Take the Horses to the Mandans
by Robert F. Morgan [1980]
President Foote's message

1986-1987 has been a very productive year for the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation standing committees. As most of you know, the committees are the work horses of the Foundation. Each committee has responsibility for various Foundation projects. It is only through the volunteer effort of dedicated members that we can proceed on.

The following is a summary of what has been accomplished this year and what we hope will be accomplished by the Billings Meeting:

The Publication Committee has been heavily involved in the transitional process between editors of We Proceeded On. This has been a lot of work for everyone involved in making sure that we maintain a quality publication. Bob Lange is working on a comprehensive index for the past issues of WPO, and will now have more time for WPO Supplementary Publications.

The Membership Committee, effective with this issue of WPO, is inaugurating the "Each One—Reach One" membership campaign in an attempt to double the Foundation’s membership. Since our members are the backbone of the Foundation, we must have a growing membership to help us reach our goals.

The New Entities Committee has almost completed the New Entities Handbook for use in the formation of future Foundation chapters. This new publication will help concentrations of our membership to organize chapters that will involve their communities in Lewis and Clark activities.

The Planning and Development Committee
has been extremely busy researching many interesting projects for the Foundation's future. Some of these include reprinting out-of-print books, negotiating merchandise agreements with historical associations, developing an "Annual Meeting Guide," establishing a speakers bureau, issuing membership pins to new and existing members, taking inventory of Foundation Lewis and Clark material for inclusion in our future archives and cataloguing all available Lewis and Clark educational material. Resolutions concerning these proposals will be introduced at the Billings Board Meeting.

The Young Adults Committee has been actively working on a project to involve the Foundation and the Girl Scouts. This project was proposed by Past President L. Edwin Wang and now, through the effort of Patti Thomsen, is progressing quite nicely. Basically we would be offering the Girl Scouts educational and logistical support for field trips relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Audio-Visual-Video Committee has the Foundation's Lewis and Clark slide program in the final stages of completion. It will be shown to all members attending the Billings Meeting on August 4, 1987, and will be available in the future to interested individuals and organizations. The National Park Service is also working on a Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail slide show which will complement our program.

The Foundation Bronze Committee has done an outstanding job of working with Bob

(continued on page 10)

G. Renner to give
banquet address

Ginger K. Renner, nationally acclaimed author, lecturer, and western art critic, will address the Foundation's 19th Annual Banquet gathering in Billings, Montana, August 5. The subject of Mrs. Renner's address will be the Lewis and Clark Expedition in western art.

Mrs. Renner was raised in Silver City, New Mexico. She is a graduate of the University of California, Riverside, in English literature and art history. She worked for several years in California's citrus industry before pursuing her first love—western art. In 1965, she and a partner opened the Desert Southwest Art Gallery in Palm Desert, California, and the following year they purchased the Trailside Galleries in Jackson, Wyoming. She sold her interest in the galleries in 1973 when she married the late Frederic G. Renner, foremost authority on the works of Charles M. Russell.

Among her many accomplishments, Mrs. Renner has written the text for extensive catalogues on various important art collections, including the Renner collection of Charles M. Russell artwork. Her catalogue of the Russell collection in the Rockwell Museum, Corning, New York, was turned into a book titled A Limitless Sky, in January of this year. Her monograph "Charlie and the Ladies in His Life" appeared in the Autumn 1984 issue of Montana the Magazine of Western History.

She also wrote the text for an Olaf Wieghorst retrospective catalogue published by the Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Mrs. Renner has given seminars on western art and Charles M. Russell at the Montana Historical Society in Helena, the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City, the Charles M. Russell Museum and the Charles M. Russell Art Auction in Great Falls, and the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa as well as to several Westerner Corrals and other audiences in Arizona and California. She has judged or juried art shows in Montana, Wyoming, Arizona and California.

She serves on the Board of Trustees of the Phoenix Art Museum, and has been appointed to the Advisory Board of the Fine Arts Department of the University of Montana.

"TAKE THE HORSES TO THE MANDANS," by Robert F. Morgan, is an appropriate illustration for the cover of this issue of WE PROCEEDED ON. The painting depicts Captain Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition on the Yellowstone River, returning from the Pacific Ocean. Here, Clark is giving Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor orders to take the remaining horses of Clark's detachment overland to the Mandan villages. Some of the horses were also to be taken to a free trader by the name of Hugh Heney and traded for goods and services that the Expedition would be needing when it arrived by boat at the Mandans.

Morgan, a well-respected Montana artist and a member of our Foundation, depicts in this painting an event that took place in the area that will be visited by the attendees of the Foundation's Nineteenth Annual Meeting August 2-5.

A limited edition of 500 prints of this painting is being made available by the Foundation (see story on page 29).

For a better understanding of the horse trade at the Mandans, read "Old Menard" on pages 4-10 of this issue. The article briefly describes Menard's role in the genesis of the white man's horse trade at that popular trade center.

Although Lewis and Clark never had the opportunity to meet Menard, who had been murdered a few days before their arrival among the Mandans in the fall of 1804, they did become acquainted with Hugh Heney who had been one of Menard's associates.
Old Menard

By BOB SAINDON

"...a Frenchman named Menard who resided with the Mandans for 20 years past was killed a few days ago on his way from the British settlement on the Assiniboine River, 150 miles N. of this place [below the Mandan villages], to the Mandans by the Assiniboine Indians."

—William Clark

"It was unfortunate that the two captains did not have an opportunity to meet this man. From all accounts, he had gained much information through his contact with the tribes farther west and through his journeys as a free trader..."

—Ernest S. Osgood

It seems somewhat strange that neither Lewis nor Clark ever indicated any awareness of the fact that another white man had been on the Yellowstone River before their arrival at its confluence with the Missouri on April 26, 1805. If they possessed no such knowledge, it is even stranger, because the two captains had spent so much time collecting information about the Yellowstone and the Crow Indians of that area from the Mandans, Hidatsas and even the English and Spanish fur company representatives as well as from free traders. Some, if not all, of these people were aware of the fact that at least one white man, Sieur Menard, had been to the Yellowstone River and among the Crow Indians several times prior to his assassination in 1804. Even more surprising is the fact that upon his arrival into the Mandan area a few days after Menard's death, Clark referred to Menard in his journal with no apparent knowledge of the man's unique accomplishments.

This well-known Frenchman had lived among the Mandans and Hidatsas for 25 years. Documents show that his travels to the Yellowstone River with the Hidatsas had been reported to both the British and the Spanish. He had also been an associate of at least two men—Hugh Henny and Rene Jusseaume—who were to become acquaintances and informants of Lewis and Clark during the Expedition's winter among the Mandans.
As the Foundation's Nineteenth Annual Meeting in Yellowstone River country draws near, it is appropriate that our attention is drawn to this major tributary of the Missouri which Captain Clark and his detachment explored on the return journey in 1806 and left, at Pompey's Pillar, the only visual evidence we have of the Journey of Discovery.

But as dramatic as William Clark's signature is on this great landmark, and as significant as his record remains of this segment of the journey, it is our purpose here to explore the obscure meanderings of another white man who far preceded the explorers on the Yellowstone and indeed far preceded them as a trader in the Mandan Villages.

The record fails to give him a first name, and his surname has had at least ten different spellings. He came to his death at the hands of Indians with whom he had traded and with whom he was well acquainted, but it is impossible to determine why. What is certain is that he was the earliest known white man to take up residence among the Mandans and Hidatsas in their neighboring earth lodge villages in present-day central North Dakota. It is also certain that he traveled to and ascended the Yellowstone River, the first white man to do so.

The year 1778 can probably be fixed as the date Menard established himself among the Mandans since that is the year suggested in the earliest references. However, the possibilities range from 1776 to 1783.6

He was a Frenchman (not a half-breed) and was often referred to as a "Canadian." The meaning of that term is not always clear in writings of that time and place. It could refer to a white native of Canada, or it could refer to a Nor'-Wester (i.e., an employee of the North West Company) whether or not he was a native of Canada.

A study of the known documents that make reference to Menard indicates that he was a Nor'-Wester, at least for a time, but probably most often was simply a free trader. He had somehow made his way from Canada to the Mandan/Hidatsa trade center where he took up residence. Such men were known as "residenters" or "tenant traders." The Mandan/Hidatsa villages were especially ideal locales for the free traders in the early years, i.e., prior to 1794. These unlicensed traders were not bothered by the Spanish who had jurisdiction but stayed out of the area. On the other hand, they were a boon to the British who were in the area but without authority and who welcomed their business.

The North West Company didn't get organized until 1784, and the company's post on the Assiniboine River in Canada, Fort Assiniboine, was established even later. The Hudson's Bay Company did not establish Brandon House until 1793; and the XY Company (also known as the New North West Company), established Fort Souris near the confluence of the Souris and Assiniboine rivers in 1795, the same year the company was formed. These were the English posts closest to the Mandan/Hidatsa villages; therefore, in the beginning of his residency among these Indians, Menard may have traded at a Hudson Bay post on Red River.7

David Thompson, an employee of

---

6. The contemporary journalists refer to Menard's arrival among the Mandans at various times: Jacques D'Eglise, in 1792, says Menard had been among the Mandans for 16 years; Juan Fontman, in 1794, says 16 years; Jean Baptiste Truteau, in 1794, also says 16 years; Victor Collot, in 1796, says "more than 16 years"; David Thompson, in 1798, says 15 years; Captain William Clark, in 1804, says 20 years; and Antoine Tabeau, in 1805, says 30 years. Larocque, in 1805, says Menard had lived among the Hidatsa 40 years.

7. The XY Company was formed in 1795 by Montreal merchants who decided to secede from the North West Company. The two companies reunited in 1804. The North West Company combined with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.
Menard was considered a valuable asset by all the fur companies in the region. On January 1, 1798, Thompson "passed thro the village of Mahnow & exchanged my gun with him. Gave with it 1 3-lb Carat of Tobacco, 50 rods of Ammunition, 1 Dog, 1 piece of Soap, 1 Bottle of Peppermint & a lump of Sugar—promised him 40 rods of Ammunition..."

On January 5, Thompson again visited Menard: "Went to the village of Manore, a Frenchman who is naturalized here by a residence of 15 years. Some of the Natives of the Rocky Mountains [Crows] southward to the Head of the Missouri being here I got him to call them, and spent the Day in conversing with them, drawing Maps of their Country &c &c."

In the first draft of Thompson's January 5 diary entry, he says that Menard brought in two Crow Indians who gave Thompson the information for his map. Menard may have played some role in the mapmaking, too, since we find that at the end of the day's session Thompson gives "1 Bottle of Tenate [tannate?] for Mahnow & 40 Rods of Amm."

One gets the impression that Thompson himself stayed at Menard's house at least some of the time he was in that area.

Thirty years after Thompson's visit with Menard, he wrote a narrative of his explorations. In that narrative he says: "We paid a visit to Manoah, a french canadian, who had resided many years with these people; he was a handsome man, with a native woman, fair and graceful, for his wife. they had no
children; he was in every respect as a Native. He was an intelligent man, but completely a Frenchman, brave, gay, and boastful."

Thompson goes on to say that Menard’s boastfulness resulted in his death. He says that Menard was with a party that was attacked by enemies. "[On his return to the village] he praised his own courage and conducted and spoke with some contempt of the courage of those with him, which they did not in the least deserve and for which he was shot." 9

One can only assume that between the time Thompson left the Mandan/Hidatsa villages in 1798 and when he wrote his narrative, he learned about and confused the death of another Menard with his acquaintance of 1798. His narrative may well be referring to the same Menard recorded in the 1794-95 journal of Duncan McGillivray of the North West Company at Fort George on the Saskatchewan River. And, since McGillivray and Thompson traveled together for a while in 1800, that is probably where Thompson picked up the story. McGillivray refers to the murder of this unidentified Menard as follows:

"The murder of old Minard is amply revenged (if it has been committed by them which is only suspected) by the death of 5 Gros Ventres killed at Pine Island & S. Branch so that it only remains for us to recover the value of the horses and baggage, which they pillaged at those places." 10

There is a great deal about our Menard that is still obscure. For instance, his first name seems to be lost to antiquity; although he was the first white man to have reached the Yellowstone River, no record has yet been found that tells us exactly how early he first went there to trade with the Crows; or exactly how far west he went. Concerning the latter, there are two sources that may give us some indication. One says that he gave information about the Yellowstone for a distance of 450 miles from its mouth, 11 and the other says that he rambled among the Rocky Mountains. 12 In 1796, it was reported that by that time he had made several trips overland to the Crows. 13

Francois-Antoine Larocque, a clerk of the North West Company and an acquaintance of Lewis and Clark during their winter among the Mandans, relates a story about Menard. The story was told to him by an Hidatsa chief in June 1805, while Larocque was visiting the chief’s village on his way to establish trade with the Crows. Larocque recorded the story as follows:

"He [the chief] gave the worst character possible to the Rocky Mountain Indians [Crows], saying they were thieves and liars of which he gave an example that is of a Canadian of the name of Menard, who had lived here about 40 years and a few years back set off to go the Rocky Mountains to trade horses and Beavers, these Indians did all in their power to prevent him, but seeing him absolutely bent upon going they let him go. He arrived at the Rocky Mountain Indians tents, where he was well treated, & got 9 horses and 2 female slaves, besides a quantity of Beaver, he left the lodge very pleased, but were followed by some young men who in the night stole 7 horses, a few nights after his 2 slaves deserted with the other horses & other young men coming took from him everything he had even to his knife, he came crying to the B.B. [Big Belly, i.e., Hidatsa] Village almost dead, having but his Robe to make shoes (with flintstones) which he tied about his feet with Cords, which so pained the B.B. that they killed some of the Roche Mountain [Indians] for Revenge &c. &c."

Twelve days after hearing this story, Larocque had the opportunity to council with a band of Crows who had come to the Mandan/Hidatsa villages to trade. He reminded them of the terrible things that they had done to Menard, some years earlier, and told them they could not treat whites that way if they wanted them to come on their land and trade. 14

Menard’s knowledge about the Yellowstone and the Crow Indians was much valued by the British and Spanish years before the Lewis and Clark Expedition reached the Mandans. It is believed that it was his reports on the Yellowstone River region that prompted Larocque’s expedition to the Crows.

Horse trading with the English posts on and near the Assiniboine River must have been lucrative, as the various fur companies were vigorous competitors in need of horses to effectively carry out their business. It appears that Menard’s efforts were the genesis of white man’s involvement in the horse trade at the Mandans. This enterprise had been long established by the time Lewis and Clark arrived on the scene, and while there, Captain Clark learned the value of horses and he knew that the horses he was bringing back to trade at the Mandans in the summer of 1806 were worth many times more than the expedition had paid the Shoshones, Salish and Nez Pierce for them. It’s too bad that the captain had to learn

The earliest written reference to Menard that has been found was made by Jacques D'Eglise, a Frenchman who had obtained a license from the Spanish in 1790 to hunt on the upper Missouri. During his visit among the Mandans, D'Eglise personally spoke with Menard, and from him received pertinent information about the trading that was already taking place between the Mandans and the whites in Canada and Mexico. In his report to Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant-governor of the Spanish Illinois, D'Eglise told of Menard.

In turn, Trudeau reported to Senior Baron Carondelet, Governor-General, that "A Frenchman [Menard] who has been with the nation [Mandans] for fourteen years, and who has gone with them to some English traders from the north of Canada [North West Company], who are now established and fortified about fifteen days' march from the spot where the Mandans are, told de la Iglesia, that the Mandans trade directly with the English [as opposed to indirectly with the Spanish in Mexico]." 15

The second person of record to provide information about Menard was Jean Fotman (Jean Tremont), a Frenchman briefly associated with the North West Company. He came down from the North West post on the Assiniboine River with a party led by Jesseuaume in the summer of 1795. They brought with them a great deal of trade goods, and upon reaching the Mandan/Hidatsa villages, half of the goods were given to Menard. The other half was retained by Jesseuaume who built a North West post among the villages. This leads one to believe that at that time Menard was employed as a trader by the North West Company.

Fotman was soon to desert the North West Company and take up residence with the Arikara near the present South Dakota/North Dakota border on the Missouri River. He descended the Missouri to St. Louis in 1795 with D'Eglise. On July 4 of that year, Zenon Trudeau, Captain of the Louisiana regiment and Commandant of the West District of Illinois, interviewed Fotman. The written record of this interview seems to be the first such record of the existence of the Yellowstone River, and Fotman credits this information to Menard. Trudeau wrote:

"[Menard had told Fotman] that a hundred and fifty leagues above the Mandan there was a beautiful river that had its source on the slope of a high cliff, which they commonly called among themselves the Rocky Mountains, in some lakes which are there." 16

The distance of "a hundred and fifty leagues" (450 miles) seems too far, but it may refer to the distance from the Mandans to the "lakes" (Yellowstone Lake). In that case, it would be surprisingly accurate. On the other hand, it may be an error, and meant to read "fifty leagues" to the "beautiful river," which would be accurate.

Menard had also told Fotman about the Indian tribes one encountered when going to the Rocky Mountains via the Missouri River. In addition, he told about the horse trade that originated with the Spanish posts "found south of the Missouri, or beyond the Montanas de Penas of which he had spoken. He said it could not fail to be true that the Mandan and Gros Ventre and the other nations nearby communicated with them [the Spanish], since all these Indians were well provided with bridles, which prove it, and almost all their horses, as well as many of their mules, are marked with well-known letters, and that these animals are ridden from the Rocky Mountains, whether they came for the purpose of war, or to trade when they are at peace..." 17

In the years 1794-95, Jean Baptiste Trudeau, an employee of the Missouri Company of St. Louis, kept a journal of his trading trip to the Upper Missouri. He ascended the river to the Arikara villages. While there, in 1795, he had occasion to write to Menard and to Rene Jesseuaume. In his letter Trudeau informed the two Frenchmen that the Spanish-licensed Missouri Company planned to establish a trading post among the Mandans. He told them that the company would favor them, and he asked that they stop trading with the English. "Above all," Trudeau wrote, "I pleaded with Sr. Menard who has the reputation among the Indians of being a man to be depended upon, frank and honest, to distribute in person the tobacco which I was sending to the chiefs of the Mandans and Gros Ventres [Hidatsas]...

It appears from Trudeau's journal that Menard was willing to shift any allegiance he had to the English over to the Spanish company: "... the six Indians whom we had sent

---

15. Nasatir. "Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, October 22, 1792."
17. ibid.
to the Mandans [with the letters], returned; they brought me two letters from Messrs. Jussome and Menard...They tell me that all of the Indians and the French who make their residences there are impatiently awaiting my arrival, being disposed to do all in their power to serve the Company. 18

The following year we find J.B. Truteau giving us what is perhaps the first written account of the name "Yellowstone." And again, he gives credit for his information to Menard as well as to the "savages." He wrote:

"At fifty leagues above the Gros Ventres, to the west of the Missouri there discharges a large river, called the river of the Yellowstone, which is almost as broad and deep as the Missouri. This great river has its source in the mountains of rocks in the western part...The nation of the Crow, a numerous people, dwells along its banks, and high up, in ascending toward its source, are situated several other savage nations that are still unknown to us. The savages assure me that it was very deep a long distance from its mouth. A Canadian, named Menard, who, for sixteen years has made his home with the Mandan, whither he came from the north, and who has been several times among the nation of the Crows in company with the Gros Ventres, their allies, has assured me that this river was navigable with piroques more than a hundred and fifty leagues above its mouth, without any falls or rapids." 19

We find an interesting reference to Menard in the writings of Victor Collot, a former French general who visited the lower Missouri River area in the mid-1790s. From him we learn that Menard was down in that area in 1796. Collot probably got some of the information for his 1796 map of the Missouri River, especially the Yellowstone River area, from Menard. On his map, Collot labels the river "Rock or Crow R." He also locates two villages of Crows near that river. 20

Charles McKenzie, also of the North West Company, made four expeditions to the Mandans between 1804 and 1806 to trade. On the first two he accompanied Larroque. During the winter of 1804-05, McKenzie, like Larroque, visited with Lewis and Clark at Fort Mandan. Although McKenzie (also like Larroque) does not mention Menard in the narrative of his first journey in the fall of 1804, he does briefly mention him in the narrative for 1805 when describing the abundance of animals and the geography of the Yellowstone area: "which account was confirmed by an old voyageur lately from that quarter." 21

Another version of this narrative identifies this "voyageur" as "Menard an old Canadian who had lately been ravelling Among the Rocky Mountains." 22

The April 26, 1798, journal entry of John McKay, the master of Brandon House for the 1797-98 season, gives us some insight on his initial impression of Menard: "There is a Menor an old residerter amongst them [Mandans] who promised me his Furrs, provided I would send to meet him. this morning the men returned, and acquainted me that Menor had given all his Furrs to the Canadians notwithstanding Menors Duplicity, he paid me a visit this Day, with some of the Mandles, he offered to sell me 3 fine Horses and a Slave Girl, to be paid next Fall. 23 I told him to sell his Horses and Slaves where he sold his Furrs, that Birds of a Feather should go to geather, the old Fellow pricked at what I said, says, ['']Sir you are a strangger to me, but I perceive by what you say you mean to pass an affront on me and all my Country men.[''] I told him if all his Country men were like him, they Desired to be affronted everywhere, and that if he Did not find the door quickely I would let him know what a man deserged that broke his word. he soon found the door, and I do not believe he will visit me in a hurry again." 24

McKay's negative attitude about Menard must have changed by the fall of 1804. In their book Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains, W.R. Wood and Thomas D. Thiessen state that the death of Menard "and the loss of his services as an interpreter in the villages, was lamented by John McKay." 25

The exact date of Menard's death is not known, but we find in the Hudson Bay records that he and Hugh Heney arrived at Brandon House to trade on September 14, 1804. The next we read about him is on October 21, when word of his death reached Brandon House. 26 On October 25, Captain Clark (above the Arikara villages) learned of the death of "Menari," and writes in his field notes that it took place "a few days ago." 27

In the 1803-04 narrative journal of Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, a French Canadian voyager who served as a trader for the St. Louis merchant Regis Loisel, we find the following reference to Menard's death: "Menard, who lived for thirty years among the Mandanes, was massacred lately on returning from the English forts, although he was well known to the Asseniboanes, his assassins." 28

According to David Thompson

19. ibid.
22. Slave girls were not purchased by the companies, only by the individual employees. Here we see that Menard was offering credit to McKay personally.
23. Wood and Thiessen, p. 45.
24. ibid.
25. ibid.
(mentioned above), the Hidatsas told him that the Assiniboine did not want them to have free access to the English posts in Canada for fear that they would become too powerful. Perhaps this attitude in some way gave rise to the assassination of Menard.

Alexander Henry, still another fur trader with the North West Company, gives us a fairly understandable description of the location of Menard’s assassination. In the journal of his 1806 trip to the Mandans from the North West post, on July 16, he writes:

"...at four o’clock crossed Riviere Ple [present Cut Bank River], which takes its rise in Moose mountain about 15 leagues W. from this, and, after a course of about 20 leagues through an open plain, empties into Riviere la Souris [Mouse River] a few leagues below Riviere aux Saules [present Willow Creek]. Along this river no wood grows except a few stunted willows. At this place old Menard was pillaged and murdered by three Assiniboines in 1803 (1804), on his way to the Missouri..." 28


CAUGHT IN THE OPEN—Old Menard was pillaged and murdered in 1804 by three Assiniboine Indians near Cut Bank River in present North Dakota. (“Old Menard—Caught in the Open,” Oil painting by Robert F. Morgan, 1987)

PRESIDENT’s MESSAGE

(continued from page 3)

Scrver to create our new bronze, “Capt. Wm. Clark—‘Mapmaker.’ ” Marketing of this bronze is progressing rapidly and it will provide the Foundation with substantial revenue. If you haven’t purchased this fine sculpture, I would strongly recommend that you join me in making an investment in art and the future of the Foundation. (An article concerning the bronze was in the November 1986 issue of WPO.)

The Lewis and Clark Statehood Centennial Celebrations Committee is presently compiling a list of possible Lewis and Clark activities which will be given to the Centennial States for their consideration. The ultimate goal is to produce a master calendar of all scheduled Lewis and Clark Centennial events.

The Editor/Executive Secretary Selection Advisory Committee must be commended for their splendid job in establishing guidelines for the new Editor/Executive Secretary. This group of dedicated members started meeting in Portland during the 18th Annual Meeting and never let up until they issued their final report on November 13, 1986.

The time has now arrived for all chairpersons to start writing their final committee reports. These should be sent to our secretary, Edrie Vinson, no later than June 1, 1987, in order that they may be submitted to all officers, board members and past presidents prior to the Billings Board Meeting.

I want to take this opportunity to personally thank all committee members for all of their hard work. I also want to encourage more of our members to get involved in working for the Foundation. John Montague, the incoming President, is starting to organize the standing committees for 1987-1988, and I’m sure he would appreciate hearing from you.

SEE YOU IN BILLINGS!

John E. Foote
President
L&C IN RECENT PERIODICALS

MONTANA OUTDOORS

Montana Outdoors, the official publication of the Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks, Vol. 18, No. 2, March/April 1987, carries an interesting and informative article entitled “The Bird’s-Eye View of Lewis and Clark” by Ken Walchek.

Editor Dave Books has complemented Walchek’s article with seventeen beautiful color photographs of birds that had been described by Lewis and Clark in present Montana, as well as with Clark's sketch of the “Cock of the Plains” (the sage grouse) discovered near Marias River.

The Walchek article tells of observations made by Lewis and Clark that have only recently been confirmed by ornithologists. He describes the development of taxonomy, and cites three reasons why Lewis and Clark were not properly credited for the birds they discovered for science—one, according to the author, was the officers’ lack of training in taxonomy.

Walchek, who is one of the Department’s regional information officers (Miles City office) has written several excellent articles over the years related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In fact, his fascination and respect for Captain Lewis is expressed in a sidebar which accompanies the article. He says that if he could step back in the pages of history, he would “welcome the opportunity to visit with Meriwether Lewis ... [and] tell him the true merits of his accomplishments and how his detailed biological descriptions stimulated future studies...elaborate on how his finely honed art of observation and note-taking paved the way for those who followed him in natural history...[and] emphasize that the Corps of Discovery fired a national spirit of adventure and zest which still lingers...”

Single copies of Montana Outdoors may be purchased at $1.50, plus 25 cents for postage and handling by writing: Montana Outdoors, Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks, 1420 E. Sixth, Helena, MT 59620.

BOOK REVIEW


Have you ever wanted to share your excitement in the Lewis and Clark Expedition with a child, only to find that many of the non-fiction books available for juvenile readers are “over their heads”?

You, then, will be delighted to hear of a new book which can be recommended enthusiastically for children. The Lewis and Clark Expedition by Patrick McGrath is one in a series of 11 volumes, each focusing on a “turning point” in American history.

Beautifully illustrated and simply written, this is an excellent choice for introducing the Expedition to children. Clearly, the author’s intent was to provide his readers with an informative, entertaining, and factually accurate account of the Expedition. By using sentences and vocabulary consistent with a 4-6 grade reading level, he has created a book children will find easy to read and comprehend.

Thankfully, Mr. McGrath has abandoned most of the traditional “myths” about the Expedition and its members so often found in juvenile literature. Controversial subjects, such as Lewis’s and Sacagawea’s deaths, are dealt with in a balanced, straightforward manner, and for the most part reflect the best current thinking on the subject. McGrath’s use of “Scannon” as the name of Lewis’s dog is certainly understandable. It will take time for Donald Jackson’s revelation on the name “Seaman” to find its way into Expedition literature.

The last chapter of this book is devoted to a discussion of the ways in which Lewis and Clark fulfilled Jefferson’s ambitious instructions, and how their contributions as naturalists, scientists and diplomats helped to open up the American frontier. Here, too, the author attempts to answer some of the questions children always want to know, such as the fate of Corps’s members.

Exceptional color illustrations provide a pleasing, even lavish accompaniment to McGrath’s lively text. Indeed, three out of every four pages contain a color illustration! Paxson’s Lewis and Clark at the Three Forks provides a distinctive front cover. Inside, the wonderfully vivid illustrations include many of Clark’s journal drawings, photographs of Expedition specimens, and several reproductions of paintings by such artists as Russell, Saint-Memin, Catlin, Bodmer, Peale, and Seltzer.

The superb illustrations, as well as McGrath’s concise but thorough text, serve to maintain a high-interest level for juvenile readers. This is a book that will be enjoyed by children and adults alike. Look for it in the bookstands. Really look—it is a thin book.

Marilyn Clark, Chairman
Young Adults Committee
When Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and their Corps of Discovery found their way across the Continental Divide and down the Columbia watershed to the Pacific Ocean in 1805, no one had ever conceived of such an organization as the United States Forest Service. No one, that is, except possibly President Thomas Jefferson who had initiated the epic Lewis and Clark journey.

A true conservationist, Jefferson certainly would have approved the work of President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot who a century later were to create a federal agency to administer the vast wooded areas among the public lands west of the Mississippi River. And it is upon this United States Forest Service, which they created, that falls the responsibility of managing the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail through the Rocky Mountains.

The historic Lolo Pass where the L&C Trail crosses the crest of the Bitterroots into the Clearwater Mountains and National Forest. The Expedition missed the Lolo Trail shortly beyond Glade Camp and followed a Flathead Trail down to the head of the Oquirrh River at what is now the Powell Ranger Station (see map pages 14-15).

The route followed by the Corps of Discovery was designated a National Historic Trail by an act of Congress in 1978. The prime objective of that designation was to identify the historic trail insofar as possible and to protect and manage its remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment.

THE OVERLAND ROUTE

The explorers traveled by boat up the waterways of the Missouri River and down the drainage of the Columbia. Both of these waterways have been altered to some extent by the demands of a growing nation. But the most critical segments of the Trail contributing to the success of the Expedition were those through the uncharted valleys and over the high passes of the northern Rocky Mountains in Montana and Idaho.

All of this overland passage was in western Montana and central Idaho. The explorers were first forced onto land when they had to make the 17¾-mile portage around the Great Falls of the Missouri just east of the Rockies. When they resumed their water route, they were soon to reach shallower water and innumerable streams draining out of the high mountains which constantly surrounded them.

They were finally forced to abandon their boats at the utmost navigable waters of the Missouri system; and crossed the Continental Divide at the site of the present Lemhi Pass, between what are now Dillon, Montana, and Salmon, Idaho.

Their trail-blazing was through an
plan has "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 uses to protecting the Trail and associated sites."

The Clearwater Forest, with the governor's Lewis and Clark Committee and other advisory groups, is developing a management program which, hopefully, will solve these differences and will be implemented by 1990, Idaho's centennial year, and the year the Lolo Trail will be the focal point of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation's twentieth annual meeting.

Ideally, the management plan would include segments accessible to the touring public via existing forest roads, such as on Parachute Hill which takes off from U.S. 12 near the Powell District Ranger Station on the Lochsa River and climbs nearly 3,000 feet to join the Lolo Trail at Powell Junction, then follows the Trail past Snowbank Camp. It was here that Lewis and Clark camped after climbing Wendover Ridge. The explorers lost the Lolo Trail shortly after leaving Lolo Pass and wound up deep in the Lochsa River Canyon which they found impassible and were forced to head up to the high country to regain the trail. The access roads are closed from fall to late spring by snow levels reaching 20 feet or more. Summer travelers, however, could drive this route returning to U.S. 12 on other access roads. The plan should also permit horseback exploration on certain segments of the Trail with still other segments restricted to hiking.

There is a major problem in the protection and management of the Lewis and Clark Trail through the Clearwater Mountains where public and private lands are interspersed. This is largely the result of land grants given to the railroads in the mid-1800s to encourage settlement and development. One of these areas is the downslope west of Lolo Pass where Clearwater Forest lands are checkerboarded with those of the Plum Creek Timber Company, a subsidiary of the Burlington Northern Railroad. Plum Creek owns 41,240 acres of land in the Powell Forest District.

Clearwater Forest planners and Plum Creek executives were joined at the Powell Ranger Station in the fall of 1985 by the Lewis and Clark citizen group in a lengthy discussion of policies. At this time, the company said it was very conscious of the historic importance of the Trail and has chosen not to log in areas considered to have a high potential for public use and enjoyment. Nevertheless, many privately owned checkerboarded blocks have been clearcut in past decades and company policy does not allow for buffer strips of vegetation along the Trail as the Forest Service plans for its lands. The possibility of an easement over the privately owned lands with consequent tax advantages for the participating company are also being explored.

A primitive road (Forest Road 500) generally follows what is believed to be the explorers' path along most of the high mountain ridge; however, there are but few evidences remaining. The problem is how to devise a management plan that will provide access and yet keep the slight remaining evidences from being overrun. As Tom Coston, former regional forester, explains: "We seek to provide access but the public can sometimes love us to death."

THE LOLO TRAIL EAST OF THE DIVIDE

Portions of the Lolo Trail east of the Divide are in the Lolo National Forest and have been the particular responsibility of archeologist Milo McLeod. He has carefully delineated the entire Lolo Trail in that forest and on interspersed private lands alike.
unknown land where they had hoped to find a short and easy connection between the waterways of the Missouri and the Columbia, but were doomed to disappointment. They were forced to cover 400 miles over several mountain ranges. Today, while several national forests are contiguous to the valleys traveled by the explorers, five national forests have a direct responsibility for developing a management plan where the trail crosses mountain divides. These lands offer the last vestiges of a primitive landscape such as faced the Corps of Discovery 182 years ago.

THE LOLO TRAIL

The Lolo Trail used by Lewis and Clark to cross the Clearwater Mountains was blazed by the Nez Perce Indians. Long before any whites had been in that area the Nez Perces trekked eastward from their family settlements deep in the canyons of the Snake, Clearwater and Salmon rivers to hunt buffalo on the high plains of Montana. Because the native Americans did not have the benefit of modern road building knowledge or tools, the Lolo Trail did not follow the Clearwater River through the rugged gorge now followed by U.S. Highway 12 but generally rode the high ridge of the mountains separating the Middle Fork drainage from the North Fork of the Clearwater at elevations from 5,000 to 7,000 feet above sea level, relatively high in this northern clime.

DEVELOPING A MANAGEMENT PLAN

How does a forest service executive go about the administration of a National Historical Trail?

First, the route must be identified. The Clearwater Forest had a running start in this step because of the work of Ralph Space, a long-time Lewis and Clark aficionado. In his swan song as Clearwater Forest Supervisor, he wrote an edited "The Clearwater Story" in which he traced the 1805 westbound and 1806 eastbound journeys of Lewis and Clark through the Clearwater Forest. Further stud-

Ralph Space, former Clearwater Forest supervisor and long-time Lewis and Clark enthusiast.

ies by Karl Roenke, forest archeologist, and others have confirmed Space's route with very few changes. Roenke and Duane Annis, recreation specialists, have developed a tentative management plan which is now out for review by various agencies and for public comment. The plan proposes the establishment of a half-mile-wide protective corridor along the Lolo Trail, with some deviations where Lewis and Clark wandered. This corridor would be managed as an historic trail along with the other purposes of a working forest. None of the 31,908-acre trail corridor is in a designated wilderness area.

Most of the corridor land is capable of growing timber and some of it is among the most productive in the forest. One segment, along Hungery Creek (where the explorers dropped off the ridge and had to climb back up) is virgin forest and the plan anticipates no harvest because of the deeply incised valley which is unsuitable for such a purpose. But this is not true of most of the Clearwater which is definitely a working and productive forest. The Idaho Lewis and Clark citizen group, which includes a governor's committee and a chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, has observed that the management...
It was at the eastern end of the Lolo Trail, where Lolo Creek enters the Bitterroot River, that the Corps of Discovery paused in September 1805 for two days, at a camp they called Traveler's Rest, before beginning the gradual, 26-mile climb to Lolo Pass, at 5,235 feet, the lowest of the four Continental Divide passes the travelers crossed. Progress on this segment was not nearly so difficult as it was west of Lolo Pass, even though the Expedition had to go up the ridge to the southwest to escape the thick undergrowth and narrowing channel of Lolo Creek.

The Lolo Forest Service has identified an unimproved road (No. 699) up Lee Creek on the Lewis and Clark route which comes out at the summit in Packer Meadows. It is a different story on the Idaho side where one finds a much sharper grade dropping 2,000 feet in a matter of a few miles. The entire route from Traveler's Rest to Orofino, Idaho, is now passable by U.S. 12 which follows the canyon bottoms.

The Lolo Trail is just one segment of the overland Lewis and Clark route presently being administered by the Forest Service. Should the current proposal to consolidate and exchange Bureau of Land Management lands with the Salmon Forest in the Lemhi Pass area be adopted, then the Forest Service would be exclusively responsible for the administration of virtually all of the public lands along the overland trail of Lewis and Clark through the Rocky Mountains.

A section of the L&C Trail through the Clearwater Forest corresponding with the photos on pages 12 and 13. (Taken from the L&C Trail brochure published by the Clearwater Forest.)

LEGEND

Westbound Route of Lewis & Clark (1805)  Eastbound Route of Lewis & Clark (1806)

about the author

Ottis Peterson is a native of Idaho and had newspaper experience in Utah and as a Washington correspondent in the late days of World War II. Following the war, he went to the Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior and served his full Federal career as assistant to four commissioners. Upon retirement he returned to Boise, and has been wrapped up in a book about Lewis and Clark through the Rocky Mountains.

This article was written before his blindness occurred. He hopes to continue work on the book and is looking for some eyes and hands to replace his lost vision. Are there any volunteer assistants in the vicinity of Boise who would be willing to give him a helping hand? He can be reached at 2908 Alamo Road, Boise 83704; telephone 208-375-8205.
It is said that all Indian people west of the Mississippi River have in their language the common warning, "Beware of the Little People!"

What may be regarded as superstition by one society is truth to another. Nevertheless, legends seen as superstitious may be based upon a universal truth. Because of the superstitious nature of early Native Americans, it is easier to scorn their legends than it is to make an honest effort to discover if their legends have any basis in reality.

PERFECT HUMAN FEATURES-
The most amazing thing about this mummy is the perfection of all the features. Its bronze skin, low forehead, flat nose, warped unintelligent head with a fringe of hair are readily identified. It has a full set of teeth, and its eyes, although glazed, seem to peer at you distinctly. Authorities claim the man was approximately 65 years old at death, and x-rays of the mummy have revealed human vertebrae, and all other identifiable bones of the human body.

Such is the case with many Lewis and Clark scholars who have looked condescendingly at the August 14 and 15, 1804, journal entries regarding the Indian legend about the "Little People" of Spirit Mound. Nevertheless, the Expedition's journalists tell us that all of the Indian tribes in the neighborhood of present southeastern South Dakota believed in these terrible little demons.

The contention that such 18-inch creatures did exist in western North America cannot be easily dismissed. Many, and perhaps most Indian tribes of the North American West...
have legends about them. And one tribe claims to have seen the "Little People" as late as the 1930s.

In any case, Captains Lewis and Clark, who seem to be the first to record the existence of the Mound of the Little People along the White River (present Vermillion) River. 9 miles north of its junction with the Missouri, were not as quick to discredit the Indian legend as students of the Expedition have been.

Having learned about this "Mound of the Spirit People"—the legendary dwelling place of little "deavals"—the captains assembled 10 men and Lewis's large Newfoundland dog and boldly set out to give these creatures a visit.

August 25th. Captains Lewis and Clark, with ten men, went to see an object deemed very extraordinary among all the neighboring Indians. They dropped down to the mouth of Whitestone river... where they left the boat...After walking four miles, they crossed the creek where it is 23 yards wide and waters an extensive valley. The heat was so oppressive that we were obliged to send back our dog to the creek, as he was unable to bear the fatigue; and it was not till after four hours' march that we reached the object of our visit. This was a large mound in the midst of the plain, about N. 20° W. from the mouth of Whitestone river, from which it is nine miles distant... The Indians have made it a great article of their superstition; it is called the mountain of the Little People, or Little Spirits, and they believe that it is the abode of little devils in the human form, about 18 inches high and with remarkably large heads, armed with sharp arrows, with which they are very skilful and always on the watch to kill those who should have the hardihood to approach their residence. The tradition is that many have suffered from these little evil spirits; among others, three Maha Indians fell a sacrifice to them a few years since. This has inspired all the neighboring nations, Sious.

---

South Dakota group seeks to acquire, preserve Spirit Mound

By Barbara Thirstrup

Six miles north of Vermillion is a promontory which has had special significance for Indians and early explorers.

Now it is being used for a cattle feeding operation, and a silo has been trenched into its side.

The site is Spirit Mound, where Lewis and Clark visited on their Missouri River journey, and where Indians feared to go because of legendary inhabitants.

A group of Vermillion citizens have formed the Lewis and Clark/Spirit Mound Trust, which is dedicated to the purchase, preservation and restoration of the historical site.

Spirit Mound, a hill eight miles north of the Missouri River, was visited by Lewis and Clark on their journey of 1804-1806. The explorers were told that the Sioux Indians believed it was the home of "Deavals" that had "remarkable large heads" and were a foot and a half tall.

"The legend began and still exists that the Spirit Mound formation was established by the Great Spirit and that the little people were there to keep the Sioux in line so that they didn't kill more buffalo than they could eat," said Major General Lloyd Moses, former director of the Institute of Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota.

"We want to make it an historical and ecological park," said Larry Monfore, the group's founder. "First we have to raise about $290,000 to purchase the land, and then we'll need about $200,000 to restore it, and another $500,000 to maintain it so it can survive on the interest."

Paul Putz, of the South Dakota Historical Preservation Office, said, "One of the reasons we need to do it now is there is a feedlot on the steepest side, and there is a trench silo already. Erosion will soon deteriorate it to where there will be nothing left."

In order to acquire the 320 acres on and around Spirit Mound, the group has begun a fund-raising drive. "We're starting on a local level, but we want to do a national mailing to historians, educators and ecologists," said Monfore.

The group tried to get city, county, state, and federal support for the project in its beginning stages, but, as Monfore put it, "They all thought it was a good idea, but they weren't interested in providing financial support, so we decided to form our own private group to raise money to buy the land."

The restoration phase will involve planting the area into native grasses, duplicating the conditions existing when Lewis and Clark visited. "We'd like to have a walking trail to the top of Spirit Mound, where people would be able to see the river valley. We'd have signs identifying kinds of grasses and wildlife, and we'd like to have a visitor's center," said Monfore. He said the area would have pheasants, deer, and other prairie wildlife.

The area would be available for environmental studies and observations by students and the public in general.

For those wishing to contribute to the restoration effort, the address is The Lewis and Clark/Spirit Mound Trust, Inc., Box 417, Vermillion, South Dakota 57069.
Mahas, and Ottoes, with such terror that no consideration could tempt them to visit the hill. We saw none of these wicked little spirits; nor any place for them, except some small holes scattered over the top; we were happy enough to escape their vengeance, though we remained some time on the mound to enjoy the delightful prospect of the plain; The plain country which surrounds this mound has contributed not a little to its bad reputation; the wind driving from every direction over the level ground obliges the insects to seek shelter on its leeward side, or to be driven against us by the wind. The small birds, whose food they are, resort of course in great numbers in quest of subsistence; and the Indians always seem to discover an unusual assemblage of birds as produced by some supernatural cause.

There are two copyrighted stories in the Aug. 24, 1977, issue of the Billings Gazette (Billings, Mont.) about some of these “Little People” who were known to various Indian tribes: “Do ‘Little People’ skulk among us?” by John A. Bonar, and “It scared the wits out of me” by Dorothy M. Johnson. Both stories tell of the mummified remains of little people who have been found in the mountains of Wyoming, and also about Indian legends of these “knee high demons.” One of the little mummies found by two gold prospectors in the Pedro Mountains 65 miles southwest of Casper in October 1932 was that of a 65-year-old man. X-ray pictures reveal “perfect human features.”

When did these “pygmies” inhabit the trans-Mississippi West? Maybe as early as 10,000 years ago. According to Bonar, various tribes describe their legends as spanning a time equivalent to “90 old tribal members living in succession”—about 9,000 years. Nevertheless, the Lakota (those who inhabit the area of Spirit Mound in present South Dakota) have a story that dates back no more than perhaps 250 years. Bonar’s article states: “A nomadic band of 350 Lakota (mainstream of the Sioux) trespassed into Pygmy territory. The elfin-like creatures were fearless night fighters, and always attack after dark. Few in number, their attacks were sudden and ferocious.

“Many of the Lakota were killed; nearly all of the survivors were wounded. The pygmies had turned the Indians’ horses loose and driven them away, forcing the trespassers to retreat on foot. Many died on the return trip; the few who survived were crippled for life. The Indians did not have horses until after the arrival of the Spanish. Thus, the event was fairly recent.”

An Arapaho legend says that when the Great Spirit gave the Arapaho the world he cautioned them to beware of the tiny demons. Through special powers given them by their protector spirit, the courageous Arapaho were able to trick the little demons with magic, and eventually exterminated them in a flaming canyon. This, they say, pleased the Great Spirit very much.

The type of abode used by the Little People, according to the Bonar article, were either built with sticks, stones and mud or hewed out of rock. Some were modified and improved caves which had been made comfortable and save. Animal skins were used for blankets.

Although sometimes referred to as the “Little People of the Pryor Mountains,” Bonar says that the skeletons and mummies of these
pygmies have been discovered as far north as the Yellowstone and in caves near the Colorado line. When Lewis and Clark were unable to find any Little People on Spirit Mound, they satisfied themselves by concluding that the Indians had made up the story as an explanation for the large assemblage of birds that frequented the mound. No more is said by the explorers with regard to the little spirits. And perhaps that is where we should leave it...but maybe, just maybe, there is an element of truth in the Indian legend of the "Little People."

---

Notes on the "Little People"

1 Captain Clark refers to the Indian story about the Little People both as a "tradition" and as a "fable." (Osgood, Ernest Staples, ed. The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805. Yale Univ. Press. New Haven: 1964. p. 114.)

2 Sergeant Ordway also refers to this river as "little peoples Rivers" and "River of little children." (Quaife, Milo M., ed. The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway. Publ. of St. Hist. of Wis. XXII, Madison: 1916. p. 116.)

3 The author is not trying to make a case for any reality behind the Indian legends of the Little People. But if bones and mummies of little, prehistoric human-like creatures do exist, as we know they do, then perhaps any discovery of their remains by the Indians would have given rise to their legends.

4 In editing Sergeant John Ordway's journal, Milo M. Quaife adds that the party of 12 men and a dog "set out to mark the hill of the little devils." It seems to the present writer that that's quite a detachment to send out simply to "mark the hill." It was also quite a distance to hike on a hot, humid day for the purpose of marking a hill that was merely the subject of a fable. Perhaps the explorers did have some fear that there might be truth in the Indian "tradition" of the Little People.

5 Captain Clark says "I observed three holes which I supposed to be Prairie Wolves or Brarous [badgers], which are numerous in those Plains." (Osgood, page 118).


7 If this claim is true, it updates the information published by Frederick W. Hodge (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. 2 Vols. Washington, D.C., 1910. Reprint: Pageant Books, Inc. New York: 1959. Vol. 2, p. 285). Hodge says the following of the "pig-mies" of Tennessee: "In many cases the skeletons of the supposed dwarfs proved to be those of children..." Furthermore, Hodge identifies the "race of dwarfs" found in the cliff-dweller region of New Mexico and Arizona as "shriveled and shrunken mummies of children, too hastily assumed to be those of dwarfs, and partly owing to the discovery of small apartments in the cliff dwellings, of the nature of cubby-holes for the storage of property, the entrances to which were too small to permit the passage, erect, of an ordinary man; hence, in the mind of the discoverers, they must have been used by dwarfs..."  

8 According to an illustrated article provided the author by the Wyoming State Historical Research and Publications Division, scientists and curators have "tentatively concluded that he [the mummy pictured in the present article] came to earth during the post-glacial period."

9 After the Expedition, Captain Clark drew a map of the West for the authorized narrative which was finally published in 1814. On this map the Spirit Mound is not identified. However, it is apparent that Clark did identify the Spirit Mound on the original map that he made while on the Expedition. Although that map is lost, a copy of it which was made for the 1833 Maximilian Missouri River Expedition does exist and does very clearly identify "Hill of the Little Devils."

---

REMEMBER

If you are about to move, it would be much appreciated if you would provide us with your new address (the USPS has a card for this purpose, Form 3576) —it will save the Foundation money as well as administration time.
Thus, with all these parallels in the two expeditions (the Lapérouse and Lewis and Clark Expeditions), similarities of planning, execution, and accomplishment, there is ground for a premise that the earlier may have been a kind of a prototype for the latter—that the oceanic was a pattern for the continental. Specifically, it is suggested that Jefferson, consciously or unconsciously, may have had Lapérouse in his mind’s eye, making his plans for Capt. Lewis while “the world closed in on the Pacific Northwest…” “We Proceed On” from Lapérouse and Lewis and Clark and find ourselves richer for the “perusal” of their respective journals—and their respective legacies, oceanic as well as continental.

by Robert R. Hunt

Dr. James A. Gardner’s fascinating address to the Foundation at its 18th Annual Meeting reminds us that the Lewis and Clark Expedition was emphatically “not a riverbound experience.” Dr. Gardner looks beyond the river image to “other larger and often neglected international dimensions of the … experience;” the story, he notes, is “peopled” not only with the familiar expedition personalities, but also with such international figures as Rezanov, Napoleon, Pitt, Talleyrand, Toussaint L’Ouverture—as well as French, Spanish, Russian, and British explorers of the era.

On this larger stage (an “oceanic stage,” to expand on the image) we should bring into focus a player in the story who has received too little attention in American eyes, the celebrated French navigator, Admiral Jean François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, or as he chose to call himself, “Lapérouse.”

A spotlight on this figure provides an international prologue for Lewis and Clark, and is especially timely during the Bicentenary of the Lapérouse Pacific expedition now being observed throughout the Pacific Rim community.

Like the Rezanov/Arguello drama, the Lapérouse story became a “human tragedy … little known or remembered in this country.” After distinguishing feats with the French Navy during its all-important aid to the American Revolution, Lapérouse was sent out in 1785 by Louis XVI on a vast exploration of the Pacific Ocean.

With an initial complement of more than 200 persons (including scientists, officers, and crew manning two frigates), this voyage produced invaluable discoveries, charts, sketches, records, scientific findings, and observations. Major portions of this material were forwarded back to Paris from various ports of call throughout the Pacific Basin.

But alas, the voyage ended in tragedy. On March 10, 1788, Lapérouse weighed anchor out of Botany Bay in “New Holland” (Australia) and was never heard from again, seemingly having disappeared from the face of the earth. Some forty years later, evidence of the storm wreckage of his two ships, the Boussole and the Astrolabe, was first discovered on the reefs of Vanikoro, a small island of the Santa Cruz group, east of the south end of the Solomon Islands. Succeeding expeditions, even unto our day, have attempted to reconstruct the tragedy, though it remains “unlikely that we will ever know much more than we do now about one of history’s great maritime mysteries.”

What has this drama to do with Lewis and Clark? As

2. See signatures customarily appearing in journals and records of Lapérouse as exhibited at L’Exposition Laperouse, Maison de l’Albi et du Service Educatif des Archives de l’Albi.
6. For the story of the discovery of the wreckage site by Peter Dillon, an Irish sea captain and trader in the Pacific Islands, see J. W. Davidson, Peter Dillon of Vanikoro, Explorer of the South Seas, Melbourne, Oxford University Press 1975; also Dillon’s own account, Peter Dillon, Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas…to Ascertain the Actual Fate of La Pérouse’s Expedition…(2 volumes), Hurst and Blackett, London.
7. Robin Inglis, The Lost Voyage of Lapérouse, p. 39, Vancouver Maritime Museum, 1986; Inglis is Director of the Museum and preparator of the exhibition referred to in note 3 supra; the referenced publication (Vancouver Museums and Planetarium Association) was produced as the companion booklet to the original presentation of the exhibition at the Vancouver Maritime Museum in the summer of 1986.
Dr. Gardner notes, a full appreciation of the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery "needs to engage the broader political and economic reality of the era of which it was a part."14 Lapérouse was a signal part of that era, and perhaps even (as we shall see) a direct spark in the genesis of Lewis and Clark—or if not a "spark," at least among the embers which ignited the 1804 Lewis and Clark departure from Camp Dubois. We are not referring here merely to Dr. Gardner's mention of "long and deep roots (of the French) in the upper Missouri region." 9

We refer instead to the vision germinating in the mind of Thomas Jefferson for a Westward exploration, and the possible influence on this vision which the Lapérouse expedition may have had. Jefferson was articulating this vision when he wrote to Archibald Stuart from Paris under date of January 25, 178610 (quoted by Dr. Gardner), declaring that "the American Confederacy must be viewed as the nest from which all America, north and south is to be peopled"—this, fresh on the heels of the departure of Lapérouse a few months previously from Brest, bound for the Pacific, possibly looking for settlement sites!

The Lapérouse departure, in itself, did not of course give rise to Jefferson's anxieties about the future of the northwest. As Dr. Gardner observes, Jefferson's westering project had earlier surfaced in 1783 with a proposal to George Rogers Clark.11 Nevertheless, we are obliged to remember that Jefferson was replacing Franklin as the Ambassador to France just as the Lapérouse expedition was being planned and outfitted in France. Jefferson's attention was thus drawn to Lapérouse that he had John Paul Jones go off to Brest to find out more about the project (better said, "to spy upon it").12 Jefferson then wrote home to John Jay on August 14, 1785, as follows:

"You have doubtless seen in the papers that this Court (meaning the Court of Louis XVI) was sending two vessels into the South Sea under the command of Capt. Peyrouse, they give out that the object is merely for the improvement of our knowledge of the geography of that part of the globe. Their loading however, as detailed in conversation, and some other circumstances, appeared to me to indicate some other design, perhaps that of colonizing on the Western Coast of America, or perhaps only to establish one or more factories there for the fur trade... (We are) interested to know whether they are perfectly weaned from the desire of possessing continental colonies in America. Capt. Paul Jones being at the Orient within a days journey of Brest, where Capt. Peyrouse's vessels lay, I desired him if he could not satisfy himself at the Orient of the nature of this equipment that he would go to Brest for that purpose: conducting himself so as to excite no suspicion... His discretion can be relied on..."13 (Underscore added.)

Jones did as suggested and later submitted a report to Jefferson14 which Jefferson in turn forwarded under date of October 6, 1785, to John Jay advising of Jones' opinion that

"...The circumstances are obvious which indicate an intention to settle factories, and not colonies at least for the present. However, nothing shows for what place they are destined. The conjectures are divided between New Holland (Australia) and the Northwest Coast of America."15 (Underscore added.)

Jefferson thus, early for the new Ambassador, had this continuing and lively reminder of French interest in the Pacific Basin—a reminder perhaps more vividly felt (considering his immediate presence on the scene in France at the time) than the more distant pressures of Russian, British, and Spanish maneuvers in the Northwest.

Jefferson continued to report on Lapérouse's progress as news of the voyage became available. He wrote to Jay in August 1786, as follows:

"The Gazette of France of July 28 announces the arrival of Peyrouse at Brazil, that he was to touch at Otaheité, and proceed to California, and still further Northwardly. This paper, as you well know, gives out such facts as the Court are willing the world should be possessed of. The presumption is therefore that they will make an establishment of some sort on the North-West Coast of America."16

Moreover, this is precisely the time when Jefferson's involvement with John Ledyard occurs. Ledyard writes to Jefferson from London on November 25, 1786;17 later

9. Ibid; referring to the upper Missouri region, Dr. Gardner states that "French traders are recorded in the area at least as early as 1738 and Jean La Perouse (sic.) explored the area in the 1780's" (underscore added). The underscored wording must be out of context or is at least subject to erroneous interpretation. Lapérouse did not explore the "Upper Missouri" region. On the North American continent he did overwhelm the British in an engagement at Fort Prince of Wales and Fort York in Hudson Bay in August 1782, but did not go inland. During his Pacific expedition (1785-1788) he landed and sojourned several weeks at Lituya Bay near Mount Fairweather in Alaska in June 1786. He also improved on Cook's charts of the Coast of British Columbia as he sailed south from Lituya Bay to Monterey, California, during the same summer, but did not touch anywhere on the North American coast between those points, being hampered by fog and currents.
from St. Petersbourg on March 19, 1787, and from the town of Barnowl in Siberia on July 27, 1787, while headed for the Pacific Ocean with hope ultimately of achieving the Northwest Coast of America. Indeed, Ledyard advises, in the St. Petersbourg letter, received by Jefferson in Bordeaux on May 25, 1787, that

"There was a report a few days ago of which I have heard nothing since, that the french ships under the command of Capt. Lapereux had arrived at Kamchatka. There is an equipment now on foot here for that Ocean and it is first to visit the NW Coast of America; it is to consist of four ships..."

Thus again the name "Lapérouse" is brought to the recurring attention of Jefferson from the other side of the world. Jefferson is also mindful of Lapérouse in March 1789 when writing to Joseph Willard to thank Harvard University for conferring a doctorate of laws upon him. To Willard he notes "the return of la Peyrouse (whenever that shall happen) will probably add to our knowledge in geography, botany and natural history..."

We may surmise that Jefferson would have been very much aware of the widespread interest of all French people, whether loyalist or Jacobin, in the mysterious fate of Lapérouse when all trace of his ships had been lost after 1788. The French Court had had the most intimate concern with the entire voyage, even as Louis XVI faced the scaffold. The deposed King, on the eve of his execution, was reported to have inquired: "At least, do we have news of Monsieur Lapérouse?"

Popular interest in the fate of Lapérouse also moved the new French Assembly to appropriate a significant sum of money and send out a second expedition to discover what had happened. These events would have continued to interest Jefferson, particularly in 1793 when, on behalf of the American Philosophical Society, he authored instructions to the Frenchman, André Michaud, for that gentleman’s venture to the Far West. A review of the Michaud commission calls to mind the expedition instructions which Louis XVI had given to Lapérouse, and causes us to wonder whether Jefferson may have been influenced by the Lapérouse orders when he penned the orders to Michaud—orders which in turn foreshadowed the instructions to Capt. Lewis. Compare this excerpt (to Michaud) with the Louis XVI concerns outlined hereinafter:

"You will, in the course of your journey, take notice of the country you pass through, it’s general face, soil, rivers, mountains, it’s productions animal, vegetable, & mineral so far as they may be new to us & may also be useful or very curious; the latitude of places or materials for calculating it by such simple methods as your situation may admit you to practice, the names, numbers, & dwellings of the inhabitants, and such particularities as you can learn of their history, connection with each other, languages, manners, state of society & of the arts & commerce among them."

The possibility of Lapérouse’s influence seems even more striking when Jefferson’s orders to Meriwether Lewis are compared with the Louis XVI document. Here, for convenience of comparison, we follow the subdivision of the King’s instructions as outlined by Robin Inglis in his analysis of those instructions. Excerpts from Jefferson’s instructions to Lewis are placed alongside the comparable instructions to Lapérouse from Louis XVI on the following pages.
I. Plan of Voyage

(Lapérouse was instructed to, after reaching Hawaii, head North to the coast of North America.)

"He will particularly endeavour to reconnoitre those parts which have not been examined by Captain Cook, and of which the reports of the Russian and Spanish navigators have given no idea. He will observe, with the greatest care, whether in those parts not yet known, some river may not be found, some confirmed gulf which may, by means of the interior lakes, open a communication with some part of Hudson's Bay."

II. Politics and Commerce

Louis XVI outlined a host of objects 'for the interest, of his crown and the benefit of his subjects,' for example:

"the Sieur de Lapérouse will study production of the different islands in that ocean, at which he shall touch, the manners and customs of the natives, their religion, government, mode of making war, arms and vessels, the distinguishing character of each tribe, what they may have in common with other savage nations and civilized people and especially what is peculiar to each."

"The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, & such principal stream of it, as, by it's course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado or any other river may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce."

III. Astronomy, Geography, Navigation, Physics and Different Branches of Natural Sciences

"The object of greatest importance to the safety of navigators is to fix with precision the latitudes and longitudes of the places where he may land and of those within sight of which he may pass. With this view, he will instruct the astronomer employed on board each frigate, to observe with great exactness the movement of the time-keepers..."

"Beginning at the mouth of the Missouri, you will take (careful) observations of latitude & longitude, at all remarkable points on the river, & especially at the mouths of rivers, at rapids, at islands, & other places & objects distinguished by such natural marks & characters of a durable kind, as that they may with certainty be recognised hereafter. The courses of the river between these points of observation may be supplied by the compass the log-line & by time, corrected by the observations themselves. The variations of the..."
the instructions for that purpose, to determine the longitude of the ship and to compare it with that which the time-keepers indicate at the same point of time.

"Independently of the observations relative to the determination of latitudes and longitudes ... he will not fail to take note of every celestial phenomenon which may be observed.

"The Sieur Laperouse is to order exact charts to be drawn of all of the coasts and islands, he shall visit; and, if they are already known, he must verify the exactness of the description, and of the charts, which other navigators have made.

"The naturalists ... will be employed in that branch of natural history with which they are best acquainted. Sieur de Laperouse should prescribe to them the research which they will have to undertake and distribute to them the appropriate instruments and apparatus. He should be careful not to employ more than one individual in each area so that the zeal and the intelligence of each of the learned persons on board may be utilized in the best possible way in promoting the general success of the expedition."

IV. Conduct to be Observed Toward Natives of the Visited Countries

"Upon his arrival in each country, he will endeavour to earn the friendship of the principal chiefs both by expressions of good will and by presents; he will find out what resources the place affords to supply the needs of his vessels and will undertake all honourable means to establish relationships with the natives.

"On all occasions, Sieur de Laperouse will act with great gentleness and humanity towards the different peoples who he will visit during the course of his voyage."

"If dangerous circumstances...should ever oblige Sieur de Laperouse to avail himself of the superiority of his weapons...he must not use force except with the greatest moderation. If he cannot obtain the good will of the savages by kind treatment, he should endeavour to constrain them by fear and threats and should use arms as a last resort...."

"In all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly & conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey, satisfy them of its innocence, make them acquainted with the position, extent, character, peaceable & commercial dispositions of the U.S.(,) of our wish to be neighborly, friendly & useful to them, & of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums, and the articles of most desirable interchange for them & us. If a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers, on their entering the U.S, to have them conveyed to this place at the public expense. If any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, & taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct & take care of them. Such a mission, whether of influential chiefs or of young people, would give some security to your own party. Carry with you some matter of the kinepox; inform those of them with whom you may be, of its efficacy as a preservative from the smallpox; & instruct & encourage them in the use of it. This may be especially done wherever you winter."
"His Majesty will consider it as one of the happiest events of the expedition if it should end without costing the life of a single man."

"He will miss no opportunity that may present itself in his different ports of call to procure, for his crews, such refreshments and wholesome food that will counteract the effects of the long use they will be obliged to make of salt provision.

"Sieur de Lapérouse is not ignorant that one of the precautions that contributes most effectively to the preservation of the health of seamen, is a constant attention to the cleanliness of both ships and men."

Boussole and Astrolabe greeted by the natives at Maui. (Atlas du Voyage, plate 14).

"As it is impossible for us to foresee in what manner you will be received by those people, whether with hospitality or hostility, so is it impossible to prescribe the exact degree of perseverance with which you are to pursue your journey. We value too much the lives of citizens to offer them to probable destruction. Your numbers will be sufficient to secure you against the unauthorised opposition of individuals or of small parties; but if a superior force, authorised, or not authorised, by a nation, should be arrayed against your further passage, and inflexibly determined to arrest it, you must decline it's farther pursuit, and return. In the loss of yourselves, we should lose also the information you will have acquired. By returning safely with that, you may enable us to renew the essay with better calculated means."

"To your own discretion therefore must be left the degree of danger you may risk, and the point at which you should decline, only saying we wish you to err on the side of your safety, and to bring back your party safe even if it be with less information."

"Should you reach the Pacific ocean inform your-

self of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri (convenient as is supposed to the waters of the Colorado & Oregan or Columbia) as at Nootka sound, or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri & U.S. more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised."

There were other parallels in the advance planning for each respective expedition:

Item: In both instances the prestigious learned societies were consulted by Lapérouse and Lewis, respectively. These societies took active parts in preparation for each of the voyages: in

29 Jackson, op. cit., 1:65. See also 1:66 (especially Jackson's note 6, as denoted therein).
A MAP OF THE VOYAGE OF LAPÉROUSE

France, the Académie des Sciences, the Jardin des Plantes and the Société de Médecine; in America, the American Philosophical Society.

Item: Leading scholars and scientists in each country personally advised and made suggestions to the Captains of each expedition, in keeping with the Enlightenment, as to ways in which each respective expedition could contribute to the advancement of science and knowledge. Lapérouse had the advice of such authorities as Lavoisier and the Abbé Tessier before departure, as well as a group of scholars who accompanied him, including the engineer, Paul Monneron, the astronomer Joseph Da­gelet, the geologist, Lamanon, and the botanist, Lamartinière.32 While Lewis could not take along such company, he nevertheless was coached in all of these disciplines by eminent scholars in Philadelphia and elsewhere, including Wistar and Rush in medicine, Barton in botany, Patterson and Ellicott in astronomy, and others.33

Item: Careful provisions were made to assure that the journals, charts, maps, records, sketches, specimen collections, artifacts—the priceless findings of the expeditions—were protected, guarded from disaster as much as possible, and sent home. Lapérouse dispatched such treasures from his various ports of call.

32. Inglis, op. cit., pages 13-14.
33. Paul Russell Cutright, Contributions Ferdinand de Lesseps, the engineer of Suez Canal fame.
34. Jean Baptiste Barthélemy de Lesseps, Travels in Kamchatka During the Years 1787 and 1788; Baron de Lesseps was an uncle of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the engineer of Suez Canal fame.
36. Lewis to Jefferson, Fort Mandan, April 7, 1805, Jackson, op. cit.; 1:231-242; numerous other references in Jackson as to security measures.
37. Gardner, op. cit.

It is thanks to the trans-Siberian, trans-European mission of Baron Jean Baptiste Barthélemy de Lesseps that we have a large part of the corpus of Lapérouse data—Lapérouse had set this young officer ashore from his ship at Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka peninsula and charged him to deliver the precious material gathered to that point to the French Court.34 As fate would have it, de Lesseps was the only member of the Pacific journey who survived for return to the civilized world.

We may imagine that Jefferson was conscious of this poignant circumstance when he instructed Lewis:

"On your arrival on that coast endeavor to learn if there be any port within your reach frequented by sea-vessels of any nation, & to send two of your trusty people back by sea, in such way as (they shall judge) shall appear practicable, with a copy of your notes: and should you be of opinion that the return of your party by the way they went will be eminently dangerous, then ship the whole, & return by sea, by the way either of cape Horn, or the cape of good Hope, as you shall be able." 35

Complying with these instructions, Lewis and Clark did as Lapérouse had done, and took special pains to see that journals and records were safeguarded and returned—by dispatch from the Mandan villages and by meticulous double-copying of records.36

Thus, with all these parallels in the two expeditions, similarities of planning, execution, and accomplishment, there is ground for a premise that the earlier may have been a kind of prototype for the latter—that the oceanic was a pattern for the continental. Specifically, it is suggested that Jefferson, consciously or unconsciously, may have had Lapérouse in his mind's eye, making his plans for Capt. Lewis while "the world closed in on the Pacific Northwest." 37

The world was indeed "closing in" also on Europe, as the French Revolution ran its course and Napoleon's star was rising. Just as Lewis and Clark made their way across the American continent, Napoleon was tightening his mastery of Europe.

This circumstance provides a final, tantalizing morsel as to Lapérouse and his relation to the American Northwest: a manuscript in the writing of Lapérouse, on deposit in the Rochegude Library, Albi, France (the birthplace and home of Lapérouse) contains a list of the team of scholars who were to accompany the expedition. Among those is the name of Roux d'Arbaud, which does not capture any particular attention until we learn that this officer took the place of another previously designated for the slot—namely, a certain young officer from L'Ecole Militaire, one Napoleon...
Bonaparte, the original choice who had been replaced by d'Arbaud because of insufficient training in astronomy! Had Napoleon better known his stars and embarked with the crew, he would have vanished with all the rest at Vanikoro—lost in anonymity! What then? What difference in the geo-political tensions and interactions in Europe and America? Would there have been a Louisiana Purchase? How would Jefferson and the Lewis and Clark journey have been affected? Leave it at that—one of the more intriguing "what ifs" of history!

"We proceed on" from Lapérouse to Lewis and Clark, and find ourselves richer for the "perusal" of their respective journals—and their respective legacies, oceanic as well as continental.

38. The author of this paper is indebted to M. Camille Mons, Treasurer, l'Association Lapérouse, Albi, France, for transmitting the Albi newspaper report of the acquisition of this manuscript in 1983 by La Bibliothèque Rochegude; see also Inglis op. cit., p. 14.

about the author...

Foundation member Robert R. Hunt resides in Seattle, Washington, and is retired senior vice president and secretary of the Seattle Trust and Savings Bank. Bob earned a B.S. in economics from Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and furthered his studies with post-graduate courses: European Division of University of Maryland at Chateauroux, France; University of Southern California and UCLA. He holds a graduate certificate, AIB; and graduate certificates from the Pacific Coast Banking School (both Trust and Commercial Divisions) at the University of Washington, Seattle. Military service saw him recalled for duty as a U.S. Air Force Reservist, 1951-53, as a major, director of personnel, 73rd Air Depot Wing, USAFE, Chateauroux, France. Presently he is a lieutenant colonel in the Honorary Reserve. He has been active with several professional affiliations in the banking, trust, and estate planning field.

News notes

Lange to guide OHS group over Lewis & Clark Trail

Robert E. Lange, editor emeritus of We Proceeded On, and a nationally recognized authority on the Lewis and Clark Trail, will serve as guide this summer for an eight-day tour that will retrace portions of the Trail on Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana. The July 18-26 trip will take travelers of the Oregon Historical Society Trappers Rendezvous on visits to important sites, museums, and landmarks including a launch trip on the Missouri River to one of Lewis and Clark's campsites, according to Dorothy (Dottie) Harrington, OHS museum educator who is in charge of arrangements.

All OHS members, their families, and friends are eligible to become Trappers by joining the trail guides and scouts on one of the tours to historic sites, events, or institutions. Unlike the fur trappers of the 19th century who forded icy streams, stumbled alone through blizzards, and subsisted on wild meat, the Society's 20th century Trappers travel in climate-controlled vehicles, enjoy delectable cuisine and travel in congenial groups.

The cost for the trip will be $1,219 each for double occupancy or $1,309 for single occupancy. The price includes transportation, lodging, and all meals. Reservation information is available by contacting Ms. Harrington at the Oregon Historical Society, 1230 S.W. Park Ave., Portland, OR 97205; or telephone (503) 222-1741.

WPO to be indexed

Foundation members, readers, and collectors of We Proceeded On will be interested in knowing that Editor Emeritus Robert E. Lange is in the process of compiling an index for the first 12 Volumes (48 issues) of our quarterly publication. Format will be 8½x11 inches (same size as the issues). The plan for the future is that an index will be published following the publication of each four-issue volume. Mr. Lange hopes to have the index completed soon after, or perhaps prior to, this year's Nineteenth Annual Meeting.
Chuinard collection given to L&C College

A major private collection of rare books and journals about the Lewis and Clark Expedition has been given to Lewis and Clark College's Aubrey Watzek Library.

The gift of books from retired Portland orthopedic surgeon E.G. "Frenchy" Chuinard and his son, Dr. Robert G. Chuinard of New Orleans, was announced by President James A. Gardner.

The collection has been on loan to the college for the past four years and now will become a part of the permanent holdings of the Aubrey Watzek Library.

Randy Collver, library director, said the collection includes more than 400 books and pamphlets, some dating back to the decade immediately following the Expedition's successful conclusion in 1806. He said the collection is valued at about $30,000.

The books, along with other materials gathered by the senior Chuinard during his long tenure as a national leader in efforts to maintain interest in the history and heritage of the Expedition, are now on display in a special Lewis and Clark Room in the library.

Collver said a major stipulation of the gift is that the collection remain accessible to serious scholarly research by students and historians.

"Its accessibility makes it a constant resource for the college and the community and carries out Dr. Chuinard's desire to keep alive interest in the expedition's many accomplishments," Collver said.

Among the volumes are several rare spurious foreign language versions of the Expedition published in Europe before official accounts could get into print.

The collection includes two full 15-volume editions of Reuben Gold Thwaites' massive 1904-1905 work which was the first literal publication of the journals kept by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and other members of the two-year expedition.

One of the Thwaites sets is No. 32 of a special edition of 50 printed on Japanese paper and valued at more than $6,000. Many of the 219 plates and maps in the special edition are delicately hand-colored.

Chuinard's library is the result of a long and abiding interest in the Lewis and Clark experience and its continuing impact on the region and the nation, Collver said.

The senior Chuinard is the author of Only One Man Died, an extensively researched volume on the medical aspects of the Expedition. In addition, he has written numerous articles for national magazines and periodicals.

Chuinard is a past president of the national Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and for 17 years has served as chairman of the Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee.

The Chuinard collection, along with a 3,200-volume library on Western American expansion recently donated to the college by prominent American historian John Walton Caughey, gives Lewis & Clark a strong cornerstone on which to build a significant study and research collection on the history of the American West, Collver said.

President Gardner, in expressing his appreciation for the two significant gifts of books, noted that they not only "tied in very logically with the college's name but also with the strong commitment to exploration explicit in the recent statement of mission approved by the Board of Trustees."

---

Paul Cutright celebrates 90th birthday

Foundation member Paul Russell Cutright, author of Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists and A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals, together with a multitude of other Lewis and Clark literature, celebrated his 90th birthday on March 19, 1987. Paul has been a frequent, and appreciated, contributor to the pages of We Proceeded On, and at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Foundation, Seaside, Oregon, 1974, he was the recipient of the Foundation's highest award, the "Award of Meritorious Achievement—For Outstanding Contributions in Bringing to this Nation a Greater Awareness and Appreciation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition." At the Fourteenth Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, 1982, Paul was presented with an "Honorary Lifetime Membership" in the Foundation. Happy Birthday, Paul, from your fellow Foundation members!
Clearwater National Forest plans “Trail Clean-up”

In response to President Reagan’s “Take Pride in America” campaign, introduced in his 1986 State of the Union Address, the Clearwater National Forest is initiating a Lolo (Lewis and Clark) Trail Clean-up as a 1987 project. Following the President’s directive, the Clearwater Forest hopes to involve citizen volunteers in the maintenance, rehabilitation and preservation of one of America’s proudest heritages.

“I think this is an exciting project and a very appropriate one to get the Trail in good shape for the 1990 Idaho Centennial and national meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation,” said James C. Bates, Forest Supervisor. “I have sent invitations to other agencies, organizations, service clubs, Forest Service employees and retirees, as well as to selected individuals who have a special interest in preserving and maintaining the Trail.”

The Lolo Trail is a National Historic Landmark which traverses the Clearwater National Forest from east to west for approximately 130 miles. It is the basic route followed by Lewis and Clark and is more commonly known as the Lewis and Clark Trail. It is one of the longest contiguous sections of the Lewis and Clark route that still approximates the primitive conditions experienced in their 1805-1806 expedition.

The Clearwater Forest hopes to have 150-250 volunteers spend the weekend of July 25-26, 1987, working on the clean-up project. The plan is to make this a family outing involving an overnight camp-out at one of three “base camps” along the trail. Volunteers will be assigned jobs depending on needed work and skills. The Forest Service will provide the Saturday night dinner and Sunday morning breakfast. Campfire programs featuring sing-alongs and talks on trail history are planned for entertainment Saturday evening.

It is hoped that a good cross-section of public and Forest Service volunteers will participate. Due to the logistics involved in planning work projects, camp facilities, and meals, it is expected that participation in the project will be on a reservation basis. Early sign-up is recommended.

If you would like more information please contact one of the following: Bob Boston, Duane Annis or Charley Mosier at the Clearwater National Forest, 12730 Highway 12, Orofino, ID 83544; or call (208) 476-4541.

Sale of L&C prints to establish endowment fund

A project is underway that will establish an endowment fund designed to support the work of the Foundation’s executive secretary. The project will consist of the sale of a limited edition, first-class print of a quality Lewis and Clark Expedition oil painting at an affordable price.

In 1981, well-known Montana artist Robert F. Morgan donated the reproduction rights of his painting “Take the Horses to the Mandans” to our Foundation during the Thirteenth Annual Meeting in Helena. The original oil painting is the property of the Billings Sheraton Hotel. After six years the Foundation has decided to reproduce the painting and make prints available to members while at the same time secure funding for the executive secretary.

The mural-size painting depicts Captain William Clark’s detachment on the Yellowstone River in the vicinity of present Billings, Montana. The date is July 24, 1806, and the scene portrays Clark handing a letter to Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor with instructions to deliver the letter to a free trader by the name of Hugh Heney. Clark is telling Pryor to take the horses overland to the Mandan Indian villages. At that place Pryor is to trade the horses for goods and services that will be needed when the Expedition arrives there by boat.

The 12”x20” prints are limited to 500, signed and numbered copies, and will sell for $75 each (price includes postage and handling). Normally a Morgan print of this size and quality would sell for at least $95.

It is because of the generosity of Mr. Morgan that the Foundation is able to make a print of this handsome painting available at the low price of $75. Morgan is a member of the Foundation and in addition to donating the reproduction rights, he is asking no royalties on the sales. He has also offered to sign each of the prints free of charge.

The Lewis and Clark prints are being offered to Foundation members on a first-come first-served basis. However, after August 5, any remaining prints will be made available to art dealers.

To secure a print for yourself or as a gift for a friend, send a check or money order in the amount of $75 for each print to: “Morgan Print: Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.; 172 Briarwood; Helena, MT 59601.”

---

WE PROCEEDED ON 29---
**Niobrara State Park to honor Poncas, L&C**

According to a story in the April 6, 1987, edition of the *Lincoln, NE. Journal*, plans for a $35,000 interpretive historical shelter that will depict the history of the Ponca Indians and the Lewis and Clark Expedition will be completed by mid-summer.

The project undertaken this spring by the Nebraska Game and Parks Commission has been made possible by an anonymous donation.

The shelter will be on a high knoll overlooking the Niobrara River, the Mormon Canal and the Missouri River (in the vicinity of an 1804 L&C campsite) in the northeast corner of the new 1,230-acre Niobrara State Park, according to the newspaper story.

The new state park is a mile west of Niobrara on Nebraska 12.

---

**Portage Route Chapter pursues possible L&C visitors’ center at Great Falls**

A special meeting of the Portage Route Chapter was held March 21 to develop ideas for establishing a national L&C visitors’ center in the Great Falls area. Special guests at the meeting were Ray Pisney, executive director, Missouri Historical Society; Ray Breun, executive director, Jefferson National Expansion Historical Association; Lyle Woodcock, art collector, St. Louis; Bill Sherman, past president, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation; and John Foote, current Foundation President.

Montana Congressman Ron Marlenee has for the third time introduced a bill calling for a $5 million National Park Service visitors’ center to be built at Giant Springs Heritage State Park. And the Montana Fish Wildlife and Parks has agreed to donate up to 50 acres of land for the center if it is built.

The group of experts at the March 21 meeting discussed what it takes for such a visitors center to become a reality after the designation is made by the appropriate federal agency. Such items were listed as cooperative arrangements among the many different entities and the city fathers of Great Falls, fund raising, leadership, the need to set definite goals, proper facilities for tourists, and new concepts in museum designs.

The experts agreed to keep in touch and to supply the chapter with pertinent materials that will guide the chapter in planning a visitors’ center.

In addition to their work on promoting a national visitors’ center, the Portage Route Chapter has scheduled three Lewis and Clark-related field trips for June. The first, June 13, will be a joint trip with the Headwaters Chapter of Bozeman—a visit to Camp Disappointment and the Two Medicine Fight Site guided by Foundation past president Wilbut P. Werner.

The second field trip will be to Lower Portage Camp site on June 14; and the third will be “floating the White Cliffs area” with Bob Singer, June 27-28.
NPS has new regional directors

In February, National Park Service Director William Penn Mott Jr. appointed Don H. Castleberry director of the agency’s Midwest Region. Castleberry succeeds Charles H. Odegaard, who served in that position for the past three years.

The Midwest Region office in Omaha manages the Historic Lewis and Clark Trail.

Prior to his recent promotion, Castleberry served as deputy regional director of the Mid-Atlantic Region in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He has had NPS assignments in six of the agency’s 10 regions.

“I look forward to serving the Midwest where I have twice served in field management positions,” Castleberry said. “I have fond memories of the region.”

Dr. Chuinard expresses gratitude

Editor:

I wish to use this means of reaching and thanking all of the many friends in our Foundation who sent “get well wishes” as a result of the little story about my open-heart surgery done by the editor in the last issue of WPO. I do sincerely thank you!

To undergo six hours of major surgery is quite a decision for an 82 year old to make, since he has already lived beyond the usual life expectancy. My doctors and the family took plenty of time to deliberate, so that we could enjoy the Foundation’s annual meeting, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Then we arranged for the surgery for January 20. I was pleased to open my eyes to see our doctor son, Robert, rather than St. Peter!

It is remarkable that I was walking three days after the surgery, and home in one week to the care of the person who has cared for me for 56 years. We take walks together, and I am back at my old chore of doing the dishes.

Again, my sincere thanks to all of you. At such a time, one comes to know, as my patients have often told me, the thoughtful expressions from caring friends are better medicine than pills.

My doctors told me that if all went well with the surgery I could expect more years of life, and an enhanced quality of life. And so, Fritzi and I PROCEED ON!

Frenchy
(Dr. E.G. Chuinard)
Tigard, Oregon

Concern for excellence delayed publication

Editor:

Our press was very pleased to read Robert Lange’s review of Volume 2 of The Journals of Lewis and Clark. But we were upset to read, “The multitude of promises... made by the Nebraska Press over the last several years concerning the availability of the present volume has been frustrating.”

We are very sorry for any frustrations that Mr. Lange or other people felt. Projects like this inevitably lead to frustrations, not least for the publisher involved. Because the second volume established procedures that would be used throughout the series we and Professor Gary Moulton strove to make sure that every detail was checked and doublechecked. This, and complicated printing, led to a postponed publication date. I can only hope that Mr. Lange and other knowledgeable readers will agree that final excellence was more important than earlier publication.

Nevertheless, I regret that Mr. Lange believes we have broken promises. Interest in the Journals has been immense and many people have called inquiring about when they might expect the next volume. We have done our best to estimate when volumes will appear, but unforeseen difficulties made us guilty of excessive optimism.

Now that procedures are well in place, we can look forward to much more regular publication. Volume 3 will be published this month and volume 4 is in production.

Please communicate my thanks to Mr. Lange for his careful reading of volume 2. I hope we may soon recover his trust.

Respectfully,
Willis G. Regier
Director
University of Nebraska Press

---

WE PROCEEDED ON 31——
Foundation to benefit from L&C calendar sales

K.C. Publications of Las Vegas, Nevada, in cooperation with our Foundation, has published a handsome 1988 Lewis and Clark Trail wall calendar with 14 beautiful, 9''x12'' photographs by nationally acclaimed photographer David Muench. Each month an appropriate photo of a scene along the Trail is accompanied by a journal quotation selected by Lewis and Clark Journals editor Gary Moulton.

The new Lewis and Clark calendar went on the market April 20, in time for the early tourist trade. This colorful publication will make a practical gift for any occasion, and an attractive addition to the wall hangings in your own home or office.

The entire production costs for the 10,000 calendars has been paid by K.C. Publications. However, the agreement signed last fall by President John Foote (on behalf of the Foundation) and the publisher entitles the Foundation to receive 5 percent of the retail price of all calendar sales.

As prearranged with the publisher, the cover photo features Pompeys Pillar, the setting for this year’s annual meeting of the Foundation. The cover photo for the 1989 calendar (already in the planning stages) will be a scene from the Bismarck, North Dakota, area—the site of the 1988 annual meeting. The practice of featuring scenes from the areas of the Foundation’s annual meetings will continue on subsequent calendars.

The Introduction to the calendar tells briefly about the Expedition, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and the Foundation. This is followed by an invitation from President Foote to the people across the nation to join our Foundation.

For the general public, the calendars retail for $7.50 each plus $1.50 for postage and handling. The special price for Foundation members is $6.00 per calendar plus $1.50 for postage and handling. However, the $1.50 postage and handling charge is in order for orders of one to four calendars to one address. Orders of five or more calendars to one address need add only $2.50 per order for postage and handling.

To order your 1988 Lewis and Clark Trail calendars, send your request along with a check or money order to: Lewis and Clark Calendar; K.C. Publications; P.O. Box 14883; Las Vegas, NV 89114.

Rails-to-Trails plan gets support

Two recent developments have given a shot in the arm to Missouri’s Rails-to-Trails plan. An economic impact study done by Dr. Uel Blank, noted economic development consultant, indicates that the development of the abandoned 200-mile line of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad (KATY) for recreation would generate more than $6 million in new tourism annually. In addition to that good news for the proponents of the project, the Interstate Commerce Commission has given approval for plans by the Missouri Department of Natural Resources to buy the railroad right-of-way from KATY.

The 200-mile corridor crosses the state of Missouri from Machens to Boonville, and parallels the Lewis and Clark Trail along the northern bank of the Missouri River. The Department of Natural Resources, backed by dozens of other organizations, hopes to develop two segments of the line (totaling about 60 miles) as pilot projects for hiking-biking trails.

The landowners along the KATY line, supported by the Missouri Farm Bureau, are undaunted by the recent developments and continue with the lawsuit they filed in December to halt the plans of the Department of Natural Resources. The suit contends that the department’s proposal is unconstitutional, that land along an abandoned railroad rightfully belongs to the adjacent landowners.

Our Foundation has gone on record as supporting the Rails-to-Trails project.

Foundation Gift Memberships

If you have someone on your gift list who is interested in American history and the contribution of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to our nation’s westward expansion, a membership in the Foundation, which includes the quarterly issues of We Proceeded On, would be an appreciated gift.

The Foundation has an attractive gift membership card which will list you as the sponsor of a membership. Send your gift membership fee together with the name of the gift recipient and the occasion (friendship, birthday, graduation, or holiday) you wish to honor to the executive secretary whose address appears on page two.