down this stream by night (as we did last night) at the rate of fifteen miles an hour; striking against floating blocks of timber at every instant; and dreading some infernal blow at every bump. The helmsman in these boats is in a little glass-house upon the roof. In the Mississippi, another man stands in the very head of the vessel, listening and watching intently; listening, because they can tell in dark nights by the noise when any great obstruction is at hand. The man holds the rope of a large bell which hangs close to the wheel-house, and whenever he pulls it, the engine is to stop directly, and not to stir until he rings again. Last night, this bell rang at least once in every five minutes: and at each alarm there was a concussion which nearly flung one out of the bed. . . . While I have been writing this account, we have shot out of that hideous river, thanks be to God; never to see it again, I hope, but in a nightmare."

Charles Dickens. Letter of April 15, 1842 in John Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*

137 Anonymous: *A Race on the Mississippi. The "Eagle" and the "Diana"*
Lithograph colored, 8" x 12½". Currier & Ives, 1870
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"Accustomed to see the steam-boat with its prodigious and untiring power, breasting the heavy current of the Mississippi, the Kentuckian draws his ideas of power from this source; and when the warmth of whiskey in his stomach is added to his natural energy, he becomes in succession, horse, alligator, and steam-boat. Much of his language is



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[133]

figurative and drawn from the power of a steam-boat. To get ardent and zealous, is to 'raise the steam'. To get angry, and give vent and scope to these feelings, is to 'let off the steam'. To encounter any distaster, or meet with a great catastrophe, is to 'burst the boiler'. The slave cheers his oxen and horses by bidding them 'go ahead'. Two black women were about to fight, and their beaux cheered them to the combat with 'Go ahead and buss e boiler'."

Timothy Flint. *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

138 F. E. Palmer: *"Rounding a Bend" on the Mississippi. The Parting Salute*
Lithograph colored, 18" x 27¾". Currier & Ives, 1866
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

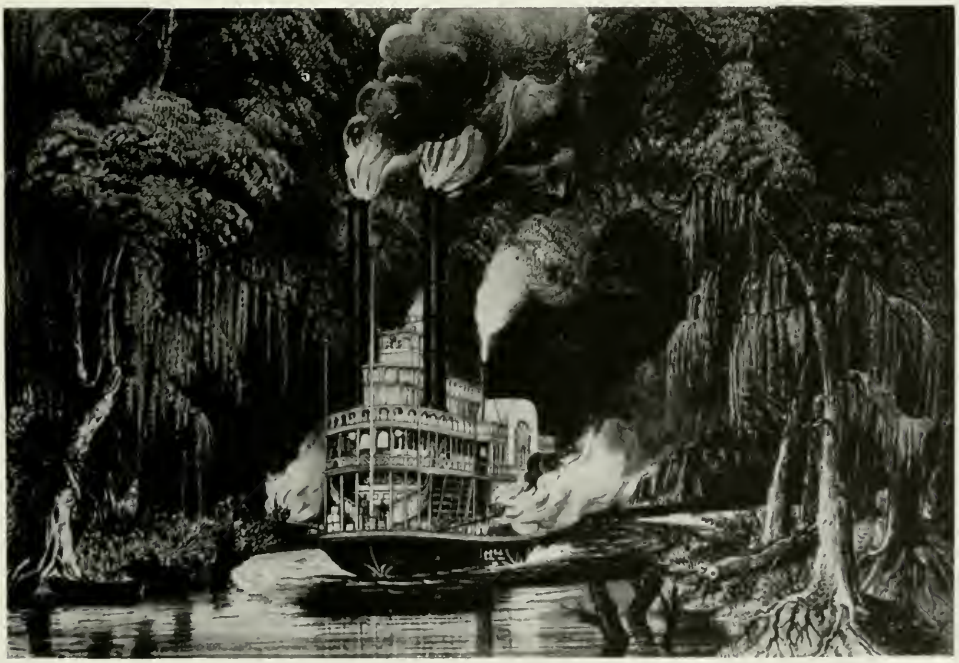
139 Anonymous: *The Splendid Naval Triumph on the Mississippi, April 24th, 1862*
Lithograph colored, 15⅞" x 22¼". Currier & Ives, 1862
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

140 Anonymous: *Through the Bayou by Torchlight*
Lithograph colored, 8½" x 12½". Currier & Ives. Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

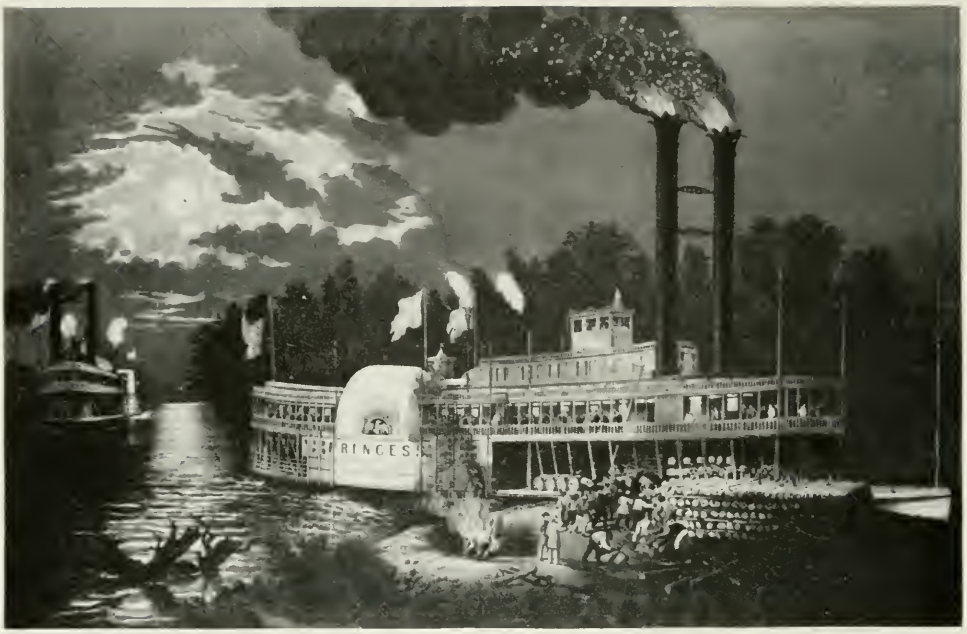
"Passing one of these boats at night, and seeing the great body of fire, . . . that rages and roars beneath the frail pile of painted wood: the machinery, not warded off or guarded in any way, but doing its work in the midst of a crowd of idlers and emigrants and children, who throng the lower deck: under the management, too, of reckless men whose acquaintance with its mysteries may have been of six months' standing: one feels directly that the wonder is, not that there should be so many fatal accidents, but that any journey should be safely made."

Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (1842)

[138]



[140]



[141]

141 F. E. Palmer: *"Wooding Up" on the Mississippi*
Lithograph colored. 17⅞" x 27⅝". Currier & Ives, 1863
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"Indeed there are solitary cabins of wood-cutters, who fix their dwellings on piles or blocks, raised above the inundation, who stay here to supply the steamboats with wood. In effect, to visit this very portion of the river in the autumn after the subsiding of the spring-floods, to see its dry banks, its clean sand-bars, and all traces of inundation gone, except its marks upon the trunks of the trees, one would have no suspicion of the existence of such swamp and overflow as it now exhibits."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

"I suppose that St. Louis and New Orleans have not suffered materially by the change, but alas for the wood-yard man!

"He used to fringe the river all the way; his close-ranked merchandise stretched from the one city to the other, along the banks, and he sold uncountable cords of it every year for cash on the nail: but all the scattering boats that are left burn coal now, and the seldomest spectacle on the Mississippi to-day is a wood-pile. Where now is the one wood-yard man."

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

PRINTS BY PUBLISHERS OTHER THAN CURRIER AND IVES

The anonymous prints are arranged alphabetically according to title; the others, alphabetically according to artist
Dimensions refer to picture size only.

142 ANONYMOUS: *Bateau à Vapeur de Pittsburgh Descendant le Mississippi; vue par l'avant*

Lithograph colored, 4⅜″ x 6⅞″. Undated
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

"A stranger to this mode of travelling, would find it difficult to describe his impression upon first descending the Mississippi in one of the better steam-boats. He contemplates the prodigious establishment, with all its fitting of deck common, and ladies' cabin apartments. Over head, about him and below him, all is life and movement. He sees its splendid cabin, richly carpeted, its finishings of mahogany, its mirrors and fine furniture, its bar-room, and sliding tables, to which eighty passengers can sit down with comfort. The fare is sumptuous, and everything in a style of splendour, order, quiet, and regularity, far exceeding that of taverns in general. You read, you converse, you walk, you sleep, as you choose; for custom has prescribed that everything shall be 'sans cérémonie'. The varied and verdant scenery shifts around you. The trees, the green islands, have an appearance, as by enchantment, of moving by you. The river-fowl, with their white and extended lines, are wheeling their flight above you. The sky is bright. The river is dotted with boats above you, beside, and below you. You hear the echo of their bugles reverberating from the woods. Behind the wooded point, you see the ascending column of smoke, rising above the trees, which announces that another steam-boat is approaching you. This moving pageant glides through a narrow passage between an island, thick set with young cotton woods, so even, so regular, and beautiful that they seem to have been planted for a pleasure ground, and the main shore. As you shoot out again into the broad stream, you come in view of a plantation, with all its busy and cheerful accompaniments. At other times you are sweeping along for many leagues together, where either shore is boundless and pathless wilderness. And the contrast, which is thus so strongly forced upon the mind, of the highest improvement and the latest invention of art, with the most lonely aspect of a grand but desolate nature,—the most striking and complete assemblage of spendour and comfort, the cheerfulness of a floating hotel, which carries, perhaps, two hundred guests, with a wild and uninhabitable forest, one hundred miles in width, the abode only of owls, bears, and noxious animals,—this strong contrast produces, to me at least, something of the same pleasant sensation that is produced by lying down to sleep with the rain pouring on the roof, immediately overhead."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

[143]

143 ANONYMOUS: *Fort Jackson*

Lithograph colored, 7¼″ x 26½″. Undated
Collection Mr. Albert Lieutaud. New Orleans

Fort Jackson was located on the Mississippi 57 miles southeast of New Orleans and with Fort St. Philip guarded the lower approach to the city. In the Civil War it was passed by the Federal fleet under Farragut on April 24, 1862, and was compelled to surrender after the fall of New Orleans.

144 ANONYMOUS: *Match at the Mississippi*

Lithograph colored, 8¾″ x 14¼″. Copyright by F. Sala & Co. Undated
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

145 ANONYMOUS: *Midnight Race on the Mississippi*

Lithograph colored, 18″ x 25″. Published and printed by Th. Kelly, 17 Barclay St., New York. Undated
Collection Mr. Franklin J. Meine, Chicago

146 ANONYMOUS: *Midnight Race on the Mississippi*

Lithograph colored, 8″ x 12¾″. Haskell & Allen, 16 Hanover St., Boston, Mass. Undated
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

One packet is the *Vicksburg*; the lettering is in reverse.

147 ANONYMOUS: *A Midnight Race on the Mississippi, from a sketch by the Captain of the Lincoln*

Chromo lithograph, 13⅞″ x 22⅛″. Entered at Stationer's Hall, 1871, and published by the Yorkshire Fine Art Distribution, Yates & Co. Chromo lithograph. Published by R. Rogerson, 21 Hunsleth Road
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

148 ANONYMOUS: *The Mississippi Raft (Near Port Gibson)*

Steel engraving colored, 4½″ x 7″. Nat. Kinsey, engraver. Publisher: Middleton Wallace & Co. Printers, Cincinnati. Undated
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

149 ANONYMOUS: *M. S. Mepham*

Lithograph colored, 17½″ x 27. Dated on paddle box, 1864
Collection Mrs. George S. Mepham, St. Louis County

"Here, too, you begin to see the southern style of building, the indications of being among the opulent cotton-planters. The stranger inquires the object and use of a cluster of little buildings that lie about the principal house, like bee-hives. These are the habitations of the negroes."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

150 ANONYMOUS: *New Orleans*

Lithograph colored, 9¾″ x 14¾″. Druck u. Verlag v. F. C. Wentzel in Weissenburg (Elsass). Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"The communications from this city with the interior, are easy, pleasant, and rapid, by the steam-boats. More than a hundred are now on these waters. Some of them, for size, accommodation, and splendor, exceed any that I have seen on the Atlantic waters. The Washington, Feliciana, Providence, Natchez, and various others, are beautiful and commodious boats. The fare is sumptuous, and passages are comparatively cheap. I have also uniformly found the passengers obliging and friendly. Manners are not so distant or stately as at the North: and it is much easier to become acquainted with your fellow passengers. A trip up the Mississippi at the proper season of the year is delightful."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

151 ANONYMOUS: *New Orleans Waterfront*

Lithograph colored, 20⅞″ x 30⅞″. Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"This city exhibits the greatest variety of costume, and foreigners: French, Spanish, Portugese, Irish in shoals, in short, samples of the common people of all the European nations. Creoles, all the inter-mixtures of Negro and Indian blood, the moody and ruminating Indians, the inhabitants of the Spanish provinces, and a goodly woof to this warp, of boatmen, 'half horse and half alligator': and more languages are spoken here, than in any other town in America. There is a sample, in short, of everything."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

152 ANONYMOUS: *New Orleans Battle*

Engraving, engraved by J. Scoles for *The Impartial and Correct History of the War*, New York, 1815

Louisiana State Historical Society, New Orleans

153 ANONYMOUS: *Plan of New Orleans the Capital of Louisiana; the Course of Mississippi River from Bayagoulas to the Sea; The East Mouth of the Mississippi with the Plan of Fort la Balise which defends the Entrance and Channel of that River*

Engraving colored, 13⅛″ x 19″. 1759

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

This map was published in England in 1759 after the drawing of de la Tour of 1720.

154 ANONYMOUS: *St. Charles am Mississippi*

Steel engraving colored, 4″ x 6″. Aus d. Kunstanst. d. Bibl. Inst. in Hildbh. Eigenthum d. Verleger. Pl. dcccIxxxix. Undated

Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

155 ANONYMOUS: *Scene on the lower Mississippi (Eine Scene am Mississippi)*

Lithograph colored, 10⅜″ x 15¼″. Undated

University of Michigan Transportation Library

The boats shown are the *Princess* and *Hylas* loading cotton at night. The print is, presumably, of German origin.

"'Wal now, I reckon there's fifty passengers on board this boat, and they've all used that towel, and you're the first on 'em that's complained of it'."

Laurence Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West* (1855)

156 ANONYMOUS: *Steamer "Fleetwood"*

Lithograph colored, on metal, 16½″ x 27½″. Undated

Collection Mr. Franklin J. Meine, Chicago

This print on metal was undoubtedly used as an advertising sign and was probably displayed in the open.

157 ANONYMOUS: *Steamer Grand Republic, the Largest Steamboat in the World*

Lithograph colored, 14⅞″ x 22¼″. Forbes Co. Boston. Undated

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

This boat was one of the most famous and lavishly appointed "floating palaces" of the 'seventies.

" . . . we went ashore at the wooding-place, and I had my first walk in the untrodden forest. The height of the trees seemed incredible, as we stood at their foot, and looked up. It made us suddenly feel dwarfed.

We stood in a crowd of locust and cotton-wood trees, elm, maple, and live oak: and they were all bound together by an inextricable tangle of creepers, which seemed to forbid our penetrating many paces into the forest beyond where the woodcutters had intruded. I had a great horror of going too far; and was not sorry to find it impossible: it would be so easy for the boat to leave two or three passengers behind, without finding it out: and no fate could be conceived more desolate."

Harriet Martineau. *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

158 Anonymous: *Robt. E. Lee*

Lithograph colored, 18⅝" x 29⅛". Lithographed by Hatch & Co., New York. Published by Stetson & Armstrong, New Orleans. Undated
Collection Mr. Franklin J. Meine, Chicago

159 Anonymous: *Steamer Robt. E. Lee*

Lithograph colored, 18⅜" x 29⅛". Lithographed by Hatch & Co., New York. Published by Stetson and Armstrong, New Orleans. Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"The innumerable steam boats, which are the stage coaches and fly waggons of this land of lakes and rivers, are totally unlike any I had seen in Europe, and greatly superior to them. The fabrics which I think they most resemble in appearance, are the floating baths, (*les bains Vigier*) at Paris. The room to which the double line of windows belongs, is a very handsome apartment; before each window a neat little cot is arranged in such a manner as to give its drapery the air of a window curtain. This room is called the gentlemen's cabin, and their exclusive right to it is somewhat uncourteously insisted upon. The breakfast, dinner, and supper, are laid in this apartment, and the lady passengers are permitted to take their meals there."

Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1836)

160 Anonymous: *View of New Orleans, taken from the Lower Cotton Press*

Aquatint uncolored, 10¹⁄₁" x 26¹₂". Published by Louis Schwartz, B. Dondorf, Frankfurt am Main, Germany. Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"We braved the heat on the hurricane deck, for the sake of obtaining last views of New Orleans. The city soon became an indistinguishable mass of buildings, lying in the swamp: yet with something of a cheerful air, from the brightness of the sun. The lofty Cotton-press, so familiar to the eye of every one acquainted with that region, was long visible, amidst the windings of the river, which seemed to bring us quite near the city again, when we thought we should see it no more."

Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

161 ANONYMOUS: *View of St. Louis*

Lithograph colored. 14″ x 23″. Name of publisher and copyright faded and indistinct, but date looks like 1873

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

162 ANONYMOUS: *View of St. Louis Waterfront*

Lithograph colored. 21″ x 35⅞″. Undated

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"The cities of the West are all of them pre-eminently cosmopolitan cities. The Germans have their quarters there—sometimes half the city, their newspapers, and their clubs; the Irish have theirs; and the French theirs. The Mississippi River is the great cosmopolitan which unites all people, which gives a definite purpose to their activity, and determines their abode, and which enables the life of every one, the inhabitants themselves and their products, to circulate from the one end to the other of this great central valley."

Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties* (November 27, 1850)

PAPER CURRENCY

Paper currency was issued by various banks throughout the United States until 1865. The examples exhibited here illustrate the wealth of pictorial detail surrounding the rivers. Especially significant in this group is the earliest known view of St. Louis on a bill dated 1817. The later bills show many different types of boats and the collection is especially rich in scenes illustrating life on rafts. The views of the levees indicate the vast commercial activity on the river and the variety of river scenes indicate the extent to which river life penetrated the social and economic life of the period.

All paper currency, collection Mr. Eric Newman, St. Louis

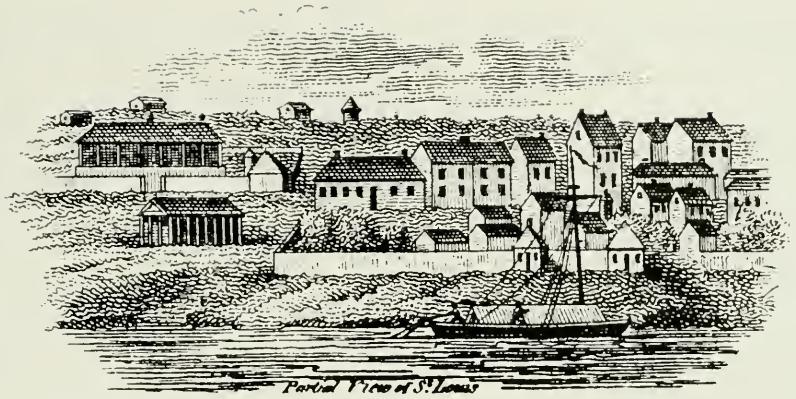
163 ANONYMOUS: *Partial View of St. Louis*

Engraving on a Ten Dollar Bank Note. Issued by the Bank of St. Louis; dated 1817

The earliest known view of St. Louis; the city is seen prior to 1817.

"The appearance of St. Louis was not calculated to make a favorable impression upon the first visit, with its long dirty and quicksand beach, numbers of long, empty keelboats tied to stakes driven in the sand, squads of idle boatmen passing to and fro, here and there numbers pitching quoits; others running foot races, rough and tumble fights; and shooting at a target was one of their occupations while in port."

James Haley White, *Early Days in St. Louis* (1819)



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164 ANONYMOUS: *Alligator and Steamboat*

Engraving on a Five Dollar Bank Note. Issued by the Tombigby Railroad Company, Columbia, Mississippi: engraved by Rawdon, Wright & Hatch, New York: dated before 1837

165 ANONYMOUS: *The Shot Tower at Herculaneum, Missouri*

Engraving on a Twenty Dollar Bank Note. Issued by the Bank of St. Louis: engraved by Leney and Rollinson: dated 1818

166 ANONYMOUS: *Rafting on the River* (Illustrated page 12)

Engraving on a Five Dollar Bank Note. Issued by the Brownville Bank and Land Company, Omaha City, Nebraska; engraved by Danforth, Wright and Company, New York and Philadelphia: this was designed prior to 1857

"In the spring, one hundred boats have been numbered, that landed in one day at the mouth of the Bayamm at New Madrid. I have strolled to the point on a spring evening, and seen them arriving in fleets. The boisterous gaiety of the hands, the congratulations, the moving picture of life on board the boats, in the numerous animals, large and small, which they carry, their different loads, the evidence of the increasing agriculture of the country above, and more than all, the immense distances which they have already come, and those which they will have to go, afforded to me copious sources of meditation. You can name no point from the numerous rivers of the Ohio and the Mississippi, from which these boats have not come. In one place there are boats loaded with planks, from the pine forests of the Southwest of New York. In another quarter there are Yankee notions of Ohio. From Kentucky, pork, flour, whiskey, hemp, tobacco, bagging, and bale-rope. From Tennessee there are the same articles, together with great quantities of cotton. From Missouri and

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Illinois, cattle and horses, the same articles generally as from Ohio, together with peltry and lead from Missouri. Some boats are loaded with corn in the ear and in bulk; others with barrels of apples and potatoes. Some have loads of cider, and what they call 'cider royal', or cider that has been strengthened by boiling or freezing. There are dried fruits, every kind of spirits manufactured in these regions, and in short, the products of the ingenuity and agriculture of the whole upper country of the west. They have come from regions, thousands of miles apart. They have floated to a common point of union. The surfaces of the boats cover some acres. Dunghill fowls are fluttering over the roofs, as an invariable appendage. The chanticleer raises his piercing note. The swine utter their cries. The cattle low. The horses trample, as in their stables. There are boats fitted on purpose, and loaded entirely with turkeys, that, having little else to do, gobble most furiously."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

167 Anonymous: *Steamboats at the Levee*

Engraving on a Ten Dollar Bank Note. Issued by the Bank of St. Louis; engraved by Danforth, Wright and Company, New York and Philadelphia. Undated

Landing stages were not introduced on steamboats until 1869. Before that time improvised landing stages had to be made at every stop.

168 Anonymous: *Raftsmen on the Mississippi*

Engraving on a check form. Issued by Boatmen's Saving Institution, St. Louis; engraved by The American Bank Note Company; dated 1856

169 John James Audubon (1780-1851): *Louisiana Heron*
Copper plate engraving colored. elephant folio. Engraved by Havell. 1834.
Plate ccxvii from Audubon's *The Birds of America*
Mercantile Library, St. Louis

170 John James Audubon: *Roseate Spoonbill*
Copper plate engraving colored. elephant folio. Engraved by Havell. 1836.
Plate cccxxi from Audubon's *The Birds of America*
Mercantile Library, St. Louis

171 John James Audubon: *Wood Ibis*
Copper plate engraving colored. elephant folio. Engraved by Havell, 1834.
Plate ccxxvi from Audubon's *The Birds of America*
Collection Mr. Arthur Hoskins, St. Louis

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172 W. J. Bennett (ca. 1787-1844): *New Orleans, Taken from the opposite side, a short distance above the middle or Picayune Ferry*

Aquatint colored, 16¾″ x 25⅜″; painted by W. J. Bennett from a sketch by A. Mendelli. Engr. by W. J. Bennett. New York, John Levison, 341 Broadway. Undated

Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans

Mr. Albert Lieutaud of New Orleans recalled reading in New Orleans newspapers of 1842 that fashionable persons crowded the river banks to watch Mendelli (probably in the 'twenties) sketch this scene which was later engraved by Bennett.

173 George Caleb Bingham. *The Jolly Flatboatmen*

Steel engraving uncolored, as published. 18¾″ x 23⅞″. Engraved by T. Doney; published by the American Art Union, New York, 1847

Collection Mrs. H. B. Rathbone, Greene, New York

This engraving is after the lost painting distributed by the American Art Union, 1847. The engraving was republished from the worn plate by Wallace and Co., New York, 1860.

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"The boatman is a lucky man
No one can do as the boatman can,
The boatmen dance and the boatmen sing,
The boatman is up to everything.

When the boatman goes on shore,
Look, old man, your sheep is gone,
He steals your sheep and steals your shote,
He puts 'em in a bag and totes 'em to the boat.

When the boatman goes on shore,
He spends his money and works for more,
I never saw a girl in all my life,
But what she would be a boatman's wife."

River Boatmen's Song

174 E. VAN BLON (JOHN H. B. LATROBE): *The Balise. Mississippi River*
Aquatint colored, 7″ x 9¾″. J. Hill Sc. Line at top of engraving: Moonlight. Plate xiii, *Lucas' Progressive Drawing Book*
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

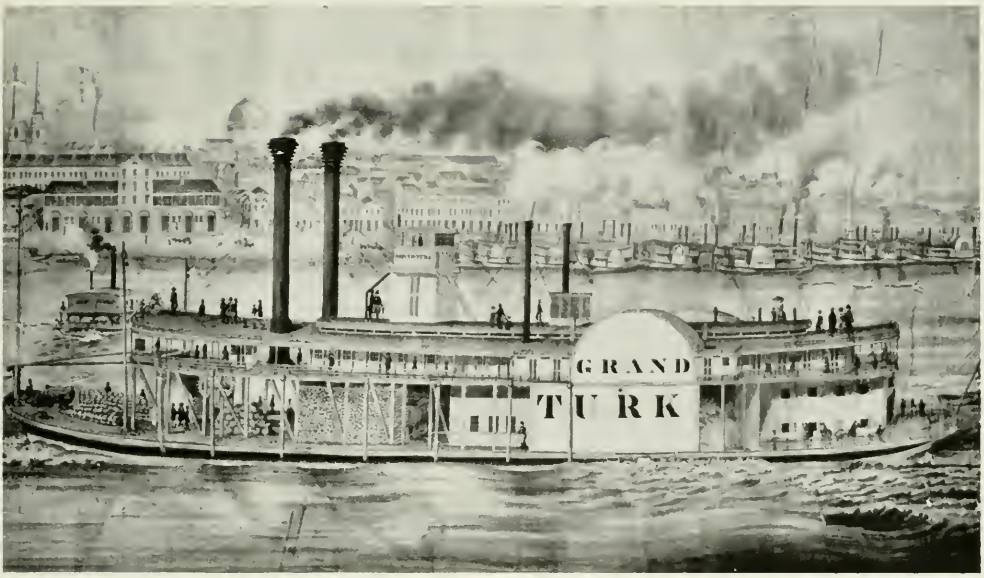
"I never beheld a scene so utterly desolate as this entrance of the Mississippi. Had Dante seen it, he might have drawn images of another Bolgia from its horrors. Only one object rears itself above the eddying waters; this is the mast of a vessel long since wrecked in attempting to cross the bar, and it still stands, a dismal witness of the destruction that has been, and a boding prophet of that which is to come."

Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1836)

175 H. S. BLOOD: *The Grand Turk*
Lithograph colored, 17¼″ x 25″. Drawn by H. S. Blood. Fishbourne's Lithog. 46 Canal St., New Orleans. Undated
Collection Mrs. Thomas W. Fry, St. Louis County

"The steamer *Belle Key* is of the family of the river giants. I call it Noah's Ark, because it has more than a thousand animals on board, on the deck below us and above us. Immense oxen, really mammoth oxen, so fat they can scarcely walk—cows, calves, horses, mules, sheep, pigs, whole herds of them, send forth the sounds of their gruntings from the lower deck, and send up to us between times anything but agreeable odors; and on the deck above us turkeys gobble—geese, ducks, hens, and cocks crow and fight, and little pigs go rushing wildly about among the poultry pens.

"On the middle deck, where we, the sons and daughters of Adam are bestowed, everything, in the meantime, is remarkably comfortable. The ladies' saloon is large and handsome, the passengers few and of an *excellent* class. I have my state-room to myself. . . . No screaming



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children disturb the quietness on board; and the grunting of the swine and other animal sounds in our Noah's Ark we do not allow to trouble us. All these animals are destined to the Christmas market of New Orleans."

Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties* (December 18, 1850)

176 H. S. Blood: *Nashville & New Orleans Packet, Gov. Jones*

Lithograph colored. 17″ x 28″. Fishbourne's Lithographer: 46 Canal St., New Orleans. Undated

Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

"As thirsty as I was, I hesitated to drink the thick muddy water, for while standing in our tumblers, a sediment is precipitated of half an inch. . . . While drinking, one of the ladies advanced for the same purpose. 'Dear me! what insipid water!' she said, 'it has been standing too long. I like it right thick.' I looked at her in surprise. 'Do you prefer it muddy, to clear? I asked. 'Certainly I do,' she replied. 'I like the sweet clayey taste, and when it settles it is insipid. Here Juno!' calling to the black chambermaid who was busy ironing, 'get me some water fresh out of the river, with the true Mississippi relish'."

Mrs. Steele. *A Summer Journey in the West* (1841)

Charles Bodmer (1809-1893): Illustrations for *Travels in the Interior of North America* by Maximilian Prince of Wied

Aquatints colored. Folio, 1839

New York Public Library

Bodmer was born at Tieffenbrunnen, near Zurich, Switzerland, in 1809. He studied at first under his uncle Johann Jacob Meyer, an engraver, in Zurich and later in Paris under Cornu. There he met Maximilian Prince of Wied, who was born in 1782, a Prussian officer and naturalist. Maximilian came to the United States with Bodmer as artist and Dreidoppel as his valet. This party joined a group from the American Fur Company, and in March, 1833, ascended the Missouri on the steamer *Yellowstone*. At Fort Union they changed to a keelboat which took them to Fort McKenzie. They returned in a mackinac to the Mandan country where they spent the winter. The following spring they voyaged down the river to St. Louis and then returned to Europe. In 1839 Maximilian published his *Reise in das innere Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834*. English and French translations followed shortly. Bodmer's work appeared in an accompanying *Atlas* with eighty-one plates. Of the nineteen plates included in the exhibition, eighteen deal with the Missouri, and one with the Mississippi. The plates are the work of various European engravers, and were published in Coblenz, Paris and London.

177 *Tower-Rock (Mississippi)*

178 *Punka Indians encamped on the banks of the Missouri*

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179 *Beaver hut on the Missouri*

180 *The Citadel-Rock on the upper Missouri*

181 *Encampment of the travellers on the Missouri*

"Here was a thing which had not changed; a score of years had not affected this water's mulatto complexion in the least: a score of centuries would succeed no better, perhaps. It comes out of the turbulent, bank-caving Missouri, and every tumblerful of it holds nearly an acre of land in solution. I got this fact from the bishop of the diocese. If you will let your glass stand half an hour, you can separate the land from the water as easy as Genesis; and then you will find them both good: the one to eat, the other to drink. The land is very nourishing, the water is thoroughly wholesome. The one appeases hunger: the other, thirst. But the natives do not take them separately, but together, as nature mixed them. When they find an inch of mud in the bottom of a glass, they stir it up, and then take a draught as they would gruel. It is difficult for a stranger to get used to this batter, but once used to it he will prefer it to water. This is really the case. It is good for steamboating, and good to drink; but it is worthless for any other purpose, except for baptizing."

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

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182 *Bellevue. Mr. Dougherty's agency on the Missouri*

183 *Snags on the Missouri*

"On looking along the banks of the river, one can not help observing the half-drowned young willows, and cotton trees of the same age, trembling and shaking sideways against the current; and methought, as I gazed upon them, of the danger they were in of being immersed over their very tops and thus dying, not through the influence of fire, the natural enemy of wood, but from the force of the mighty stream on the margin of which they grew, and which appeared as if in its wrath it was determined to overwhelm, and undo all that the Creator in His bountifulness had granted us to enjoy. The banks themselves, along with perhaps millions of trees, are ever tumbling, falling, and washing away from the spots where they may have stood and grown for centuries past. If this be not an awful exemplification of the real course of Nature's intention, that all should and must live and die, then, indeed, the philosophy of our learned men cannot be much relied upon!"

John James Audubon, *The Missouri River Journals* (1843)

184 *Fort Pierre on the Missouri*

185 *Fort Clark on the Missouri (February 1834)*

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186 *Fort Union on the Missouri*

187 *Junction of the Yellowstone River with the Missouri*

188 *Remarkable Hills on the upper Missouri*

189 *The White Castels on the upper Missouri*

190 *Camp of the Gros Ventres of the prairies on the upper Missouri*

191 *Herd of Bisons on the upper Missouri*

192 *View of the stone walls on the upper Missouri*

193 *Herds of Bisons and Elks on the upper Missouri*

194 Charles Bodmer: *Das Dampfboot, Yellowstone*
Aquatint uncolored. Folio, 1839
University of Michigan Transportation Library

195 Will Conklin: *The Democrat's Picture of the Bridge at St. Louis*
Lithograph colored. 14⅞" x 29⅞". Baker & Co., Eng. Chicago. Barnes & Benyon. Printers. 215 Pine St. Undated
University of Michigan Transportation Library

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196 Seth Eastman: *Itasca Lake. The Source of the Mississippi*
Lithograph colored. 8½" x 12".
Yale University Press, New York
This plate was lithographed by J. T. Bowen, Philadelphia for Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*. 1851-1857.
Henry R. Schoolcraft on this expedition was accompanied by the Rev. William T. Boutwell, a missionary, who suggested the name for the lake, from Latin, ver*itas* (truth) and *ca*put (head).

197 George Fuller (1822-1844): *A Steamboat Race on the Mississippi. (Between the Baltic & Diana)*
Lithograph colored. 18¼" x 26¾". Painted by Geo. F. Fuller. Published by M. Knoedler, New York; Goupil & Co., Paris; Goupil & Co., London. 1859

University of Michigan Transportation Library

Fuller left for Europe shortly after painting this scene as a publisher's commission. He emerged in the 'seventies as one of the leading pastoral painters of New England.

198 Ambroise Louis Garneray (1783-1857): *Nouvelle Orléans*

Aquatint colored. 12¾″ x 17¾″: Garnerai pinx. Himely sculp. A Paris chez Hocquart Succr de Mr. Basset rue St. Jacques No. 64. Depose. Undated

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

199 Leopold Gast: *View of the City of St. Louis, Mo. The Great Fire of the City on the 17th & 18th May, 1849*

Lithograph uncolored, 9½″ x 9¾″. Drawn by L. Gast, Juls Hutawa Lithr Chestnut St. 62, St. Louis 1849

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

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200 Leopold Gast: *St. Louis, Mo. in 1855*

Lithograph uncolored, 6¼″ x 53″. Drawn from nature by Paulus Roetter. Engraved on stone by Leopold Gast & Bro., St. Louis
Collection Mr. Stratford Lee Morton, St. Louis

201 J. W. Hill & (?): *St. Louis, 1852*

Lithograph colored, 24½″ x 41¾″. Printed in Tints by F. Michelin, 225 Fulton St., N.Y. New York. Published by Smith Bros. & Co., 225 Fulton St.
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

202 Julius Hutawa: *Plan of the City of St. Louis, Mo., 1850*

Lithograph uncolored, 24⅝″ x 34¾″. Lithographed by L. Gast, Published by Julius Hutawa and L. Gast, lithographers, St. Louis, Missouri
Collection Mr. Stratford Lee Morton, St. Louis

It is interesting to note the distances given from St. Louis to various other ports in the tables in the upper left-hand and right-hand corners. From St. Louis to San Francisco via Cape Horn is 17,000 miles.

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203 A. Janicke and Company: *Our City (St. Louis, Mo.)*
Lithograph colored, 14⅛″ x 20⅝″. Lith. A. Janicke & Co., 3rd Street, Opp. the Post Office, St. Louis, 1859
Collection Mr. Stratford Lee Morton, St. Louis

Some of the boats shown are the: *Edward J. Gay, Henry Clay, Baltimore, Canada, Quincy, Emma, New Orleans, and Ben Lewis.*

204 George J. Kerth: *City of New Orleans and Suburbs*
Lithograph colored, 24¾″ x 40¼″. Pohlmann, 1883
Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans

205 E. B. Krausse: *View of St. Louis*
Steel engraving, 35″ x 23⅛″. Drawn by G. Hofmann and taken partly from daguerreotype by Aesterley. Engraved by E. B. Krausse. Printed by W. Pate N.Y. Published and sold by C. A. Cuno, Krausse and Hofmann. 31 South Main St., St. Louis, Mo. 1854
City Art Museum of St. Louis

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206 Hyancinthe Laclotte: *Defeat of the British Army, 12.000 strong, under the Command of Sir Edw'd Packenham, January 8th, 1815, on the Chalmette plain, five miles below New Orleans, on the left bank of the Mississippi. "Drawn on the Field of Battle, and painted by Hthe Ladlotte, Arch't and Assist. Engineer in the Louisiana Army. The Year 1815."*

Aquatint colored, 18¼" x 27⅜"; Dessine par Hthe Ladlotte. Grave par P.O. Debucourt.

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

Hyacinthe Laclotte, "architect and assistant engineer in the Louisiana Army" had the misfortune to have his name mis-spelled by the engraver Philibert Debucourt (1755-1832) one of the great masters of engraving.

207 John Landis: *Battle of New Orleans.*

Lithograph colored, 15⅛" x 24⅜". Copyright by John Landis 1840, Eastern District of Penna. From an unfinished painting of 14 by 22 feet. Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

208 Lebreton: *Steam-Packet Boat de Nelle Orleans*

Lithograph colored, 7" x 10¼". Published by Monrocq fr. Edit. Imp. r. Suger. Fr. *Album de Marine*, Pl. 22. Undated

Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

Henry Lewis (1819-1904): Illustrations for *Das Illustrirte Mississippithal*

Color lithographs colored. Quarto, 1854-1858

City Art Museum of St. Louis

Lewis was born in Scarborough, England, the son of Thomas and Elizabeth Garrison Lewis. In 1829 after the death of his first wife, Thomas Lewis brought his three sons to Boston. In 1834 two of his sons came to St. Louis, but Henry remained in Boston where he was apprenticed to a bench maker, but he disliked the "Swearing Drinking Games and vices of Every Description" and so he came with his father to St. Louis in 1836. In 1847 he was advertised as a landscape painter. Earlier he had assisted several artists with their panoramas and in 1846-9 he worked on his own panorama which covered the territory from St. Anthony Falls to the Gulf. He took his panorama East and finally to Europe. He married an English wife, served for a time as American Consul in Düsseldorf where he died September 16th, 1904.

His panorama was exhibited with success in this country and in England where it seems it was sold to an Englishman who took it to India and forever out of sight. Lewis settled in Düsseldorf where he

prepared his *Das Illustrirte Mississippithal* which was published by Arnz & Company from 1854 to 1858. His publishers failed and the projected edition in English never appeared. The title page outlines the book by saying that it consists of "80 views taken from nature from the Waterfalls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico, a journey of about 2300 English miles." Some of the lithographs from that book are seen here. All of them measure 5½" x 7¾" except the double plate of New Orleans which is 18¼" in width. Some of the color has been applied in the printing, other colors have been added by hand. Titles on the plates were given variously in English or German and here the titles have been given in English. It is not unlikely that in these lithographs Lewis has recalled similar scenes from his panorama.

"Yes, in this Great West, on the shores of the Great River, exist very various scenes and peoples. There are Indians; there are squatters; there are Scandinavians with gentle manners and cheerful songs; there are Mormons, Christian in manners, but fanatic in their faith in one man (and Eric Jansenists are in this respect similar to the Mormons); there are desperate adventurers, with neither faith nor law, excepting in Mammon and club-law: gamblers, murderers, and thieves, who are without conscience, and their number and their exploits increase along the banks of the Mississippi the further we advance south. There are giants, who are neither good or evil, but who perform great deeds through the force of their will, their great physical powers, and their passion for enterprise. There are worshippers of freedom and communists: there are slave-owners and slaves. There are communities who build, as bees and beavers do, from instinct and natural necessity. There are also clear-headed, strong and pious men, worthy to be leaders, who know what they are about, and who have laid their strong hand to the work of cultivation. There are great cities which develop the highest luxury of civilization and its highest crimes, which build altars to Mammon, and would make the whole world subservient."

Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties* (November 3, 1850)

209 *St. Louis*

"To watch the foam of our vessel had been a favorite pastime, but alas, what a change from the diamond and emerald of our lakes, the topaz of the Illinois, the Zircon of the Mississippi to the soapsuds of the Missouri."

Mrs. Steele, *A Summer Journey in the West* (1841)

210 *Steamboat Wooding at Night*

"But still, from time to time, appeared the hut of the wood-cutter, who supplies the steam boats with fuel, at the risk, or rather with the assurance

of early death, in exchange for dollars and whiskey. These sad dwellings are nearly all of them inundated during the winter, and the best of them are constructed on piles, which permit the water to reach its highest level without drowning the wretched inhabitants. These unhappy beings are invariably the victims of ague, which they meet recklessly, sustained by the incessant use of ardent spirits. The squalid look of the miserable wives and children of these men was dreadful; and often as the spectacle was renewed, I could never look at it with indifference. Their complexion is of a bluish white, that suggests the idea of dropsy; this is invariable, and the poor little ones wear exactly the same ghastly hue. A miserable cow and a few pigs, standing knee-deep in water, distinguish the more prosperous of these dwellings; and on the whole I should say, that I never witnessed human nature reduced so low as it appeared in the woodcutters' huts on the unwholesome banks of the Mississippi."

Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1836)

211 *Fort Snelling*

212 *The Falls of St. Anthony*

213 *St. Paul, Minnesota Territory*

214 *Red Rock Prairie*

"Now, a prairie is undoubtedly worth seeing. . . . . It was fine. It was worth the ride. The sun was going down, very red and bright; and the prospect looked like that ruddy sketch of Catlin's, which attracted our attention (you remember?); except that there was not so much ground as he represents, between the spectator and the horizon. But to say (as the fashion is, here) that the sight is a landmark in one's existence, and awakens a new set of sensations is sheer gammon. I would say to every man who can't see a prairie—go to Salisbury plain, Marlborough downs, or any of the broad, high, open lands near the sea. Many of them are fully as impressive; and Salisbury plain is *decidedly* more so."

Charles Dickens, letter of April 16, 1842 from John Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*

215 *The Mouth of the St. Croix*

216 *Red Wing's Village*

217 *Mouth of the Chippeway, Wisconsin*

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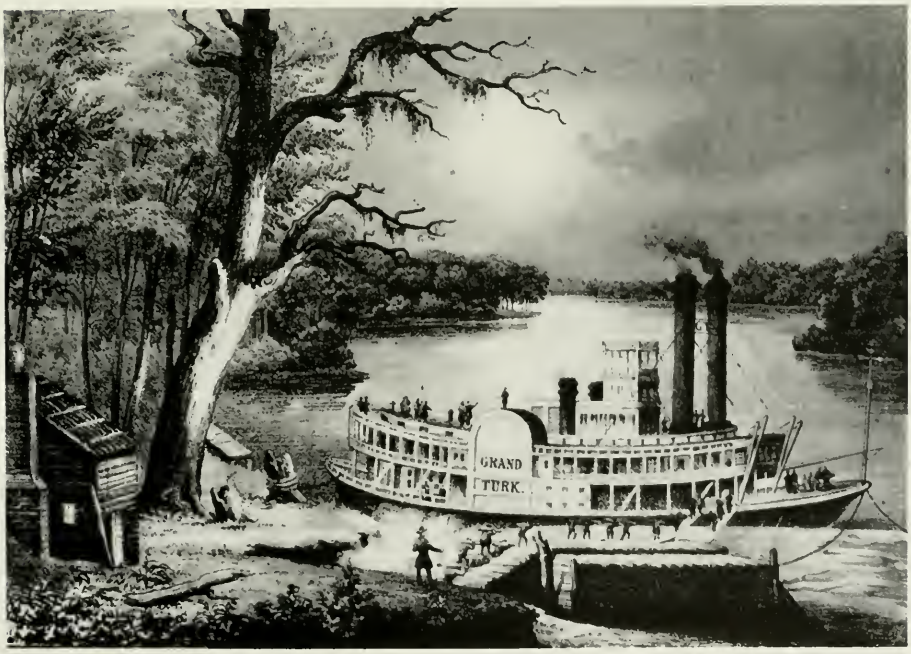

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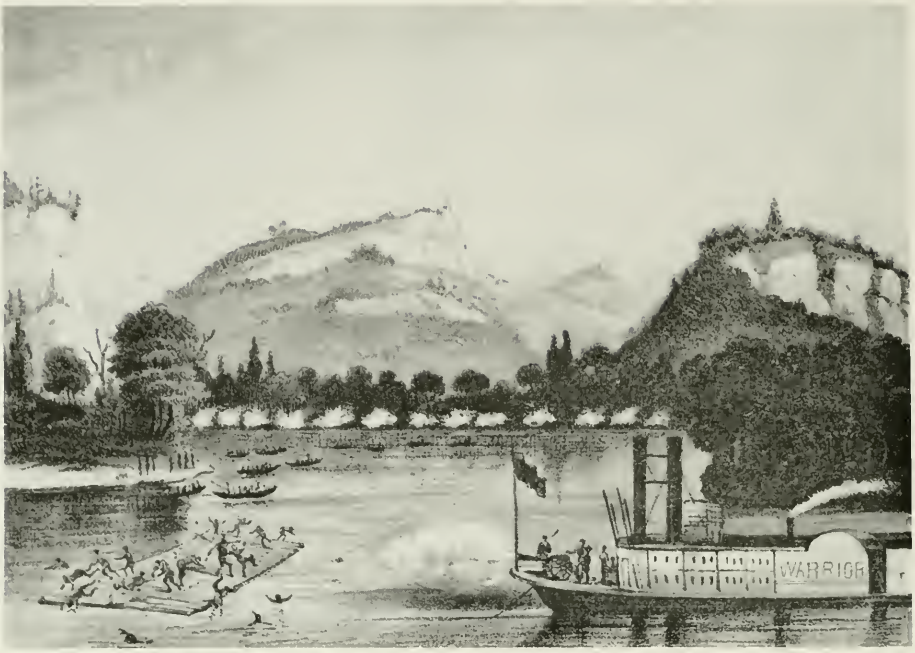

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218 *Battle of Bad Axe*

219 *Indians Spearing Fish*

220 *Prairie Du Chien, Wisconsin in 1830*

221 *Mouth of the Wisconsin, from Pikes Hill*

222 *The Indians' Look-Out*

223 *Dubuque, Iowa*

224 *View of Fever River*

225 *Savannah, Illinois*

226 *Port Byron, Iowa and Berlin, Illinois*

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227 *The Rapids near Keokuk, Iowa*

"The village of Keokuk is the lowest and most blackguard place that I have yet visited: its population is composed chiefly of the watermen who assist in loading and unloading the keelboats, and in towing them up when the rapids are too strong for the steam-engines. They are a coarse and ferocious caricature of the London bargemen, and their chief occupation seems to consist in drinking, fighting and gambling. One fellow, who was half drunk (or, in western language, 'corned'), was relating with great satisfaction how he had hid himself in a wood that skirted the road, and (in time of peace) has shot an unsuspecting and inoffensive Indian, who was passing with a wild turkey on his shoulder: he concluded by saying that he had thrown the body into a thicket, and had taken the bird home for his own dinner. He seemed quite proud of his exploit, and that he would as soon shoot an Indian as a fox or an otter. I thought he was only making an idle boast; but some of the bystanders assured me that it was a well known fact, and yet he had never been either tried or punished. This murderer is called a Christian, and his victim a heathen!"

Charles Augustus Murray, *Travels in North America 1834-36*

228 *Muscatine, Iowa*

229 *Burlington, Iowa*

230 *Fort Madison, Iowa*

231 *Nauvoo, Illinois*

232 *Warsaw, Illinois*

233 *The Artist's Encampment*

234 *Quincy, Illinois*

235 *Hannibal, Missouri*

236 *Clarksville, Missouri*

237 *The Piasau Rock Near Alton, Illinois*

"Within the recollection of men now living, rude paintings of the monster were visible on the cliffs above Alton, Illinois. To these images, when passing in their canoes, the Indians were accustomed to make offerings of maize, tobacco and gunpowder. They are now quite obliterated."

J. L. McConnel, *Western Characters, or Types of Border Life* (1853)

238 *Balustrade Bluffs with the Grand Staircase*

239 *Alton, Illinois*

"This we learned was Alton. While our crew was mooring our boat upon the steep bank, we gazed with great curiosity and interest upon this place, larger than any we had seen since leaving Detroit fourteen hundred miles behind. To the left the rocks were crowned by a large solid looking building which we were told was the penitentiary. In front was a row of high ware-houses made of limestone, filled with goods and men; while a mass of houses and steeples at our right were brightly reflecting the rays of the sinking sun. The shore presented a busy scene; men and carts were transporting goods or luggage, or busily employed Macadamizing the bank—a great improvement upon the wharves we had passed."

Mrs. Steele, *A Summer Journey in the West* (1841)

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240 *Herculaneum, Missouri*

241 *Cairo, Mouth of the Ohio*

"Floating down the Great River, 'the Father of Rivers', between Indian camps, fires, boats, Indians standing or leaping, and shouting, or rather yelling, upon the shores; funeral erections on the heights; between vinecladad islands, and Indian canoes paddling among them. I would yet retain these strange foreign scenes; but I precede onward, passing them by. We leave this political wilderness, the region of the youthful Mississippi, and advance toward that of civilization. The weather is mild, the sun and the shade sport among the mountains—a poetical, romantic life."

Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties* (October 24, 1850)

242 *Memphis, Tennessee*

"The entire company of passengers was assembled to watch the objects on shore;—the cotton bales piled on the top of the bluff; the gentleman on horseback on the ridge, who was eyeing us in return; the old steamer, fitted up as a store, and moored by the bank, for the chance of traffic with voyagers, and above all, the slaves, ascending and descending the steep path, with trays of provisions on their heads,—the new bread and fresh vegetables with which we were to be cheered."

Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

243 *Mouth of the Arkansas*

244 *Cotton Plantation*

"The negro village that surrounds a planter's house, is, for the most part, the prototype of the village of Owen of Lanark. It is generally oblong rows of uniform huts. In some instances I have seen them of brick, but more generally of cypress timber, and they are made tight and comfortable."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

245 *Natchez, Mississippi*

"Every one wished to reach and leave Natchez before dark; and this was accomplished. As soon as we came in sight of the bluff on which the city is built, we received a hint from the steward to lock our state-rooms, and leave nothing about; as there was no preventing the towns-people from coming on board. We went on shore. No place can be more beautifully situated;—on a bend of the Mississippi, with a low platform on which all ugly traffic of the place can be transacted; bluffs on each side; a steep road up to the town; and a noble prospect from thence. The streets are sloping, and the drains are remarkably well built; but the place is far from healthy, being subject to the yellow fever. It is one of the oldest of the southern cities, though with a new,—that is, perpetually shifting population. . . . I believe the landing-place at Natchez has not improved its reputation since the descriptions which have been given of it by former travellers. When we returned to the boat, after an hour's walk, we found the captain very anxious to clear his vessel of the towns-people, and get away. The cabin was half full of the intruders, and the heated, wearied appearance of our company at tea bore testimony to the fatigues of the afternoon."

Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

246 *Bayou Sacra, Louisiana*

247 *Convent Du Sacrament*

"One night, when Mr. E. was just concluding the watch . . . the boat ran foul of another, and thus parted in two, beginning instantly to sink. Mr. E. roused his lady from her sleep, made her thrust her feet into his boots, threw his cloak over her, and carried her up on deck, not doubting that, from her being the only lady on board, she would be the first to be accommodated in the boat. But the boat had been seized by some gamblers who were wide awake, and ready dressed, when the accident happened, and they had got clear of the steamer. Mr. E. shouted to them to take in the

lady,—only the lady: he promised that neither Judge H. nor himself should enter the boat. They might have come back for every one on board with perfect safety: but he could not move them. Judge H. meanwhile had secured a plank on which he hoped to seat Mrs. E., while Mr. E. and himself, both good swimmers, might push it before them to the shore, if they could escape the eddy from the sinking vessel. Mr. E. heard next the voice of an old gentleman whom he knew, who was in the boat, and trying to persuade the fellows to turn back. Mr. E. shouted to him to shoot the wretches if they would not come. The old gentleman took the hint, and held a pistol (which however was not loaded) at the head of the man who was steering: upon which they turned back and took in, not only Mrs. E., her party, and their luggage, but everybody else: so no lives were lost."

Harriet Martineau. *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

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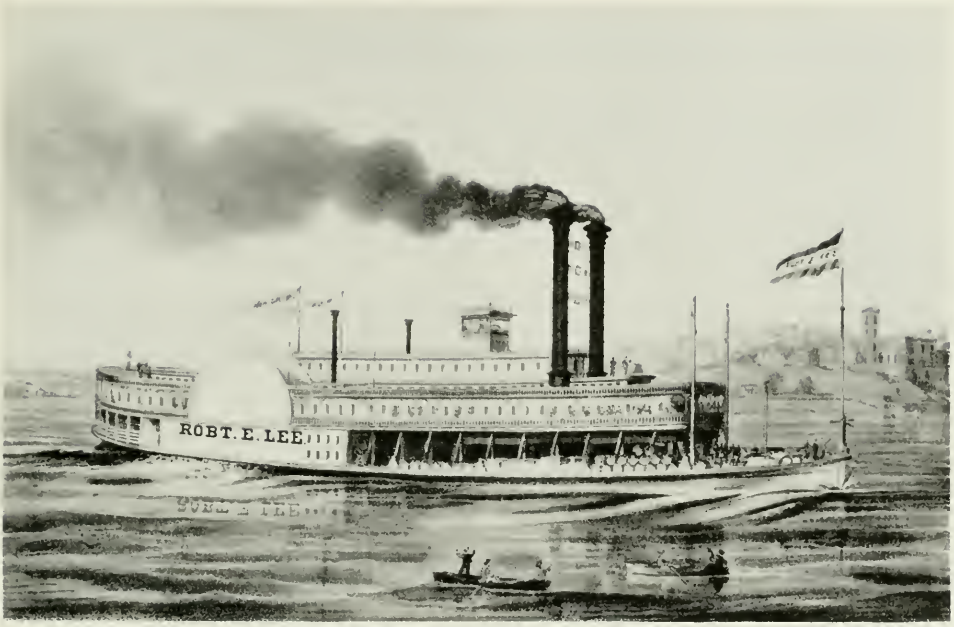
248 *New Orleans*

249 A. E. Mathews: *Battle of Shiloh. The Gunboats Tylor and Lexington Supporting the National troops by firing up the ravine back of Pittsburgh Landing*

Lithograph colored, 10½″ x 15⅜″. Sketched by A. F. Mathews. 31st Regt. O.N.U.S.A. Middleton, Strobridge & Co. Lith. Cincinnati, Ohio. Undated Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois



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250 A. McLean: *Steamer Natchez*

Lithograph colored. 12⅜″ x 19½″. Lithographed and published by A. McLean. St. Louis, 1870

Collection Mr. Franklin J. Meine, Chicago

This print has been perforated and transparent red material has been applied to the back so that when illuminated from the back the engines and the stacks would show a reddish glow. A companion print of the *Robert E. Lee* by A. McLean has been found both with and without these perforations.

251 A. McLean: *Steamer Robt. E. Lee*

Lithograph colored. 12½″ x 19½″. Lithographed and Pub. by A. McLean. Cor. 3rd & Pine, St. Louis. Undated

City Art Museum of St. Louis

The building at the right is Selma Hall, Selma, Missouri.

"Nothing surprised me more than to see that very few of the ladies looked out of the boat, unless their attention was particularly called. All the morning the greater number sat in their own cabin, working collars, netting purses, or doing nothing; all the evening they assumed themselves in the other cabin, dancing or talking. And such scenery as we were passing! I was in perpetual amazement that, with all that has been said of the grandeur of this mighty river, so little testimony has been borne to its beauty."

Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838)

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252 Joseph Rusling Meeker: *Louisiana Scenery—The River Bank*
Steel engraving uncolored. 4⅞″ x 6⅜″. Engr.: R. Hinshelwood. Undated
Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans

253 Joseph Rusling Meeker: *Back of Pointe Coupee, Louisiana*
Steel engraving uncolored. 4⅞″ x 5⅜″. Engr.: R. Hinshelwood. Undated
Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans

254 William Momberger: *Wooding Up, On the Mississippi*
Engraving colored. 12¾″ x 17″. Engraved by C. Rost. 1867
Boatmen's National Bank, St. Louis

William Momberger, born in Germany in 1829, came to the United States in 1848 where he painted landscapes and did some illustrating. Christian Rost, also born in Germany, came to the United States and carried on engraving here. At one time he was employed by the American Bank Note Company.

255 Thomas Muller: *Nouvelle Orleans Vue Prise d'Algiers*
Nueva Orleans Vista tomada desde Algiers

Lithograph colored, 16¼" x 24⅛". Undated
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

"One hundred miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, and something more than a thousand from the mouth of the Ohio, just below a sharp point of the river is situated on its east bank, the city of New Orleans, the great commercial capital of the Mississippi valley. The position for a commercial city is unrivalled, I believe, by any one in the world. At a proper distance from the Gulf of Mexico.—on the banks of a stream which may be said almost to water a world.—but a little distance from Lake Ponchartrain, and connected with it by a navigable canal,—the immense alluvion contiguous to it—penetrated in all directions either by *Bayous* formed by nature, or canals which cost little more trouble in the making, than ditches.—steamboats visiting it from fifty different shores,—possessing the immediate agriculture of its own state, the richest in America, and as rich as any in the world, with the continually increasing agriculture of the upper country, its position far surpasses that of New York itself. It has one dreary drawback—the insalubrity of its situation. Could the immense swamps between it and the bluffs be drained, and the improvements commenced in the city completed: in short, could its atmosphere ever become a dry one, it would soon leave the greatest cities of the Union behind.

"Great efforts are making towards this result. Uphappily, when the dogstar rises upon its sky, the yellow fever is but too sure to come in its train. Nothwithstanding the annual, or at least the biennial visits of this pestilence: although its besom sweeps off multitudes of unacclimated poor, and compels the rich to fly: notwithstanding the terror, that is everywhere associated with the name of the city, it is rapidly advancing in population."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)

256 Francisco Scacki: *A Correct View of the Battle Near the City of New Orleans, on Eighth of January, 1815*

Copper plate engraving, 18⅛" x 24¼". Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

257 John Senex: *A Map of Louisiana and of the River Mississippi* (Illustrated page 26)

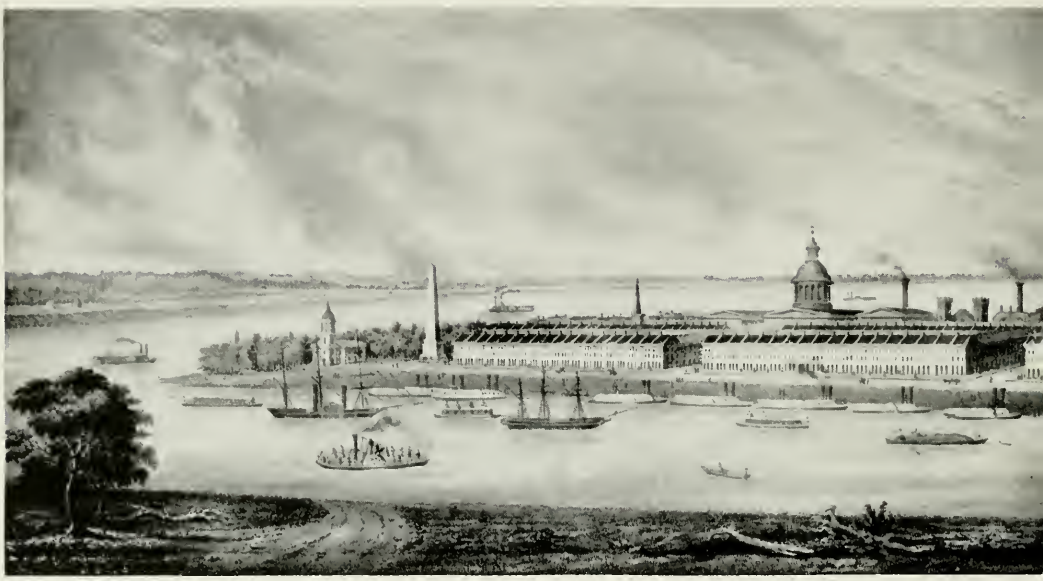
Engraving colored, 19" x 22½". Undated
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

"If you will throw a long, pliant apple-paring over your shoulder, it will pretty fairly shape itself into an average section of the Mississippi River . . . "

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

"Of all the variable things in creation the most uncertain are the action of a jury, the state of a woman's mind, and the condition of the Missouri River."

Sioux City Register, March 28, 1868



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258 S. Seymour: *Battle of New Orleans and Defeat of the British under the Command of Sir Edward Packenham, by Genl. Andrew Jackson, 8th Jany. 1815*

Engraving colored, 11″ x 16½″. Published by Wm. H. Morgan, No. 114 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Drawn by S. Seymour. Engraved by J. W. Steel. Undated

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

259 B. F. Smith, Jr.: *New Orleans from St. Patrick's Church, 1852*

Lithograph colored, 23½″ x 40″. J. W. Hill & Smith del.

Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans

260 William Strickland (1787-1854): *Prospective View of the City of Cairo, at the Junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi River, Illinois*

Lithograph colored, 12″ x 22¼″. Wm. Strickland, Ach't del. P. S. Duval. Lithogr. Phila. Drawn on Stone by A. Hoffy. Undated

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

261 A. C. Warren: *City of St. Louis*

Steel engraving uncolored. 5½" x 9¼". 1872
Collection Miss Catherine Filsinger. St. Louis

262 Alfred R. Waud: *The Levee at St. Louis*

Wood engraving colored. 6⅛" x 9⅛". W. Roberts sc. Undated
Collection Miss Margaret C. Dockery. St. Louis

263 William Edward West: *Battle of New Orleans and Death of Major General Pakenham on the 8th of January. 1815*

Engraving colored. 13" x 19". West. Del. J. Yaeger Sc. Printed by Y. Sauerman. Published by McCarthy and Davis. Booksellers. Printers and Stationers. S.E. corner of Ninth & Race St., Philadelphia, July 1817

Knox College. Galesburg. Illinois

William Edward West (1788-1875) was born in Lexington. Kentucky. About 1807 he went to Philadelphia where he studied under Thomas Sully and he stayed there until 1819 when he went to Natchez. Mr. Evans of Natchez sent him abroad and he painted Byron and Shelley in Italy. distinguished Frenchmen in Paris in 1824 and celebrities in London for fifteen years. In 1839 he returned to New York where he stayed until his last move in 1855 which took him to Nashville.

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264 JOHN CASPER WILD: *The Alex Scott passing Selma, Missouri*

Lithograph colored. 23½" x 31¾". Drawn and lithographed by J. C. Wild, boat sketched by H. S. Blood

Collection Mr. Arthur Hoskins, St. Louis

J. C. Wild also printed this same scene in his *Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated*. At a later date the *Alex Scott* was superimposed by H. S. Blood. Mark Twain cubbed as a pilot on the *Alex Scott*.

"The weather has been bad ever since we left Baltimore. . . . We first encountered ice at Wheeling, and it has floated down the Ohio all around us, as well as up the Mississippi to pleasant St. Louis. And such a steamer as we have come in from Louisville here!—the very filthiest of all filthy old rat-traps I ever travelled in: and the fare worse, certainly much worse, and so scanty withal that our worthy commander could not have given us another meal had we been detained a night longer. I wrote a famous long letter to my Lucy on the subject, and as I know you will hear about it, will not repeat the account of our situation on board the 'Gallant'—a pretty name, too, but alas! her name, like mine, is only a shadow, for as she struck a sawyer one night we all ran like mad to make ready to leap overboard: but as God would have it, our lives and the 'gallant'—were spared—she from sinking, and we from swimming amid rolling and crashing ice. THE LADIES screamed, the babies squalled, the dogs yelled, the steam roared, the captain (who, by the way, is a very gallant man) swore—not like an angel, but like the very devil—and all, was confusion and uproar, just as if Miller's prophecy had actually been nigh. Luckily, as we had had our *supper*, as the thing was called on board the *'Gallant'*, and every man appeared to feel resolute, if not resolved to die.

"I would have given much at that moment for a picture of the whole. Our *compagnons de voyage*, about one hundred and fifty, were composed of Buckeys, Wolverines, Suckers, Hoosiers, and gamblers, with drunkards of each and every denomination, their ladies and babies of the same nature, and specifically the dirtiest of the dirty. We had to dip the water for washing from the river in tin basins, soap ourselves all from the same cake, and wipe the one hundred and fifty with the same solitary one towel rolling over a pin, until it would have been difficult to say, even with your keen eyes, whether it was manufactured of hemp, tow, flax or cotton. My bed has two sheets, of course, measuring seven-eights of a yard wide; my pillow was filled with cornshucks. Harris faired even worse than I, and our "state-room' was evidently better fitted for the smoking of hams than the smoking of Christians. When it rained outside, it also rained within, and on one particular morning, when the snow melted on the upper deck, or roof, it was a lively scene to see each person seeking for a spot free from the many spouts overhead".

Letter from John James Audubon to Mr. James Hall, St. Louis, March 29, 1843, *The Missouri River Journals* (1843)

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265 John Casper Wild: *North East View of St. Louis from the Illinois Shore*
Lithograph colored, 10″ x 15¼″. Published at the Republican office. Undated
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

266 John Casper Wild: *Panorama of St. Louis (North, South, East, West)*
Lithograph uncolored. 11″ x 21″. 4 folding plates from his *Valley of Mississippi Illustrated*, 1841
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

267 John Casper Wild: *View of Front St., St. Louis*
Lithograph colored, 9¾″ x 15¼″. Publ. & Lith. by J. C. Wild, 1840
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

"The markets here abound with all the good things of the land, and of nature's creation. To give you an idea of this, read the following items: Grouse, two for a York shilling; three chickens for the same; Turkeys, wild or tame, 25 cents; flour $2.00 a barrel; butter, sixpence for the best—fresh, and really good. Beef, 3 to 4 cents; veal, the same; pork, 2 cents; venison hams, large and dried, 15 cents each; potatoes, 10 cents a bushel; Ducks, three for a shilling; Wild Geese, 10 cents each; Canvasback Ducks, a shilling a pair; vegetables for the asking, as it were; and only think, in the midst of this abundance and cheapness, we

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are paying at the rate of $9.00 per week at our hotel, the Glasgow, and at the Planters we were asked $10.00".

Letter from John James Audubon to Mr. James Hall, St. Louis, March 29, 1843. *The Missouri River Journals* (1843)

268 John Casper Wild: *View of St. Louis from the Illinois Shore*

Lithograph uncolored, 6½" x 8½". Published by the artist, St. Louis, 1841 as the frontispiece for J. C. Wild, *Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated* Collection Mr. Stratford Lee Morton, St. Louis

"We went on board between ten and eleven at night, and the next morning were in the waters of the Missouri, which rush into those of the Mississippi, about eighteen miles north of St. Louis, with such vehemence, and with such a volume of water, that it altogether changes the character of the Mississippi. There is an end now to its calmness and its bright tint. It now flows onward restless and turbid; stocks and trees and every kind of lumber which can float, are whirled along upon its waves, all carried hither by the Missouri, which, during its impetuous career of more than three thousand miles through the wilderness of the West, bears along with it everything that it finds in its way. Missouri is a sort of Xantippe, but Mississippi is no Socrates, because he evidently allows himself to be disturbed by the influence of his ill-tempered spouse."

Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties* (November 3, 1850)

"All I want in this creation
Is a little-bittee wife
And a big plantation."
Old song

The architectural section of this book has been confined to Louisiana because the Mississippi's unique contribution to American architecture, the mansion and dependencies of the Southern planter, attained its most abundant and perfect flowering in that state.

Clarence John Laughlin has photographed many Louisiana plantations and has recorded his findings in a recent book, *Ghosts Along the Mississippi*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, in 1948. The descriptive notes are taken from that book and from material furnished by Mr. Laughlin who has lent all of the photographs of plantation architecture.

The remarkable group of architectural drawings, beautifully rendered in pen lines and watercolor, are here published for the first time. Only one of the buildings, the tobacco warehouse, New Orleans, has been identified. The dwellings may have been designed for plantations or Louisiana town houses.

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269 *Parlange Plantation*, near New Roads, Louisiana. ca. 1750

The builder, Marquis de Vincent de Ternant of Danville-sur-Meuse, obtained the land grant from the French crown. At one time an indigo and later a sugar plantation, the place remains in the hands of his descendants.

270 *Parlange Plantation, Pigeonnier*. ca. 1750

At some distance from the main house are two *pigeonniers* (dove cotes), octagonal in plan, the roofs characteristically shingled and topped with finials. Architecturally this is related to the style of northern France.

271 *Ormond Plantation*, near Norco, Louisiana, before 1790

Built before 1790 by Pierre de Trépagnier who received his land grant from the Spanish Governor, Bernardo de Galvez. It is of cypress frame construction with the interstices filled with brick, moss and mortar. The columns were made, as so frequently was the custom, of brick plastered over.

272 *Elmwood Plantation*, near New Orleans. ca. 1762

This is one of the oldest plantation houses, having been built, it is thought, about 1762 by Lafrénière who was then attorney-general for the Colony. It was later occupied by W. C. C. Claiborne, the first American to govern Louisiana. In 1940 it was burned and only the brick walls, twenty-two inches thick, and the columns were left standing.

273 *Elmwood Plantation, Gothic Revival Stable*. ca. 1850

274 *Greenwood Plantation*, near St. Francisville, Louisiana. ca. 1830

William Ruffin Barrow built this plantation on his tract of twelve thousand acres. Federal troops destroyed all of the out-buildings, but the house itself was saved and served as a hospital. It has the customary floor plan: a great central hall, seventy feet in length, flanked by two rooms on either side. The panelled cypress doors are hung on silver hinges and fitted with silver door knobs.

275 *Greenwood Plantation, Plaster Ornament*. ca. 1830

This plaster ornament enhances the ceiling of the second floor parlor.

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276 *Rosedown Plantation*, near St. Francisville, Louisiana. ca. 1830

Built by Daniel Turnbull for his young bride whose family built Greenwood Plantation, also included in this exhibition. The Georgian feeling. Greek Revival detail and certain structural elements recall architectural practices more common to Virginia than to Louisiana.

277 *Three Oaks Plantation*, New Orleans. ca. 1840

This house, now owned by the American Sugar Refinery, derives its name from the three oaks at one side of the house. One of the columns, since repaired, was shattered by cannon fire from Admiral Farragut's fleet during the attack on the Chalmette Batteries. It is one of the earliest houses of its type.

278 *Chrétien Point Plantation*, near Sunset, Louisiana. ca. 1835

Built by Hippolyte Chrétien II who employed Samuel Young and Jonathan Harris as carpenter and bricklayer and "undertakers of building". The brick columns, originally plastered over, and the entablature of cypress wood illustrate the indigenous elements that influenced Louisiana architecture.

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279 *Evergreen Plantation, near Edgard, Louisiana.* ca. 1830

Possibly built by Pierre Becnel who married Desirée Brou in 1830. Two rows of three different kinds of trees formed great alleys that ran from the levee, past the main house and on to the cane fields. Flanking the main house were *pigeonniers*, one of which can be seen here; and somewhat farther removed from the main house were flanking *garçonnières*. Since the destruction of Uncle Sam Plantation, Evergreen presents the most complete plantation group still standing in Louisiana.

280 *Evergreen Plantation, Plantation Office (?)* ca. 1835

This is thought to have been the plantation office. It is of post construction filled with brick. The cherub is one of several figures recently added to replace the original statues which have been lost. This building stands back of the main house and opposite the plantation kitchen.

281 *Evergreen Plantation, Privy.* ca. 1835

Clarence John Laughlin wrote in *Ghosts Along the Mississippi:* "Midway between these (probably two carriage houses) there was a little double privy of plastered brick, executed in Greek Revival design—and now unique in Louisiana. No existing small building tells us so much, perhaps, nor so gracefully, of the height achieved in the art of living by Louisiana plantation culture, than this exquisite little privy; so delicately set off by the lustrous and lovely grays of the moss, and the dark figure of the cherub with his sheaf of wheat—the whole ensemble fascinating . . . "

282 *Evergreen Plantation, Slave Cabins.* ca. 1835

Two great lines of trees set back and to the side of the main house marked the slaves' cabins. The one row remaining shows cabins designed to accommodate one to three families. Built of cypress and attuned to the climatic conditions, they are functional in the best modern sense of the term.

283 *Oak Alley (Bon Séjour),* near Vacherie, Louisiana. 1832-36

Built by Jacques Télesphore Roman III with George Swainey as architect. Before the main house, extending three hundred yards to the levee, there were two lines of oaks, said to have been planted by some Frenchman in the 1690's. Josephine Pilié, Jacques Roman's wife, named the plantation Bon Séjour, but travellers on the Mississippi called it more simply, Oak Alley. This was the first of the great Louisiana plantation houses to be restored.

284 *Oak Alley (Bon Séjour), The Alley of Live Oaks*

285 *Houmas House (Burnside Plantation)*, near Burnside, Louisiana. 1800-1840

The two story, square plan, continuous gallery and portico, and hipped roof with long dormers summarize much of what was best in Louisiana architecture. Shade was provided by the deep verandahs and shuttered windows, and the spacious central hall cooled the house.

286 *Houmas House (Burnside Plantation), Spiral Staircase*

The spiral staircase is considered to be one of the handsomest in Louisiana. The slight irregularities in the railing are not photographic distortions.

287 *Houmas House (Burnside Plantation), Garçonnière.* ca. 1820

The garçonnière was originally intended to be used by the son of the family and his friends. Later they served the more general purpose of a guest house. As a rule there were, in the symmetrical scheme of things which prevailed in Louisiana architecture, two such buildings at each side of the main house. This simple hexagonal building of plastered brick has a classic quality emphasized by the repetition of the rounded door and window in the blind arcade.

288 *Madewood Plantation*, near Napoleonville, Louisiana. 1848

Henry Howard was the architect who designed this house for Thomas Pugh and his wife, Eliza Foley. Tradition has it that four years were spent in making the brick and cutting the lumber, all of which came from the plantation, hence the name Madewood, and four years more in the construction. The Greek Revival is seen here in the Ionic columns resting on a stylobate, the pediment with a fan light, and in the attached wings which repeat the configuration of the main house and at the same time supplant the free standing *garçonnières.*

289 *Madewood Plantation, Second Floor Gallery.* 1848

290 *Afton Villa*, near St. Francisville, Louisiana. 1790-1849

In reality this is two houses, the one inside the other. The original house was built about 1790 by John Crocker; it passed from him to

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Bartholomew Barrow whose son David later possessed it. In 1840 David Barrow married for the second time and his wife felt that a man of her husband's position and eminence needed a house more suitable to his position in society. The husband gave his consent on the condition that the old house remain, and so it is included within the fabric of the building seen here, forty rooms surrounding the original four. Cypress was carved and cut in a fine example of "carpenter's frenzy" to create the Neo-Gothic effect. The original plan called for a moat and portcullis.

291 *Afton Villa, Spiral Staircase*

292 *Nottaway Plantation*, near White Castle, Louisiana. *Ballroom*. 1857

Nottaway was completed in 1857 by the architect Henry Howard, who was the builder of Madewood, for the Randolph family of Virginia. The house consists of two floors over a raised basement. Three wings are attached to the main body of the house.

293 *Belle Grove Plantation*, near White Castle, Louisiana. 1857

This stands as the greatest ruined house in the Mississippi Valley. John Andrews, a wealthy Virginian, commissioned James Gallier and his son, the foremost Greek Revival architects in the South, with the indication that no account of construction expenditures need be kept. The seventy-five rooms were elaborately finished and furnished and, again, there were silver door knobs and scutcheons.

James Gallier, Sr., was born in Ireland in 1798 and studied architecture in Dublin and later in England before coming to New York in 1832 where he worked for a brief time with Minard Lafevre. In 1834 he went to Mobile and later to New Orleans where he practiced with Charles Dakin as partner until they separated and each established an office. Gallier died in the shipwreck of the *Evening Star* off Cape Hatteras in 1868. James Gallier, Jr., (1829-1870) continued the practice of his father.

294 *Belle Grove Plantation, Side Verandah*

In concept and in details this is a departure from the characteristic Louisiana plantation. The many assymetrical features, the projecting bays and the rather random disposition of the various elements suggest the Gothic Revival despite the insistence of Greek Revival treatment of detail. The basement is built of brick plastered over, but here the plaster has been treated to imitate masonry.

295 *Belle Grove Plantation, Column at the Corner of the Verandah*

The fluted columns are of plastered brick and the enormous capitals, six feet high, were carved from cypress wood in four sections which were then affixed to the brick column and gilded.

296 *The Hermitage*, Ascension Parish, Louisiana. 1812-1840

This house was built by Michel Doradou Bringier who was an aide to Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. He celebrated the victory with the General in his recently completed house and called his house The Hermitage after the General's residence in Tennessee. Some remodeling took place about 1849 when the handsome columns seen here replaced the earlier brick columns and wooden colonettes.

297 *Windsor Plantation*, between Natchez and Vicksburg, Mississippi. ca. 1861

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298 *Woodlawn Plantation*, near Napoleonville, Louisiana. 1839

Built in the Lafourche country, in that part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi. Woodlawn was the accomplishment of William W. Pugh. Some four years were required to bring the house to completion and, despite the use of slave labor, $70,000 was required. The capitals here were made of stone, a rarity in Louisiana, as no stone was there to be found.

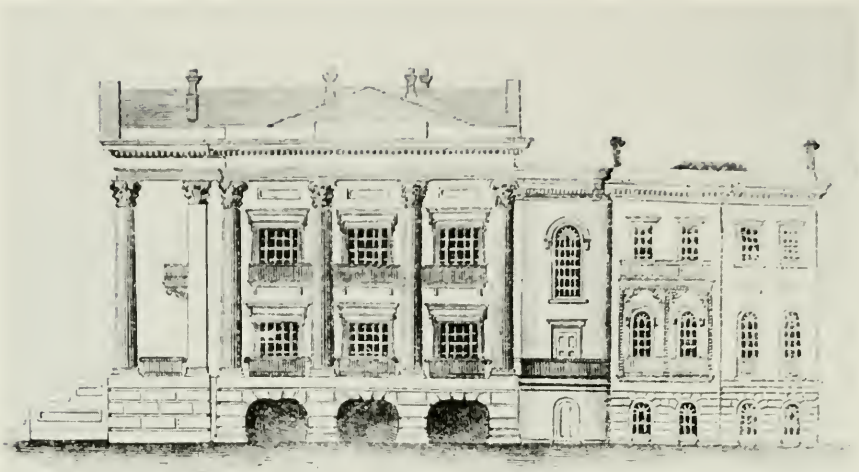
299 *Sale notice of Belle Grove Plantation*. 1867 (Detail illustrated)

Woodcuts after drawings by James Gallier. 1857, 10½″ x 9″
Collection Mrs. George W. Pigman, New Orleans

300 *Architectural Drawing of a Plantation House*, south elevation

Pen drawing touched with watercolor. 13¼″ x 19¾″. ca. 1835
Collection Mr. Albert Lieutaud, New Orleans

A beautifully proportioned design in the Greek Revival style. Architect unknown.



SIDE ELEVATION.

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301 *Architectural Drawing of a Plantation House and Floor Plan, Enlarged and Remodelled*

Pen drawing with watercolor washes, 19″ x 29¼″. ca. 1850
Collection Mr. Albert Lieutaud, New Orleans

A rather simple, small house of about 1830 in the Greek Revival style is here enlarged and remodelled in the Italianate style of about 1850. Architect unknown.

302 *Architectural Drawing of a Plantation House*

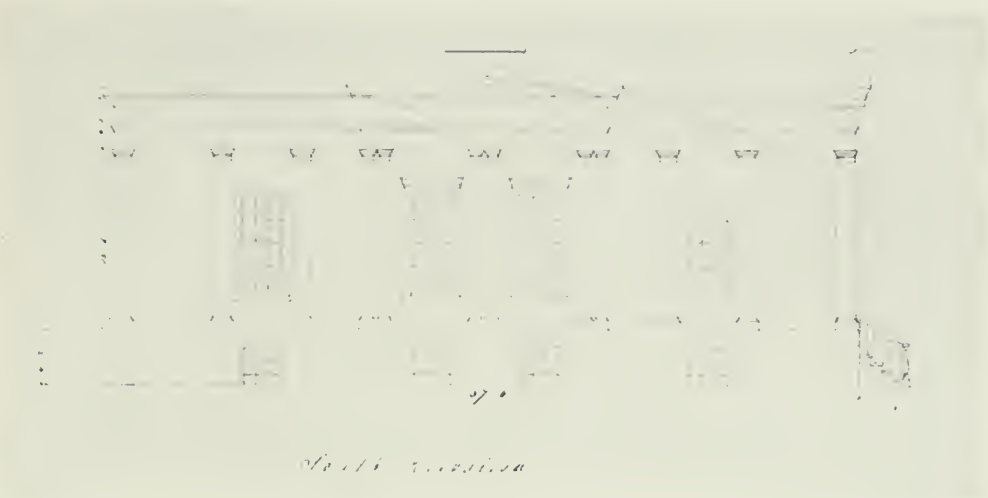
Pen drawing with watercolor washes, 15¼″ x 28″. ca. 1850
Collection Mr. Albert Lieutaud, New Orleans

This commodious wooden mansion of yellow clapboards and rich detail painted gray exemplifies the fusion of Greek Revival proportions and doorway detail with Italianate elements typical of the mid-century. Architect unknown.

303 *Architectural Drawing and Floor Plan of a Villa for Mrs. H. C. Cammack*

Pen drawing with watercolor washes. 19″ x 29¼″. Gallier, Turpin & Co., Architects, New Orleans, 1854
Collection Mr. Albert Lieutaud. New Orleans

This deliberately picturesque design by the foremost nineteenth century architect of Louisiana, clearly shows the influence of Italian villa architecture, but still retains much detail derived from the Greek Revival.



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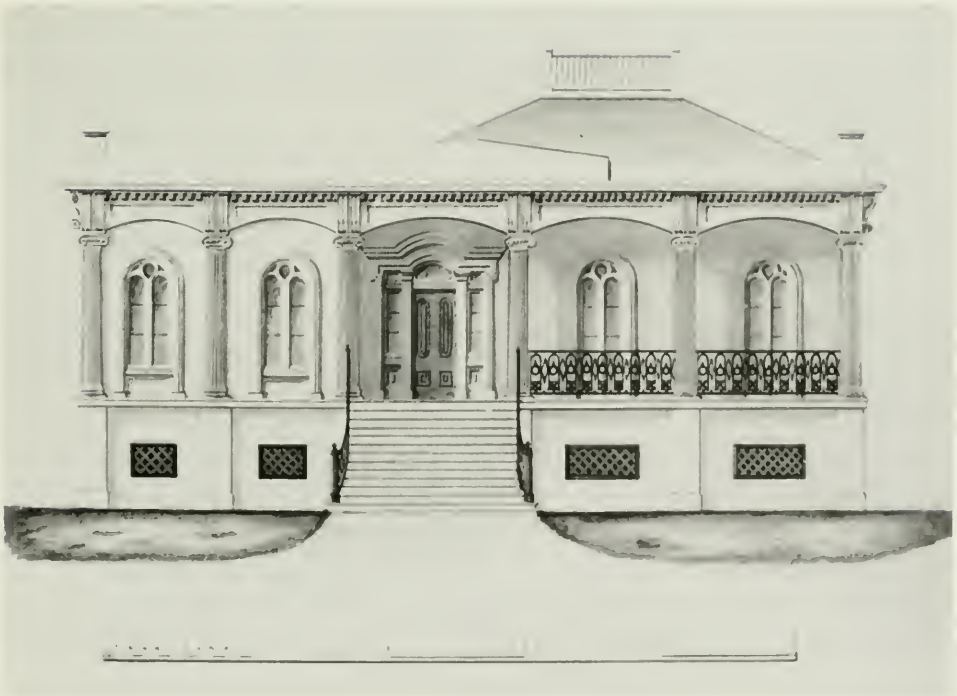

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[305]

304 *Architectural Drawing of Elevation of Tobacco Warehouse on Tchoupitoulas Street for Messrs. A. V. M. Heine,* New Orleans

Pen drawing with watercolor washes. 16″ x 30¼″. Gallier, Turpin & Co., Architects. New Orleans, March 29th. 1854
Collection Mr. Albert Lieutaud. New Orleans

305 *Captain Isaiah Sellers' Monument,* Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis

Capt. Sellers was one of the oldest and most highly respected pilots on the Mississippi. He contributed occasional notes on shipping to the *New Orleans Picayune* which he signed "Mark Twain". After Capt. Sellers' death in 1864 Samuel Clemens adopted this pseudonym.

"The captain had an honorable pride in his profession and an abiding love for it. He ordered his monument before he died, and kept it near him until he did die. It stands over his grave now, in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis. It is his image, in marble, standing on duty at the pilot-wheel; and worthy to stand and confront criticism, for it represents a man who in life would have stayed there till he burned to a cinder, if duty required it."

Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1874)

[306]

306 *Captain Claiborne Greene Wolff's Monument*. Bellefontaine Cemetery. St. Louis

Capt. Wolff, called George by his friends, was born in Louisville in 1829 and died October 18, 1881.

"He sleeps amid the peaceful shades of Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, and his ashes repose beneath a monument erected by his many friends. Carved thereon, in enduring marble, is the representation of a Mississippi River steamboat, fitting symbol of his chosen and idolized vocation."

E. W. Gould, *Fifty Years on the Mississippi* (1889)

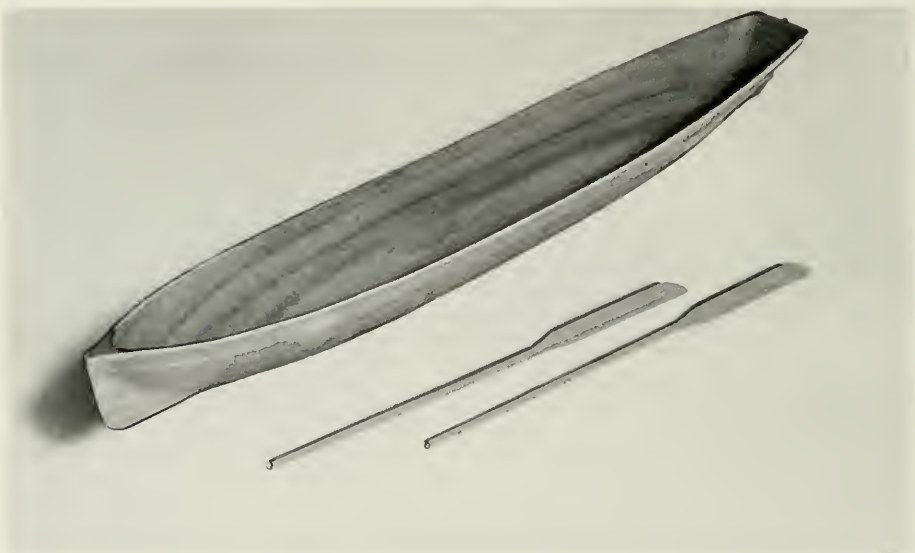
RIVER BOAT MODELS AND APPURTENANCES

The thirteen scale models of Mississippi river boats provide a graphic survey of the principal types of watercraft that plied the stream for a century and a quarter, from the primitive pirogue to the palatial twin-stacked steamers of the 'seventies and their more modest twentieth century descendants. The artist's records of the fabulous interiors of these "floating palaces" are rare; one of these decorates the menu of the Steamboat M.S. Mepham [324].

"The first thing that strikes a stranger from the Atlantic, arrived at the boat landing, is the singular, whimsical, and amusing spectacle, of the varieties of water-craft, of all shapes and structures. There is the stately barge, of the size of a large Atlantic schooner, with its raised and outlandish looking deck. This kind of craft, however, which required twenty-five hands to work it up stream, is almost gone into disuse, and though so common ten years ago, is now scarcely seen. Next there is the keel-boat, of a long, slender, and elegant form, and generally carrying fifteen to thirty tons. This boat is formed to be easily propelled over shallow waters in the summer season, and in low stages of the water is still much used, and runs on waters not yet frequented by steam-boats. Next in order are the Kentucky flats, or in the vernacular phrase, 'broad-horns', a species of ark, very nearly resembling a New England pig-stye. They are fifteen feet wide, and from forty to one hundred feet in length, and carry from twenty to seventy tons. Some of them, that are called family-boats, and used by families in descending the river, are very large and roomy, and have comfortable and separate apartments, fitted up with chairs, beds, tables and stoves. It is no uncommon spectacle to see a large family, old and young, servants, cattle, hogs, horses, sheep, fowls, and animals of all kinds, bringing to recollection the cargo of the ancient ark, all embarked, and floating down on the same bottom. Then there are what the people call 'covered sleds', or ferry-flats, and Allegany-skiffs, carrying from eight to twelve tons. In another place are pirogues of from two to four tons burthen hollowed sometimes from one prodigious tree, or from the trunks of two trees united, and a plank rim fitted to the upper part. There are common skiffs, and other small craft, named from the manner of making them, 'dug-outs', and canoes hollowed from smaller trees. These boats are in great numbers, and these names are specific, and clearly define the boats to which they belong. But beside these, in this land of freedom and invention, with a little aid perhaps, from the influence of the moon, there are monstrous anomalies, reducible to no specific class of boats, and only illustrating the whimsical archetypes of things that have previously existed in the brain of inventive men, who reject the slavery of being obliged to build in any received form. You can scarcely imagine an abstract form in which a boat can be built, that

in some part of the Ohio or Mississippi you will not see, actually in motion. . . . This variety of boats, so singular in form, and most of them apparently so frail, is destined in many instances to voyages of from twelve hundred to three thousand miles. Keel-boats, built at this place, start on hunting expeditions for points on the Missouri, Arkansas, and Red River, at such distances from Pittsburgh as these. Such are the inland voyages on these long streams, and the terms of navigation are as novel as are the forms of the boats."

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826)



[307]

307 *Pirogue, with Paddles*

Length 15″

National Park Service, Old Court House, St. Louis

Pirogues, hollowed out of logs, were used by the early voyageurs and fur trappers on the Mississippi and its tributaries.

308 *Flatboat, with Rudder and Sweeps*

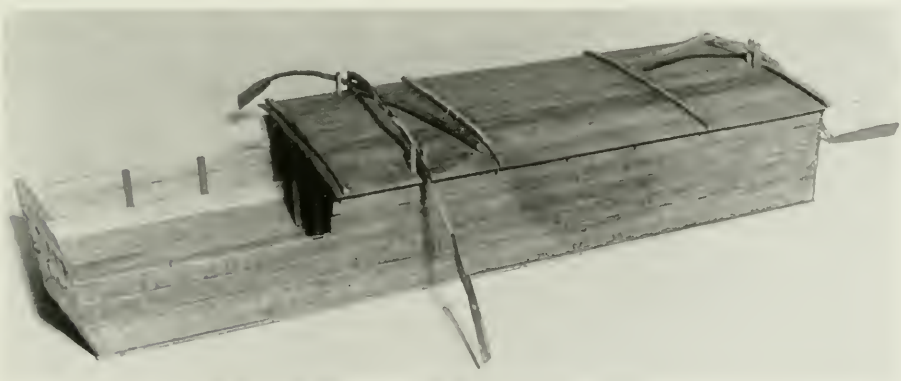
Length 26″

National Park Service, Old Court House, St. Louis

"The keel-boats and barges were employed in conveying produce of different kinds besides furs, such as lead, flour, pork and other articles. These returned laden with sugar, coffee, and dry goods suited for the markets of St. Geneviève and St. Louis on the upper Mississippi, or branched off and ascended the Ohio to the foot of the Falls near Louisville

in Kentucky. But, reader, follow their movements, and judge for yourself of the fatigues, troubles, and risks of the men employed in that navigation. A keel-boat was generally manned by ten hands, principally Canadian French, and a patroon or master. These boats seldom carried more than from twenty to thirty tons . . . Each boat or barge carried its own provisions. We shall suppose one of these boats under way, and, having passed Natchez, entering upon what were the difficulties of their ascent. Wherever a point projected, so as to render the course or bend below it of some magnitude, there was an eddy, the returning current of which was sometimes as strong as that of the middle of the great stream. The bargemen therefore rowed up pretty close under the bank, and had merely to keep watch in the bow, lest the boat should run against a planter or sawyer. But the boat has reached the point, and there the current is to all appearance of double strength, and right against it. The men, who have all rested a few minutes, are ordered to take their stations, and lay hold of their oars, for the river must be crossed, it being seldom possible to double such a point, and proceed along the same shore. The boat is crossing, its head slanting to the current, which is, however, too strong for the rowers, and when the other side of the river has been reached, it has drifted perhaps a quarter of a mile."

John James Audubon. *Episodes* (ca. 1833)



[308]

309 *Keelboat, with Rudder, Oars and Setting Poles*

Length 29½"

National Park Service, Old Court House, St. Louis

Keelboats were used for upstream and downstream traffic on the Mississippi and its tributaries until steamboats became common. It would take three months of toil with poles, oars and tow ropes called cordelles to bring a cargo from New Orleans to St. Louis. The average load was between fifteen and thirty tons.

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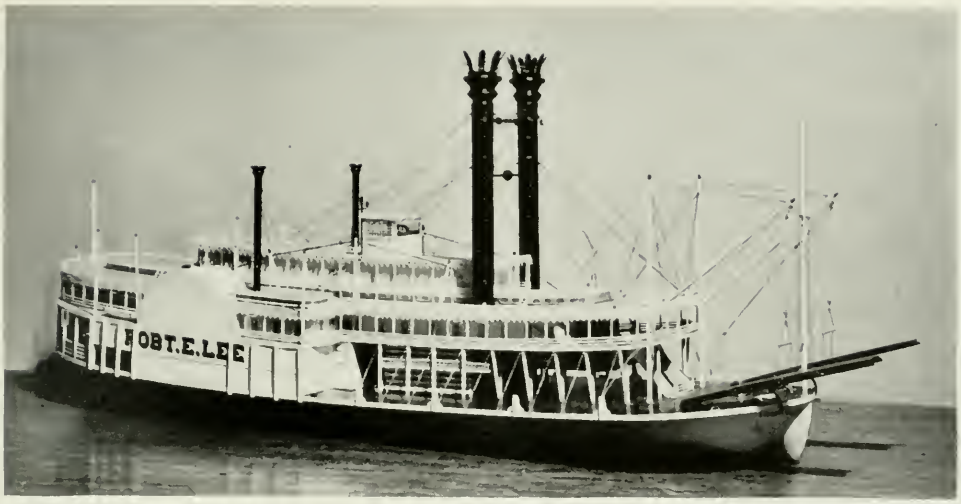

[311]

310 *Steamboat "Ben. Johnson"*

Length 61″

City Art Museum of St. Louis (Gift of Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, Sr., St. Louis)

This large sidewheeler of 525 tons was built in St. Louis in 1866. In that year it was chartered by Capt. LaBarge who took the United States Commissioners to Fort Sully to treat with the Sioux Indians. The charter fee was $300 per day. The following year this boat was in the St. Louis—Fort Benton trade. On March 29th, 1869, she was destroyed by fire at the St. Louis wharf. This model, the oldest in the exhibition, seems to be contemporary with the boat and it is not impossible that it served as the basis for the design of the boat.

311 *Steamboat "Robert E. Lee"*

Length 28″

Collection Capt. Bernard Clark, St. Louis

Built in 1866 at New Albany, Indiana, the *Robert E. Lee* was one of the most renowned boats and especially well remembered for its classic race with the *Natchez* in 1870. The model was made by Capt. Clark.

312 *Steamboat "Natchez"*

Length 25″

Collection Waterways Journal, St. Louis

This sidewheeler was built in Cincinnati in 1869. She was 307 feet in length and 44 feet in the beam. She was launched from the ways with steam up. Under Capt. F. P. Leathers she engaged in the famous race with the *Robert E. Lee* in 1870. In 1879 the boat was dismantled.

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313 *Steamboat "Mary Morton"*

Length 57″

Collection Capt. Donald T. Wright, St. Louis

This sternwheeler was built at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1880. She was 210 feet in length and 32 feet in the beam. She was in the St. Louis and St. Paul trade when operated by the Diamond Jo Line Packet Company. Later she was operated by the Anchor Line Company and sank on October 2, 1897, at Grand Tower, Illinois, en route to Memphis.

314 *Steamboat "City of St. Louis"*

Length 37″

Collection Mr. A. F. Winn, Kansas City

The *City of St. Louis* was built at Jeffersonville, Indiana, by the Anchor Line in March 1883 at a cost of $135,000. It was 300 feet long, 49½ feet in the beam and carried 2,200 tons. The boat was burned at St. Louis, October 30, 1903.

315 *Steamboat "Tennessee Belle"*

Length 44″

Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

Built at Paducah, Kentucky, in 1923, this boat is known as "the last of the packets". For many years she was in the New Orleans–Greenville, Mississippi run and sank after running on a sandbar near Lake Providence, Louisiana, February 3, 1936. The model was made by Ernest W. Bates, engineer of the *Belle*.

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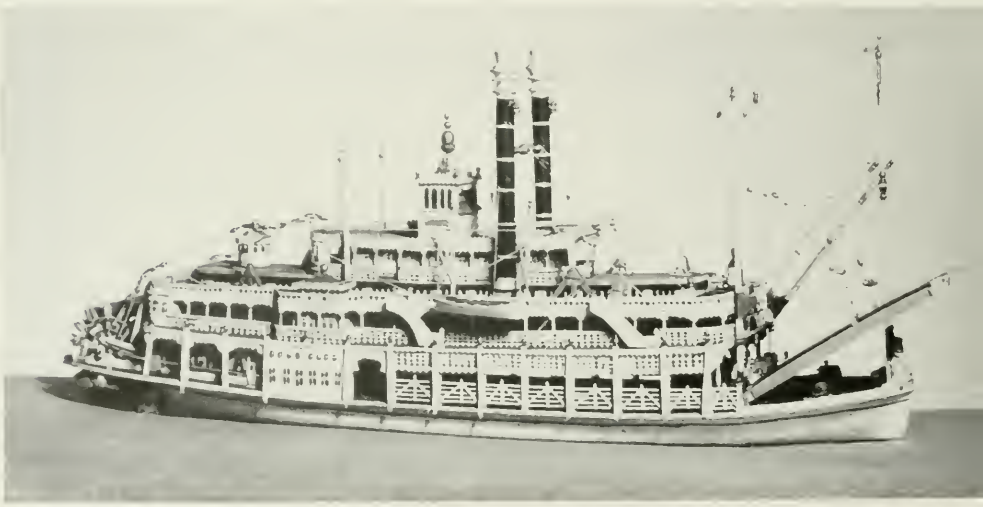
316 *Steamboat "Golden Eagle"*
Length 28½"
Collection Capt. Bernard Clark, St. Louis

The boat was built as the *Wm. Garig* at Jeffersonville, Indiana, in 1904. In 1918 she was sold to the Eagle Packet Company and renamed *Golden Eagle*. She was 175 feet long, and 35 feet in the beam. The *Golden Eagle* sank May 18, 1947, one mile below Grand Tower, Illinois, and was a total loss. The model was made by Capt. Clark.

The pilot house is preserved on the grounds of the Community School, St. Louis County. Examples of the jigsaw wooden trim, belonging to Miss Ruth Ferris, St. Louis, are included in the exhibition.



[318]

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317 *Steamboat "Gordon C. Greene"*

Length 59¾″

Gordon C. Greene Lines, Cincinnati

This model represents a steamboat, built in 1923 at Jeffersonville, Indiana, that is still running on the rivers.

318 *Steamboat "Virginia LaBarge"*, ca. 1875

Length 29″

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

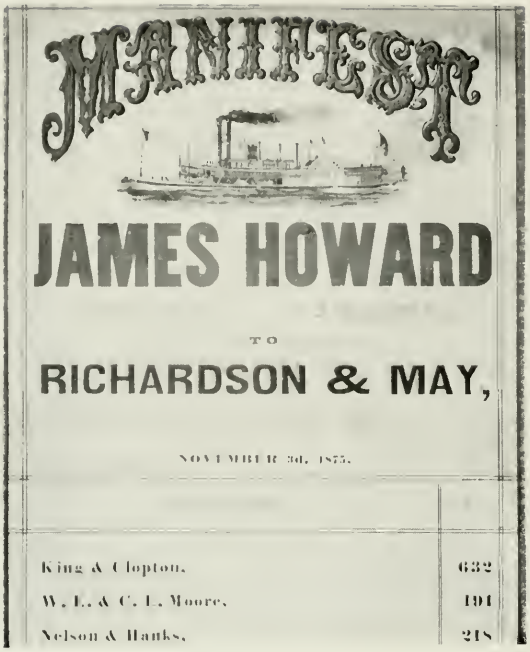
An example of the imaginary steamboat models often made by retired river boatmen. There is no actual prototype of this vessel. However, it is intended to represent a boat 137 feet in length, 34 feet in the beam, of 430 tons with 5 holds. The maker, Joseph LaBarge, was from a family famous in the annals of the river.

319 *Steamboat "Fannie Emmett"*, 1908

Length 49″

Division of Audio-Visual Education, St. Louis Public Schools

Another example of an imaginary steamboat. Made by Capt. George W. Streeter, it is equipped with a miniature steam boiler which can actually propel the model.


MANIFEST

JAMES HOWARD

TO

RICHARDSON & MAY,

NOVEMBER 3d, 1875.

King & Clopton,	632
W. L. & C. L. Moore,	191
Nelson & Hanks,	218

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320 *Certificate of the St. Louis Association of Steamboat Engineers*

Engraved by J. N. Kershaw, St. Louis
Boatmen's National Bank, St. Louis

This certifies that Erasmus Allison can act as First Engineer "on any high pressure Steamboat navigating the Western or Southern Waters," signed St. Louis, September 1848.

321 *Engineer's License*

Issued to James Sutherland, First Engineer, 1883
Golden Eagle Club, St. Louis

322 *Manifest of the Steamboat "North Alabama"*

F. P. Taber, Master, from Vicksburg to New Orleans, September 25th, 1836.
Collection Mr. F. E. Fowler, Jr., St. Louis

323 *Manifest of the Steamboat "James Howard"*

B. R. Pegram, Master, from Memphis to New Orleans, November 3d, 1875
Collection Miss Ruth Ferris, St. Louis

In 1875 this boat carried one load of 7701 bales of cotton to New Orleans, a record for the time. This manifest is one of a group of commercial papers lent by Miss Ferris which indicates the nature and extent of river commerce.

[324]

324 *Menu from the Steamboat "M. S. Mepham"*

Chromo lithograph by P. S. Duval. Philadelphia. 1864
Collection Mrs. George S. Mepham. St. Louis County

"The total want of all the usual courtesies of the table, the voracious rapidity with which the viands were seized and devoured, the strange uncouth phrases and pronunciation: the loathsome spitting, from the contamination of which it was absolutely impossible to protect our dresses: the frightful manner of feeding with their knives, till the whole blade seemed to enter into the mouth; and the still more frightful manner of cleaning the teeth afterwards with a pocket knife, soon forced us to feel that we were not surrounded by the generals, colonels, and majors of the old world; and that the dinner hour was to be any thing rather than an hour of enjoyment."

Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1836)

325 *Bayard Waltz*

Cover of a music score with a view of the steamboat *Bayard*.
Copyright 1870. A. M. McLean, Lith.
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

[329]

326 *The Belle of Alton*

Lithographed sheet music, with a view of the steamboat, *Belle of Alton*, on the cover.

Copyright, 1868. Engraved by Gast. Moeller & Co., St. Louis

Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

327 *The May-Flower Schottisch*

Lith. of Sarony & Co. 117 Fulton St. N. Y. Published by Firth, Pond & Co., 1 Franklin Sqr., New York

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

"Respectfully dedicated to Mrs. Captn. Joseph Brown, by the publisher".

328 *Mittie Stephens March*

Composed and Respectfully dedicated to Capt. A. C. Goddin of St. Louis by C. Farringer.

Published for Author by Balmer & Weber, No. 56 Fourth Street.

A. McLean lith. St. Louis

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

329 *Chinaware: A Pair of Compotes, Covered Dish, Cup and Saucer*

Collection Mrs. Grace Lewis Miller; courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

Selected from a very large set of china used aboard the steamboats of Capt. C. D. Blossom before 1858.

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330 *China Cup and Saucer from the Steamboat "Dubuque"*

Collection Miss Ruth Ferris, St. Louis

A sketch of the steamboat by H. H. Henderson reproduced in *Harper's Weekly* for August 28, 1869, is identical with the view of the steamboat seen on this cup.

[331]

331 *China Plate from the Steamboat "M. S. Mepham"*

Decorated by hand: diameter 8″: signed: R. T. Lux. N. O. Dated on the paddle box, 1864

Collection Mrs. M. S. Mepham, St. Louis County

Randolph T. Lux maintained a studio in Camp Street, New Orleans before and during the Civil War. He was known as a painter of miniatures on porcelain and all that remains of his work in New Orleans today is said to be some miniatures on coffee cups.

[333]

332 *China Plate with the Steamboats "Robt. E. Lee" and "Belle Lee"*
Decorated by hand: diameter $9\frac{1}{4}$": signed and dated: R. T. Lux, N. O., La., 1868.
Collection Mrs. Dagmer Colbert, St. Louis

333 *Plated Silver Tea Set from the Steamboat "M. S. Mepham"*
Tea pot, sugar bowl and pitcher made by Rogers, Smith & Co., New Haven, Connecticut in 1860.
Collection Mrs. George S. Mepham, St. Louis County

334 *Plated Silver Tray from the Steamboat "M. S. Mepham"*
Made by the Manhattan Plate Company, ca. 1860
Collection Mrs. George S. Mepham, St. Louis County

335 *Keno Goose*
Turned mahogany and ebonized wood; height 19"
Collection Miss Ruth Ferris, St. Louis
A gambling device used on the Steamboat *Grand Republic*, 1876.

[335 336]

336 *Chuck-a-Luck Cup*

Turned maple; height 8½″

Collection Miss Ruth Ferris. St. Louis

A gambling device used on the Steamboat *Grand Republic*, 1876

337 *Natchez Chief and Squaw*

White pine, carved, painted and gilded; height 33″. ca. 1850

Louisiana State Museum. New Orleans

These two carved figures decorated the dining saloon of the steamboat *Natchez* of 1869, and probably her predecessors of the same name.

338 *Negro Mascot of the Union Army*

Wood, carved and painted (restored to the original color; the musket is a modern replacement based on a model of 1833); height 30½″. ca. 1863

City Art Museum of St. Louis (Gift of Capt. B. J. Carragher, St. Louis)

This carved figure may have been placed in front of the pilot house on the Texas deck. The figure is dressed up in the blue uniform of the Union Army with forage cap, yellow boots with black soles and heels. The figure was dredged out of the Missouri River in the early 1870's by a snag boat. It was apparently made during the Civil War.

[337]

339 *Spread Eagle from the "War Eagle"*
Oak, carved, painted and gilded; wingspread 54″
Davenport Public Museum, Davenport, Iowa

This ornament came from the first *War Eagle*, Capt. Daniel Smith Harris, which was put into service in 1845. The boat, and probably this carving, were made in the Best & Co. Shipyards, Cincinnati, Ohio.

340 *Spread Eagle from the "Golden Eagle"*
Wood, carved and gilded; wingspread 32″
Golden Eagle Club, St. Louis

Although this ornament was used aboard the *Golden Eagle* which sank in 1947, it undoubtedly was made for a river boat as early as the middle of the nineteenth century.

341 *Spread Eagle from the Tug "Eagle"*
Papier maché, gilded; wingspread 40″
Collection Miss Hildegard Brown, St. Louis

Unquestionably used as an interior ornament.

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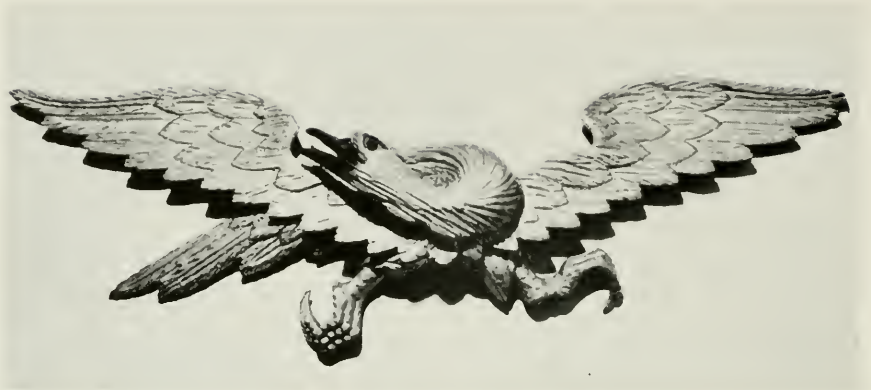


[340]

342 *Pilot Wheel of the "Betsy Ann"*
Diameter 110"; 1899
National Park Service, Old Court House, St. Louis

343 *Pair of Bell Pulls*
Braided rope; length 24"
Collection Miss Ruth Ferris, St. Louis

This pair of pilot house bell pulls was probably made about 1890 for the Steamboat *Belle of Calhoun.*

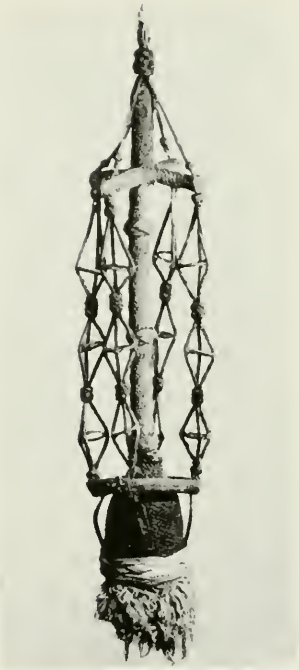
344 *Bell Mop*
Cord, knotted, plaited and painted; length 45"
Collection Miss Ruth Ferris, St. Louis

Devices like this were found only on the larger and more palatial steamboats where they hung in the boiler room with a ball of waste upon which the engineer wiped his greasy hands. An old tradition on the Mississippi River, bell mops were the handiwork of the engineer and his assistants, all of whom vied with the crews of other large steamboats in creating fanciful pieces. It is believed that this is the only remaining bell mop.

345 *Backing Bell*
Cast bronze; diameter 5"; dated 1835
Collection Capt. B. J. Carragher, St. Louis

The bell is decorated with the Crucifixion, which appears twice, rosettes, and fleurs-de-lis suggesting a French origin. The bell was recovered from the Missouri River by a snag boat in the early 1870's. Tradition has associated the bell with one of the boats of Capt. Joseph LaBarge of St. Louis.

[343]



[344]

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346 *Two Fathom Marker*

Rope with transverse strips of leather and lead weight
National Park Service, Old Court House, St. Louis

A characteristic marker used by the leadsman to sound the bottom. "Mark Twain", one of the leadsman's frequent calls, was first used as a pseudonym by Capt. Isaiah Sellers and, after his death, by Samuel Clemens.

347 *Presentation Ewer*

Silver, height 10½". W. and A. Cooper, silversmiths
Collection Mrs. Richard Semple, De Soto, Missouri

The engraved inscription reads, "Presented to Capt. Wm. Alter by the passengers of the Steamboat Lexington from New Orleans to Louisville on the 17th of July 1839".

Capt. Alter wrote his wife from New Orleans February 17, 1839, about an incident which, in all probability, was the reason for the presentation of this ewer. "Two weeks from this day, I started from this place for home with a fine freight and a good number of passengers. We proceeded on the journey as far as three miles from Grand Gulph, where the boat was discovered to be leaking very fast and having about fifteen inches of water in her hold. I had her run on to a sandbar to keep her from being entirely lost, we, by pumping and bailing succeeded in getting ahead of the leak, which was in the bottom of the boat. We dare not cut the ceiling so as to get at the leak as by giving it vent she would have filled with water. Therefore we were obliged to unload her and bring her here for repairs in the dock. PS. Will be home as soon as we can, the damage to the boat was done at the falls, we suppose that a rock was fastened in her bottom which remained there until we might have disturbed her by backing out at Grand Gulph, or passing through the eddies at that place. . . If I could sing more than one song, I would sing 'Sweet Home' but as it is I will sing 'Old Rosin'."

348 *Lion's Head*

Wrought copper, height 19½".
City Art Museum of St. Louis (Gift of Capt. B. J. Carragher, St. Louis)

The lion's head was dredged out of the Missouri River in the early 1870's together with the *Negro Mascot of the Union Army* [338]; presumably it was a steamboat ornament, at least it was later so used on the *Tennessee Belle*.

349 *Victory Bowl for the Steamboat "Robert E. Lee"*

Quadruple silver plate, diameter of bowl 15½". Made by the Homan Silver Plate Company, 1870
Missouri Historical Society, St Louis

This bowl was presented to the winner of the greatest of the Mississippi

[347] [348]

steamboat races. Captain Leathers of the defeated *Natchez* suffered the added indignity of having his name engraved in the inscription as "Leaders".

350 *Rules and Regulations of the Steamboat "Lexington"*
Printed in gold on purple-black sateen, 11¾" x 9¼", 1836
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

Steamboat rules and regulations for the passengers were frequently posted inside the stateroom doors. Some of the rules for the *Lexington* are quoted below.

"Passengers will not be allowed to smoke in the cabins.

"No gentleman will be permitted to visit the Ladies' Cabin, without special permission from the ladies.

"*It is particularly requested that when servants are wanting in attention or respect to the passengers, that it be made known to the Captain or Clerk, as no passenger will be allowed to strike or otherwise abuse the servants.*

"No passenger will be allowed to take a seat at table with his coat off, or in any garb that shows a want of respect for the company present. *Ladies must in all cases be first seated at table.*

"No persons will be permitted to lie down in the berths with boots or shoes on.

"Amusements of all kinds must cease at 10 o'clock in the evening, *precisely;* no banking games allowed.

"As cleanliness, neatness, and order are necessary to health and comfort, it is expected that passengers will rise at the ringing of the first bell in the morning, that the berths may be put in order before the table is spread."

351 *Miniature Anchor*

Cast bronze: height 11″; inscribed: From M. Brashear to Capt. J. C. Cramer 1872

Collection Capt. B. J. Carragher. St. Louis

This replica, in miniature, of the anchor for the *Grand Republic*, the largest steamboat anchor ever cast, weight about 4,000 pounds, was presented to Capt. Cramer who, in 1872, was probably piloting the *Belle Memphis*.

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