The members to first receive this issue of WPO will be attendees at this year's 20th Annual Meeting of the Foundation in Bismarck. For all others, you will have missed not only some Lewis and Clarkiana of North Dakota but also a chance to meet and visit with the people who have made and continue to make the existence of the Foundation possible. I would like to take this opportunity to share with you my gratitude of these Foundation members who have made this year an enjoyable one for me.

First, a thank you to Bob Saindon who has assembled four outstanding issues of WPO which have created additional interest in this year's meeting in North Dakota. Next, to the following committees and chapters that have been working diligently to forward the purpose of the Foundation.

The Sakakawea Chapter has concentrated on preparing for the Foundation members and guests an informative and enjoyable meeting in the heart of Lewis and Clark country. Co-chairman “Doc” Hill and Sheila Robinson and all...
the chapter are to be commended.

The Metro St. Louis Chapter deserves recognition for its active participation in promoting the development of the MKT Missouri River Trail and for its efforts in expanding the historic site in Illinois at Camp DuBois. The chapter has also been instrumental in the increased membership of the Foundation. This has been through the Membership Promotion and Public Relations Committee of which the chapter is the staff. Another significant contribution to the increase in membership is from Dayton Duncan, author of Out West. His mention of the Foundation and its activities has inspired many readers to contact the Foundation for information and membership.

The Washington Lewis and Clark Trail Committee has organized the Lewis and Clark Trail Run which looks to be an outstanding event for the Washington State Bicentennial in 1989.

Patti Thomsen has invested considerable time and effort in the Young Adults Committee by involving the Girl Scouts through their Wid­er Opportunities Program. It is hoped that this will interest Scouts from all around the country and will continue to grow.

The Portage Route Chapter has been very successful in its many projects. The progress on locating the Lewis and Clark cache site and on a National Interpretive Center in Great Falls are exciting.

It has been an honor to serve as your president this year and it is my hope that the Foundation will continue to grow and enhance the enjoyment of the Lewis and Clark story.

H. JOHN MONTAGUE—President

Lewis and Clark entered what is today North Dakota on October 14, 1804. They sighted great numbers of elk, buffalo, deer, antelope and even a grizzly bear. The party camped a short distance up-river from On-A-Slant Indian village. Clark recorded their campsite as follows:

"Camped on the L.S. above a Bluff containing coal of inferior quality, this bank is immediately above the old (deserted) village of the Mandans. The Country is fine, the high hills at a distance with gradual assents, I Kild. 3 Deer..." This site today is protected within the boundary of Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park.

The oil painting on the cover of this issue of WPO, by historical artist Vern Erickson of Bismarck, depicts the Expedition reaching the site of their October 20, 1804 campsite. The main characters portrayed in the painting are (l. to r.) Lewis's dog Seaman, Lewis, Clark, and Clark's servant York. In the background can be seen the deserted On-A-Slant Mandan village mentioned in Clark's journal.

This is the second time the work of Erickson has been used on the cover of WPO. His oil painting Four Bears War Party was reproduced on the cover of our May 1988 issue. (See that issue for a biographical sketch of the artist.)

Lewis and Clark, October 20, 1804 was done by Erickson especially for this issue of WPO, and for the Foundation's 20th annual meeting (August 7-10, 1988). The painting will be a part of a Lewis and Clark Trail exhibit at Fort Lincoln. This exhibit will be dedicated in the afternoon of Sunday, August 7 in conjunction with the ribbon-cutting ceremony for North Dakota's exemplary Lewis and Clark Trail signage project.
NOTE: There can be no question that "Sacagawea" was the name used by Lewis and Clark to identify the Indian lady who accompanied their expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Lewis and Clark scholars since the turn of the century have accepted the "Sacagawea" spelling, and yet they have been tolerant of other renditions. Nevertheless, it is somewhat important that a standard spelling be adopted, but is certainly not essential.

One could hardly place the study of the Indian woman's name in the category of Lewis and Clark scholarship. However, like the controversy over her final resting place, it does have certain peripheral fascination to some students of the Expedition.

The following article is not an attempt to lay to rest any controversy. On the contrary, its purpose is better suited to reveal that the controversy over the Indian woman's name may never be resolved.

A more detailed account is being published as a booklet.
The spelling of the name of the young Indian woman who, along with her husband, accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition from the Mandan Indian villages in present North Dakota to the Pacific coast and back, has been commonly of two forms: "Sacagawea" (or "Sakakawea"), and "Sacajawea." Over the years this has been a puzzle to the many people interested in the story of this national heroine. The two spellings appear to represent the languages of two different tribes and have two completely different meanings—"Sacagawea" is said to be Hidatsa and was translated into English by Lewis and Clark as "Bird Woman"; "Sacajawea" is Shoshone and translated to mean "Boat-launcher." 

The basis for the "Hidatsa Theory," which is almost universally accepted today, is the May 20, 1805 interpretation made by Lewis and/or Clark. However, this is the only time in all their volumes of writings and many references to her, that they call their Shoshone interpretress "Bird Woman." There is reason to be skeptical of this one-time translation.
The origin and meaning of the name of America's most beloved Indian heroine deserves more attention than blind faith in the authority of two men who were not uncommonly mistaken in their interpretations of Indian names. Likewise, there are many questions left unanswered by those who accept the "Hidatsa theory." On the other hand, there are some rather convincing arguments for the "Shoshone theory." Prince Maximilian, who came up the Missouri River 27 years after Lewis and Clark, became quite well acquainted with the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians. About Lewis and Clark, the Prince wrote: "These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manita ries [Hidatsa] languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written... Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by those travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand..." 3

Furthermore, Maximilian wrote that Charbonneau, Sacajawea's husband and Lewis and Clark's Hidatsa interpreter, "Candidly confessed" that even after 37 years among these Indians he "could never learn to pronounce their language correctly." 4

Considering the fact that Charbonneau could neither speak English nor Hidatsa, the exactness of his role as Hidatsa interpreter for the two English-speaking captains becomes suspect. It is understandable why Maximilian found it necessary to criticize the officers' understanding of Hidatsa names.

The translation of the woman's name made on May 20, 1805, 43 days up the Missouri from the Mandans, was done while the Expedition was at the Musselshell River. Here the officers decided to name a tributary of that central Montana stream in honor of the young Indian woman who had just a few days earlier been instrumental in preventing the loss of some important papers when the officers' boat turned over. Lewis wrote: "about five miles above the mouth of shell river a handsome river of about fifty yards in width discharged itself into the shell river on the Stard. or upper side; this stream we called Sah-ca-gah me-ah or birdwoman's River, after our interpreter the Snake woman." On this same day, Captain Clark, who was the Expedition's cartographer, labeled this tributary on his field map as "Sar-kah-gah Wea," which leaves no room to doubt that at that time the officers understood the name to be Hidatsa.

There are many considerations to be made in order to understand the officers' apparent error—first of which would have to be the similarity between the Hidatsa "Sacagawea" and the Shoshone "Sacajawea." John E. Rees, one-time instructor of history at Salmon, Idaho, who had "intimately" known Sacagawea's Shoshone people for 50 years, and who was well versed in their language, customs, and historic incidents, stated that in sign language (the universal means of communication between the different Indian nations) the gesticulations used to say "Sacagawea" are, coincidentally, very similar to those used to say "Sacajawea," differing only in the amount of hand and arm movement. 5 If Lewis and Clark had been given the translation through such a medium, and the name was in fact Shoshone, the mistake in interpretation would be understandable.

Rees makes a further point about the name "Sacagawea" that deserves mention: The Indian languages were not as highly developed as the English language, and the generic renderings of Indian words were the white man's attempt to make the Indian languages conform to his own. According to Rees, who knew several different Indian languages, these people had no generic word for bird—such a word for them would have meant anything that flies through the air. An Indian word would refer to a specific bird. To illustrate, he uses the Shoshone word queenah, which various translators have recorded as meaning "bird," when in fact its true meaning would be "courage that soars in the sky," and was their name for the eagle. 6 Likewise, the Hidatsa caga or kaka does not translate to the equivalent of the English "bird," as certain philologists have suggested, but rather refers to a Crow or Raven.

Lewis and Clark collected Indian vocabularies from all the tribes they met while progressing up the Mis-
VARIOUS SPELLINGS OF THE NAME SACAJAWEA 1805-1828

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPELLING</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sah-kah gar we a</td>
<td>April 7, 1805</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>Fort Mandan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sah-ca-gah Mea-ah</td>
<td>May 20, 1805</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
<td>Musselshell River</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While working on the narrative, Nicholas Biddle interlineates Lewis’s May 20, 1805 journal entry with “Sah ca gah we a.” This was done no doubt on the authority of Clark who quite consistently spelled the name with a gah. It was not uncommon for Clark to spell his /ah/ sounds ar and his /ar/ sounds ah. In any case, gah was to have the /jah/ sound according to Biddle.

3. Sar-kah gah-We-a | May 20, 1805 | Clark | On fieldnote map naming this river
| 4. Sah-cah-gah we a | June 10, 1805 | Lewis | Marias River |
| 5. Sahcahgagwea  | June 10, 1805 | Clark | Marias River |
| 6. Sah-cah-gah  | June 10, 1805 | Ordway | Marias River |
| 7. Sar-car-gah-we-a | June 22, 1805 | Clark | Lower Portage Camp on Missouri R. |
| 8. Sar kar-gah We a | cir. July 10, 1805 | Clark | Great Falls on the Missouri R. |
| 9. Sah-cah-gar-we-ah | August 17, 1805 | Lewis | Three Forks of the Missouri R. |
| 10. Sah-cah-gar-weah | August 17, 1805 | Lewis | Vicinity of present Clark Canyon Dam |
| 11. Sah-cah-gar-we-ah | August 19, 1805 | Lewis | " " " " " " |
| 12. Sah-car-gah we-ah | August 22, 1805 | Lewis | " " " " " " |
| 13. Sah-cah-gah Wea | August 22, 1805 | Lewis | " " " " " " |
| 14. Janey | November 24, 1805 | Lewis | " " " " " " |
| 15. Sahcargarweah | April 28, 1806 | Clark | Fort Clatsop |
| 17. Sahcargarweah | May 16, 1806 | Lewis | Vicinity of Wallula, Wash. |
| 18. Janey | August 20, 1806 | Lewis | Vicinity of present Kamiah, Idaho |
| 20. Sa-ka-ja-weeta | cir. July 8, 1811 | Clark | St. Louis on map for narrative |
| 22. Sacajawea | March 1810 — | Biddle | first spelling in the narrative |
| 23. Se-car ja we au | 1825-1828 | Clark | spelling in narrative |

souri River. This was done on sheets of “blank vocabularies” by matching Indian words to the English words which had been printed on the sheets in advance. Though these lists of vocabularies have been lost, we have copies of the “blank vocabularies” which were prepared by President Jefferson. We also know that during their winter’s stay at Fort Mandan, the officers collected an Hidatsa vocabulary, and we can easily imagine that upon this could be found “kaka” or “caga” for the English word “bird,” and “wia” or “wea” for “woman,” as has been white man’s common translations for these words.

In any case, even if the name were Hidatsa, it would translate to Crow Woman rather than Bird Woman.

The Expedition was still several hundred miles and three months away from the Shoshones on May 20, 1805, when they made the translation of the Indian woman’s name, as mentioned above. However, even if the officers had collected the Shoshone vocabulary in advance of translating her name into English, it is doubtful that they would have been able to recognize “Sacajawea” as a Shoshone name, since their list of words on the “blank vocabularies” did not contain “boat,” or “canoe,” or “launcher,” or “puller,” or “pusher,” or any other words that would have made the name understandable.

The possibility of an error in interpretation on the part of Lewis and Clark is apparent. The next consideration might then be the pronunciation of her name. Since there is no /j/ sound in the Hidatsa language, a “Sacajawea” pronunciation would be an indication that the name was Shoshone. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the original name was truly pronounced “Sakakawea” or “Sacagawea” by the Indian woman herself, then the word would undoubtedly be Hidatsa.

How did the Indian woman pronounce her own name? We know that in her five years among the Hi-
The name "Se car ja we au" appears on the front cover of Clark's cash book and journal for the years 1825-28.

datsa she learned to speak their language, but we do not know to what degree of fluency. We do know that her husband did not speak Hidatsa very well, nor did he speak English. And so, it appears that we are left at the mercy of the officers' spellings.

Captain Lewis, by far the better speller of the two, wrote "Sah-ca-gah me-ah" the first time he spelled her name, and it was at the same time he gave it the "Bird Woman" (i.e., Hidatsa) interpretation.

Captain Clark's spellings of the name take on many variations. It is noteworthy, however, that on two occasions he called the Indian woman "Janey." Quite obviously this name has no connection with Sah-ca-gah we-ah unless the "gah" received a /j/ sound. Janey could conceivably be a nickname for Sacajawea just as Becky is for Rebecca or Shelly for Michelle.

The spellings of both Lewis and Clark took on new dimensions in 1810 when the official narrative of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was being prepared for publication. Meriwether Lewis was dead by this time and the burden of preparing the narrative fell upon an ambitious young lawyer from Philadelphia by the name Nicholas Biddle, a man extremely conscientious about the accuracy of the monumental task before him. On July 7, 1810, when inquiring of Captain Clark on the spelling of Loisel's name, Biddle wrote: "I should like to know, as it is disagreeable to misspell names. Further into the letter he wrote: "There are you know a great many things of very little consequence, but still it is of some importance not to be wrong when we speak of them." 10

Biddle's handling of the spellings of Indian words in the narrative is somewhat different than the spellings found in the original journals. In an attempt to determine the degree of scholarship used by Biddle in this matter, I sent a list of some of the narrative spellings as well as a list of the original journal spellings to the Department of Indian Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution with a request for information as to which spellings were to be preferred. It advised that in all cases Biddle's renderings of the words were more acceptable than those of the officers. 11

In preparing the material from which to write the narrative, Biddle never used one of Captain Clark's manuscripts that contained a spelling of the Indian woman's name. When he came across Lewis's first spelling of the name, "Sah-ca-gah me-ah," he made a correction on the manuscript page in red ink, writing "Sah ca gah we a." This interlineation was undoubtedly made before Biddle began writing the narrative. Deducing from the phonetics of his narrative spelling, which is consistently /Sacajawea/, it appears that Biddle understood that the "gah" was meant to have a /jah/ sound. We know that Biddle had a certain amount of close assistance in his work from Clark while they were both in Virginia in the spring of 1810. Since the "gah" was so common in Clark's rendering of the word, one can hardly deny that he was Biddle's informant on the spelling of this name. This further leads one to believe that Clark pronounced the name /Sacajawea/.

On the cover of an account book for the years 1825 to 1828, William Clark wrote the names and whereabouts of each member of the Expedition. Here we find that he has spelled the Indian woman's name as "Se car ja we au." Although it has been pointed out that within the account book Clark habitually interchanged j's and g's in words, it must be further pointed out that nowhere in the writing on the cover of the book does he do so, giving further support to the theory that her name did contain a /j/ sound. 12

Clark put the capable George Shannon, a man who had been a private on the Expedition, at Biddle's disposal. To what degree Shannon assisted in the actual spelling of Indian words we do not know but that he was of great assistance in matters relative to Indians is very apparent in post-Expedition writings. 13 In any case, as we already mentioned, Biddle managed to improve upon the officers' spellings of Indian words, although he maintained their interpretations of the words. Realizing that Biddle was very conscientious about peoples' names, and that he was assisted by both Clark and Shannon, it is most worthy to note that in writing the narrative, Biddle introduces the interpreter's name very phonetically, spelling it out as "Sahcjah-
wea.'" After that he consistently spells her name "Sacajawea." 14

We are further informed by John Rees that if the word is Shoshone the accent would be on the jaw to emphasize the central idea of moving the boats (Jawe or Tzaw = to launch or pull). While doing her monumental research for The Conquest (1912), Eva Emery Dye found, "from Judge Shannon of Fowler, California, who to her emphasized the statement that his father George Shannon of the Lewis and Clark expedition, pronounced the name as Sacajawea, accenting the 'jaw' as 'jar'." 15

There was to be a map drawn of the Expedition's trek from St. Louis to the Pacific and back to accompany Biddle's narrative. Clark completed this map and sent it to Biddle in December of 1810. On the map we find that Clark merely copies exactly his spelling of 'Sar kar gah Wea' from the connected map that he had prepared at the Great Falls of the Missouri while en route to the Pacific Ocean five years earlier. However, on his new map he omitted the "Bird Woman" translation which was on his 1805 map.

In order to publish Clark's map with the narrative, it had to be redrawn for engraving. We know that both Biddle and Shannon helped to some degree in this project. The actual cartography was done by a Samuel Lewis. On some authority, Mr. Lewis changed the spelling found on Clark's map to "Sa-ka-ja-wea." 16

Even at this point it is not unreasonable to conclude that the Indian woman's name was a Shoshone name, and roughly pronounced /Sacajawea/ and that the meaning of the name is roughly translated "Boat-launcher." However, there is further information that makes the Shoshone theory even more conclusive.

The proponents of the "Hidatsa Theory" admittedly have no explanation as to why Charbonneau's wife would have a name such as Crow Woman. On the other hand, the name "Boatlauncher" becomes clear when one understands the common Indian custom of naming their people.

It was the practice of various tribes to give a name to a child only after an event in that child's life merited a name for it. The practice of the Shoshones was described by John Rees, who wrote that a child "may receive a name the first day of its life or it might not until ten or fifteen years of age. While taking the census of the Lemhi Shoshone in 1900, [he] found many who were fifteen years of age with no name." 17 It is, therefore, possible that Sacajawea did not have a name prior to 1800 when she was abducted by the Hidatsa and taken to their village.

Indeed, it is quite obvious that the 12-year-old Shoshone girl did not have any such name as "Sacajawea" or "Sakakawea" when she was abducted by the Hidatsa warriors in the fall of 1800. If she had been so named by her people, it would seem that her family, five years later, would have recognized this name, but such does not seem to be the case: Lewis and three companions were first to reach the Shoshones; Sacajawea and the other members of the Expedition were four days behind; the journals indicate that Lewis had no name by which to identify her to her people in advance of her arrival. He wrote: "I had mentioned to the chief [Sacajawea's brother] several times that we had with us a wo-
man of his nation who had been taken prisoner by the Minnetarees, and that by means of her I hoped to explain myself more fully than I could do signs." 18

It is evident from Lewis's later comment that Sacajawea wasn't the woman whom the Shoshones expected to see: "Shortly after Capt. Clark arrived with the interpreter Charbono, and the Indian woman, who proved to be a sister of the Chief Cameahwait." 19

As Lewis was to learn, a name given to a Shoshone was not necessarily permanent: "these people have many names in the course of their lives, particularly if they become distinguished characters, for it seems that every important event by which they happen to distinguish themselves intitles them to claim another name which is generally selected by themselves and confirmed by the nation." 20

It's possible, then, that Sacajawea did have a name prior to her abduction, and that some subsequent event occurred that again distinguished her, and "intitled" her to claim another name.

We know that such a distinguishing event did take place in her life on April 7, 1805, and there is information available to indicate that this was the day on which her enigmatic name was coined. As late as April 1, the journals state that both of Charbonneau's Shoshone wives were to accompany the Expedition to the land of their people as interpreters while the explorers were among these Indians bargaining for horses, but in the final decision only one wife was selected. 21 The various journal references to this particular woman, which began in November of 1804, never gave her a name until April 7, 1805. After five years of captivity among the Hidatsa Indians, she was on this day freely returning to her people—an uncommon event, worthy of distinguishing her and "intitling" her to a new name. In fact, it would seem strange if she didn't receive a name to commemorate the event. She was not setting out overland along the Hidatsa trail to the Yellowstone River from whence her abductors had brought her five years earlier. She was returning to her people in boats that were being launched for the 900-mile journey. Thus, she took the name "Sacajawea"—boat launcher. Maybe.

The most popular form of "Sakakawea" is "Sacagawea." The latter form was used most commonly by Lewis and Clark. Both forms are reportedly acceptable Hidatsa renderings, although Sacagawea seems more toward the Crow pronunciation. (Duane Robinson, "The Bird Woman Story," South Dakota Historical Collection, State Department of History, Pierre, S.D., 1924, Vol. XII, pp. 82-84.)

Although a couple of modern authorities maintain that no form of "Sacagawea" is a Shoshone name, it must be pointed out that in 1904, Olin D. Wheeler was informed by "K. E. Wadsworth, United States Indian Agent at the Shoshone Agency, Wyoming, that the form of the word as given by Lewis and Clark, 'Sacajaweh,' comes from two Shoshone words, 'Saco' boat, or canoe, and 'Jawea,' to launch, or push off. The meaning of 'Sacajawea,' therefore being 'Crane launching,'" (The Trail of Lewis and Clark 1804-1904, 2 Vols. New York, 1904, p. 135.)

The John E. Rees, with whom we shall deal shortly, does not rely solely upon his 50 years among Sacajawea's Shoshone people when he draws the conclusion that "Sacagawea" is a Shoshone name. He corroborates his own knowledge with such early authorities as Horatio Hale, compiler of Ethnography and Philology (1841); D. B. Huntington, interpreter and compiler of A Vocabulary of the Ute and Shoshone or Snake Dialects (1846); Joseph Gebow, interpreter and compiler of A Vocabulary of the Snake and Shoshonean Dialect (1868); George W. Hill, interpreter and compiler of A Vocabulary of the Shoshonean Language (1855); Granville Stuart, who married a Shoshone and lived among those people for years and made a list of their vocabulary in his book Montana As It Is (1865); and Reverend John Roberts who spent almost a lifetime among the Shoshones.


Ibid.

5John E. Rees, Madame Charbonneau, p. 12. This letter of John Rees was published by the Lemhi County Historical Society, Salmon, Idaho, 1976. Editor David G. Ainsworth points out that the original letter is lost. The publication was put together from three slightly varying versions which are "substantially identical." All are undated, but believed to have been written around 1928.
EXPERIMENTAL BURNING OF AN EARTHLODGE

In the winter of 1978, a reconstructed earthlodge at Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park in North Dakota was experimentally burned. An article by C.L. Dill and J. Signe Snortland in *North Dakota History*, 46-1 (Winter 1979) provided the following information about the burning experiment.

"Wednesday 9 (1839) — This morning before daylight, I was awoke by several Indians... went out to see what was going on, when I beheld the Mandan Village all in flames, the lodges being all made of dry Wood, and all on fire at the same time. Made a splendid sight, the Night being dark — this must be an end to what was once called the Mandan Village, upwards of a hundred years it has been standing... The Small Pox last year, very nearly annihilated the Whole tribe, and the Sioux has (sic) finished the Work of destruction by burning the village."

On the morning of December 8, 1978, archeologists burned an earthlodge in the Slant Indian Village at Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park. The lodge, reconstructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1934, had been condemned in 1978 due to structural deterioration, and the North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department planned to demolish it to facilitate construction of a new lodge. Instead, National Park Service personnel from the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Sites suggested that the lodge be burned in an attempt to gather comparative information for use in research on other burned lodge sites, such as at Fort Clark State Historic Sites.

In preparation for the burn, corn, berries, ceramics, flint and other materials were placed within the condemned lodge. Prior to firing, the lodge was carefully mapped; photographs were taken during all stages of the burn by the researchers and a public television news team. Thermocouples set in the floor, walls, and rafters of the lodge were continuously monitored during the burn to provide information about the variation and peaks of temperatures.

The lodge was ignited about 10 a.m., by firebrands thrust into the twig and grass mat between the structure's rafters and its earthen cover. Flames ran vertically between the rafters, drawn upwards by the draft through the central smokehole. Smoke rose slowly at first and then billowed out the top and the entryway. Flames broke through the roof around the smokehole and other holes caused by slumping of the lodge structure. Approximately 50 minutes after the fire started, a section which had been damaged collapsed inwards. As the roof collapsed, section by section, the intensity of the fire increased and flames spread to the side walls. By late morning, only the south wall containing the thermocouples was standing. All structural supports had collapsed and burned by late afternoon, leaving a smoldering raised ring of earth and ashes to mark the site of the lodge. The fire continued to smolder for several days; steam and smoke rose from the rubble as late as the afternoon of December 11.

The remnants of the Fort Lincoln earthlodge burn remain untouched today. Visitors of Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park can tour the On-A-Slant Indian Village to view reconstructed earthlodges and the site of the burned lodge. A trail with interpretive signs guide visitors around the Village and describe Mandan history and culture. One of the interpretive signs is placed in front of the 1978 burn site and explains the earthlodge burning experiment and its importance to understanding Mandan history.

Submitted by
PAMELA DRYER
Natural Resources Coordinator
North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department

NEW NORTH DAKOTA HERITAGE CENTER EXHIBIT FEATURES PLAINS EXPLORERS

by LARRY REMELE

Exploration of the northern plains plays a featured role in a new permanent exhibit at the North Dakota Heritage Center in Bismarck. Titled "An Era of Change: The Dakota Frontier, 1738-1870," the exhibit sketches the story of contact between Indians and whites in Dakota, moving from the first recorded Euro-American expedition in 1738 to the open warfare of the 1860s.

Opened in June 1988, "An Era of Change" features the Lewis and Clark Expedition as an example of the early and peaceful contact between Indians and Euro-Americans on the plains. The Expedition, characterized as evidence of "the spirit of enlightenment and expansionism," entered the area of modern North Dakota in Fall 1804; the Expedition built a wintering post, Fort Mandan, near the Knife River Indian Villages, met and employed Charbonneau (and Sakakawea), and "proceeded on" in Spring 1805. In 1806, the Expedition reunited along the Missouri River within the state's boundaries and passed rapidly downstream on the homeward journey.

The Heritage Center exhibit puts the Lewis and Clark experience into a unified context that outlines the changing patterns of Indian-white relations in the plains. Beginning with the culture and lifestyles of the nomadic and village Indians resident in Dakota, the exhibit highlights the increasing contact with Euro-American peoples after 1738. In that year Pierre Verendrye walked from his Canadian fur post to Mandan Indian villages along the Missouri. Thereafter, a steady stream of explorers, traders, trappers, scientists, and eventually soldiers brought different (and not always better) ideas to the tribes. In the process, both Indian and white cultures changed, adapted elements from the other, and gradually found points of co-existence and conflict.

The fur trade has central importance in "An Era of Change." Not only did the struggle for valuable furs bring the tribes into a worldwide economy; it established Euro-American outposts on the plains and prairies. The fur trade also brought a woodland peoples, the Chippewa, onto the plains and established the "new people," the Metis, as an economic and political force in the early 18th Century.

As worldwide tastes changed, the fur trade adjusted. By mid-19th Century, the buffalo became the mainstay, and within a mere thirty years the seemingly inexhaustible herds were destroyed by disease, loss of habitat, and over-hunting. The elimination of that one resource did more to change the lives and cultures of the plains Indians than did war, disease, or any other result of contact with Euro-American peoples.

The fur trade also led to American interest in settling the northern plains. As outlined in "An Era of
Change,” the government of the United States proceeded slowly to survey the area, all the while debating whether the land was suited for farming settlement. After the Lewis and Clark Expedition’s peaceful passage, a series of official military surveys located the International Boundary, mapped rivers and landforms, and sketched possible routes for transcontinental railroads. The first military post was established on the Red River at Fort Abercrombie in 1857, but many others followed. War erupted in 1862 and massive army expeditions fought Sioux and allied groups in northern Dakota in 1863 and 1864. The peaceful interaction of traders and tribespeople could no longer forestall the larger conflict for control of the land and its resources.

To tell this story of cultural contact, conflict, and change, the State Historical Society of North Dakota employs a wide selection of its massive documentary and artifact collections. Long known as a premier repository for plains Indian artifacts, SHSND collections also include many thousands of graphic images and documents detailing the era of exploration and Indian-white contact, as well as the frontier military experience in Dakota.

“An Era of Change” occupies some 3,000 square feet in the main exhibit gallery of the North Dakota Heritage Center. It is part of a ten-year, six-phase exhibit development scheduled for completion during the 1989 North Dakota Statehood Centennial. When completed, the exhibits will take the visitor on a “tour” through North Dakota’s past, beginning with the geologic past and extending through the modern period. The opening of “An Era of Change” extends this “tour” from 1738 through 1941; in addition, a portion of the natural history phase and several temporary exhibits are also open for viewing.

The North Dakota Heritage Center itself opened in 1981. The $8.7 million facility includes all operations of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, including the state’s premier museum, state archives, state archeologist, and state historic preservation office; historic sites, education and publications, and administrative offices are headquartered in the Heritage Center, as is the North Dakota Heritage Foundation, Inc. Over 150,000 people visit the Heritage Center each year to experience the exhibits, attend programs, or conduct research. Membership is open to the general public, regardless of residence.

Members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., are cordially invited to view “An Era of Change” during the national convention in August 1988. Several special events are planned at the Heritage Center during the annual meeting, including a reception honoring the completion of the new permanent exhibit. State Historical Society of North Dakota Superintendent James E. Sperry, Museum Division Director C.L. Dill, and all the staff hope you enjoy your visit to North Dakota and look forward to chatting with you.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Shortly after the above article arrived for publication in this issue of WPO, word was received that Larry Remele, 43, died of a heart attack. We send our condolences, to his wife, Ann, his daughter, Rachel and his parents and sisters.

Larry Remele, North Dakota’s state historian, had served 15 years as editor of Plains Talk, the newsletter of the Historical Society of North Dakota, and as editor of North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains, the quarterly journal of the Society. He was also director of the education and interpretation division of the society.

Remele was responsible for gathering many of the North Dakota-related articles for the May issue of WPO. And he wrote the texts for all of the Lewis and Clark interpretative signs that have recently been erected in North Dakota.

Remele was born in Baltimore, Maryland April 22, 1945, and reared in Valley City, North Dakota where he graduated from high school. He received his Bachelor’s Degree in education from North Dakota State University, Fargo; and his Master’s Degree in American history and literature at the University of Grand Forks. He became North Dakota’s first state historian in 1973.

North Dakota Governor George Sinner called Remele “an excellent historian, a dedicated public servant and a good friend.”

The governor went on to say; “Remele had a deep appreciation for North Dakota people, and was one of the best students of our state’s history. He will be missed by all of us.”

Tracy Potter of the North Dakota Tourism Department called Remele an “incredible resource.” She said “someone in tourism called him at least once a day for information.”

North Dakota’s Heritage of the Lewis and Clark Expedition is appreciated more fully today, and preserved more permanently for tomorrow because of Larry Remele—a dedicated historian.
He found himself suddenly throbbing with love. He thrust his right hand behind her head and bent to kiss her full on the mouth. She took hold of him and held her arms tightly around the small of his back, not wanting to let go... "You have used sorcery on me, Janey. I could not help myself," said Clark, pulling away and smiling into her eyes.

Whew! That steamy scene is from Anna Lee Waldo’s paperback novel, Sacajawea, a recent best-seller on America’s drugstore racks. It’s just one of several fictional accounts of the expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark featuring a heavy-breathing love affair between Clark and Sacagawea, the Shoshone Indian woman who accompanied the exploring party.

These stories admittedly broaden popular interest in the entire Lewis and Clark adventure. Yet the purported romance causes some embarrassment for the Expedition’s serious students, because readers of the fictionalized accounts are always asking about it. Our Foundation’s members can talk knowledgeably about the Expedition’s contributions to science, geography and westward expansion, but often that’s not what comes up at a social gathering. Was there really a Love Affair? Why Clark, and not Lewis?

What can you say?

You can truthfully say there’s no evidence for it in the known records kept by the people who were there. Clark’s journal usually referred to his supposed sweetheart as “the Squar,” or just “the Indian woman.” There’s even nothing to show that it was Clark who first bestowed her expedition nickname, “Janey.” The sole mention of any personal feeling between them was this cryptic remark by Clark on the Columbia River estuary: “squar displeased with me for not....” The manuscript went blank, the thought unfinished. Sacagawea was accompanied the whole way by her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, who might have been expected to be at war with Clark over any trailside mischief, a jealousy that several of the novelists indeed wrote into their plots. Yet the supposed rivals parted in 1806 with Clark commending Charbonneau for conducting “your Self in Such a manner as to gain my friendship.”

A literal reading of the journals led Olin D. Wheeler to conclude in his 1904 book, The Trail of Lewis and Clark, that while Sacagawea “became greatly attached to the Captains and their men,” they were all just straight-arrow chums. Wheeler wrote that while unchastity ran riot in the tribes encountered along the way, “not a breath of suspicion was whispered against this unpretentious slave-wife of a frontier Frenchman.”

Despite all that, you also must concede that a Clark-Sacagawea affair of some kind was possible, never mind what the documents don’t say. If there was one, neither captain would have wanted to spell it out in official histories they knew would be read by the President of the United States. The officers readily wrote about liaisons between the Expedition’s enlisted yeomen and the local native girls, but this wasn’t something gentlemen from prominent Eastern families were expected to put on the public record about themselves. (For what it’s worth, the journals kept by John Ordway, Patrick Gass and Joseph Whitehouse contain no hint that their officers dallied with Sacagawea or anyone else.) As for Clark’s remark about the squaw being displeased with him, that obviously could have sprung from a lovers’ spat. Clark might have been just buttering up Charbonneau with that expression of friendship, to win permission for Sacagawea and her young son to join the captain in St. Louis.

If a love affair really occurred, then, it must be glimpsed between the documentary lines. Donald Culross Peattie made exactly that third-person claim at the start of his 1942 Expedition novel, Forward the Nation. Peattie boasted that he, the author, “has nowhere, to his knowledge, distorted fact. Whatever he has recounted here that is not stated in the records he believes can be discovered there between the lines.”

As will be seen, Peattie differed from other novelists...
in his version of who had a crush on whom. And that’s the biggest point to remember in tracing the literary evolution of Janey’s expeditionary relationships: a writer whose eyes are fixed between the lines can come up with just about anything.

That was true from the first novelistic treatment of the Expedition, Eva Emery Dye’s *The Conquest*, published in 1902. It was based on the captains’ yet-unpublished manuscript journals, but Dye invented the characters’ dialogue and inner thoughts. In her interpretation, Sacagawea’s affections were confined to her husband, Charbonneau, who:

...had been kind to the captive Indian girl, and her heart clung to the easy-going Frenchman as her best friend. The worst white man was better than an Indian husband.\(^6\)

There was no real documentary basis for saying that, and indeed the journals record several instances of Charbonneau’s mistreatment of his wife. But an extra-marital affair evidently would have complicated Dye’s story, and as a pioneer in Expedition fiction, she couldn’t have known what paths future novelists would follow, especially after publication in 1904 of new raw material in the manuscript journals.

There, writers discerned a special warmth between Sacagawea and Clark. Edwin L. Sabin’s 1917 novel, *Opening the West with Lewis and Clark*, invented this scene at the Great Falls:

"Wouldn’t Sa-ca-ja-we-a like to see the Great Falls?" asked the captain, kindly.

The little Bird-woman grinned at the Red Head’s notice of her. He was, to her, a great chief.\(^7\)

But Sabin took the relationship no further; after all, his was a boy’s book, with no audience for love stuff. By 1942, however, Donald Culross Peattie was sure something had been going on between the lone squaw and all those men. Where Dye had seen affection between Sacagawea and Charbonneau, Peattie in *Forward the Nation* saw loathing. The villainous Frenchman tells his wife he plans to offer her favors to both captains. "They would not touch me," she said proudly. Then Charbonneau goes among the enlisted men, making the same offer, as Sacagawea’s secret admirer looks on:

Her braids he loved, for the way they fell straight down from her head, sloped in pride over her bosom, and swung free with every stroke of her paddle. He took a secret pleasure in her sturdy figure going ahead of him...\(^8\)

George Shannon! The young hunter and Sacagawea were age-mates, and in her presence a nameless heat rose up in his throat and flushed his cheeks with darkness. But in the end nothing came of this covert crush, as a patriotic urge for Westward expansion somehow overcame what Peattie ambiguously described as Shannon’s desire for a woman he meant never to take.

Clearly, in 1942, interlinear space still left plenty of room for maneuver. But even then another plot was being framed that was to forever link Clark and Sacagawea in fiction’s bonds of romance.

Della Gould Emmons’ *Sacajawea of the Shoshones* was published the following year, and her lovers lost no time. At Fort Mandan, Clark praises Sacagawea’s baby son:

"You think he’s pretty nice, don’t you?"
She shook her head.
"What?" Clark was surprised. "What’s
wrong? Wanted a girl?"

"I like him more if he had red hair and blue eyes," she answered with her frank adoring look.

"Red hair and blue eyes." Clark felt the hot blood surge over him.

After Clark rescues Sacagawea from the flooded gulch at Great Falls, with Charbonneau's panicky help:

Sacagawea looked up at Clark and his eyes met hers. He stopped and took the squirming Pomp from her and as he did so, he put his arm tenderly around her waist and drew her close to him and then, to Sacagawea's amazed delight, kissed her lightly on the forehead.

As previously arranged, Charbonneau, Sacagawea and Pomp come to St. Louis two years after the Expedition's return, and someone's there to meet them:

Julia with a smile extended her hand.

For a moment Sacagawea's head reeled. He had a woman, no one had told her. She felt sick deep within her. Suddenly she wanted to get away, to be alone, to think it all over, to fight it out within herself.

Dully she heard Clark say, "Sacagawea, this is my wife." 9

In 1955, Paramount screenwriters Winston Miller and Edmund H. North wrote a script for the VistaVision epic, The Far Horizon, "based on" the Emmons novel. But where Emmons had just roamed between the lines of documentary evidence, Hollywood ran amuck. Clark (Charlton Heston) tells Lewis (Fred MacMurray) that he plans to marry Sacagawea (Donna Reed), with whom he has just shared a tipi. The captains fight, and Clark is threatened with a court martial. A character named Charbonneau (Alan Reed) is in the cast, but he's portrayed as a treacherous guide sent home midway through the trip. The climactic meeting between Sacagawea and Julia (Barbara Hale) takes place not in St. Louis, as Emmons speculated, but in the White House in Washington.

In his book Hollywood and American History, Michael R. Pitts sketched the plots of more than 250 historical movies. Unfortunately, he judged them by Hollywood standards. The Far Horizons, said Pitts, was "essentially boring," and he then took a stab at historical criticism: 10

"Historically the film was not all that accurate either. In reality Sacagawea's husband was also a guide on the expedition but he is nowhere to be found in this film."

With all the movie's errors, Pitts didn't understand the only one he criticized.

The 1943 Emmons book and the 1955 Paramount movie set off a backlash against a Clark-Sacagawea affair. In the foreword to his 1958 novel, Tale of Valor, Vardis Fisher gave a military reason for doubting "the legend that Sacagawea was every man's woman on this journey, and in any case, Clark's." Fisher said he didn't really know, but added:

"I've talked to various old-timers with whom a study of the Lewis and Clark saga has been a hobby and they all agree with me that the morale of the men could not possibly have been maintained if one captain or both had been lying with this child." 11

So Fisher's plot has Sacagawea regarding Clark as a "protector and guardian," who would allow nobody but her husband to touch her. In 1971, Harold P. Howard joined the backlash in a widely praised non-fiction biography, Sacagawea, also citing military decorum as a reason for doubting a romance with Clark:

"As for the often-repeated suggestion that Sacaja-
wea had a romantic attachment for Captain Clark, it is indeed possible that she did. No doubt he was a much more attractive man than Charbonneau. But Lewis and Clark had to maintain a certain posture before their men. They were emissaries of the President and were under the constant observation of their men."

But the romance was too juicy to discard, and more recent novelists have rekindled the fire. The 1979 Waldo novel spun clouds of fancy from just a few core events recorded in Expedition documents. The big clinch cited at the start of this article came right after Sacagawea's documented gift of sour bread to Clark at a hungry moment on the Columbia. Yet even Waldo never went beyond that kind of upright grappling (unless the reader is willing to read between her lines), and her plot required the fires eventually to cool. In 1809, living in St. Louis, Sacagawea felt herself "growing wiser, more mature:"

The beating of her heart had calmed when she was near Clark. Her tongue was no longer tied. The gnawing pain of living close to him had eased.13

From Sea to Shining Sea was a 1984 invented-dialogue history of the Clark family by James Alexander Thom, who seemed to try harder than Emmons or Waldo to restrain what he saw between the lines. Thom thus produced a rather Victorian affair limited to heaving sighs and torrid glances. After Clark treats Sacagawea's illness, they're depicted sitting in camp:

"Your good health makes me happy," he said. The sentiment in his words made his voice thick and tremulous, and she heard the tone; he could see in her eyes that he heard it, and for a moment there glowed in her face such naked, unguarded adoration that he wanted to step around the campfire and kneel by her and put his head against her bosom."14

Thom permitted no such thing; others were watching. But chaste as it was, Thom's plot agreed with the Emmons, Paramount and Waldo versions on one point: Sacagawea's heart belonged to Clark, not Lewis. Is there proof of that?

Not much. The record in fact shows Lewis at times being kind to Sacagawea, helping at the birth of her son and expressing concern for "the poor object" during her illness on the Missouri. But some scholars suspect Lewis exposed his truer feelings toward her in a callous journal entry at the Missouri's Three Forks: "if she has enough to eat and a few trinkets to wear I believe she would be perfectly content anywhere."

The journals show that Clark, more than Lewis, was a frequent riverbank walking companion of Sacagawea and her husband. Then there was that gift of bread to Clark, who also got from the woman a nice Christmas present of ornamental weasel tails. If Lewis got a gift, there's no record of it.

From such faint clues come the verdict of a preference, and not just from romance-mongering novelists. John Bakeless, in his respected 1947 non-fiction account of the Expedition, concluded that Lewis "never shared Clark's liking for the Shoshone squaw."15

Sober-sided historians have no monopoly on the Expedition story, and American novelists are free to imagine whatever they want. Did Clark and Sacagawea feel special pleasure in each other's company in fact as well as in imagination? For historian and novelist alike, the answer lies between the lines.

about the author...

Arlen J. (Jim) Large of Washington, D.C., a frequent contributor to WPO, is also a member of its editorial board. He is a past president and past director of the Foundation. Jim is a retired correspondent of the Wall Street Journal where, among other duties, he served as Senate reporter and then as science reporter. He has recently completed a manuscript for a book on Washington politics.

1Waldo, Anna Lee. Sacajawea. (Avon, NY, 1980 printing) p. 551. The Foundation's preferred spelling of the Indian woman's name is "Sacagawea" but other forms will be observed here in titles and quotes.
3Thwaites. 7:329.
5Peattie, Donald Culross. Forward the Nation. (Putnam and Sons, NY, 1942) foreword.
8Peattie, p. 148.
13Waldo. p. 752.
KNIFE RIVER INDIAN VILLAGES

The following information relative to the various Mandan and Hidatsa villages in Knife River area of present North Dakota at the time of Lewis and Clark has been provided by Dr. Gary E. Moulton, editor of The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. This comprehensive list provides us with the following information for each village:

- common name for village (L & C name)
- tribe (L & C designation)
- tribal name for village (L & C name)
- chief
- archaeological designation
- reference note in Moulton’s edition

1. a. - Mandan Village (Lower, or First, Mandan Village)
   b. - Mandan
   c. - Mitutanka (Matootonha)
   d. - Big White (Sheheke)
   e. - Deapolis site—obliterated by modern gravel operations
   f. - Vol. 3, p. 201 n. 5 (October 26, 1804)

2. a. - Mandan Village (Upper, or Second, Mandan Village)
   b. - Mandan
   c. - Ruptare, Nuptadi (Rooptahee)
   d. - Black Cat (Posecopsaha) - head chief of Mandans to L & C
   e. - Black Cat site (no archaeological work)—beneath the Missouri River
   f. - Vol. 3, p. 205 n. 2 (October 27, 1804)

3. a. - Awaxawi Village (Marharha Village)
   b. - Awaxawi Hidatsa (Amahami, Ahwahaway [name for selves]. Wattasoon [Mandan name], Shoe, Moccasin)
   c. - Mahawha (Marharha)
   d. - Tatuckcopinreha (White Buffalo Robe Unfolded)
   e. - Amahami site—lawn of Mercer County Courthouse, Stanton
   f. - Vol. 3, pp. 205-6 n. 3 (October 27, 1804)

4. a. - Hidatsa Village (First Minnetaree Village, Little Village of the Menitarras)
   b. - Awatixa Hidatsa (Minnetarees Metaharta, Minnetarees of the Willows, Big Bellies)
   c. - Metaharta (Metehartar)
   d. - Black Moccasin (Ompsehara)
   e. - Sakakawea site—partially cut away by Knife River
   f. - Vol. 3, pp. 206-7 n. 8 (October 27, 1804)

5. a. - Hidatsa Village (Second Minnetaree Village, Grand Village)
   b. - Hidatsas proper (Big Bellies)
   c. - Menetarra
   d. - Le Borgne (One Eye)
   e. - Big Hidatsa site or Olds site—preserved and maintained by NPS
   f. - Vol. 3, pp. 206-7 n. 8 (October 27, 1804)

FORT CLATSOP
SUMMER PROGRAM BEGINS

The summer ranger program began June 12 at Fort Clatsop National Memorial and will last until Labor Day, September 5, Superintendent Frank Walker announced recently. Hours are extended from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily.

Commemorating the Lewis and Clark Expedition, this expanded program includes living history activities, talks, and flintlock rifle demonstrations presented by National Park Service rangers. A schedule of activities is posted daily in the park visitor center, which also offers exhibits and an audio-visual program on the Corps of Discovery.

A nearby replica of Fort Clatsop is refurnished to depict the explorers’ 1805-1806 encampment.

A unit of the National Park System, admission to Fort Clatsop National Memorial is $1 per person ages 17-61, or $3 per family maximum. Admission is good for seven days. Children 16 and under and senior citizens enter free. The non-profit Fort Clatsop Historical Association operates a bookstore in the visitor center.

For further information call (503) 861-2471, or write: Superintendent, Fort Clatsop National Memorial, Rt. 3, Box 604-FC, Astoria, OR 97103.

HAL BILLIAN,
FORMER DIRECTOR, DIES

Just as we are going to press, word is received that Harold B. Billian of Villanova, Penn., a former Foundation director, died July 9 of a massive heart attack. His enthusiastic interest in the Lewis and Clark Saga, which he enjoyed sharing with others, will be missed. His obituary will appear in the November issue of WPO.
FOREST SERVICE AND PUBLIC BENEFIT FROM VOLUNTEER TRAIL MAINTENANCE

LEWISTON YOUTH ADOPT LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL

One mile of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is again available for public use, thanks to the North Idaho Children's Home (NICH) of Lewiston, Idaho.

Six boys, ages 14-17, along with NICH staff members Terry Lewis and Janet Thorsen, were the first to volunteer to clear and maintain the trail since NICH formally “adopted” two miles of the trail in May. On a June 10-12 outing, the group cleared a one-mile stretch of the historic trail east of the Lewis and Clark Grove on the Clearwater National Forest’s Pierce Ranger District.

According to District Ranger Tom Blunn, the section of the trail NICH volunteers adopted and improved had not been cleared in over 20 years. Consequently, there was an extreme amount of slash and downed logs for the volunteers to remove. He said NICH volunteers will return later this month to continue clearing debris and will also improve the trail’s surface on switchbacks. They will then perform routine annual maintenance. A poster at the Clark Tree trailhead recognizes the NICH youths for their volunteer services.

Blunn pointed out that other portions of the Lewis and Clark Trail are being maintained by the Orofino Boy Scouts of America and by the Kamiah Youth Conservation Corps (YCC).

“We really appreciate the contributions of these groups to our trail program,” he added. “With their help, the five-mile segment of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail from the Lolo Creek Campground vicinity to Small Prairie Camp should be open for foot travel later this year.” He said this stretch of trail will not be recommended for stock use until a pack bridge is installed across Cedar Creek, other minor safety improvements are made, and several damaged areas are improved.

No estimate was given as to when improvements for stock users will be completed but, with volunteer help, Blunn said he is hopeful to have it opened in time for Idaho’s Centennial Celebration in 1990.

As for the NICH volunteers, Blunn said their effort was more than one of trail maintenance—it included an effort to understand the history of the area. He said the group’s campsite at the Lolo Creek Campground was near the Lewis and Clark Grove campsite utilized by Captain Clark on September 19, 1805, on his journey west. “It was the perfect setting for a presentation on and discussion of the hardships experienced by the Lewis and Clark expedition and the importance of the Expedition in securing the western territories for later addition to the United States,” Blunn added.

He said District Resource Forester Tom Geouge and Trail Foreman Tim Lewis look forward to continuing instruction in trail maintenance techniques and local history for NICH volunteers in future outings.

HISTORY STUDENTS PREPARE ORIGINAL SOURCE DISPLAY FOR THROCKMORTON MEMORIAL LECTURE

When Dr. Gary Moulton, editor of the current issue of the Lewis and Clark Journals, gave the 25th and last of the series of Throckmorton Memorial Lectures at Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon, April 7, 1988, his lecture was supplemented and enhanced by an extensive and attractively presented display of books and other materials from the E.G. Chuinard Lewis and Clark Collection.

The entire display was conceived and arranged by three of the college’s enthusiastic history majors. The students, shown in the photograph above, are (l. to r.) Derek Larson (sophomore), Sheri Summit (sophomore) and Peter Edwards (senior).

The project, under the supervision of Dr. Stephen Dow Beckman, professor of history, and Randy Colver, library director, was designed to acquaint the students with an appreciation of, as well as the handling of old, fragile books and original source material on an historical subject.

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FOUNDATION MEMBERSHIP

If you are not already a member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. and would like to join, send $15 with your request for membership to the Membership Secretary whose address is listed on the inside of the front cover.
LEWIS AND CLARK VISITORS CENTER BILL APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE

Congressman Ron Marlenee’s legislation (H.R. 1982) to construct a National Lewis and Clark Visitors Center at Giant Springs Heritage State Park in Great Falls has cleared yet another hurdle, and is gaining momentum for passage by Congress.

“My bill for a National Lewis and Clark Visitors Center has just been approved by the House National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee — and could be considered by the full Interior Committee shortly after the July 4th Congressional recess,” said Marlenee, U.S. Representative for the Eastern Montana district.

“The bill would authorize $3.5 million for construction of the Center, and would place the Center under the supervision of the U.S. Forest Service, which is very supportive of the project.

“Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery did more to open the West to exploration and eventual development than any other adventurers in the history of our continent,” the lawmaker said.

“Portaging around the great falls was a major part of their trek. There is no more appropriate location for a visitors center along the entire Lewis and Clark Trail than the city of Great Falls,” Marlenee added.

REMAINS OF ANCIENT STICKLODGES STILL TO BE FOUND

Near the mouth of the Little Missouri River in present North Dakota on April 14, 1805, Captain Clark wrote in his journal: “I observed Several Single Lodges built of Stiks of cotten timber in different parts of the [river] bottoms.”

These sticklodges were built by various Indian tribes while on hunting expeditions. They were easily and quickly built near the river where both timber and game were plentiful. As the journals point out, the Lewis and Clark Expedition occasionally used the abandoned sticklodges for shelter.

Foundation director Art Shipley, member Dick E. Biwer and son Tom took a Memorial Day weekend horseback ride along the Little Missouri River on Custer Forest land near North Unit of Roosevelt National Park and came across the stick-lodge shown in the photo above. Shipley (on horseback in the photo) says that the lodge was in good condition and over a hundred years old. He said that “because it was found three-fourths of a mile from the river, it is believed that the structure was used as a ceremonial lodge.”

Marlenee praised the efforts of several Montanans who endorsed the creation of the Lewis and Clark Visitors Center. He especially thanked four Great Falls residents who testified in support of the bill before the Subcommittee last October, and the State of Montana for providing the site. (see related story in WPO, Vol. 14, No. 1, February 1988, p. 23.)

“The work done by Marcia Staimiller, Mike Labriola, Richard J. Martin, and Bob Bivens was essential to the Subcommittee’s approval of the Lewis and Clark Center,” said Marlenee.

The Great Falls Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has previously estimated that as many as 1 million visitors could tour the center annually.

CYCLISTS FOLLOW L&C TRAIL TWO WEEKS EACH YEAR

Foundation member Mason Smith along with Al Utterstrom, both of Maine, are following the Lewis and Clark Trail on bikes, covering two-week segments each year until the journey is completed. Starting at St. Charles, Missouri on Saturday, May 14, the two reached Kearney, Missouri on Thursday, May 19, according to an article in The Kearney Courier.

Smith, 55, is a photographer and journalist by trade. Utterstrom, 47, is a transportation manager for a trucking firm that transports mail.

Rather than take off eight weeks of work in one year, the two decided to take two weeks each year until they have completed the trail. This year they went as far as Omaha. Next year they will begin at Omaha and progress two weeks further up the Trail.
ARCHAEOLOGISTS CONTINUE WORK AT LOWER PORTAGE CAMP

Archaeologist Wayne Black works in one of the trenches as volunteers Tammy Ostrander and Jan Postler sift dirt removed from another, along the Missouri River bank.

For the second year in a row, archaeologists from the Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana, have been in search of evidence of the Lewis and Clark Expedition at the Lower Portage campsite below the Great Falls of the Missouri. For two weeks this year, June 14-29, volunteers worked with historical archaeologist Ken Karsminiski, in preliminary efforts to locate the site of Lewis and Clark’s camp below the Great Falls of the Missouri.

This is an important site along the Lewis and Clark Trail since it was here that the Expedition spent nearly two weeks on their westward journey. From this point they began their struggle to get the six cottonwood dugouts and tons of materials over an 18-mile portage around the five waterfalls that make up the “great falls of the Missouri.” It was also here that they dug a cache and cached a rather large quantity of material, which was reclaimed on their return trip from the Pacific Coast. The archaeologists are also in search of the cache site.

The work this year included a series of ten 5-foot-by-5-foot test pits paralleling the river at a likely location for the Expedition’s camp.

For the past two years they have been looking for any remains that might be identified with the Expedition. However, there are four years left on this project and the work done so far has primarily been preliminary work—digging test pits in order to become familiar with the soil formations, ruling out certain possibilities, and in general, zeroing in on the campsite and the cache.

Each year the digs are scheduled to take place during the same days of the year that the Expedition was at the site in 1805, i.e., June 15-28.

The campsite is on private property (owned by “Red” Urguart), and is protected under the state and federal Antiquities Acts. It is because of Urguart’s cooperation that the archaeological work has been permitted.

Although this year’s dig did not uncover any Lewis and Clark artifacts, it did produce at least two prehistoric pieces—a bone tool and the base of a projectile point. They were found six to nine inches under the surface of the ground—an indication that any Lewis and Clark pieces left on the ground 183 years ago would be rather close to the surface today. The Portage Route Chapter of Great Falls, which initiated the archaeological project, is in charge of coordinating volunteer labor for the digs. Information on how to sign up as a volunteer for the 1989 dig will be published in the February 1989 issue of WPO.

Karsminiski will present a program on the work that has been done at a monthly meeting of the Portage Route Chapter this fall. The month and day have not yet been determined. People interested in attending that meeting should contact Bob Doerk, Portage Route Chapter, P.O. Box 2424, Great Falls, MT 59403.
L&C PREVIEW RUN 'GREAT SUCCESS'

On April 16-17 of this year, a preview run was made as a text for the 1989 Lewis and Clark Run across the state of Washington. Ralph Rudeen, executive secretary of the Washington Lewis and Clark Committee, described it as "a great success for all concerned. We were able to test all the systems, and the various groups and agencies were given a taste of things to come in '89." He added that the runners were also very positive about this year's trial run.

Thirteen 10-person teams, two 2-member ultra teams, and seven ultra-runners ran both days of the preview run, while seven other ultrarunners and several other teams ran only one day.

The first day, Saturday, began at Maryhill Park near Goldendale with the ultra runners starting the day's 59-mile trek at 6 a.m. and ended at the Skamania Fairgrounds, Stevenson, Wash. Partly cloudy skies, sun and limited rain were accompanied throughout the day by brisk winds.

The 60-mile run on the second day ended at Clark County Fairgrounds in Ridgefield, where an awards ceremony was later held.

The best time for teams on the first day was 2 hours, 33 minutes, 12 seconds. The best solo time was 8 hours, 36 minutes, 19 seconds. On the second day the best team time was 7 hours, 15 minutes, 32 seconds; and the best solo time was 9 hours, 34 minutes, 1 second.

Video tapes of the preview run are available for viewing by running clubs. For information about the videos, contact Judith Lerass, Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, (206) 753-2027.

The treks that were run this year are only two segments of the 490-mile run planned as part of Washington's centennial celebration next year. The full-length run will take eight days and stretches from Clarkston on the Idaho border to Cape Disappointment on the Pacific Coast.

The teams going the full eight days are being referred to as "race teams," while those making a shorter commitment are "run teams."

May 31, 1988, was the deadline for guaranteed acceptance of entry applications for the 1989 run. Entries may still be submitted but acceptance will be limited and determined by a lottery drawing on January 2, 1989.

So far entries have been received from as far away as New Zealand.

For more information about the April 2-9, 1989 run, write: Lewis and Clark Run, Box 7308, Olympia, WA 98507.

NEWS FROM IDAHO CHAPTER

Approximately 40 people showed up for the spring meeting of the Idaho Chapter of the Foundation, April 30, at Nez Perce National Historical Park, according to chapter president James R. Fazio. It was determined at that time to begin collecting dues as a way of financing chapter activities, and helping with the plans for the Foundation's 22nd annual meeting to be held in Idaho in 1990.

Foundation members interested in joining the Idaho chapter may do so by sending $5 for individual membership, $7.50 for family and $10 for organization. Send dues to Audrey Peterson, Treasurer, Idaho Chapter Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 2908 Alamo Road, Boise, ID 83704.

President Fazio reported that the Foundation's 1990 meeting has been listed as a state centennial project for Idaho; therefore, the centennial logo is available for use on all materials related to the meeting.

Also at the spring meeting bylaws for governing the chapter were adopted.

CAPTAIN LEWIS AND THE CAMERA OBSCURA

The Lewis and Clark Expedition took along neither an artist nor a camera obscura, and the frustration for having not done so was elucidated by Captain Lewis at the Great Falls of the Missouri June 13, 1805.

Totally enraptured by the beauty of the Great Falls, Lewis attempted to write a description of "this sublimely grand specticle." He was dissatisfied with his writing and "much disgusted with the imperfect idea which it conveyed of the scene."

He then wrote: "I most sincerely regretted that I had not brought a crimee [camera] obscura with me by the assistance of which even I could have hoped to have done better but alas this was also out of my reach; I therefore with the assistance of my pen only indovered to trace some of the stronger features of this seen [scene] by the assistance of which and my recollection aided by some able pencil I hope still to give to the world some faint idea of an object which at this moment fills me with such pleasure and astonishment; and which of it's kind I will venture to assert is second to but one in the known world."

The "Camera Obscura" was in use at the time of Lewis and Clark as an aid to sketching an image that was reflected through the lens up to the drawing paper.
PORTAGE ROUTE CHAPTER SPONSORS
SECOND MERIWETHER LEWIS RUN

Dick Martin, “Meriwether Lewis,” presents Jacque Stingley, overall female winner, with a certificate and Jefferson Peace Medal.

The Great Falls Portage Route Chapter sponsored its second annual 4th of July Meriwether Lewis Run in celebration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Each year the run is dedicated to a member of the Expedition or to a special happening associated with the Expedition in the Great Falls area.

The 1988 Run was dedicated to Pierre Cruzatte, the half Omaha and half Frenchman who joined the Expedition on May 14, 1804 at St. Charles, Missouri. He was hired for his skill as a boatman and on occasion was used as an interpreter. Throughout the Expedition, he often entertained the party with his fiddle playing. Cruzatte is probably best remembered for accidentally shooting Lewis on August 11, 1806, near the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.

Woody Woods, a local high school track and cross country star, won the run in record time. Woods completed the 3.5-mile course in 19:08 minutes. Among the female competitors, local distance ace Jacque Stingley repeated her 1987 championship with a 22:40 performance.

The annual run follows the bank of the Missouri River through two of Great Falls’ most scenic parks. Many members of the Chapter volunteer to help and according to run director Ella Mae Howard, the Chapter puts on one very fine event. The Chapter provides doughnuts and juice after the run and member Dick Martin, portraying Meriwether Lewis, gives the runners a history lesson on Lewis and Clark.

FEDERAL JUDGE GIVES GREEN LIGHT FOR KATY TRAIL DEVELOPMENT

A decision by U.S. District Judge George F. Gunn, Jr. on May 10 upheld the National Trails System Act and removed obstacles to the development of the “abandoned” 200-mile Missouri-Kansas-Texas (KATY) Railroad right-of-way for bikers and hikers. The Foundation has likewise endorsed the project.

The question now is will the Missouri legislature appropriate the $1.2 million needed to develop the two pilot trail projects along the Katy Trail proposed by Governor John Ashcroft. In the last legislative session, which ended April 30, the legislature barely passed a $40,000 appropriation for minimum maintenance along the right-of-way.

In brief, Judge Gunn’s 22-page decision means: 1.) The state was within its rights to use a federal law (National Trails System Act) to gain possession of the trail corridor; 2.) The federal trails law pre-empts state laws governing ownership of abandoned rights-of-way; 3.) Under federal law, the corridor has not been abandoned.

Farmers along this section of the railroad have argued that abandoned rights-of-way belong to the adjacent landowners. They, along with other opponents of the trail development, said Judge Gunn’s decision was not the final word in the matter, and that they will appeal his decision. The next step could be the U.S. Court of Appeals.
IDAHO ARCHAEOLOGIST INVESTIGATES EXPEDITION’S CANOE CAMP

Following exploratory excavations in May, at Lewis and Clark’s Canoe Camp near present Orofino, Idaho, archaeologist Priscilla Wegars of the University of Idaho said, “We can’t say that it is [the actual site of the encampment], but we can’t say that it is not.”

Evidence that turned up through 54 one-meter-deep auger holes showed pre-Expedition Indian activity and evidence of early white settlement (including a 1907 penny), but nothing that would indicate canoe-making or extended encampment of the Corps of Discovery.

Noted Idaho Lewis and Clark authority Ralph Space, after re-reading the journals and examining the site, believes that the actual encampment may have been about ¼-mile downstream from the site now interpreted by the state highway sign. Ms. Wegars agrees and hopes to obtain permission from the landowner to do some test digging at the new location. She may also return to the present site when the National Park Service installs a sprinkler system so that more of the subsurface can be examined.

CAPTAIN CLARK’S PLAN TO ENTER INTO THE HORSE TRADE BUSINESS

There seems to be some confusion among writers about Captain Clark’s plan for the horses he took with him from Travelers’ Rest near present Missoula, Montana to the Yellowstone River in 1806. The following is the account as recorded in Clark’s Journal:

July 3, 1806—(Travelers’ Rest) Clark with 20 men a woman and a child set out for the Yellowstone River with 50 horses (i.e., “49 horses and a colt.”).

July 7, 1806—(Big Hole Basin) the horses were scattered in the night (July 6-7). All but 9 horses were found on the 7th.

For 2 days men were sent out in search of the 9 lost horses.

July 9, 1806—(Camp Fortunate) Sergeant Ordway and three men rejoined the main party with the 9 horses that had been lost.

July 20, 1806—(Canoe Camp on the Yellowstone River) During the night (July 19-20) 24 horses disappeared.

For four days they searched for the 24 lost horses.

July 23, 1806—(still at Canoe Camp) Private Labiche concluded that the 24 missing horses had been stolen by Indians.

July 24, 1806—(mouth of Clark’s Fork of the Yellowstone) Sergeant Pryor and 3 privates set out across land to the Mandans with the remaining 26 horses.

Pryor’s orders were to take all (26) horses across land to the Mandans; take 12 or 14 horses to the Northwest post on the Assiniboine River in Canada; leave the rest of the horses with Black Cat, grand chief of the Mandans; at the Northwest post, Pryor was to give 3 horses to the free trader Hugh Heney. Pryor was to trade as many of the remaining horses as necessary for the merchandise the Expedition would be needing; any remaining horses (that had been taken to the Northwest post) were to be traded for goods that Mr. Heney would be needing for his work among the Sioux on behalf of the U.S. government.

One can only assume that the horses that were to be left at the Mandans with chief Black Cat were for Lewis and Clark to use for trading and as gifts when they arrived there. But Clark’s horse-trading plan was curtailed when all 26 horses were stolen from Pryor before he could get them to the Mandans.

Perhaps it was a blessing in disguise that Pryor’s party lost their horses to the Crow Indians; otherwise they may have lost their lives to the Assiniboines had they attempted to cross the Assiniboine country to trade at the Northwest post in Canada.
SEARCHING FOR CLARK’S NAME


The article, illustrated with three color photos by the author, tells of a visit to the Indian petroglyphs near Rulo, Nebraska by National Park Service personnel Tom Gilbert of Omaha, coordinator for the Lewis and Clark Historic Trail, and his assistant Rick Clark. (See WPO, Vol. 14, No. 1, February, 1988.) The two men were there as part of a recently funded project to locate Lewis and Clark sites in Nebraska. They were in search of Captain Clark’s signature mentioned in his journal entry for July 12, 1804. “I marked my name & day of the month near an Indian Mark or Image of animals & a boat…”

The project under which the two NPS men were working had been requested by U.S. Rep. Doug Bereuter of Utica, Nebraska and was authorized by Congress. It appropriated $25,000 “for improved markings of the trail at significant Lewis and Clark sites along the Missouri River in Nebraska.”

Gilbert and Clark were hosted on their visit to the petroglyphs by Mrs. Marjorie Surman, daughter of the landowners Mr. and Mrs. Elias Bachman, and her son Gene.

According to the article, this was the first of several planned journeys by the two men. They, along with the help of others, will be locating Lewis and Clark sites in Nebraska where significant signs should be placed in public access locations. The work will go on as long as the appropriated funds hold out.

Denney’s article points out that the first trip did not prove successful. Gilbert and Clark did not find Captain Clark’s signature; and they concluded that the Indian markings they observed were probably not those recorded by Captain Clark.

THE CHARBONNEAU FAMILY

There is good news for those who attended the Foundation’s 18th and 19th annual meetings and wondered where they could get copies of the addresses on the Charbonneau family prepared by Irving W. Anderson of Lake Oswego, Oregon. At last, A Charbonneau Family Portrait is available.

This 20-page booklet is a recent reprint by the Fort Clatsop Historical Association of Anderson’s article of the same name which appeared in American West Magazine, March/April 1980.

The booklet contains biographical sketches of Sacagawea, her husband Toussaint Charbonneau, and their son Jean Baptiste. Much of the material within the booklet was presented in 1986 by Anderson on the campus of the Lewis and Clark College during the Foundation’s 18th annual meeting in Portland; and again, material from the article was used by Anderson in preparing a paper on Jean Baptiste for the Foundation’s 19th annual meeting at Pompey’s Pillar. In the absence of Anderson, the Jean Baptiste paper was delivered by Tom Gilbert, Lewis and Clark Historic Trail coordinator for the National Park Service.

There were three maps, four photographs, two paintings reproduced in black and white, and a facsimile of a letter written by Jean Baptiste in 1848; in addition, Toussaint Charbonneau is believed to be one of the main characters in a reproduction of an 1833 painting by Swiss artist Karl Bodmer.

The booklet sells for $2 with a flat $2 charge for shipping. Send requests to Fort Clatsop Historical Association, Route 3, Box 604-FC, Astoria, Oregon 97103.

LEWIS’S DOG SEAMAN

Ballad of Seaman: Dog of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, by Christine Turpin Bramstedt. Stimark Publications, Alton, IL.

Christine Turpin Bramstedt wanted something new to spark her fourth-grade students’ interest in Lewis and Clark. There’s nothing children like better than a dog and a song, so she combined the two in Ballad of Seaman: Dog of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

This 23-page soft cover book with its black and white illustrations tells the story of the Expedition through the exploits of Lewis’ Newfoundland dog Seaman. The story is written in rhyme, and each page is a verse which may be sung to the melody Bramstedt has also composed and is printed on the back of the book. Also included is a copy of Clark’s sketch map showing Seaman’s Creek (present-day Monture Creek) which Donald Jackson first identified as having been named for Lewis’ dog.

Bramstedt has researched her subject carefully. Seaman emerges as a member of the Expedition valued as a loyal companion, camp guard, hunter, and goodwill ambassador. No one actually knows the fate of Seaman. The last mention of him in the journal is on the return trip near Great Falls. Reasoning that if he had perished it would assuredly have warranted a journal comment, Bramstedt returns Seaman safely with the rest of the members from their historic journey.

Copies may be obtained for $4 each by writing Stimark Publications, 2322 Briar Cliff, Alton, IL 62002. A tape is also available for $2. Whether you choose to read it or sing it, children and adults alike will find this a doggone charming book!

MARILYN CLARK
Helena, Montana
Young Adults Committee
BOOK REVIEW


"This little fleet altho' not quite so respectable as those of Columbus or Capt. Cook were still viewed by us with as much pleasure as those deservedly famed adventurers ever beheld theirs ... we were now about to penetrate a country at least two thousand miles in width, on which the foot of civilized man had never trodden."

At last! The Lewis and Clark Expedition is in Montana! With these words Meriwether Lewis said goodbye to North Dakota, where the Expedition had spent the frigid winter of 1804-1805. Back down the Missouri went Corporal Richard War­ffington with a barge of specimens and the geography of this western part of the Missouri, penetrated a country at least two thousand miles in width, on which the foot of civilized man had never trodden."

Volume 4 of Editor Gary Moulton's modern and magnificent arrangement of the writings of Lewis and Clark carries the Expedition from Fort Mandan to the Three Forks of the Missouri, "an essential point in the geography of this western part of the Continent." It has all the virtues of its predecessors—scholarly accuracy, day-by-day journals and courses, and superb annotation. In all, I count 751 explanatory notes—an average of 6.2 per day. Since these editorial achievements have been highly praised by previous reviewers (WPO, Vol. 13, 1 [February 1987], 9-10, and Vol. 13, 4 [November 1987], 30-31), we may acknowledge them silently but no less admiringly and emphasize instead the human story they help to tell—the drama, the decisions, and the might-have-beens of history.

The first surprise to the modern reader, accustomed to floating down rivers not battling upstream, is the speed of the party and the distances it traveled. Between Fort Mandan and the Marias River, against the mighty Missouri in the full torrent of spring runoff, the "little fleet" of two pirogues and six dugout canoes came 884 miles in 54 travelling days. Towing, rowing, poling and sailing more than 16 miles per day kept the Expedition on its optimistic timetable of reaching the Pacific and returning to a point east of the Divide in one season. Admittedly, the Captains' reckonings are generous, perhaps by 25 percent, and we badly need a tabular comparison of estimated vs actual distances.

Reading the Journals anew, we relive the excitement of the Expedition's escapades: its discovery of the confluence of the Yellowstone; its encounters in Montana with Ursus horribilis, the grizzly bear; the capsizing of the white pirogue with possible literary losses; the prolificacy of wild game and one rampaging buffalo; the 'seen of visionary enchantment' in the White Cliffs area, still exhibiting "a most romantic appearance."

But speed, distance, and romance all came to an abrupt halt at the mouth of the Marias River on June 3, 1805. In the next 42 days the Expedition covered just 95 miles. Not until mid-July did the Corps of Discovery resume its march upriver, now chas­tened by the portage, and desperate.

Meriwether Lewis's imagination soared at the White Cliffs and the Great Falls; let ours be beguiled by speculation. What if the Expedition had in fact taken the north fork? Today, its waters restrained by Tiber Dam and in a far dryer climatic cycle, the Marias poses no choice at all. But Lewis and Clark were too good as explorers not to have discovered Marias Pass and visited Flathead Lake. What if the Shoshones had been buffalo­hunting at the Falls? From information gathered at Fort Mandan they might have been there; both Lewis and Clark mention the possibility. Would the Expedition have divided on the way out, instead of the way back, in order to fulfill both ends of Thomas Jefferson's contradictory instructions—to trace the Missouri to its source and find the shortest passage across the Rockies? What if Sac­cagawea had died at the Marias? She was deathly ill and Clark feared for her life. Would the explorers have been so anxious to locate the Sho­shone?

It is a tribute to the style of the Captains' writing and to the quality of this edition that the journey loses none of its fascination in the retelling. Like Meriwether Lewis, we are "mortified" when his leather boat "leaked in such manner that she would not answer." Our feet hurt with William Clark's, "very much brused & cut walking over the flint, & constantly Stuck full Prickle pear thorns, I puled out 17 by the light of the fire to night." And we wonder with them both—where are the Indians?

This is not idle curiosity. Lewis felt "considerable anxiety with respect to the Snake Indians, if we do not find them ... I fear the successfull issue of our voyage will be very doubtful." But here the volume stops. It's the Richard Windsor ending: what a cliff­hanger!

Harry W. Fritz
University of Montana
Missoula, Montana

BOOK NOTES


A brilliant analysis of the life and thought of America's most wide­ranging philosopher. Miller uses the Enlightenment concept of nature to explain Jefferson's preoccupation with the American West. The Lewis and Clark Expedition, writes Miller, "marks the widest compass of Jef­ferson's life with nature."
This experimental burning of an earthlodge done in the winter of 1978 was a replication of the 1839 burning of a Mandan village. [See story, page 11.]