“Rest, Rest, Perturbed Spirit”

Paul Russell Cutright Writes About the Death of Meriwether Lewis — See Page 7
President Wang's Message

By the time you read this issue of WPO, the 1986 annual meeting of the Foundation will be only about six months away. I hope that wherever you live in these wonderful United States, you have arranged your travel schedule this summer to include participation in the Foundation's Eighteenth Annual Meeting, on August 18-19 at Oregon and Washington places of special interest to Lewis and Clark enthusiasts. You will find details of our August's activities in Annual Meeting Chairman Malcolm Buffum's story on page 3, this issue of WPO. Malcolm and his 1986 Annual Meeting Committee are hard at work on a program that will be of great interest to us all.

Along with WPO's November issue, you received a listing of members who serve on one, or more, of the Foundation's several committees. Whether you are a committee member or not, if you have a suggestion of any kind for one of those committees, please make that suggestion known to the chairperson of the appropriate committee. If your suggestion does not seem to fit any of the Foundation Committees listed, then please phone or write to me about it.

I am grateful for suggestions already received from a number of members regarding possible improvement of Foundation activities, including special suggestions for future Annual Meetings.

Copies of mailings have come recently to my attention which indicate that certain Foundation Committees are moving along exceptionally well with their assigned and assumed responsibilities. I am hopeful and confident that all Foundation Committees are functioning well whether or not evidence of their work is being made known to me through copies of documents which come to my desk for purview. Above all, I am most favorably impressed with plans under way for the Foundation's Annual Meeting.

On a recent vacation period, including Christmas and New Year holidays, Astrid and I were privileged to be with our son and his family who live in Hawaii. Our son, a Lt. Col. in the USAF, is stationed at Camp Smith, a Joint Command Station. While there, our son and I visited the library of one of the naval bases on Oahu. I was much disappointed to observe that the base library had only one book on Lewis and Clark: In the Footsteps of Lewi-
President's Message (Continued)

We Proceeded

President of the Foundation's 18th Annual Meeting

President, by Gerald S. Snyder. I paused to wonder how many other U.S. military bases in the U.S. and around the globe also have a quite limited exposure to Lewis and Clark book selections? A future project for the Foundation could be a concerted effort by it to obtain funding for the placement of Lewis and Clark publications in libraries of the U.S. bases at home and also overseas.

For many, if not most, Foundation members, payment by them of their annual dues becomes a perfunctory and timely function. Unfortunately, there are some Foundation members who do not respond to their dues notice in that fashion. May I encourage all members to be aware of the importance of prompt payment of those dues. Moreover, when you are about the payment of your own dues, why not consider also the payment of a gift membership for one, or more, of your friends and relatives in order that they too may become aware of and join in Foundation activities.

During the month of January, the Foundation received a check in the amount of $33,000 from Wedge Bank, Alton Bank and Trust Co., from the Clarence H. Decker Trust. That check represents the substantial part of the Decker Trust for the L&CTHF. While all Foundation members would much prefer to have Clarence with us still, we cannot but be reminded of our own ultimate and inevitable journey and our need to provide for the Foundation beyond our lifetime. Clarence made a timely provision in his will well before his passing. That provision has enabled the Foundation to share generously in his estate.

That's all the news for now from a part of the country which is becoming better known than ever because of National Public Radio's broadcasts about the mythical community of Lake Wobegon.

Ed Wang, President

Lewis & Clark on the Columbia and at the Great River's Estuary

To Be Theme and Interpretation at the Foundation's 18th Annual Meeting

— August 16-20, 1986 —

By Malcolm S. Buffum¹

An exciting and interesting program is taking shape for the Foundation's 18th Annual Meeting which will take place in Oregon, August 16-20, 1986.

Headquarters for the meeting will be the Red Lion Inn/Lloyd Center, Portland, Oregon. So as to visit Expedition sites at the Oregon and Washington Pacific Coast, attendees will spend one night at accommodations at Seaside, Oregon at the Pacific shore.

Registration day will be on Saturday, August 16 at the Red Lion Inn, Portland, and there will be afternoon tours in the Portland area and an evening reception.

Sunday, August 17 will get underway with a General Business Meeting of the Foundation. Following the meeting, attendees will depart via charter buses for the Pacific Coast (Seaside, Oregon). The first seashore stop will be at beautiful Ecola State Park near the site where the stranded whale was visited by members of the Expedition in January 1806. From Ecola State Park, participants will be afforded a magnificent view of the rugged Oregon coastline and Tillamook Head (Clark's Mountain and Point of View). Leaving the Park, travel will be northward for a few miles for a visit to the Explorer's (December 27, 1805 - February 20, 1806) "Salt Works" or "Saltmaker's Camp". The site, preserved by the Oregon Historical Society early in the century, is located in present-day south Seaside, and is now a satellite site of the NPS Fort Clatsop National Memorial.² Leaving this historic site, travelers will proceed to downtown Seaside for check-in at the Seaside overnight accommodations. A Pacific salmon barbecue dinner on the beach is planned for the early afternoon. In the early evening we will depart Seaside for the short ride (about 15 miles) to the National Park Service's Fort Clatsop National Memorial. Superintendent Frank Walker and his staff will be our hosts for an evening, planned exclusively for our group, of "Living History Demonstrations", a tour of the Interpretive Center, the replica of the explorer's winter establishment, and a buffet. We will return to Seaside to our overnight accommodations.

On Monday, August 18, our charter buses will take attendees across the Columbia River via the nearly four mile long Interstate bridge to Washington State. Here at land's end at Cape Disappointment the Expedition first visited the actual shore of the Pacific Ocean. The Expedition members would much prefer to have Clarence with us still, we cannot but be reminded of our own ultimate and inevitable journey and our need to provide for the Foundation beyond our lifetime. Clarence made a timely provision in his will well before his passing. That provision has enabled the Foundation to share generously in his estate.

That's all the news for now from a part of the country which is becoming better known than ever because of National Public Radio's broadcasts about the mythical community of Lake Wobegon.

Ed Wang, President

¹ Malcolm Buffum, Portland, OR, is Chairman for the Foundation's 18th Annual Meeting. He is a member of the Oregon Governor's Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, and President of the Oregon Lewis and Clark Heritage Foundation.

² For additional details see: WPO, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 11-12; Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1, 11; Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 6-7.

³ For additional details see: WPO, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 1, 5; Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 1, 34.
ternoon events (to be announced). Back at the Red Lion Inn, the evening event will be the dinner and a special celebration, the 212th anniversary of Meriwether Lewis's birthday (August 17, 1774).

Tuesday, August 19, will be Columbia River Gorge Day, and our charter buses will carry annual meeting attendees eastward from Portland into the scenic region where the great river finds its way through Oregon and Washington's Cascade Mountain Range. There will be interpretive stops at 620-foot high Multnomah Falls (Oregon) as it falls from the high cliffs and its waters enter the Columbia. From a vantage point we will be able to see the Expedition's Phoca Rock near the center of the River, and 840-foot high Beacon Rock standing at the river's edge on the Washington shore. Upstream from the U.S. Corps of Engineer's Bonneville Dam and hydroelectric facility, we will assemble at the park in Cascade Locks, and in the evening will embark on the Sternwheeler Columbia Gorge (chartered exclusively for the Foundation) for a delightful (approximate three hour) excursion on the Columbia River. The view from the river of the high escarpments on either side of the river will provide a new aspect and grasp of the geologic formation of the gorge and its inherent scenery. Dinner will be served aboard and after debarking our buses will return us to Portland and the Red Lion Inn.

On Wednesday, August 20, we will be in Portland touring locations connotating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. There will be an afternoon business session, and in the evening the 18th Annual Banquet will be the final event of the Annual Meeting.

Further details, and perhaps minor adjustments to the schedule of events listed above, will be forthcoming in your 18th Annual Meeting registration packet (scheduled for mailing in early April) and in the May issue of We Proceeded On.

In the meantime, clear your calendars and reserve August 16-20 for a visit to the western-most locations on the Lewis and Clark Trail, and the Foundation's 18th Annual Meeting.

NPS Ranger Cited For Interpretive Service

Franklin C. Walker, Superintendent at the National Park Service's Fort Clatsop National Memorial, near Astoria, Oregon has advised We Proceeded On of NPS Ranger Dan Dattilio's nomination for the national Freeman Tilden Award for outstanding contributions in the field of interpretation. Dan's nomination was based on the outstanding job he is doing at the Fort Clatsop Memorial with the "Living History Program", with Lewis and Clark interpretation in general, the new Fort Clatsop Memorial Bulletin and various other publications, as well as for his special involvement with the adjacent communities. This nomination led to his selection as the NPS Pacific Northwest Region's (Oregon, Washington and Idaho) winner.

For his achievements, he received a special lithograph of Freeman Tilden, who is recognized as the "Father of Interpretation." He was also asked to attend the Annual Meeting of the Association of National Park Rangers, Geneva, Wisconsin, for personal recognition by William P. Mott, Director of the Department of Interior, National Park Service. Superintendent Walker, in his letter advising of Dattilio's honor, remarked: "Although Dan was not selected to be the winner of the national competition and the $2500 award, the staff and I, here at the Fort Clatsop National Memorial, are very proud of his accomplishments."

1. Dan Dattilio's monograph, titled: "Remembering a Fort in the Wilderness" appeared in the Spring 1983 (Vol. 1, No. 2) issue of Gone West, the publication of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Association, St. Louis, MO.

News Notes:

It's a Small World

In the recent November issue of We Proceeded On, included on one of the picture pages related to the 1985 St. Louis 17th Annual Meeting, was a picture of the two Doctor Holcombs who attended the meeting. Dr. Gerald Holcomb resides in Rochester, Minnesota, and Dr. Robert Holcomb's home is in Corvallis, Oregon. The legend accompanying the illustration included the statement "medics, not related". Well, it's a small world. On a Christmas card to the editor, "Jerry" Holcomb wrote: "I was pleased to receive the latest issue of WPO and to see there the picture of the two Holcombs. The legend states that we are not related, and at the time we were at the meeting we did not know that we were related. I strongly suspected that we had a common ancestor, because of the resemblance of Bob to my father. You will be interested to know that since the St. Louis meeting we have maintained an active correspondence, and through this have proven that we are eighth cousins. We appreciate the friendship that our meeting in St. Louis has provided — yet another reward to come from attending the annual meeting!"

It was Jerry Holcomb's by-line article "The Lewis and Clark Gold Dollar", in WPO, Vol. 11, No. 2, that told of the rare commemorative one dollar gold piece that was minted and sold during the 1904-1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition (World's Fair) in Portland, Oregon.

From Illinois

Foundation Director Winifred George has advised We Proceeded On of the passing of William A. Magurany, 71, former mayor of Wood River, Illinois. Attendees at the Foundation's 17th Annual Meeting last August will recall that Magurany was the Master of Ceremonies for the events at Lewis and Clark State Park on the Illinois shore of the Mississippi River directly across from the mouth of the Missouri River (see WPO, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 18-19). A life-long resident of Wood River, he served as a city councilman from 1967 until he was elected Mayor in 1973. He served as mayor until 1981. In addition to many other civic interests, Magurany at the time of his death was serving as acting chairman of the Lewis and Clark Society of America, a local long time organization re-

(continued on facing page)

We Proceeded On, March 1986
News Notes (continued)  

From North Dakota

recently reactivated and interested in  

getting the terms of Clarence Deck-  
er's will before the people of Wood  

River and the State of Illinois.  

(Decker's will provided for a grant  
of $100,000 for improvements to the  

Park providing the State of Illinois  

would contribute a like sum.) Over  

many years Maguranay's interest in  

the Park paralleled Decker's great  

interests. Winfred George remarked:  

"We have lost a very good Lewis and  

Clark friend."

From St. Louis

Father Wm. Barnaby Faherty and  
his niece Sheila Harris, St. Louis,  

MO, are new Foundation members.  

Father Faherty is the retired Head  
of the History Department, St. Louis  

University, and is the author of  

many books and periodical articles  

about early Missouri and early Ro-  

man Catholic History in the area.  

Recently at an organization and  

planning meeting for the "Metro St.  

Louis Chapter" of the Foundation,  

Father Faherty spoke briefly, to  
those attending, about William  

Clark and his post-expedition life in  

St. Louis. Foundation Director Win-  

fred George, St. Louis, advises that  
he is to be the principal speaker at  

the local chapter's next meeting  
which will be held at the little muse-  

um the Father has organized in the  

old St. Stanislaus Seminary. His  
subject on that occasion will be "Wi-  

liam Clark and Father Pierre De-  

Smet". His niece, Sheila, is a teacher  
in the Rosati Academy, St. Louis,  

and early western history is her  
field.

From North Dakota

Friends of Foundation Director Ar-  
thur "Art" Shipley, Bismarck,  
North Dakota, were sorry to learn of  
the passing of Mrs. (Esther) Shipley  
on January 1, 1986. Esther had not  
been well for some 15 years, and dur-  
ing 1985 she was hospitalized for  
several extended periods.

Great Falls Chapter

In a letter to the editor, Portage  
Route Chapter President Ella Mae  
Howard, Great Falls, MT, reported on 

a special activity carried out by  
chapter members. Each year Our  
Savior's Lutheran Church, Great  
Falls, holds a series of classes, an  
"Enrichment Series", on a variety of  
topics. This year the Portage Route  
Chapter was asked to give a class  
on the Lewis and Clark Expedition.  
Six 2 hour sessions on consecutive  
Monday evenings comprised the  
study of the Expedition, and Ella  
Mae was joined by chapter members  
Darlene Fassler, Bob and Ruth  
Burns, Ron Paulick, Dr. George Eus-  
terman, Bob Doerk, Jim Beaulavri-  
er, I.G. Buhman, and Jeff Mahon.  
Subjects were broad and varied and  
covered nearly all aspects of the ex-  
ploiting enterprise. Ella Mae in her  
letter stated: "We had a great time  
planning and putting this together  
and presenting it to a class that was  
very appreciative and responsive."  
Members interested in this type of  
an activity, for presentation in their  
locality, may write to Ella Mae  
Howard, 1904 - 4th Street, NW,  
Great Falls, MT 59404, for a copy of  
the outline of the subjects presented  
to the class.

Fort Clatsop Visitors

1985 was a record year for the  
number of visitors at the Fort Clats­  
op National Memorial. During the  
calendar year 1985, the National  
Park Service installation near Asto-  
ria, Oregon, recorded 159,861 visi­  
tors. Superintendent Frank Walker  
said that this represents a 9.5% in-  
crease or 13,886 more visitors com­  
pared to 1984's total of 145,975  
visitors. This is the highest number  
of people ever to visit the National  
Memorial, in one year, since its es­  
establishment in 1958. The previous  
yearly high was in 1982 with a total  
of 149,368 visitors.

According to Walker, good summer  
weather, increased tourism along the  
Oregon Coast and the popularity of  
the park staff's "Living History"  
programs were the most significant  
factors contributing to this in­  
creased attendance. "During 1986,  
we expect another busy year,"  
explained Walker, "especially with  
additional visitors who will be drawn to the Pacific Northwest as  
they travel to EXPO 86 in Van­  
cover, British Columbia." Regular  
summer interpretive programs will  
begin at the Memorial in mid-June.

Steamboat Yellow Stone

Readers of We Proceeded On will be  
interested in knowing that Founda­  
tion member and eminent historian  
Donald Jackson's new book Voyages  
of the Steamboat Yellow Stone is now  
available at booksellers. Subti­  
tled: The Life and Times of an  
Early-American Steamboat as It  
Pioneered on the Upper Missouri River  
and Plained a Major Role in the  
War for Texas Independence, the book  
is not about the Lewis and Clark  
saga, but is a study of the steamboat's  
coming up the Missouri River some  
three years after Lewis and  
Clark. Readers will discover that the  
Yellow Stone, after exciting years in  
the fur trade and gold prospecting  
era, spent its final days on the  
Brazos River [Texas] and played a part  
in the war of Texas' independence.

The new book's dust jacket com­  
ments: "Drawing on original corre­  
respondence, shipping records, pas­  
senger lists, and newspaper reports,  
Donald Jackson has written a lively,  
detailed account of the life and times  
of one early American steamboat.  
In the process, he gives us a vivid  
picture of steamboating as a phenom­  
enon and a profession, and of the  
impact of a new technology on a  
westering nation. Long before the  
golden age of the river steamer, the  
Yellow Stone was a record-setting  
pioneer, a powerful engine of Mani­  
fest Destiny that seemed always to  
be on the cutting edge of one frontier  
or another."

Western expansion history enthusi­  
asts will want this volume in their  
library. (Published by Ticknor &  
Field, N.Y., 1985, 182 pages, maps  
and illustrations — $16.95.)

Recent Meetings

STATE OF WASHINGTON LEWIS  
& CLARK TRAIL COMMITTEE  
held a quarterly meeting January 4,  
1986, at Carson Mineral Springs  
Resort Hotel, Carson, Washington.  
About fifty members and guests  
were present for the luncheon and  
the meeting that followed. In addi­  
tion to the committee's regular busi­  
ess, the major item on the agenda  
was a discussion of the committee's  
role in Washington's Bicentennial  
centennial celebration in 1989. Ottis  
Peterson, Boise, Idaho, the presi­  
dent of the new Idaho Chapter of the  
national Foundation was a guest at  
this meeting. He reported on their  
organizational plans and indicated  
that they have a meeting scheduled  
for early May 1986.

OREGON (GOVERNOR'S) LEWIS  
AND CLARK TRAIL COMMIT­  
TEE held its annual Christmas Par­  
ty and quarterly meeting December  
6, 1985, at the NPS Fort Clatsop Na­  
tional Memorial. Fifty-four mem­  
bers and guests joined in the fine  
dinner served by Diane Collier and  
the local ladies. At the business ses­  
tion of the meeting, (National) Leis­  
is and Clark Trail Heritage Founda­  
tion 1986 Annual Meeting Chairman  
Malcolm Buffum told of plans for  
the August 16-20, 1986 meeting in  
Portland, the Columbia River estu­  
ary (Oregon-Washington), and the  
Columbia Gorge (east of Portland).  
There were also reports related to a  
(continued on page 6)
site selection for a proposed Lewis and Clark Trail Interpretive Building. Dr. John O'Donovan, Lewis and Clark Historical Pageant, reported that delays appear to have made it impossible to stage a pageant during the coming summer. Following the dinner and business meeting, Superintendent Frank Walker invited the group to proceed to the replica of the Expedition's winter establishment, where members of the National Park Service staff presented a "Living History" interpretation of the 1805 Christmas celebration at the Fort. This was most effective with candles and the fireplaces in the building casting shadows while the story of Christmas in 1805 at this place was portrayed.

The October 7, 1985 meeting of THE HEADWATERS CHAPTER OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION was held in the Community Room of the Bozeman Public Library. Chapter President Don Nell provided a brief recapitulation of the chapter's summer activities: 'Walking the Bozeman Pass Area'; a float trip on the upper Missouri River; a picnic in Headwaters State Park (near Three Forks, Montana); and in early September a two day trip up the Jefferson/Beaverhead Rivers and a visit to the Continental Divide where the Expedition crossed to the Columbia River headwaters at Lemhi Pass. Members discussed and authorized the purchase of a fifteen-star-fifteen bar replica of the flag carried by the Expedition. The flag will be displayed at Chapter meetings and at other Expedition oriented activities. The highlight of the evening was an excellent slide and narrative presentation by Montana Historian Hal Stearns. Hal traced and exhibited slides taken along the explorer's route from the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers near St. Louis to the party's winter establishment at Fort Clatsop near Astoria, Oregon. Those in attendance expressed their gratitude to Hal for braving the icy highways enroute to Bozeman from his home in Helena.

The HEADWATERS CHAPTER OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION met on December 2, 1985 at the Bozeman, Montana Public Library. Twenty-six members and

(Relates to Feature Story on Facing Page)

Over the years there has been considerable reference in the literature about the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the strange death of Captain/Governor Meriwether Lewis. Most of these scattered writings have now been carefully assembled by Paul Russell Cutright and are presented in the dissertation and discussion of the known facts about the tragedy on the facing pages.

Readers will soon discover that Paul is a confirmed advocate of the suicide theory and tends to put forth strong feelings toward those writers who champion the murder/robbery view. In respect to several of these writers, who expressed opposition to the suicide theory, and this prior to Cutright's first writings (1969) supporting the view that Lewis took his own life, certain information was not yet known. Nonetheless, Cutright's assembly of the literature relating to the subject presented here will save students the arduous task of searching out every one of the expositions on the subject. His copious annotations will help Lewis and Clark bibliophiles if they should wish to seek out his references.

Dr. Cutright's writings are familiar to students of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He is a frequent contributor to We Proceeded On and his Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists (1969) and A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals (1976), are definitive reference sources for Expedition enthusiasts. Born in West Virginia, he received his education at Davis and Elkins College and West Virginia University, from which he took A.B. and M.A. degrees, and at the University of Pittsburgh where he obtained a Ph.D. in Zoology. Advanced study and research followed at the Carnegie Foundation Marine Laboratory on the Dry Tortugas Islands, Gulf of Mexico, and at Barro Colorado Island Tropical Laboratory, Canal Zone.

He was a teacher for forty years, serving on the faculties of the University of Pittsburgh, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, PA, and Beaver College, Glenside, PA. At the latter institution he was, until retirement, professor and head of the Department of Biology. Presently he holds the title of Professor Emeritus of the Biology Department at Beaver College. In 1962 he was awarded the Christian R. and Mary F. Lindback Award for Distinguished Teaching, in 1982 Beaver College honored him with a honorary Doctors of Letters degree in recognition of his research and book length and periodical writings.

Preparing for his Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists volume, Dr. Cutright spent several years and traveled over 15,000 miles, and on six western trips followed the Lewis and Clark Trail from the mouth of Wood River, Illinois to Cape Disappointment on Washington State's Pacific shore. He remarks: "I have traveled up and down the Yellowstone River and "in southwestern Montana," just below the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass, I have knelt to sip the water from that 'most distant fountain' of the Missouri, I have experienced the ruggedness and wild magnificence of the Bitterroot Mountains on the Lolo Trail... I have ascended the tranquil valley of Alice Creek to the summit of Lewis and Clark Pass and have visited the site on the Two Medicine River where Lewis and his party tangled with the Blackfeet Indians; and I have floated down the Missouri through the enchantingly beautiful 'White Rocks' region between the Marias and Judith Rivers." Historically oriented and filled with the observations of a learned biologist, this work is one of the great contributions to the literature about the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

His conclusive work, A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals, which includes biographical studies of the scholars who have edited the writings of the six journalists (the extant journals), and the trials and frustrations involved with their publication, after the return of the Expedition, has proven to be invaluable to students and enthusiasts of the Expedition.

His residence in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, has afforded him the opportunity to study closely the institutions and individuals who befriended Meriwether Lewis and William Clark during the preparation and culmination of this nation's greatest exploring enterprise. (See his: "Contributions of Philadelphia to Lewis and Clark History", in WPO Supplementary Publication No. 6, July 1982.)

Other books by Dr. Cutright are: The Great Naturalists Explore South America; Theodore Roosevelt the Naturalist; with Michael J. Brodhead, Elliott Coues: Naturalist and Frontier Historian; and most recently published, Theodore Roosevelt: The Making of a Conservationist.
"Rest, Rest, Perturbed Spirit"1

By Paul Russell Cutright2

"Although many persons believe that he [Meriwether Lewis] was murdered, some historians of the period have concluded that he took his own life." The Encyclopedia Americana, Danbury, CT (1979), Vol. XVIII, p. 273.

"It is not definitely known, however, whether he [Meriwether Lewis] actually committed suicide or was murdered." The Encyclopedia Britannica, London (1971) Vol. XIII, p. 1008.


"He [Meriwether Lewis] died suddenly at an obscure inn in central Tennessee. He may have been murdered, although Jefferson assumed his death was a suicide." The Oxford Companion to American History, New York (1966), p. 472.


The above quotations mirror the same thought, namely, that the death of Meriwether Lewis is steeped in mystery, and others from like sources do the same.

Was Captain Lewis the victim of an assassin’s bullet? Was he foully murdered? This writer is satisfied that he took his own life and, in pages to follow, it will be the aim to provide supporting evidence for this view. In general, this evidence falls into three parts: (1) a resume of the problems facing Lewis during months immediately following the expedition; (2) a recital of events attending his death; and (3) an appraisal of the controversy that developed posthumously.

It seems best to begin this study in February 1807, when President Jefferson nominated Lewis to be Governor of Louisiana Territory; William Clark to be Brigadier-General of Militia and Agent of Indian Affairs; and Frederick Bates to be Secretary of the Territory. Following confirmation by Congress, in March 1807, both Clark and Bates soon left for St. Louis to assume their duties. Lewis’s departure was delayed, the immediate reason being a required visit to Philadelphia, then the cultural center of the nation, to find a publisher for a historical account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Lewis arrived in Philadelphia some time in early April 1807 and quickly located a publisher, John Conrad. Soon thereafter a prospectus appeared, an important feature being the announcement that the proposed Lewis and Clark’s Tour to the Pacific Ocean would be issued in two parts, the first (in two volumes) containing "... a narrative of the voyage ..." and "... a view of the Indian nations ..." and the second (in one volume) "... confined exclusively to scientific research ..."3.

During ensuing weeks, Lewis busied himself with many matters, these being impossible to list in chronological order. Doubtless he early visited Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton botanist, a primary reason being to persuade Barton, to edit the proposed volume on scientific research (Barton’s deteriorating health prevented the production of this volume). Another of Lewis’s uppermost objectives, in days ahead, was to obtain illustrations for the history of narrative volumes, particularly portraits of animals and plants new to science. In his search for capable artists, Lewis was eminently successful, with Alexander Wilson agreeing to do the birds, Charles Willson Peale willing to do other animals, and Frederick Pursh being receptive to the idea of illustrating the plants. For other illustrations, such as the Great Falls of the Missouri and the Falls of the Columbia (present-day Celilo Falls, now inundated by hydroelectric developments), Lewis was equally successful, obtaining the services of an Irish-born engraver, John James Barralet.

Inadequately trained in the use of chronometer and other navigational instruments, Lewis had experienced only partial success while in the West in establishing latitude and longitude. In an attempt to correct his field work and observations, Lewis engaged Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler, a mathematician then teaching at the West Point Military Academy.

Having been earlier elected (1803) to membership in the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, Lewis attended, during April, June and July, three meetings of that organization.4

One of the happier events of Lewis’s 1807 stay in Philadelphia was the renewal of friendship with Mahlon Dickerson, a relationship which seemingly had its beginning in Washington in 1802 while Lewis was serving as Jefferson’s secretary. Dickerson kept a diary, and from it we learn that the two men enjoyed each others company, walked the streets together, attended dinners to which both had been invited, and relished horseback rides in each others company.5 Their friendship would continue. After leaving Philadelphia, as we shall soon see, Lewis wrote Dickerson a most revealing letter.

While in Philadelphia, Lewis received at least one letter from Jefferson. In this communication, dated June 4, Jefferson advised Lewis of three watches, one his own, that he had earlier sent to Philadelphia for repairs, and expressed concern about their safe return. Two of them had already arrived, he said, and he trusted that he could depend on Lewis to look after and return the third. He concluded the letter with these words: "We have the hope of seeing you here to [sic] the 4th of July.

Lewis replied to Jefferson somewhat belatedly, on June 27. Initially, he assured the President of his

1. From Hamlet, Act I, Scene 5, Line 182.
2. See Box Feature on facing page.
5. Jackson, II:677-684. In 1807, Dickerson (1770-1853) may have been serving as Commissioner of Bankruptcy in Philadelphia.
tention of bringing the third watch with him on his return to Washington. The remainder of his letter is surprising. For one thing, it contains not a word about his progress in furthering the publication of the expedition's history, information that Jefferson surely would have expected. For another, it failed to include an explanation of his return from the stay in Philadelphia, nor any mention of a desire to complete his duties in the city in order to hasten his departure for St. Louis to assume his position as Governor of the Louisiana Territory. On the date of his reply, Lewis had already been in Philadelphia close to three months, seemingly much longer than needed to finish necessary arrangements for publication. More than that, as he told Jefferson, he expected to continue in the city until at least July 15. Actually, his departure for Washington was delayed beyond that date for on July 17 Eliza G. had been present at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society.

The date of Lewis's departure for Washington is unknown. It is entirely possible that he did not leave until late July, or even early August. If so, his residence in Philadelphia may have lasted close to four months.

Why did Lewis needlessly prolong his stay in Philadelphia? Positive evidence exists that he, before leaving the city, became enamored of at least two young women and spent time squirming them about town, time that otherwise might have been spent en route to St. Louis. There is evidence, equally positive, that Lewis, wanting to acquire a wife, proposed marriage to one of the prospects, and his proposal was rejected.

Spurned lovers have been known to take to drink. At some time, either in Philadelphia or soon afterward, as this writer appraises events, Lewis did develop "the habit," as Jefferson called it, and it is quite possible that Lewis's intemperance followed the rejection of a proposal of marriage.

Entries in Lewis's account book show that, on April 20, 1807, he paid his landlady $5.00 for a "douzen of porter" and on May 5, $10.00 for a dozen of ale. These purchases especially on the intervals indicated, do not, of course, bespeak an inherent thirst for alcohol, nor even a growing one, both beverages being low in alcoholic content. It is true, however, that Lewis, after his return from the expedition and civilization, had been living a sedentary existence, and one punctuated with numerous festive occasions honoring him where whiskeys, brandies, and other intoxicating potables flowed freely. It may be that Lewis, never a teetotaler, did in time develop an increased appetite for spirituous liquors. It is difficult, however, to accept the opinion of a recent writer that Lewis was a "confirmed alcoholic," that his addiction emerged as early as his twentieth birthday when he, though ultimately adjudged innocent, "was court-martialed for drunkenness." This writer bases his objection to this opinion mainly on the consideration and discriminating judgment of Jefferson. If Lewis, at the age of twenty, had been a "confirmed alcoholic," Jefferson would surely have had knowledge of that fact and, aware of it, certainly would not have then asked him to serve as his personal secretary. Nor does it seem likely that the President, after an extended White House association, would have named Lewis to lead "The Corps of Discovery" which, in due course, would daily encounter the perils of the Missouri and the Columbia Rivers.

Whatever the date of Lewis's departure for Philadelphia, he presumably soon reported to Jefferson, either in Washington or at Monticello, after which he hurried to Locust Hill, the family home, to spend time with his mother.

-2-

According to one source: "Lewis remained in the East as Mr. Jefferson's personal representative at [Aaron Burr's trial [for treason]]." The trial took place in Richmond, Virginia, in August 1807, with the jury returning a verdict on August 31. This author has yet to find confirmation that Lewis actually attended the Burr trial. Furthermore, it is difficult to believe that Jefferson, knowing that Lewis was already overdue in St. Louis, would have even considered such a mission.

Even if Lewis did spend a part of August in Richmond, we might expect that he would have quickly been on his way to the Territorial capital. But not so all of September and October lapsed and Lewis was no nearer St. Louis than he had been in August. During this protracted interval, Lewis did visit briefly with Jefferson and no other events or activity have come to light. It was November 3 when next we have definite word of him. On that date he wrote to his friend Mahlon Dickerson. The letter was informative and invites close attention. It reads, in part, as follows:

... am now on the eve of my departure for St. Louis. So much for business, now for the girls.

My little affair with Miss A-n R-h has had neither beginning nor end on her part; pr. Contra, on my own, it has had both... am now a perfect widower with respect to love. Thus floating on the surface of occasion, I feel all that restlessness, that inquietude, that certain indiscernible something common to old bachelors, which I cannot avoid thinking my dear fellow, proceeds, from that void in our hearts, which might, or ought to be better filled. Whence it comes I know not, but certain it is that I never felt less like a hero than at the present moment. What may be my next adventure god knows, but on this I am determined, to get a wife.

Do let me hear from you as frequently as you can, and when you have no subject of more importance talk about the girls. You see already from certain innate workings of the spirits, the changes which have taken place in my disposition, and that I am now so unlike my former self, that I speak of those bewitching gipsies as a second consideration; I sincerely wish my dear fellow, that candor would permit me to say as much with respect to Miss E-B-y of Philadelphia, whose memory will remain provokingly important in spite of all my philosophy. Have you heard from her? How you seen her? How is she? Is she well, sick, dead or married?... Direct to me at Louis ville[e], Kentucky, until the last of this month, and after that period forward your letters to St. Louis.

In this letter to Dickerson, Lewis was obviously unburdening himself, if not actually baring his soul. Clearly, he had earlier been attentive to at least two young women of Philadelphia, the Misses A-n R-h and E-B-y, there may have been others. Because of his statements: "[I] am now a perfect widower with respect to love" and "I am determined, to get a wife," it seems a near certainty that Lewis, before leaving

6. Ibid., III:393n. Porter is a dark beer resembling light stout.

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Philadelphia, had fallen in love with one of the young ladies of that city, had proposed marriage, and his proposal had met with a rejection. This rejection may well have led to depression, and the depression to drink.

This letter lends credence also to the persuasion that Lewis, by now, was a much "perturbed spirit." Otherwise, how explain his "restlessness," his "inquietude," and his "Indiscrutable something common to old bachelors, which...proceeds, from that void in our hearts?" And also how interpret his further statement: "Never felt less like a hero than at the present moment...you see already...the changes which have taken place in my disposition." It is nearly impossible to believe that Lewis would have confided these thoughts to his friend without his having earlier suffered through a deeply emotional experience, or a series of such experiences.

Lewis, as noted, addressed himself to Dickerson on November 3, 1807. On that particular day, it should be emphasized, Lewis had been Governor of Louisiana in abstentia eight full months. Patently, he should long since have reported for his Governor's duties in St. Louis. There may be no great difficulty in understanding Lewis's absence during the months of March, April, May, June, July, and even August (if Lewis actually attended Burr's trial). But one has to wonder about September and October. Are there explanations for his failure to leave for St. Louis some time during those months? To this writer it would seem that his affinity for alcohol already had begun to cloud his judgment.

Lewis left his Albemarle County, Virginia home soon after writing to Dickerson. His brother, Reuben Lewis, accompanied him, and a few days later they stopped in Finncastle, Virginia, at the home of George Hancock, William Clark's father-in-law. Here Lewis met, and seemingly became smitten with a Miss Letitia Breckenridge, whom Reuben described "as one of the most beautiful women I had seen...but unfortunately for his Excellency she left the neighborhood two days after our arrival so that he was disappointed in his design of addressing her." Perhaps there was more to the affinity between Miss Breckenridge and Lewis than Reuben knew. In any event, some months later Lewis informed a friend: "I consider Miss E-B- [Elizabeth Breckenridge] a charming girl, but such was my passion for her sister [Letitia] that my soul revolts at the idea of attempting to make her my wife."

Lewis's biographers, generally speaking, have fought shy of taking seriously any of his courtships. One of them, when, commenting on Lewis's departure from Finncastle, wrote: "[Lewis] placidly pursued his way to St. Louis."

The precise date of Lewis's departure from Finncastle for St. Louis is unknown. He did not arrive in the territorial capital until March 8, 1808. On that date he had been Governor of Louisiana in abstentia one year and eight days (counting from February 18, 1807, the date of his nomination as governor). A year is a substantial period of time; in the case of Meriwether Lewis it would amount to 1/35th of a lifetime.

Why this prolonged delay of Lewis reporting to St. Louis? This author presents four explanations that seem worthy of consideration, taking into account Lewis's apparently sensitive and impressionable mind and temperament. These may be separately examined: One. While in Philadelphia, it would appear that Lewis had fallen in love, perhaps with either Miss A-n R-h or Miss E-B-y, had proposed marriage, and his offer had been refused, this causing distress and certainly disappointment. If there was a single root-cause of his problems, it may well have been this rejection.

Two. Lewis became addicted to alcohol, and the marriage proposal rejection may have contributed to the problem. Jefferson furnished proof of Lewis's insobriety in a letter of January 10, 1810, in which he wrote of "the habit [intemperance] into which he had fallen." Three. At no time during the year did Lewis provide his publisher, Conrad, with even a single line of manuscript copy. A complete and certain explanation of this failure may never be known, though the circumstances discussed here must be regarded as at least on the scene. In time Jefferson became nettled. Writing to Lewis on July 17, 1808, he said: "We have no tidings yet of the forwardness of your printer. I hope the first part will not be delayed much longer."

Four. During the latter part of this year there developed an erosion of the close long-standing relationship between Jefferson and Lewis. Positive evidence of the estrangement appears in the opening sentence of Jefferson's July 17, 1808, letter to Lewis, in which he said: "Since I parted with you in Albemarle in September last I have never had a line from you."

Someone has said, "Black robes do not make a God of man," and neither do military insignia necessarily insure success in the arena demanding political acumen. Once in St. Louis, Lewis found that to be true. The affairs of his Governor's office were tangled and also, because of inexperience, difficult to manage. Additionally, he had to contend with the enmity of Territorial Secretary Frederick Bates. From the start, Bates had been a relentless, intrusive gadfly. In due course, Lewis over extended himself in the purchase of local real estate. By December 1808, he had bought more than 5,000 acres, for which he paid, or obligated himself to pay, two to three times his salary as Governor. As a consequence, he soon faced bankruptcy or fraud. He did. He was particularly frustrated when, for lack of funds, he had to abandon a cherished plan to bring his mother to St. Louis and provide her with a home.

Lewis's perturbed mind soon suffered yet another jolt, this the result of Jefferson's previously quoted letter. This letter began, it will be recalled, by rebuking Lewis for not having written since their parting in Albemarle in September of 1807. Jefferson, of course, was more than justified in taking Lewis to task. The letter provides evidence too, both weighty and explicit, of the sad deterioration of the close friendship between the two men. Commenting on this unhappy turn of events, a distinguished historian has since written: "From the time of his [Lewis's] parting with Jefferson in the fall of 1807 to his death in the fall of 1809, he wrote him three, possibly four, letters. None of the surviving letters contains more than a perfunctory expression of the warm relationship that once existed between the two men." This regrettable fact speaks for itself. And, making matters even worse it was in this same letter to Lewis, it should be remem-
bered, that Jefferson reminded him that he had yet to receive "... tidings of the forwardness of your printer."

Approximately one year later, on August 16, 1809, Jefferson wrote to Lewis again about the still unpublished history of the expedition: "I am very often applied to know when our work will begin to appear, and I have so long promised copies to my literary correspondents in France, that I am almost bankrupt in their eyes. I shall be very happy to receive from yourself information of your expectations on this subject." Fortunately Lewis never received this communication, having left St. Louis for Washington before it arrived.

A final blow to Lewis' deteriorating equanimity soon occurred, right after James Monroe succeeded Jefferson as President and William Eustis had replaced Henry Dearborn as Secretary of War. Thereafter the attitude of Washington officialdom toward Lewis, exemplified most conspicuously by actions of Eustis, underwent significant change. The first instance of the altered attitude occurred in July 1809, when Eustis refused to honor a draft of $19.00 submitted by Lewis, one that Dearborn earlier would have honored without question. Lewis was able to pay it and did so, but when Eustis vetoed the next draft, one of several hundred dollars, the revelation, according to one writer, burst on Lewis "... like a grenade, shook him badly, and proved to be his death warrant." Having been rebuked by Jefferson, rebuffed by Eustis, and mortified by current events, including rumors bruited about that his position of Governor was in jeopardy, Lewis suddenly decided that the resolution of his problems demanded a return to Washington. Once in the nation's capital, he reasoned, he could persuade Eustis to honor future drafts, could resolve the problem of the expedition's unpublished history, and, with a visit to Monticello, could possibly mend his fences with Jefferson.

On September 4, 1809, Lewis boarded a Mississippi sternwheeler, carrying with him not only duplicates of his vouchers for public expenditures, these for the benefit of Eustis, but also several volumes bound in red morocco, these containing the unpublished and unedited journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. It seems appropriate to quote here, rather than later, a letter from Conrad to Jefferson written November 13, 1809, about one month after Lewis's death: "Capt. Lewis never furnished us with a line of M.S. nor indeed could we ever hear anything from him respecting it, the frequent applications to that effect were made to him." On September 15, after eleven days on the Mississippi, Lewis arrived at Chickasaw Bluffs (now Memphis, Tennessee), the location of Fort Pickering, commanded by Captain Gilbert C. Russell. At a later date (November 26, 1811) Captain Russell wrote an account of Lewis descent of the Mississippi and his subsequent two weeks stay at Fort Pickering. Because of its biographical importance, this account should be read with close attention to detail. Russell wrote, in part, as follows:

Governor Lewis left St. Louis late in August or early September 1809... taking with him all the papers relative to the expedition to the Pacific Ocean, for the purpose of preparing and putting them to press, and to have some drafts paid which had been drawn by him on the Government and protested. On the morning of the 15th of September, the boat in which he was a passenger landed him at Fort Pickering in a state of mental derangement... The Subscriber being then Commanding Officer at the Fort on discovering his situation, and learning from the Crew that he had made two attempts to kill himself, in one of which he nearly succeeded, resolved at once to take possession of him and his papers, and detain them there until he recovered...

In this condition he continued without any material change for about five days, during which time the most proper and efficacious means that could be devised to restore him was administered, and on the sixth or seventh day all signs of derangement disappeared and he was completely in his senses and thus continued for ten or twelve days. On the 29th of the same month he left Bluffs with the Chickasaw agent [Major James Neelly]... intending then to proceed the usual route thro' the Indian country, Tennessee and Virginia to his place of destination, with the papers well secured and packed on horseback. By such severe depletion during his illness he had been considerably reduced and debilitated from which he had not recovered when he set off..."

It is difficult to regard any part of Captain Russell's account as faulty: it rings true throughout. And it is equally difficult to discount his earlier report, made on January 31, 1810, to Jefferson. In this he referred to Lewis's intemperance before and after his arrival at Fort Pickering, "... and the possibility that the free use of alcohol contributed to his suicide." After leaving the Fort, Lewis, Neelly, Lewis's servant John Perrier and a slave belonging to Neelly, travelled in an easterly direction until they came to the Tennessee River. At or near this point, they struck the Natchez Trace, the winding wilderness road that ran from Nashville, Tennessee, southwest to present-day Natches, Mississippi. The land near the junction of the river and the Trace was then occupied by the Chickasaw Indians, of which Major Neelly at that time was the Government Agent. Even before the party arrived among these Indians, Lewis's mental problems began to reappear [seemingly the result of several days of long, tedious hours in the saddle and, possibly of the renewal of the "habit"] As a result, in an effort to regain his strength and stability, he rested for two days before crossing the river. On the morning of October 10, as the men were about to resume their journey, it was discovered that, during the night two of their horses had strayed. To find them, Neelly stayed behind and Lewis went ahead with the two servants and promised Neelly that he would wait for him at the first habitation they found. Late that evening Lewis arrived at a group of buildings known locally as Grinder's Stand owned by Mr. Robert Grinder. Grinder was not at home, but the three travellers were welcomed by Mrs. Grinder and provided with food and lodging, after which they retired to their quarters.

Early the next morning, Governor Meriwether Lewis died, of what this writer and others believe were the result of self-inflicted pistol wounds.

The initial report of the tragedy was written on October 18 in Nashville by Major Neelly and addressed to Thomas Jefferson. Neelly had arrived at Grinder's Stand soon after Lewis's death and had received par-
ticulars from Mrs. Grinder. His report to Jefferson read as follows:

It is with extreme pain that I have to inform you of the death of his excellency Meriwether Lewis ... who died on the morning of the 11th instant and I am sorry to say by Suicide.

I arrived at the Chickasaw Bluffs on or about the 18th of September where I found the Governor (who had reached there two days before me from St. Louis) in very bad health. It appears that his first intention was to go around by water to the city of Washington; but his thinking it a waste of time, he resolved to have the party of which he was in charge take the route directly to the British, he was thereby induced to Change his route, and come through the Chickasaw nation by land. I furnished him with a horse to pack his trunk &c. on, and a man to attend to him; having recovered his health in some degree at Chickasaw Bluffs we set out together, and on arrival at the Chickasaw Nation I discovered that he appeared at times deranged in mind. We rested there two days & came on. One days Journey after crossing the Tennessee River & where we camped we lost two of our horses. I remained behind to hunt them & the Governor proceeded on, with a promise to wait for me at the first house he came to that was inhabited by white people; he reached the house of a Mr. Grinder about sun set, the man of the house being from home and there no person there but a woman [Mrs. Grinder] who discovering the Governor to be deranged gave him up the house & slept herself in one near it. His servant and mine slept in the stable loft some distance from the other houses. The woman reports that about three o’clock she heard two pistols fire off in the Governor’s room; the servants being awakened by her, came in but too late to save him. He had shot himself in the head with one pistol & a little below the Breast with the other — when his servant came in he [Lewis] says I have done the business my good Servant give me some water, he survived but a short time. I came up some time after, & had him as decently buried as I could in that place — if there is anything wished by his friends to be done to his grave I will attend to their instructions.

I have got in my possession his two trunks of papers (amongst which is said to be [the records of] his travels to the Pacific Ocean) — and probably some vouchers for expenditures of Public Money for a bill which he said had been protested by the Secy. of War; and of which act I have also lost. I Care his Rifle, Silver watch, Brace of Pistols, dirk & tomahawk; one of the Governor’s horses was lost in the wilderness which I will endeavor to regain, the other I have sent on by his servant who expressed a desire to go to the Mothers [Lewis’s] and to Monticello. I have furnished him with fifteen Dollars to Defray his expenses to Char- lottesville. Some days previous to the Governor’s death he requested of me in case any accident happened to him, to send the trunks with papers therein to the President; but I think it very possible he meant to you (when Neelly wrote this letter Jefferson was no longer President). I wish to be informed what arrangements may be considered best in sending on his trunks &c. I have the honor to be with Great respect Yr. Ob. Sert.22

After reading Major Neelly’s letter, Jefferson had the opportunity to question Pernier, though presumably the latter’s response disclosed no information contrary to Neelly’s report. He did, however, turn to Captain Russell, and promptly, as two letters, written in January 1810, from Russell to Jefferson prove. The first, dated January 4, retold the circumstances of Lewis’s mental state on his arrival at Fort Pickering and Russell’s attention to him. The second, dated January 31, related Lewis’s free use of alcohol and the likelihood that such intemperance may have contributed to his suicide. With these letters from Russell confirming the intelligence already received from Neelly and Pernier, Jefferson was firmly convinced that Lewis did take his own life, a conviction he retained for the remaining years of his life. In light of latter arguments that Lewis was murdered, this writer is of the opinion that Neelly’s report to Jefferson deserves closer attention than some have given it. Neelly’s report includes a number of observations difficult, if not impossible, to contradict. His observations were specific, personal, and made on the spot of the tragedy. To believe him is to believe that, before writing Jefferson, Neelly had been pressured to report untruths, and that to this author this seems inconceivable.

Others beside Jefferson, Russell, and Neelly entertained no doubts that Lewis had committed suicide. William Clark, on learning of his friend’s death, immediately confessed to his brother Jonathan: “I fear! I fear the weight of my mind has overcome him.” During Lewis’s several months in St. Louis as Governor, he doubtless sought the company of Clark more than any other person and perhaps opened his heart to him. Therefore, Clark knew of his friend’s several problems and, also “the weight of his mind.”

In Mahlon Dickerson’s diary for 1809, one finds this memorable entry: “Tues. 10 [October]. Poor Meriwether Lewis killed himself this night.” A few days later Dickerson wrote: “... Read the horrible account of Captain Meriwether Lewis’s death on the night of the 10th of Oct. I think he was the most sincere friend I ever had.” Lewis’s letter of November 3, 1807, to Dickerson, with its several revelations of a “perturbed spirit” may well have contributed to Dickerson’s seemingly ready acceptance of suicide as the means of his friend’s death.

By far the most detailed account of Lewis’ death issued from the pen of the noted ornithologist, Alexander Wilson. In 1807, it will be recalled that Lewis had engaged Wilson to make portraits of birds for him, so the two were not strangers. Four years later, Wilson visited Lewis’s grave, while in Tennessee collecting birds. While there he talked to Mrs. Grinder. On May 28, 1811, Wilson wrote at length to a Philadelphia friend, Alexander Lawson23 and provided him with details of his conversation with Mrs. Grinder. Portions of that letter relevant to this study follows:

Governor Lewis, she said, came there [to Grinder’s Stand] about sunset, alone, and inquired if he could stay for the night; and alighting, brought his saddle into the house... On being asked if he came alone, he replied that there were two servants behind, who would soon come up. He called for some spirits, and drank a very little. When the servants arrived ... he inquired for his powder, saying he was sure he had some powder in a canister ... Lewis, in the meanwhile, walked backwards and forwards before the door, talking to himself. Sometimes, she said, he would seem as if he was walking up to her, and would suddenly wheel around and walk back as fast as he could. Supper being ready he sat down, but had eaten only a few mouthfuls, when he started up, speaking to himself in a violent manner. At these times, she says, she observed his face to flush as if it had come on him in a fit. He lighted his pipe, and drawing a chair to the door, sat down saying to Mrs. Grinder, in a kind tone of voice, “Madam this is a very pleasant evening.” He smoked for some time, but quitted his seat and traversed the yard as before, he again sat down to his pipe, seemed again composed, and casting his eyes thoughtfully toward the west, observed what a sweet evening it was. Mrs. Grinder was preparing a bed for him, but he said he would sleep on.

22. Ibid., II:684.
23. Ibid., II:655n.
24. Ibid., II:684.
25. Alexander Lawson (1773-1846) was a prominent Philadelphia engraver.
the floor, and desired the servant to bring the bear skins and buffalo robes, which were immediately spread out for him; and it being now dusk the woman went off to the kitchen, and the two men to the barn, which stands about 200 yards off. The kitchen is only a few paces from the room where Lewis was, and the woman being considerably alarmed by the behavior of her guest could not sleep; but listened to his walking backwards and forwards, she thinks, for several hours, and talking aloud... she then heard the report of a pistol, and something fall heavily to the floor, and the words "Oh Lord!" Immediately afterwards she heard another pistol [shot], and in a few minutes she heard him calling out: "O madam! give me some water, and heal my wounds." The logs being open, and unplastered, she saw him stagger back and fall against a stump that stands between the kitchen and the room. He crawled for some distance, raised himself immediately afterwards she heard another pistol [shot], and something falling nearby. She was so startled by the behavior of her guest could not sleep. He soon afterward contributed a biographical sketch of Lewis. In January he went to the Trace Park way.

Immediately, directly ahead of the interpretive reader board. The four different and appropriate inscriptions on the four faces of the plinth are described on page 17.

This letter from Wilson to Lawson was written some eighteen months following Lewis's death. In January 1812, eight months later, it was published in a prominent Philadelphia newspaper. Port Folio (Vol. VII No. 1 pp. 34-47). Presumably Jefferson read the letter in this periodical. Whether he did or not, he soon afterward contributed a biographical sketch about Lewis for The History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark, the para-


Photograph by Harold B. Billian

monument on the site of Lewis's grave. After the monument had been put in place, the commission reported: "The impression has long prevailed that under the influence of disease of body and mind... Governor Lewis perish by his own hand. It seems to be more probable that he died by the hands of an assassin."

During the 1814-1893 period, however, tenable opinions publicly expressed favoring suicide outweighed those favoring assassination. For example, in 1816, a prominent Philadelphia newspaper stated that Lewis had taken his own life. In 1856, a respected histori-

27. Ibid., xxxix. 28. Ibid., xli.

29. Analectic Magazine and Naval Chronicle, VI, April 1816.
an declared that Lewis had “shot himself.” Three years later a reliable biographer asserted: “Lewis shot himself twice with a pistol.” And as late as 1874 another reputable historian declared: “Meriwether Lewis committed suicide.”

In any comprehensive study of the death of Meriwether Lewis, the year 1893 looms conspicuously, for it was then that the first extensively documented attempt was made to absolve the name of Meriwether Lewis of the implicit heinous sin of suicide. The author of this attempt was Elliott Coues, a man of many parts who, in the early 1890s, undertook the onerous but commendable task of producing a revised edition of Nicholas Biddle’s History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark (1814). While so engaged, Coues also contributed a “Memoir” of his own about Lewis. This soon attracted much attention and, as will be seen, incited other writers to strive to emulate Coues’ effort to prove that Lewis did not take his own life, but was murdered.

Coues opened his “Supplement to Jefferson’s Memoir of Meriwether Lewis” with these words: “Ex-President Jefferson’s Memoir of Lewis is a noble and fitting tribute … what else I have to say concerns not Lewis’s life but the circumstances of his death … The affirmation of his suicide, though made without qualification, has not passed unchallenged into history.”

Thereafter, Coues devoted much space to challenging the authenticity of Mrs. Grinder’s story as told to Alexander Wilson. Indeed, he assailed her account with a merciless vigor, saying that it was “wildly improbable,” “simply incredible,” and there was nothing in Lewis’s conduct to “have so alarmed Mrs. Grinder that she could not sleep … for several hours.”

Coues also devoted much space to an article by a Tennessee lawyer, James D. Park, which appeared in a September 1891 issue of the Nashville American, even though he knew that Park had obtained much of the information included in his article from a Mrs. Christian B. Anthony, aged 77. She admittedly gained her knowledge from a Polly Spencer “whom she knew well before her death about forty years ago.” Polly Spencer allegedly was a hired girl with the Grinders at the time of Lewis’s death. Presumably Park was relying on intelligence relayed to him by Mrs. Anthony when he, with seeming undaunted purpose, wrote: “It has always been the firm belief of the people of this region [viz., the neighborhood of Grinder’s Stand] that Governor Lewis was murdered and robbed. The oldest citizens now living remember the rumor current at the time as to the murder, and it seems that no thought of suicide ever obtained footing here.”

To Coues, this declaration by Park was welcome grist for his mill. He responded: “Mr. Park seems to me to present a strong case [against suicide], perhaps the strongest that will ever be drawn up, — and deserves much credit for thus undertaking to clear so great a name from so grave an imputation.”

In writing his “Memoir” to Lewis, and roundly contending that Lewis had died at the hands of an assassin, Coues could not possibly have divined the effect his persuasiveness would have on future biographers of Lewis, especially on writers like Olin D. Wheeler, John Bakeless, Vardis Fisher, and Richard Dillon, each of whom, in years ahead, would attempt to rival Coues’ belief in the theory that Lewis was the victim of an assassin.

The Lewis and Clark students who have read the pages of Coues, Wheeler, Bakeless, Fisher, and Dillon — those pages devoted exclusively to the manner of Lewis’s death — may well discover flaws, each of which weakens the authors’ intent.

An initial flaw to be considered centers on the time element. Coues’ “Memoir of Meriwether Lewis” came from the press in 1893, 84 years after Lewis’s death. Wheeler’s On the Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904 published in 1904, followed Lewis death by 94 years. Bakeless’ Lewis and Clark: Partners in Discovery, published in 1947, did not appear until Lewis had been dead for 138 years. Fisher’s Suicide or Murder? The Strange Death of Governor Meriwether Lewis, published in 1962, followed Lewis’s death by 153 years. And Dillon’s Meriwether Lewis, a Biography, not published until 1965, consequently succeeded Lewis’s death by 156 years. A legal generation, I am advised, is 30 years; but whatever the length, it is definitely true that the accuracy of memory depreciates with advancing generations.

A second recognizable flaw is the exposure of uncertainties, as exemplified by numerous prefixes such as: “Oral tradition has it,” “Local legend states,” “One conjecture is,” “Some one has said,” “Tradition clearly indicates,” “Legend also avers,” and “Some one is supposed to have said.” [Also, according to an anonymous source, this pertinent gem: “All too often in the creation of a legend its first casualty is truth.”]

A third flaw discloses the unreliability of tradition respecting the manner of Lewis’s death. Originally it will be recalled, both Major Neelly and Mrs. Grinder had reported that Lewis had died of two pistol wounds, one in the forehead and the other in the chest. At later dates, explanations differed widely. One individual declared: “Three shots [were] fired. Piece of skull blown off forehead at first fire. . . 2nd and 3d shots just over the heart two inches apart.” Another said: “Lewis, in addition to shooting himself twice in the body, and cutting his throat, shot himself in the head, and cut the arteries in his thighs and

37. Ibid., Livvi.
39. John Bakeless (1894-1978), author and biographer. His Lewis and Clark, Partners in Discovery, may be safely recommended to those students who are novitiates in the history of the Expedition.
40. Vardis Fisher (1895-1968), author of Suicide or Murder? The Strange Death of Meriwether Lewis. See Fn. 42 post.
41. Richard Dillon (1924- ), librarian, author, and biographer. Some reviewers extolled his Meriwether Lewis, a Biography, published in 1948, as superior.

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arms." Another affirmed: "He shot a ball that grazed the top of his head and another through his intestines, and cut his arm and neck and ham with a razor." And yet another declared: "It seems clear that he also had knife and razor wounds, either at the throat or wrists."

Still another flaw, this one perhaps to be expected, was the attempt of Coues, Wheeler, Bakeless, Fisher and Dillon to discredit the statements and/or beliefs of Mrs. Grider and Major Neely. Obviously, if their pro-murder allegations were to gain credence than those to the contrary should be invalidated or, at least, disparaged. As already noted, Coues was first in line, with his flagrant censure of Mrs. Grider's story as "wildly improbable." Also attempting to discredit Mrs. Grider's reliability was Bakeless, who said that if her account was true it showed "a perfectly incredible callousness." Of Major Neely's report to Jefferson, Fisher employed this unbelievable criticism: "[I]t is one of the most unsatisfactory documents in all of history." Coues had reservations about Neely's general conduct, declaring, "[I]t seems to have been very strange." In yet another attempt to undermine further Neely's dependability, Bakeless said: "When Neely was suddenly confronted with his friend's corpse, his mind went back over the episodes at Fort Pickering and Lewis's state of mind during the wilderness journey, and he may have exaggerated his natural exasperation into 'derangement.'" And Dillon conjectured: "If it was a case of foul play, and not suicide, Neely himself may have been involved."

And these same writers, in their criticism, did not neglect Jefferson. Wheeler's censure, milder than most, was limited to these words: "It is a matter for regret that Jefferson did not particularize more as to his sources of information." Fisher was more outspoken: "Jefferson would have known less of what actually occurred than any citizen in the area where Lewis died, he knew only the idiosyncrasies of the man." Dillon was blunt: "When Jefferson was called upon to preface the published journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1814, he first maligned Lewis's memory by reiterating the disproved, unfounded tales of 'hypochondria' and 'sensible depressions of mind' which he had observed, he said, in his secretary."

A final flaw: whereas Coues and company continued to persist in their convictions that Lewis had been murdered, they failed to name the perpetrator, got no further than conjectures. A prime suspect was Mrs. Grider's husband, who, according to a number of reports, was away from home at the time of the tragedy. At a later date, if we accept other reports, as Coues and others did, Grider was brought into court, accused of murder, tried, and found innocent. Wheeler wrote that Lewis's mother and others of the family, unwilling to accept suicide, believed that Pernier had murdered him. To Dillon the identity of the assassin seems to have been a persistent bewilderment. After raising the question: "Who, then, if not Pernier, Grider, Neely or Russell, was Lewis's murderer?" he fell back on this answer: "His assassin, I am convinced, was either an unknown land pirate of the ilk of the Harpe brothers of bloody Natchez [Trace] notoriety, or the mysterious Runnin' [a desperado of the 43. Fisher, 185. 44. Ibid., 186. 45. Bakeless, 419. 46. Ibid., 1423.


52. Fisher, 225. 53. Dillon, 342 54. Wheeler, I:66 time and area]." Fisher, seemingly without an opinion of his own, relied instead on that of "a rather prominent lawyer in Centerville" who had declared that, "Lewis was murdered by Major Neely."

Though space is limited here, the accounts of Coues, Wheeler, Bakeless, Fisher, and Dillon are open to additional criticisms. For instance, Coues exceeded plausibility when stating that Mrs. Grider's story contained "every sign" of being "a common concoction on the part of an accomplice in crime, either before or after the crime."

Wheeler followed with this statement: "It seems impossible that a young man of 35, the Governor of the vast Territory of Louisiana, then on his way from his capital to that of the nation, where he knew he would be received with all the distinction and consideration due his office and reputation, should take his own life." Other individuals, off and on, have sentimentalized similarly about Lewis; but as an acceptable disclaimer of suicide, it comes up empty. The human brain, like other organs of the body, is easily prone to pathological consequences.

Bakeless, too, made statements unsupported by evidence, and primarily this one: "The story that Lewis was mentally deranged must also be treated with reserve."

Vardis Fisher's Suicide or Murder? is a combined anthropology and personal commentary, with the latter presenting a crowded, rambling amalgam of apocrypha, hearsay and improbabilities suggestive of what someone has called "Chimney corner history." Fisher, too, is disposed at times to stipulate differing interpretations. Here and there, for instance, he admits the uncertainties of tradition, but he verbally bristled when a pro-suicide advocate declared that the traditionalists often began their claims with some such phrase as "My Grandpa told me." This and other inconsistencies by Fisher doubtless prompted this remark by a well-known editor: "Fisher approaches the subject not in the manner of a historian but like a detective following a very cold trail."

In his Meriwether Lewis, a Biography, Dillon committed an obvious error when he listed Donald Jackson with Coues, Wheeler, Thwaites, Bakeless and Fisher who leaned toward Lewis's death by an assassin. Dillon left his readers in no doubt as to where he stood on the manner of Lewis's death: "Whatever Jefferson thought," he wrote, "and whatever the public was told by the press, local folk were not convinced that it was suicide. In the last twenty-five years the belief that Lewis was the victim of robbery and murder has grown."

Many other inaccuracies and fallacies in the writings of the pro-murder/anti-suicide advocates could

55. Dillon, 348.


61. Jackson, II:748.

62. Dillon, 345. Dillon erred, too, respecting Thwaites, the latter being guarded in his comment: "... it was reported," Thwaites wrote, "that he [Lewis] had committed suicide... a theory which Jefferson... accepted without question; but it was and still is believed by many that he was murdered."

63. Dillon, 337.
be disclosed as part of this study, but to do so would be another affront to the law of diminishing returns.

Near the beginning of the twentieth century, and continuing to the present, a number of writers have published accounts taking exception to the theory that Lewis was murdered. To the author's knowledge, the first of these published accounts appeared in 1904 and was by J.F. Moore, a relatively obscure Tennes
ee attorney, but seemingly a rational thinker. Moore had read several accounts, most of which opted for murder as the cause of Lewis's death. Vigorously disagreeing, Moore retorted: "Many accounts of Lewis's death have from time to time been published, nearly all based upon tradition, upon the alleged contemporaneous sentiment of the community in which the tragedy occurred... Many of these accounts have been inaccurate and highly colored, and in some cases without foundation whatever."

Several years elapsed, and it was 1956 before another writer challenged the validity of Lewis's death by murder. The author responsible in this instance was Dawson A. Phelps, a National Park Service historian assigned to the Natchez Trace Parkway, Tupelo, Mississippi. In the year mentioned, Phelps published an article entitled: "The Strange Death of Meriwether Lewis." In the view of many Lewis and Clark students, Phelps convincingly discredited the murder/robbery concept of Lewis's death. If space permitted, it would be fitting as part of this study to reproduce a sizable portion of Phelps' article. That being impossible, readers may find two statements by Phelps adequate to enlighten them on the merits of his convictions. The first of these followed Phelps' references to the 1840 formation of Tennessee's Lewis County and to the 1849 erection of the monument at Lewis's gravesite. "The events," he wrote, "reflected the continuing interest in Meriwether Lewis among people who lived in Lewis county and adjoining Tennessee counties. It is not remarkable, considering nineteenth-century moral attitudes, that many people in the vicinity should have dismissed the possibility of suicide, substituting instead the more exciting, dramatic, and perhaps more acceptable stories of murder which embellished and enlarged in the passage of time, became established folklore." In the second of Phelps' statements he was more explicit declaring: "In the absence of direct and pertinent contemporary evidence to the contrary, of which not a scintilla exists, the verdict of suicide must stand."

Just six years later, in 1962, there came from the press Donald Jackson's "Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854." To most Lewis and Clark aficionados, this work has since become their acknowledged, oft-perused trade

mecum. Herein one finds, contrary to Dillon, Jackson stating: "I am inclined to believe that Lewis died by his own hand. The present statement by [Gilbert C.] Russell... does much to strengthen this belief." Not long afterward the author of this study would be declaring: "That night [October 11, 1809] Lewis died, a victim, in my opinion, of his own hand." Apparently the latest individual to join ranks with that select group of pro-suicide/anti-murder exponents is Howard I. Kushner, a historian at San Diego State University. Quite recently, in 1981, Kushner published an article bearing the title: "The Suicide of Meriwether Lewis, Psychoanalytic Inquiry." Early in this study Kushner states that some writers are competent historians, "... but may be ill-equipped to deal with the question [of suicide] because they appear to know so little about the dynamics of suicide."

Kushner then goes on to say: "Suicides are more prevalent among those who as children experienced the death of a parent," and who have "suffered a great loss such as a rejection by a lover". It should be noted here that Lewis's father died when Lewis was only five years old, and as Kushner observes, Lewis never had a chance to mourn completely his father's death. Kushner further states that Lewis, over the years, had been afflicted by a number of suicidal tendencies, among them his difficulty in maintaining many of his personal friendships, his "placing his life in constant danger, his addiction to alcohol," and his having "from early life been subject to hypochondriac affections."

Kushner concluded his article with the following remarks: "Suicide emerges as an alternative of last resort for the incomplete mourner when other ritualized alternatives prove either insufficient or unavailable. The life of Meriwether Lewis is suggestive of incomplete mourning and a psychoanalytic approach to his death can lead us to a fuller understanding of his life."

In Jefferson's "Memoir" to Lewis, after alluding to his nomination of Lewis in March 1807, as Governor of Louisiana, he continued with these words: "A considerable time intervened before the governor arrived in St. Louis." The point has now been reached in this study where it is imperative that the major weaknesses in the arguments of Coues, Wheeler, Bakeless, Fisher and Dillon be exposed, these being faults of omission, not commission.

When Jefferson remarked that "considerable time intervened" before Lewis reported to St. Louis, he must have known that the time interval consumed the equivalent of a year. Yet, of the five pro-murder advocates named above only Dillon seemed aware of that year, when he wrote: "Meriwether Lewis's year-long procrastination in assuming the duties as Governor was absolutely inexcusable." but, inexplicably, neither Dillon, nor any of the others, exhibited the slightest curiosity about Lewis's prolonged delay in reporting to the territorial capital or advanced theories in explanation. But even more inexplicable, not one of them referred specifically to Lewis's problems, the all-important causes of the delay.

Earlier the author listed the problems, and they are herewith restated: (1) Lewis's failure to obtain a wife; (2) his intemperance; (3) his default in providing publisher Conrad with copy; and (4) his role in the deterioration of the heretofore warm friendship between Jefferson and himself. It is important, even imperative, that these problems now be examined individually and critically, this procedure being deemed necessary in order to show the lack of attention paid them by pro-murder exponents.

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As to Lewis's intemperance, these same writers, excepting casual references by one or two of them to his drinking during the stay at Fort Pickering, virtually disregard the subject.

As to Lewis's defection in furnishing manuscript copy to publisher Conrad, Coues, Wheeler and the others resolutely and completely avoid this matter.

And as Lewis's part in the erosion of the close, longstanding relationship between him and Jefferson, the oft-mentioned group of pro-murder literati maintain an abysmal and unbroken silence.

At this juncture the author is impelled to emphasize that the general disregard of Lewis's problems by Coues, Wheeler, Bakeless, Fisher, and Dillon effectively weakens, if not demolishes, their case of Lewis's death by murder and, by like token, appreciably strengthens the case of those who advocate that his death was by suicide.

Also, and equally worthy of emphasis, is the fact that evidence fully supports the presumption that Lewis's problems were rooted in reality, that not one of them may be shrugged off as artificial, or even inconsequential. More than that, each was inherently capable, if exercised, of exerting damage to Lewis's higher nervous centers, not to mention the injury, possibly immedicable, if all reacted simultaneously.

To this writer, the murder/robbery theory of Meriwether Lewis's demise lacks legs to stand on. Consequently I am emboldened to affirm, with unshakable confidence, that, as a result of the continued, intrusive problems haunting Lewis during the final months of his life, he became increasingly unstable. This to such extent that in time there was, for him, only one escape, a fatal rendezvous.

“The Arrival of Lewis and Clark at the Yellowstone” Painting Unveiled

Barbara Schaffner displays her 20” x 30” oil painting depicting the arrival, on April 26, 1805, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition at the mouth of the Yellowstone River (near the Montana/North Dakota state line). The painting was unveiled, September 28, 1985, during the First Anniversary Open House of the MonDah Heritage Center in Sidney, Montana.

The painting which was commissioned by Frank Daniels, a farmer of the Sidney area, was done by Barbara Schaffner, local artist and art instructor.

Explaining her research for the painting to the crowd of about 40 people who attended the unveiling, Schaffner noted that the five years she took to complete the historic painting worked to her advantage. In her travels during that time, she found a blackman who dressed in proper attire and posed for her portrayal of Clark's servant York; she found a Newfoundland dog that served as her model for Lewis dog Seaman; and she also came across another artist's rendering of George Drouillard that agreed with her own concept of the man. She said that she used the paintings of the earliest western artists such as Bodmer, Catlin and Miller to support her research on the clothing that most likely have been worn by the Lewis and Clark party. She described each of the 15 characters in the painting along with Lewis's dog and gave her reasons for portraying them as she did.

The painting captures the scene of Capt. Lewis with two men and his dog coming down the Yellowstone and arriving at Capt. Clark's camp at the junction of the two rivers shortly after Clark's arrival there with the main party.

Relying on the journals of the expedition and research of the National Park Service staff at Fort Union (which is located at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers), Schaffner believes that she was able to determine quite accurately the scene at the junction of the two rivers as it appeared 180 years ago.

Also on hand for the unveiling was Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Past President Bob Saindon of Helena, Montana, who presented a paper on the importance of the mouth of the Yellowstone area as understood by Lewis and Clark.

In his remarks, Saindon praised the work of Schaffner and said that the scene portrayed in her painting is not merely of local interest, nor is it only a scene of interest to the Lewis and Clark story, but portrays a significant scene in the history of the trans-Mississippi West. He told the crowd that Lewis and Clark viewed the site as being strategic for the deterrence of British influence in Upper Louisiana and that the threat of building a fort at that point perhaps held in check the British fur companies aggression in the territory.

Referring to later historical activities at the confluence area, Saindon said, "The site is not only significant as Lewis and Clark perceived it looking to the future, but also as we perceive it looking to the past.

The half-million-dollar MonDah Heritage Center, which was dedicated Sept. 30, 1984, is both an art center and museum in one building. It is the culmination of 12 years of determination and hard work by the Historical and Arts Society. Mr. Daniels has agreed to leave his painting on loan at the Center for an indefinite period of time.

1. For "Seaman" vs. "Scannon" see We Proceeded On, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 5-10.
Meriwether Lewis Monument, Natchez Trace Parkway, near Hohenwald, Tennessee

Meriwether Lewis Park (National Park Service, Natchez Trace Parkway) is located in Lewis County, Tennessee, just northwest of the junction of the Natchez Trace Parkway and Tennessee State Highway 20. The park is about seven miles southeast of the community of Hohenwald. The Parkway, a scenic highway, generally follows the route of the old Natchez Trace (trail) from Natchez, Mississippi to Nashville, Tennessee. The tragedy that took place at this site is detailed in Dr. Cutright's feature story beginning on page 7 in this issue of WeProceeded On. Lewis and Clark enthusiasts who visit the Park will note the appropriate inscriptions on the four faces of the monument's plinth. That verbiage is reproduced here:

(West Face)

Meriwether Lewis
Born near Charlottesville, Va., Aug. 18, 1774
Died October 11, 1809, aged 35 years.

(South Face)

An officer in the Regular Army; Private Secretary to President Jefferson; Commander of the Expedition to the Oregon in 1803-1806; Governor of the Territory of Louisiana. His melancholy death occurred where this monument now stands, and under which rests his mortal remains.

(East Face)

In the language of Jefferson: "His courage was undaunted. His firmness and perseverance yielded to nothing but impossibilities. A rigid disciplinarian, yet tender as a father of those committed to his charge; honest, disinterested, liberal, with a sound understanding, and a scrupulous fidelity to truth."

(North Face)

Immaturus obi: sed tu felicior annos
Vive meos, Bona Republica! Vive tuos. 1
Erected by the Legislature of Tennessee, A.D. 1848.

1. Translation from the Latin on the plinth, and credited to Thomas Jefferson: "I died young; but thou, Oh Good Republic, live out my years for me with better fortune."

Editor's note: Readers having access to Olin Wheeler's On The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904, will note when examining volume one, page 75, that Wheeler's text for the South Face has a complete sentence omitted, and that in the text for the East Face, Wheeler's fifth and six lines should read: "yet tender as a father of those committed to his charge," as transcribed above.

The monument, made of Tennessee marble, is twenty-two and one half feet in height, and two and one half feet in diameter at the base. The purposely broken column at its top is to symbolize Lewis's untimely death at the age of 35. Except for a "post fence" built in 1810, the gravesite remained unmarked until 1848 when the State of Tennessee erected the monument. Five years earlier the Tennessee legislature created a new county, Lewis County, which included the area of the gravesite. The gravesite-monument stands in a grassy well-maintained clearing. About 700 feet from the grave, and marked with an interpretive sign, are the outlines of the foundation and the dimensions of the Grinder's Stand building where Lewis's death occurred. There is a small museum on the site displaying exhibits related to Lewis's life. Students of the Expedition who have access to Olin Wheeler's On the Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904, Vol. 1, p. 76, will note, when comparing Wheeler's illustration to the above, that changes have been made to the native stone structure beneath the plinth.

MARK YOUR CALENDAR – RESERVE THE DATES – AUGUST 16 - 20, 1986 FOR THE FOUNDATION'S 18TH ANNUAL MEETING IN OREGON

We Proceeded On, March 1986
New Idaho Foundation Chapter and Idaho Lewis & Clark Trail Committee Dedicated to Protecting Last Remnants of the Lewis & Clark Trail

By James R. Fazio

Dr. James R. Fazio is Associate Dean for Academics, University of Idaho, College of Forestry, Wildlife and Range Sciences, Moscow, Idaho. He is also serving as Chairman of the Governor appointed Idaho Lewis and Clark Trail Committee.

Idaho has the distinction of being the last major region of the continental United States to be viewed by whites. Lewis and Clark were, of course, those first visitors and their triumph at Lemhi Pass and tribulations in the Bitterroots are well known. Today, a struggle of a different nature continues along the route traveled by the Corps of Discovery. It is a struggle of importance to anyone with an interest in Lewis and Clark history, for at stake is the protection of the section of Trail route that remains today least altered by the works of modern civilization.

It was an awareness of Idaho’s unique relationship to Lewis and Clark history that prompted Governor John Evans to establish by executive order the Idaho Lewis and Clark Trail Committee (WPO 10:1). That occurred late in 1983, making Idaho the most Recent Trail state to form a committee or commission to follow-up on the work and recommendations of the federal Lewis and Clark Trail Commission which existed from 1964 to 1969.

The Idaho committee has begun to make up for its late start by actively involving itself in significant projects. In our two years of existence, we have had little time for the niceties of historical study or celebration. Instead, we have been thrust into the position of fighting a battle in a war that has been long waged — and generally lost — along most of the 3,000-mile Lewis and Clark route. Both ethically and by charge of the executive order that created our committee, we feel obliged to do what we can to protect the remnants of the old Trail.

Some of these remnants make your heart thump a little louder. There are segments in the rugged Bitterroot Mountains that are still unmistakably visible. On the descent from Glade Creek Camp to the Lochsa River there remains a depression in the topsoil of the forest floor made from the passage of thousands of moccasins on route to ancient fishing spots. The exploration party most assuredly walked this path. There are ridgetops and meadows and ways along the wild streams that were unquestionably traveled by the party and which remain much the same today as they did in 1805-06. And there are the campsites, places like Glade Creek where one can sense the presence of the explorers resting in the tall grass of this forest opening, drawing their water from the pleasant creek that meanders through.

The Trail route and its features from Lolo Pass to the Clearwater River are well documented thanks to the modern-day exploration of people like Ralph Space and Andy Arvish, former Clearwater National Forest supervisor and recreation/lands specialist, respectively. Maps and reference works abound, and along most of the route small metal plates mark the travelway, much of it unquestionably being in the exact place of passage.

The problem is that this part of the historic route — hallowed ground to the Lewis and Clark scholar — passes through a working forest. Most of the unaltered segments lie within the Clearwater National Forest, managed by the U.S. Forest Service, or on land owned by Plum Creek Timber Company, a subsidiary of Burlington Northern. Burlington Northern’s predecessor company was the recipient of “railroad lands” used to spur settlement of the West. In all cases, the land supports a forest that is an important part of both the economic foundation and the future of Idaho.

The Idaho committee has directed most of its energies toward making sure that the historic Trail is given as much protection as possible as roads and chainsaws cut deeper and deeper into the old growth forests of northern Idaho. The committee’s first meeting after organizing was held at the confluence of the Lochsa and Selway Rivers. From there, with officials from the Forest Service, segments of the Trail were visited and views were exchanged on the future management of the area. It became very clear that logging would have high priority since none of the Trail route is designated wilderness. At the same time, it was apparent that the agency understood the historic and recreational value of the Trail and would attempt to protect it using appropriate management methods. Along some segments, clearcutting would still yield to less visible selection cutting. In all areas, fire lanes and log loading docks would be kept off the Trail. The meeting provided not only valuable information, but the start of a good working relationship with Forest Service officers whose decisions directly influence what happens along the best preserved segment of the mountainous Trail route.

That initial meeting in the fall of 1983 was soon followed by another action of lasting importance. Each national forest in the United States has been directed by Congress to develop a plan outlining its activities and management directions for the next ten years. After an elaborate period of public involvement used to help select from numerous alternatives, the plan will be the basis for what happens on virtually every acre of our national forests. Obviously, the Clearwater National Forest Plan will determine the fate of some premier segments of the Lewis and Clark Trail. The Forest Service considered the Trail corridor — including the Nez Perce’s Nee-Mee-Poo Trail — important enough to warrant a 132-page appendix to the Forest Plan. This document, known as the Lolo Trail System Implementation Guidelines, was given careful scrutiny by the Idaho committee. This turned out to be in the best interests of all who are interested in Lewis and Clark, for despite the agency’s best intentions, there is considerable room for improvement in their plan if the old Trail route is to survive in its present, unique condition.

Some examples of the criticism forwarded from the committee included: (a) a lack of sociological data on which to base decisions on what kind of recreational developments, if any, should be made (in contrast to great amounts of data on the timber resource); (b) a tendency to subjugate protection of the trail system to a “when possible” or “when compatible with other uses” status rather than subjugating other projects or

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uses to protecting the Trail and associated sites; (c) an apparently low priority for the Trail in the agency's budget allocation process; (d) complicated descriptions of plans for harvesting the area's timber, and an apparent favoritism for clearcutting; and (e) a reluctance to pursue mineral withdrawals for land traversed by the Trail, including most of the Lewis and Clark campsites (mineral withdrawals prevent the mining of areas).

There is much good to be said of the company. Importantly, the company has acted responsibly to keep the entire Trail with the Fall 1985 meeting. This time the focus was on private land traversed by the Trail just west of Lolo Pass. The purpose was to initiate dialogue with Plum Creek Timber Company, learn what measures they might be taking to safeguard the Trail on their land, and explore alternative uses for future use and protection of the Trail and campsites. At the same time, we asked to review the site of a gravel pit proposed by the Idaho Division of Highways. The proposed excavation is on Plum Creek's land and was to come within 25 feet of a beautiful stretch of trail along the edge of the Crooked Fork just before it joins White Sand Creek to become the Lochsa River.

This, too, proved to be an interesting and productive meeting. We learned that Plum Creek Timber Company is very conscious of the Trail. The company's original unit manager, a Mr. Kay, carefully located the Trail along company property. Although company policy does not allow for buffer strips of vegetation along the road, it does require workers to keep log skidders and other equipment off the Trail tread. Most importantly, the company has actually chosen not to log in areas considered to have high potential for public use and enjoyment. Happily, these include such sites as 13-Mile Camp, Packer Meadows, and the magnificent Glade Creek Camp, and the Trail route between the latter.

In our post-visit recommendations, we suggested a higher degree of cooperation and communication between company and Forest Service officials, especially to encourage joint projects such as clearly marking the entire Trail with the help of Clearwater National Forest archaeologist, Karl Roenke. We suggested continuing dialogue with our committee, and that the company pursue possibilities of exchanging easement rights along the Trail for an appropriate tax advantage. We also were successful in having the gravel pit specifications modified to move the edge of excavation 50 feet from the Trail instead of 25 feet.

Actions of the Idaho Committee in its first two years have resulted in tangible benefits for future Trail users, but more importantly there has been a good spirit of cooperation built between our group of citizens and the government and industry officials responsible for the land that presented Lewis and Clark with such a challenge during their passage. Last summer the committee successfully won its bid to host the Foundation's national meeting in 1990. The goal of that meeting will be to review the success of foresters' efforts along the "Lolo Trail" to protect an historical treasure while at the same time managing the timber and other resources that are so vital to Idaho's economy.

The continuity of any committee appointed by a governor is precarious at best. With Governor Evans' term expiring in 1986, we decided to create a chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation to assure continuation of our work and to add the strength of a nationwide interest group to our efforts. On October 19, 1985 at the Powell Ranger Station, 13 members of the Foundation — most of us also members of the governor's committee — signed a petition for a new legislative grant. The petition was subsequently approved, with officers of the new Idaho Chapter being: Otis Peterson, president; Dr. James F. Hammersten, vice-president; and Audrey Peterson, secretary-treasurer.

With Idaho's far-flung population of little more than one million, the number of people with a serious interest in the Lewis and Clark Trail are few. To assure adequate protection of the Trail across the rugged backbone of our state, we need the interest and support of the entire Foundation. One thing that every member can do to help is to show that interest does exist for the protection of the historical aspects of the Trail. For example, when visiting the Trail, let land managers and community support services (motel operators, etc.) know of your interest. This translates to dollars and helps demonstrate that good resource management can produce tourism income as well as commodities. Another thing that needs to be done is for every chapter and every state committee to protest strongly any management action that unnecessarily impacts the Trail route in their area. The success of one group adds strength to the efforts of others. Similarly, we need to recognize private and public organizations that help safeguard Lewis and Clark history and perpetuate the spirit of that remarkable chapter in American history.

As the Foundation's newest entity, the combined Idaho Chapter and Governor's Committee looks forward to the continuing support of its neighboring groups who have already been most helpful, and to hosting the national meeting during Idaho's Centennial in 1990.

University of Idaho Announces Summer Field Course on the Lolo Trail

Sid Eder, Summer Session Director, University of Idaho, Moscow, has announced a July 7-19, 1986, Summer Session field based course. Titled "On the Trail of Lewis and Clark", the course will offer a unique and exciting field study of the history and natural history of the 1803-1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition. The field work involves retracing the 1806 route of the explorers across northern Idaho from Lolo Pass (Montana-Idaho stateline) to the confluence of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers (at Lewiston, Idaho). Participants (limited to 25) will study both what the explorers found and what are the present conditions of the occupants of the lands they explored, examined, and documented in their journals, maps, and sketch-drawings. A major part of the course will allow students and professors to visit sites and attempt to observe discoveries made by the Expedition, e.g., plants, wildlife, terrain, Indian culture. Trip leaders and instructors will be: Steven J. Brunsfield, University of Idaho naturalist, specialist in Pacific Northwest and Rocky Mountain flora; Cort Conley, director of the University of Idaho Press and author of Idaho for the Curious; Sam H. Ham, Associate Professor, Wildlife Recreation Management, and consultant to the National Park Service regarding the Lewis and Clark Expedition; and Carlos A. Schwantes, director, Institute for Pacific Northwest Studies and Associate Professor of History. For further information write: Summer Session Office, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho, 83843, or phone (208)-885-6237.

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Lewis and Clark in Minnesota?

By Foundation President L. Edwin Wang

Naturally, history scholars and well-informed history buffs alike know that the Lewis and Clark Expedition did not get closer to what now is the border of Minnesota than the distance from that border to the 1804-06 path of the Missouri River. Nonetheless, just thirty-three years ago, a very important discovery of Lewis and Clark papers was made in St. Paul, Minnesota.

During the first week in January in 1953, Lucille M. Kane, then Curator of Manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society, received an invitation from a New York resident, Mrs. Vaclac Vytlačil, to review the contents of a desk located in the attic of the house at 117 Farrington Street (not "Avenue" as reported in most publications), St. Paul, Minnesota. The original owner of that house was General John Henry Hammond, Mrs. Vytlačil's grandfather. Mrs. Vytlačil asked Ms. Kane to examine what were thought to be some valuable papers of General Hammond. It was suggested to Ms. Kane that those "Hammond" papers might have possible interest for the Minnesota Historical Society.

To Ms. Kane's surprise and utter delight, the "Hammond" papers included what she thought might be long-misplaced documents which had been written a century and a half earlier by none other than William Clark. Although there were several bits of evidence to help convince her that she had discovered Clark documents, three stood out. First, the documents covered two easily-recognizable segments of the Expedition's history: one a record of the stay at the Wood River, Illinois camp; the other, a record of the journey from Wood River to the Mandan Villages. Second, the documents were wrapped in an 1806 issue of a long-expired Washington, D.C. newspaper. Third, one of the documents was addressed to William Clark's brother, "General Johnathan Clark". To confirm her "find", Ms. Kane enlisted the aid of her mentor and former history professor, Dr. Ernest Staples Osgood at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Osgood, himself a Lewis and Clark enthusiast, confirmed that indeed Ms. Kane's initial observations were correct.

As news of Ms. Kane's discovery was spread by the press, the number of the potential owners of the documents increased. The Hammond family contended that the documents had not really been given, but only loaned, to the Minnesota Historical Society. The Minnesota Historical Society considered that the documents had been given, not loaned, to it. The federal government claimed ownership on the basis that the documents were a part of official reports of a federally-financed expedition. Surprisingly, no claim was presented on behalf of the Clark family. One would have supposed that the Clark family could have made a good case for ownership of the documents in question.

After three years of litigation which included much very-interesting testimony by professors, lawyers, representatives of historical societies, libraries and other institutions, plus nine months of review, on October 8, 1956, Federal Court Judge Gunnar H. Nordbye of Minneapolis decided that the documents belonged to the Hammond family. Immediately following that court decision, Frederick W. Beinicke, a Yale alumnus, purchased the documents from the Hammond family so as to give them to Yale University for its outstanding collection of Western Americana. At the invitation of the Yale University Press, Dr. Osgood was engaged to edit and prepare the documents for publication. In 1964, The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805, a 335 page limited (crown folio) edition was released by that press. Today, library appraisers place a value of several hundred dollars for a good, clean copy.

At the Foundation’s 17th Annual Meeting, August 7, 1953, the Board of Directors requested its President to present a copy of the Osgood, Yale University Press (continued on facing page)
edition of the Clark Field Notes to Christopher and Rebecca Richardson, the present owner-occupants of the “117 Farrington Street” property in St. Paul. At that time, in order to make such a presentation possible, Foundation Director Harold Billian offered to make available to the Foundation a second copy of the Yale publication in his personal library.

On October 29, 1985, Foundation President L. Edwin Wang, Astrid, his wife, and Russell Fridley, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society, made a presentation of two books to the Richardsons. A copy of The Field Notes of Captain William Clark 1803-1805 by Ernest S. Osgood was given to the Richardsons on behalf of the Foundation. A copy of A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals by Paul R. Cutright was presented to the Richardsons as a gift from Foundation Director Harold B. Billian. The latter volume is considered a valued adjunct to the Osgood work because of Dr. Cutright’s extensive chapter devoted to Dr. Osgood and the publication of the Clark Field notes.

In October 1984, the Western History Association held its annual meeting in St. Paul. One of the papers presented at that meeting was given by Foundation Director Gary Moulton. His paper was entitled “The Contest for William Clark’s Field Notes, St. Paul, 1953.” Dr. Moulton’s interesting paper is just another illustration of his scholarly approach in dealing with “Corps of Discovery” matters.

On Saturday, October 13, 1984, following the Western History Association meeting, Foundation members in attendance, including Gary Moulton, George Richards, Robert Taylor, and Ed Wang visited with Kit and Becky Richardson. The Richardsons indicated that not infrequently persons who are familiar with the historical significance of the “117 Farrington Street” property, stop by for a visit. While the roll-top desk in which the Clark papers were found has long since been removed, the attic structure is the way it was in January 1953 — and long before then.

Recently in a letter of appreciation to the Foundation for the gift of the books, Becky Richardson extended an invitation to Foundation members to visit the Richardson home (“117 Farrington Street”) when they have occasion to be in St. Paul.

Thank You

The Foundation sends greetings to our recent new members who learned of the Foundation as a reader of American History Illustrated magazine, September, 1985 (see: “Updating L. & C. in Recent Periodicals”, WPO, Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 5). The notice, included with the magazine’s feature article about Lewis and Clark’s Fort Clatsop, reported the existence of the Foundation and suggested that readers write to the Foundation’s Membership Secretary for additional information and a membership application. We are delighted that this has resulted in 33 inquiries and to date 25 new members. The membership committee is indebted to Ed Holm, editor of American West Illustrated for his interest in our organization.

Window Display is Project of Portage Route Chapter at Great Falls, MT.

Ron Paulick, Portage Route Chapter member, has provided WPO with the above illustrations. Here are two views of the attractive Lewis and Clark Expedition window display which was in place for several months, including the Christmas holidays, at a shopping center store window in Great Falls. A costume store supplied the mannequins, the Indian costume, and the other mannequin is dressed in clothing and accouterments fabricated for the 1984 reenactment of the Expedition’s 1805 portage at the Great Falls of the Missouri (see WPO, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 30-33). A wheel from one of the wagons constructed for the reenactment is in the right hand illustration. Items from the Charles Russell Museum, a 15 star, 15 bar flag (a facsimile of the flag carried by the explorers), and books and items from chapter members own collections are included in the display. The plans are to move the display to other window locations in Great Falls.

We Proceeded On, March 1986 -21-
Recent Meetings (con’t)
guests were in attendance. At the business session there were discus-
sions concerning: the chapter’s mapping project; an April float trip on
the Missouri River; and local members attendance at the national
Foundation’s Annual Meeting in Oregon. The speaker for the evening
was Dr. Merrill Burlingame, Montana State University, Bozeman,
who presented a paper about the trials and adventures of Private
John Colter (of the Expedition). The Minutes of the meeting report that
this was historical, educational, and humorous. Dr. Burlingame is cur-
cently upgrading a booklet about Colter for the Gallatin County His-
torical Society.

We have information regarding the Foundation’s newest entity, the
SAKAKAWEA CHAPTER; being organized in Bismarck, North Dako-
ta. Fourteen national Foundation members met for an organizational
meeting on October 19, 1985. Temporary officers were appointed
(Sheila Robinson, Chairperson; Marylyn Kipp, Secretary; and Founda-
tion Director Arthur Shipley, Treasurer). A By-laws Committee
was appointed. A January 30, 1986 letter from Director Shipley writes
that, with the weather moderating, an announcement will advise the local
group of the time and place of a meeting for the election of officers,
adoptions of by-laws, and tentative programs for the four meetings
planned for the coming year. The group is enthusiastic about their
hosting the 1988, 20th Annual Meeting of the Foundation.

1. The editor has indicated WPO’s policy with regard to the spelling of the Indian woman,
16; and Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 3-4). Since many Foundation members in North Dakota prefer
regard to the spelling of the Indian woman, we make no editorial alteration of the spelling in this arti-
cle which relates to the State of North Dakota.

The OREGON LEWIS AND CLARK HERITAGE FOUNDATION held its quarterly meeting and
annual Christmas pot-luck dinner on December 11, 1985, in Beaver
Hall, Oregon Historical Center. Thirty-five members and guests atten-
ded the meeting. The brief business session included a report from
the Nominating Committee and the election of officers and directors for
1986. The speaker for the evening was Foundatin member Harvey
Steele, and his interesting paper, illustrated with slides, was titled:
“The Scientific Instruments of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.”

THE PORTAGE ROUTE CHAPTER OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION
held a meeting in Great Falls, November 25, 1985. Due to incle-
ment weather, attendance was limited to only eleven members. The
business session involved: a report about the Lewis and Clark Window
display (see related picture story, this issue of WPO); Margaret War-
den briefly discussed western artist John Clymer and his many paint-
tings that detail incidents involved with Lewis and Clark and Montana
history; the Montana State Centennial Acre promotion, a project spon-
sored by the State Centennial Commission for raising funds for the
1989 Statehood Centennial celebration; the Chapter’s Lewis and
Clark Centennial Project proposed by Ron Paulick and Dick Martin re-
ating to a reenactment of the entire Lewis and Clark Expedition trek
across Montana. Paulick and Martin discussed this at a meeting in
Helena with the State Centennial Commission; additional subjects
discussed related to cartographer Bergantino’s research to locate the
White Bear Island campsite; a report from Marcia Staigmiller regarding
the interpretive signs at the recently constructed Lewis and Clark Mis-
souri River Overlook; and a report from the Nominating Committee for
officers and directors for 1986. Following the business session, Chap-
ter member I.G. Buhman presented his research regarding the guns car-
ried by the Expedition. It was an-
nounced that the next meeting
would be on January 27, 1986 at the
Devonshire Townhouse Meeting
Room.

Montana Council
While not a Foundation entity, we
(continued on page 29)

Dedicated Lewis and Clark enthusiasts make it a point to seek out and enjoy markers, monuments, and reader
boards that refer to the exploring enterprise as they journey along or near the 1803-1806 Trail. Foundation members
Richard and Margaret Baynes, while enroute from their previous home in Reading, Pennsylvania, to their new
residence in Irvine, California, made a stop at the formidable Lewis and Clark Memorial Monument which is located
just off of U.S. Route 29, and north of Council Bluffs, Iowa. Foundation member Mildred Goosman, Omaha, Nebras-
ka, advises the editor that the monument has been in place for many years and was erected by the Colonial Dames of
America. The legend on the monument relates Lewis and Clark’s “Parley with the Otoe and Missouri Indians” and
the Captains’ naming “The Locality Council Bluffs”, as the result of their meeting with the Indians (Thwaites, I:98).
The Memorial-Monument, showing signs of its age, is located in a well-kept park area. Annual meeting participants
will recall the Baynes’ presence at the Philadelph (1983), the Great Falls (1984), and the St. Louis (1985) meetings.
have received the minutes of a November 17, 1985 meeting of the Montana Governor's Montana Lewis and Clark Trail Advisory Council. See WPO, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 22-23.

Chairman Margaret Warden and seven council members discussed: an offer to donate land near Sula, Montana, (Ross's Hole) where artist Charles M. Russell established a camp while doing preliminary work for the great mural "Lewis and Clark Meeting the Flathead Indians at Ross's Hole" for the wall behind the Speaker's Desk in the Montana House of Representatives, Helena; an announcement that the site of "William Clark's Lookout" near Dillon, Montana, is to be included in state lands and a park is to be developed; a discussion concerning the proposal and estimated cost for a reenactment of the Lewis and Clark journey through Montana during the 1989 Statehood Centennial Celebration; and a progress report from council member, Bob Saindon, Helena, who is preparing an inventory of Lewis and Clark Trail sites in Montana.

Montana's Statehood 1989 Celebration

The State of Montana is one of four states, along with North Dakota, South Dakota, and Washington, all Lewis and Clark Trail States, that will be celebrating one hundred years of statehood in 1989. The recent November 1985 issue of WPO reported that North Dakota Governor Arthur Sinner had appointed former North Dakota Governor Arthur Link (a Foundation member and friend) Chairman of the North Dakota Centennial Commission.

Montana Governor Ted Schwinden has announced the appointment of eight Montanans to be members of the Montana Statehood Centennial Commission. By Montana law, Lieutenant Governor George Turman also is a member of the Commission and will serve as its chairman. Wilbur P. Werner, Cut Bank, Montana, a past president of the Foundation (1975-1976), a past president of the Montana Historical Society (1973-1975), a member of the Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees, a member of the Montana Lewis and Clark Trail Advisory Council, and a member of the National Park Service's Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, is one of Governor Schwinden's eight appointees. In a letter to the editor, Wilbur wrote: "I find work on the Centennial Commission an honor and a privilege. "

Montana Power Co. President Writes About Foundation Award

The November (Vol. 11, No. 4) 1985, We Proceeded On reported on the September 29, 1985 dedication of the Lewis & Clark Overlook structure, downstream from the Missouri River's Rainbow Falls and Dam, on the riverfront, Great Falls, Montana. The new facility is the most recently constructed overlook structure and is a part of an ambitious program administered by the Great Falls Riverfront Task Force, a civic agency which is overseeing several planned improvements along the Missouri riverfront. There have been many donations of materials, craftsmanship and labor involved with the development projects, but it was the Montana Power Company's $75,000 grant that has made the development possible.

Foundation Past President Bill Sherman, Portland, Oregon, was the principal speaker at the recent dedication ceremonies, and following his address made the presentation of the Foundation's highest award, the Meritorious Achievement Award. Montana Power Company's Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, W. Paul Schmechel, was present and accepted the award. Since the September date, there has been an exchange of letters. Chairman Schmechel's letter of November 15, 1985 to Foundation Past President Sherman personifies the interest the Montana Power Company has for preserving the beauty and historic value of the falls, with a particular connotation to the Lewis and Clark epic. The text of his letter is transcribed here:

W. P. SCHMECHEL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

November 15, 1985

Mr. William P. Sherman
Past President
Lewis and Clark Trail
Heritage Foundation, Inc.
8885 S.W. Canyon Road
Portland, OR 97225

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your kind note recognizing Montana Power's contribution to the Lewis and Clark Trail in the Great Falls area. I was delighted to accept the award for the company, but as you know projects of this sort don't happen without many unseen and willing hands.

In this respect the Heritage Foundation and numerous civic organizations in Great Falls share in this award. If you tip your hat to us, we return the gesture. We believe in working together to create a better place to live.

I believe that Montana Power has been a responsible steward of the Missouri River's resources. Dams were sized to consciously protect the natural beauty of the Falls, Giant Spring, and other wonders that gave Captain Lewis such amazement and delight.

Today, as you probably know, people can experience the thrill of the Great Falls of the Missouri by visiting MPC's Ryan Park and picnic area on an island below the cascade. The new trail and scenic overlook, which the Heritage Foundation played such an important role in creating, adds a new and important perspective to Lewis and Clark's monumental efforts 185 years ago.

Our hope is that future generations will realize that Lewis and Clark should be numbered among the world's great visionaries. To remember to tell of their adventure is important, for to be mired in a lesser horizon doesn't speak well for us. Indeed, we climb the mountain because it is there.

If man limits his efforts, he remains mundane. If instead he recognizes that problems provide an opportunity for creative solutions, perhaps he begins to find his full potential. If the scenic overlooks raise the consciousness of only a few, both our efforts will be well rewarded.

Again thanks for your good note.

Sincerely
(Signed) Paul Schmechel
Montana Statehood (con't)

mission to be time consuming, but intensely interesting. The ideas, thoughts, and suggestions that people have with reference to our upcoming 1989 Statehood Centennial celebration is phenomenal.” It is obvious that Wilbur’s service and interests in Montana and Lewis and Clark history has him frequently in Great Falls and Helena from his home in Cut Bank. In making the appointments, Governor Schwidenten said: “We’re entering a significant period for citizens throughout the state to reflect on our past and examine our future, and Commission members will help guide the substance and style of this special occasion.”

Foundation member Marshall Johnson, Great Falls, who served as Local Arrangements Chairman for the Foundation’s 16th Annual Meeting (August 1984) in Great Falls, has been named to chair a special Lewis and Clark Expedition/ Centennial Coordinating Committee. Membership on this committee is open on a volunteer basis. This committee will not duplicate the work of the several Lewis and Clark groups around the state, but will work to coordinate a master schedule to highlight the L & C Trail and the contributions the Expedition made, which led to eventual statehood.

Back-Issues of WPO

Back-issues of We Proceeded On are available for purchase. Some early issues are paper plate photo-offset reproductions of the original publications and the quality of the illustrations are slightly depreciated. Present-day printing and mailing costs require that back-issues be supplied at $2.50 each to Foundation members, and $2.50 each to nonmembers. You may request a copy of a “WPO Feature Story Prospectus”, which lists the titles, etc., of feature stories that have appeared in We Proceeded On and in WPO Supplementary Publications. A recapitulation of book reviews that have been published in We Proceeded On is also included in this prospectus.

Address requests for specific back-issues, or for the “WPO Feature Story Prospectus” to: 5054 S.W. 26th Place, Portland, OR 97201. Remittances should be made payable to the Foundation.

The Columbia River

The Columbia River and Its Tributaries Provided Lewis and Clark with the Most Practical Travel Route from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.

Foundation members attending the 18th Annual Meeting and visiting the Pacific Northwest for the first time will have the opportunity to view one of the great rivers of the world. The Columbia River has its headwaters in British Columbia, Canada and drains an area of about 259,000 square miles. From its origin to its four mile wide estuary, at the Pacific Ocean, it flows approximately 1243 miles through British Columbia, and the State of Washington, and, for about 333 miles, serves as the border between the states of Washington and Oregon. Except for the Mississippi River, the Columbia discharges more water at its estuary than any other river in the United States. The river has a fall of 1288 feet in its 748 mile flow from the Canadian border to the Pacific Ocean. This provides the potential of its being one of the world’s greatest sources of hydroelectric power.

Important in the history of the west, the Columbia River estuary was probably seen as early as 1775 by the Spanish explorer Captain Bruno Heceita, who did not enter the river but applied the nomenclature Bahía de la Ascensión. In 1788, the English explorer and fur trader John Meares sought the entrance of a suspected river which he called the river San Roque and the entrance Ensenada de Heceita from early Spanish navigation charts. Meares denied the existence of a river and, in the process of sailing, passed the entrance of the waterway, named the coastal prominence “Cape Disappointment” and what proved to be the estuary “Deception Bay”. The discovery of the river proper is credited to American Captain Robert Gray, who sailed through the breakers on May 11, 1792, and anchored in the river ten miles from its mouth. He gave the name of his vessel to the river. In the fall of the same year, Lieutenant William Broughton, of Captain George Vancouver’s English exploring enterprise, ascended the river for a distance of about 125 miles. He applied the name Mt. St. Helens to southern Washington State’s snowcapped peak after the name of the British Ambassador to Spain (1790-1794), the Baron St. Helens (Al­ leyne Fitzherbert). To Oregon’s highest peak he gave the name of Mt. Hood after Rear-Admiral Samuel Hood of the British Navy. Both mountains are visible from the lower reaches of the Columbia River.

In President Thomas Jefferson’s “Letter of Instructions to Captain Meriwether Lewis,” Jefferson stated: “The object of your mission is to explore the Mississippi River & such principal stream of it, as, by it’s course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon,1 Colorado or any other river may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce.” Once the exploring party reached the western most headwaters of the Mississippi River in present-day southwestern Montana just below Lemhi Pass on the Continental Divide, the search began for western waterways leading to the Pacific. Overcoming the formidable Bitterroot Mountains on today’s boundary between Montana and Idaho, the transite over the Bitterroots in northeastern Idaho brought them to the Clearwater River, a tributary to the Snake, and finally travel on the Snake to the Columbia River in southeastern Washington State.

The Expedition’s descent of the great Columbia in 1806, their Fort Clatsop winter establishment near the mouth of the Columbia, and their return up the river in the spring of 1806, together with Captain Gray’s 1792 discovery and (continued on facing page)
Professor Iseminger Teaches L. & C. Expedition Course to 155 University of N. Dakota Students

History Professor Gordon L. Iseminger, The University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, during the past fall semester developed and taught a special topic credit course on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. One hundred fifty-five students - the number of available seats in the classroom - attended and earned credit for the course. About two dozen more students requested the course, but could not be accommodated. Earlier in the year Iseminger wrote the WPO editor requesting information and suggestions concerning source materials for building his special credit course. The editor requested that, if the course developed, WPO and the Foundation would appreciate having a report of his activity. A December 1985 letter from Professor Iseminger reads as follows:

"The course was offered one afternoon per week for two hours for seven weeks. The primary text was DeVoto's *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*. Students were also encouraged to read from books that were placed on reserve in the University library, and recommended were: Donald Jackson's *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783-1854* and Reuben G. Thwaite's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*.

"Credit for the course was earned and determined by:

(1). A research paper of 8-10 pages on a topic of the student's choosing for which the *Journals* were used as the primary source. I was delighted at the response to this portion of the course requirements. The only way the students could write the paper was by reading the *Journals* and for the most part they were caught up in the reading and in the story of the Expedition in ways many of them had never been before. Most of the students were not History majors, and many of them expressed amazement that History could be so interesting, exciting and rewarding.

(2). An essay examination given at the conclusion of the course. Most of the students did well on the examination.

"Other course content was devoted to developing American history just prior to the time of the Expedition, the search for the Northwest Passage, the milieu in which the Expedition took place, and the results and benefits of the Expedition. Some films were shown, the best of which was the NBC documentary (Britannica) film *Journals of Lewis and Clark*. A collection of slides descriptive of Fort Clatsop and the Missouri River (north-central Montana) Breaks were shown, as were many that I had reproduced from books about the Expedition.

"The course went well. It will be offered regularly in the future and will be improved upon as I gain experience with the material. Thank you for your help and encouragement."

In order to apprise Foundation Director Arthur Shipley, Bismarck, ND, of Iseminger's exciting teaching project, copies of the professor's letter have been forwarded to him, as well as to Foundation President Edwin Wang and Vice President John Montague (John will be president of the Foundation in 1988 when the 20th Annual Meeting will be in North Dakota.)

N. Dakota Group Sites

The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail was promoted all across North Dakota during the month of October 1985. There were two, twoday tours that followed the Expedition's route with stops in communities along the way. Purpose of the activity was to promote interest in the Trail, interpret history, promote tourism, and to explain the procedure for certifying sites in accordance with the National Park Service's program for developing the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

The tour was arranged by Douglas Eiken, Director of the North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department. Eiken is also Chairman of the North Dakota Governor's North Dakota Lewis and Clark Trail Council. Other participants were: The North Dakota Tourism Division, State Highway Department, Bismarck Visitors and Convention Bureau, and several invited, historically oriented individuals, including Foundation member Sheila Robinson. Use of two ten-passenger vans were funded by the Parks and Recreation Department and were made available by the State Highway Department.

A film copy of the NBC documentary (produced several years ago) "The Journals of Lewis and Clark", and collections of color slides showing Lewis and Clark sites in North Dakota were carried with the tour and were shown at every opportunity to gatherings at the communities visited (local Chambers of Commerce, service clubs, and newspaper offices). At communities near historic sites, particularly sites related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, local individuals were invited to join the tour and visit the nearby site.

The first week's tour, October 14th and 15th was in the Bismarck, Mandan, and Washburn areas. The second week, October 21st and 22nd, the tour journeyed to western regions of the state, particularly the areas connotating to the Lewis and Clark Trail.

In Foundation member Sheila Robinson's report to *We Proceeded On*, she said that the tour group returned tired but well satisfied with the many contacts made, enthusiastic responses, and the press coverage of the tour. They all felt that the message had been adequately presented and that much more needs to be done in anticipation of the hosting of the Foundation's 20th Annual Meeting in Bismarck in 1988.
Univ. of New Orleans Offers Summer of ’86 Course — L. & C. In Montana and Idaho

Stephen A. Ambrose, Professor of History, University of New Orleans, has advised We Proceeded On that he will be conducting an on-site teaching class, History 2509, for the University of New Orleans during the last week of June and the first ten days of July 1986. This is a regular university course, for three or four credits and includes an examination. The credits are transferable to other colleges and universities. The course starts and ends at Great Falls, Montana, and includes a five-day Missouri River canoe trip from just below Great Falls to Judith Landing (Missouri River — Judith River confluence), and a five-day back-pack over the Lolo Trail (northern Idaho). Other Expedition related visits include Lemhi Pass, Three Forks of the Missouri, Helena, Gates of the Mountains, and Missoula. For complete details for this “Special Studies in History: The Lewis and Clark Expedition” course, write Stephen A. Ambrose, University of New Orleans, Lakefront, New Orleans, LA 70148.

“American West” Tour 1986 Summer Activity

Readers of We Proceeded On interested in on-site travel and interpretation of the history of the exploration and development of the American West will take note of a special tour scheduled for the Summer of 1986. The tour entitled “Trails of the American West” will include travel in Montana and Idaho, and will be led by Professor Harry W. Fritz, History Department, University of Montana, Missoula. Dr. Fritz will be remembered by members who attended the Foundation’s 16th Annual Meeting in Great Falls, August 1984, for his fine banquet address. Many members who did not attend that meeting have ordered and read WPO Supplementary Publication No. 8, “Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and the Discovery of Montana”, a transcript of that address.

The tour will focus on General George Custer and the Big Horn, Chief Joseph’s flight through Montana, and retraces of the Lewis and Clark Trail. The Lewis and Clark segment will begin at Three Forks, Montana and follow the Trail for six days all the way to Great Falls. There will be a boat trip through the “Gates of the Mountains” (north of Helena), a visit to revelant sites in the Great Falls area, and possibly a hike to the summit of Lewis and Clark Pass (in Montana), and a part of the Lolo Trail (in Idaho). There is a possibility that there may be two tours.

Additional details, an attractive brochure, description and itinerary, etc. will be forwarded promptly upon a request to Harry W. Fritz, Department of History, University of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812.

News Note For Collectors

Bibliophiles and collectors of Lewis and Clark memorabilia may be interested in several items available from the Publication Committee of the Foundation’s Portage Route Chapter, Great Falls, Montana. For additional information members may request a descriptive brochure and order form from: Publication Committee, Portage Route Chapter, P.O. Box 2424, Great Falls, MT 59403.

Oregon State Capitol Lewis and Clark Mural

“Lewis and Clark at The Dalles [later known as Celilo Falls] of the Columbia” is the title of the magnificent mural, one of six, in the rotunda of the Oregon State Capitol Building, Salem. The Expedition’s “Great Falls of the Columbia” or what Clark’s sketch map identifies as “A Sketch of the Long and Short Narrows of the Columbia” (Thwaites, III: facing p. 158), is now inundated by the waters impounded by the U.S. Corps of Army Engineers’ The Dalles Dam (a flood control and hydroelectric facility). The mural portraying the Expedition involved in the portage around this great barrier to their westward travel was one of three done by the artist Frank H. Schwartz. The two others by this artist are titled: “A Wagon Train Encampment” and “The News of the Admission of Oregon into the Union [1859]”. The other three murals in the rotunda were done by the artist Barry Faulkner and portray other incidents in early Oregon history. The work of these two artists in the Oregon Capitol Building is described in detail (their interest in selecting the themes of the paintings and their striving for authenticity) in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLI, No. 2, June 1940, pp. 132-136.

Members traveling to and from this coming August’s 18th Annual Meeting, and passing through Salem, will find a visit to the Capitol Building to view the murals a rewarding experience.
Montana Historical Society Honors Sherman with “Trustee’s Award”

(Left) William “Bill” Sherman, Portland, OR, Past President of the Foundation (1984-1985) received the Montana Historical Society’s prestigious “Trustee’s Award” from Wilbur Werner, a Society Trustee, and Lewis and Clark Foundation Past President (1975-1976). The presentation was made at the November 8, 1985, banquet during the annual Montana History Conference, Helena, Michael Malone, President of the Montana Historical Society and Dean of the Graduate School, Montana State University, Bozeman, and his wife Kathy are pictured in the foreground. In presenting the award to Bill, Wilbur made the following remarks: “A few days ago, I was asked to prepare and give a resume of the achievements of this recipient of the Society’s Second Trustee’s Award for Contributions to Montana History. Due to his wide ranging activities, I found it to be a formidable task, doubly so, because of his dual citizenship in Montana and Oregon.”

Following a recapitulation of Sherman’s lifetime achievements (see “Our New President William P. Sherman”, WPO, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 4-5), Werner observed: “He has a deep and abiding interest in western art which constantly brings him back to Montana. In 1975, he was Chairman of the C.M. Russell Art Auction in Great Falls. He was named “Honorary Guest” at the “1982 Rendezvous of Western Art” in Helena. The same year that he was President of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Montana Governor Ted Schwinden appointed him to the Montana Lewis and Clark Advisory Council. He is an Oregon Governor’s appointee to the Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee. Bill is a keen student of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and is constantly working on projects to bring Montana citizens and its visitors an awareness of the Expedition on Montana history and tourism. I have had experience, and I say this advisedly, of working with him on several projects. He brings to these activities vigor, enthusiasm and a capacity for work that leaves no doubt as to why he has been so successful in all his endeavors... He is richly deserving of the Society’s “Trustee’s Award for contributions to Montana history.”

THE FOUNDATION NEEDS THE CONTINUED INTEREST AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEWIS AND CLARK ENTHUSIASTS ON A NATION-WIDE BASIS. WE HOPE, IF YOU ARE NOT ALREADY A MEMBER, THAT YOU WILL CONSIDER LENDING YOUR SUPPORT TO THE FOUNDATION. IF YOU REQUIRE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, A PROSPECTUS DESCRIBING THE FOUNDATION, TOGETHER WITH A MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION, WILL BE FORWARDED PROMPTLY. ADDRESS YOUR REQUEST TO THE SECRETARY.

WE PROCEEDED ON derives from the phrase which appears repeatedly in the collective journals of the Expedition:

“this morning we set out early and proceeded on...”
“... wind from the S.W. we proceeded on... until 6 o’Clock...”
“... the fog rose thick from the hollars we proceeded on...”
“We proceeded on with four men in front to cut some bushes...”
“We set out early proceeded on past a Island on the S. Side...”
“...clouded up... We proceeded on under a fine breeze...”

We Proceeded On, March 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>July 19, 1805</td>
<td>Capt. Meriwether Lewis</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 14, 1805</td>
<td>Capt. William Clark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 29, 1806</td>
<td>Sgt. John Ordway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 18, 1806</td>
<td>Sgt. Patrick Gass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 26, 1804</td>
<td>Sgt. Charles Floyd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 10, 1805</td>
<td>Pvt. Joseph Whitehouse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WPO SUPPLEMENTARY PUBLICATIONS

These publications bring to members of the Foundation and others, special items of interest, and on occasion, reprints of out-of-print publications that are not otherwise available.

WPO Publication No. 1, October 1976 $2.00
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WPO Publication No. 2, July 1977 .75¢
"Our Dog Scannon - Partner in Discovery"


WPO Publication No. 3, July 1978 $1.50

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WPO Publication No. 4, December 1980 $2.50
"Three Papers Presented at the Foundation's 12th Annual Meeting, Omaha, Nebraska, and Sioux City, Iowa, August 20-22, 1980"

Contents: "Sergeant Floyd and the Floyd Memorial at Sioux City, Iowa", by Edward Ruisch; "Some Thoughts on the Death of Sergeant Charles Floyd", by E.G. Chinard, M.D.; "Expansion of the Fur Trade Following Lewis and Clark", by Charles E. Hanson, Jr.

WPO Publication No. 5, August 1981 .75¢
"Thirteenth Annual Meeting - Visit to the Missoula County Courthouse - The Edgar Samuel Paxson Murals", compiled by Robert E. Lange.

The visit to the Missoula, Montana, courthouse was an event during the Foundation's Annual Meeting. This publication provides biographical information about Montana artist Edgar Paxson, and descriptions of two of the eight Paxson murals in the courthouse that depict incidents related to the Expedition in the Missoula Area.

WPO Publication No. 6, July 1982 $4.00

Dr. Cutright provides an in-depth study of activities related to the Expedition in Philadelphia, both before (1803) and after (1807-1814) the explorers' return. Litterateur Nicholas Biddle's contribution toward seeing to the publication of a narrative based on the Captains' journals is included in Dr. Cutright's fine monograph.

WPO Publication No. 7, May 1984 $4.00
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Two 8 X 10 inch portraits with descriptive captions on fine paper stock in authentic color, and suitable for framing.

For more information concerning the ornithology of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, see We Proceeded On, Vol. 10, Nos. 2 & 3, May 1984.

WPO Publication No. 8, November 1984 $3.00

This is an unabridged transcript of a paper presented at the 16th Annual Banquet of the Foundation, Great Falls, Montana, August 8, 1984. Dr. Fritz in his fine speaking and writing style, and backed by his extensive knowledge, has produced this review of the purpose, organization and personnel of the exploring enterprise. In addition it presents a fine recapitulation of the Expedition's documentation of their experiences and discovery of what is today the great state of Montana. It was in Montana where the exploring party spent the most "traveling" days while traveling the most miles, overcome one of their greatest obstacles to their favorite river travel (the Great Falls of the Missouri), and established their most numerous night encampments.

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