CONTINENTAL DIVIDE AT LEMHI PASS
MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT NELL

The officers and directors extend a hearty invitation to all Foundation members to attend the Foundation’s 21st annual meeting August 3-6, 1989. Come and enjoy the companionship of Lewis and Clark bulls from around the country for an exciting time of fun, education and entertainment.

Registration begins at noon, August 3, in the Student Union Building, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana. That evening there will be a mixer and a display of artists’ and authors’ materials, as well as chapter booths.

The annual meeting formally opens August 4, 1989, at 8 a.m. followed by three full days on the Lewis and Clark Trail. Although this means extensive bus travel, there will be local historians on each bus with an exceptional Lewis and Clark narrative about the area we will be covering.

There continues to be a growing interest in our Foundation; our membership is increasing quarterly; and new chapters are being formed. Several Lewis and Clark interpretive centers, both large and small, are in the planning stages with 1992 apparently as the project completion date for three major centers. We will keep

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

Membership in the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. is open to the general public. Information and an application are available by sending a request to: Membership Secretary, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., P.O. Box 2643, Great Falls, MT 59403.

We Proceeded On, the quarterly magazine of the Foundation is mailed to our current members during the months of February, May, August, and November.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES*

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* For foreign memberships add: $5/year in Canada; $10/year in Europe; and $15/year in Asia, Australia and New Zealand.

** Please indicate grade and school when applying.
you posted as plans progress.

Members who feel they would like to become more involved in the operation of the Foundation, are invited to contact president-elect Robert Doerk, Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403, or see him at the annual meeting regarding your interests and a possible committee appointment. With the exception of a small stipend for our editor, we all serve for the enjoyment we receive in helping preserve the heritage of our country's greatest land exploration.

We have several projects in the wind relating to materials for schools and libraries. It is our hope that these materials will present an accurate account of the Expedition to many people at a reasonable cost. Several of these projects are dependent upon grants. If you know of any possible grants, or if you would like to learn more about how you can participate in these projects, please contact any Foundation director.

I would like to remind Foundation members of our temporary archives at the C. M. Russell Museum in Great Falls, Montana, and welcome any Lewis and Clark materials you would like to deposit. I would especially like to remind the scholars who have volumes of notes and papers that your heirs may appreciate your wishes as to how to best dispose of your valuable historical items.

See you all in Bozeman August 3-6.

Respectfully,
DON NELL, President

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THE COVER PHOTO...

This 1981 photo by Bob Saindon was taken at Lemhi Pass in the Bitterroot Mountains on the present Montana/Idaho border. The view is to the west, from the very place Captain Meriwether Lewis, George Dreyer, and Private John Shields and Hugh McNeal crossed the Continental Divide, August 12, 1805.

The four men had gone ahead of the main party of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in search of Shoshone Indians. On this day, they reach what Captain Lewis believed to be "the most distant fountain of the waters of the Mighty Missouri." He went on to say that after they refreshed themselves with this "pure and ice-cold water... [they] proceeded on to the top of the dividing ridge, from which [they] discovered immense ranges of high mountains still to the West of us with their tops partially covered with snow."
The pass over the "dividing ridge," later named "Lemhi Pass," was commonly used by the Shoshone Indians who migrated annually from the rivers west of the Divide, where they fished in the summer, to the plains of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, where they hunted buffalo in the fall and winter.

The day before arriving at the Divide, McNeal was ordered to carry the U.S. flag on a pole, and plant it in the ground wherever they halted or encamped. We can assume that he was still carrying it as the four men crossed the Divide onto foreign soil. In any case, they were the first Americans to carry our country's flag over the Divide.

Historic Lemhi Pass and the "most distant fountain" are two of the featured sites to be visited during the Foundation's twenty-first annual meeting, August 3-6, 1989, in Bozeman, Montana.

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PROGRAM

L & C AT THE HEADWATERS
21ST ANNUAL MEETING
LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.
Bozeman, MT, August 3-6 1989

Thursday - 8/3/89
9:30 am - 5:00 pm Directors' Meeting
12:00 noon - 9:00 pm Registration, Strand Union Bldg., MSU Mixer; Artists, Authors and Chapter Booths
6:00 pm - 8:00 pm Annual meeting regarding your interests relating to our editor, we all serve for the enjoyment we receive in helping preserve the heritage of our country's greatest land exploration.

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EDITOR'S NOTE:

This is the first in a two-part review of the military justice administered on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Here Robert Hunt reminds the reader of the instructions given to Lewis and Clark with regard to how to carry out military affairs. He then describes the operative Articles of War for that period, and explains how the Articles were treated by the two captains. In part two of "Crime and Punishment," which will appear in the August 1989 issue of WPO, the author will continue to discuss the officers' application of the Articles of War. Items to be discussed include the promotion of Patrick Gass, the military discharges, the legality of the Expedition's courts, the punishments administered, the formal filing of the courts-martial, and the changes that took place beyond Fort Mandan with regard to discipline.

Foundation members who were privileged to hear Jim Ronda's address at the 20th annual meeting in Bismarck will recall his vivid description of the men being assembled at Camp Dubois in early 1804—"...a wild bunch of hard drinking, brawling, and insubordinate rowdies...(a) passel of rough and tumble galoots..." Ronda notes that in the shakedown, shape-up process of bringing this motley crew into "a most perfect harmony," the captains "envisioned the Expedition...as an infantry company..." Such "vision" should, of course, be expected. The Corps of Discovery was after all a detachment of the United States Army. All soldiers in the party were required upon entry into the service to acknowledge the explicit authority of the Articles of War over their conduct.

Lewis had his own personal "vision" of the Articles enhanced earlier in his career. As an ensign in 1795 at Greenville, Ohio, he was charged by a fellow officer with misconduct. Lewis was arrested and made to stand trial before a court-martial lasting seven days. Though he was "acquitted with honor" and "liberated from arrest" by the court, such an encounter must
have made the young officer acutely aware of the impact of the Articles of War in military life. Dr. E. G. Chulnad notes in his admirable discussion of this incident that if Lewis had been found guilty by the court his entire career could have been jeopardized. "It would have been unthinkable to have entrusted the leadership of the Expedition to an officer who had been determined guilty by court-martial for lack of military discipline." It is no surprise then that Lewis especially envisioned the Articles while forming up his expeditionary command.

Having been on the receiving end of the Articles in 1795, Lewis finds himself on the giving end, in a big way, nine years later at Camp Dubois. Confronted with the misconduct of this "passel of rough and tumble galoots," Lewis and Clark have to deal with almost every crime in the book. Their view of "an infantry company dictated by the Articles of War," comes to include: absence without leave; drunkenness; fighting, brawling; theft; desertion; threatened violence toward a superior; disobedience, disrespect to orders of the commanders; inciting disorder and faction; sleeping on the post; mutiny; violating security.

We count no less than sixteen different members of the party who are subjected in the first year to military discipline (four of them as recidivists), either through "court-martial" proceedings or on officer orders. There are at least six different occasions when the Articles are specifically cited or referenced in expeditionary documents. Four such occasions are in records of separate court-martial trials. A fifth reference, in the handwriting of Clark, appears, curiously enough, as a kind of scribbling, or doodling, alongside a sketch of the white plume, in the Field Notes (ca., April 12, 1804). It reads:

No man is to absent himself from Camp on any pretence whatever without permission from the Comdg. officer present, under the pain of punishment agreeable to the rules & articles of War for Disobedience of Orders; the guard shall Strictly attend to former Orders without the Smallest Variation.

However, by far the most revealing reference, is in the same Field Notes (i.e., Dubois Journal), presumably written about January 21, 1804. This writing must be studied carefully in order to understand the dilemmas facing the captains. It reads as follows:

Supposing the party to Consist of 2 Intptrs 4 Non Comd. officers and 21 men and the rules to be observed is Strictly such as Cap. L & C shall from time establish, and a violation or Disobedience shall be Subject to Such punishment as directed by the articles of War in like Cases and Such other punishments, as Shall be inflicted by the Sentence of a Court Martial, which "Shall" are to be formed in the following manner, Viz: one Intptir or Sergt. In act as president.
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Thus, we see the first attempt to conduct a court-martial and implement "punishment as directed by the articles of War" simultaneously with a review of the actual Articles of War and such others as may be established by the said Capt. L. & C. From time to time.  

Written just a few weeks after the men began to arrive at Camp Dubois, this memoir summarizes the way in which the captains propose to address any wrongdoing in their command. They had already been confronted with cases of AWOL, drunkenness, fighting, and a lack of discipline. Apparently they had seen enough to know that discipline was to be a major problem, and they must be ready to administer it firmly, without hesitancy or any uncertainty. Within two months of the date of this writing, the first formal "court-martial" took place. On March 29, 1804, Clark notes: "Tried Seven men for misconduct... we have a trial of John Shields, John Colter and R. Frasure which take up the greater part of the day..." He adds: "I [loaded] a small pr Pistols to [prevent] the [consignments?] which may arrive this evening in enforcing our regulation & not to do Injury..." Thus, we see the first attempt to conduct a court-martial and implement "punishment as directed by the articles of War" simultaneously with a record that the trial officer feels compelled to keep loaded pistols at the ready!

This first court-martial and all of the six other similar proceedings reported in Expedition records, meet the specifications outlined in Clark's memoir of Jan. 21, 1804, quoted above. However, a review of the actual Articles of War compels us to believe that all such courts-martial were illegal. Under the provisions of the then-existing Articles, such courts could not have been legally constituted and could not possibly have acted "agreeable to the rules and regulations of the Articles..." Clark's memoir raises the question as to what, exactly, was the authority given to the captains.

We must begin at the beginning: President Jefferson as commander-in-chief of the military forces, gave instructions to Lewis at the outset of his mission. These instructions state that the Secretary of War (Henry Dearborn) will give Lewis "authority to engage among our troops, by voluntary agreement," a stated number of attendants. As the commanding officer over such men, Lewis is "invested with all the powers the laws give in such a case." Neither the President nor the Secretary of War could grant any more authority than that permitted by the Constitution and the laws governing such matters as laid down by the Congress.

To understand the disciplinary powers available to Lewis and Clark we must turn to the Articles of War, the document in which Congress had spelled out the applicable rules. The effective Articles had existed substantially unchanged since the birth of the nation. They had been prepared largely through the efforts of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson who composed a committee of the Continental Congress for this purpose. Derived from the corresponding British Articles, the U.S. Articles were adopted as the "Code of September 20, 1776"; the section of that code relating to military tribunals was later repealed and replaced by a new section under a resolution of Congress dated May 31, 1786. After adoption of the Constitution, the Articles in effect were (by the Act of September 29, 1789) recognized as the established law governing the Armies of the United States.

These Articles continued in effect until repealed and replaced by a new code in the Act of April 10, 1806, after the disciplinary situations recorded on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Thus, the provisions of the Articles of War in effect between September 29, 1789 and April 10, 1806, are where we find the authority by which courts-martial at the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition could be assembled and could act. It is here that we learn how they would be constituted; what offenses were recognized; what punishments could be sentenced, and other rules and regulations for governing military units. In short, the authority was "all the powers the laws give in such cases," as Jefferson stated in his instructions to Lewis.

Did the captains even have a copy of the Articles in their possession while at Camp Dubois, or carry a copy with them on the Expedition? We are not aware of any such document being listed among the various itemizations of their inventory or baggage. Yet we seem obliged to assume that they did have it in hand, for one procedure at least. Reference to the Articles was required whenever any soldier was enlisted in the service. Section III, Article 1 states that "every non-commissioned officer and soldier, who shall enlist himself in the service of the United States, shall at the time of his so enlisting or within six days afterwards, have the Articles for the
government of the forces of the United States read to him..." and shall take an oath in form specified, swearing (or affirming) to be "true to the United States," and to obey the orders of the officers set over him.

Detachment orders of the Expedition dated April 1, 1804, disclose that the commanding officers "take the necessary enlistments" for the permanent party. 10 It is not clear whether this taking of enlistments involved all of the men designated for the permanent party, including those who had already been inducted into military service elsewhere and reassigned to Camp Dubois, or only the new recruits who had not yet been "sworn in" to active duty as soldiers of the United States. For the latter at least this would have been the original enlistment and the reading of the Articles of War would have been required protocol. Robert Frazier was "enlisted" October 8, 1804, having already been a Private on duty with Corporal Warffington's accompanying contingent. And while at the Mandan Villages (Nov. 2 or 3, 1804, Baptiste LePage was enlisted to take the place of the "disbanded" Newman. If these enlistments complied with Section III Article 1, quoted above, a reading of the Articles of War was necessary.

In addition, it was required that the Articles be regularly and routinely brought to the attention of all soldiers in service wherever assigned. Section XVIII Article 1 specified that the "...Articles are to be read and published once in every two months, at the head of every regiment, troop or company mustered, or to be mustered in the service of the United States; and are to be duly observed and exactly obeyed by all officers and soldiers who are or shall be in the said service." We know of no evidence that the captains literally complied with this. It is hard to imagine such compliance every two months during the arduous toils and hardships of the Corps, particularly on the return journey.

Moreover, if the Articles had indeed been read or published at the prescribed intervals, any of the more literal-minded or legalistic members of the group would sooner or later have wondered about the disciplinary measures being applied. They might have been particularly curious about the detachment orders appointing the various courts-martial. They could have reached the conclusion that these courts-martial did not comply with the Articles of War and were thus illegal, and they would have been entitled to such conclusions. Under the circumstances of the Expedition, a court-martial as conceived in the Articles could not possibly have been constituted. The pertinent section then governing the "Administration of Justice" in the forces of the United States was Section XIV:

Administration of Justice

Article 1. General courts-martial may consist of any number of commissioned officers from 5 to 13 inclu-
Thus, when they "edit" or "rewrite" the Articles, the court must be able to the Articles. Then there is also the curious omission of a reference to the trial of Reed for desertion, a major capital offense. As Editor Moulton notes, "the official record of this trial does not appear in the Orderly Book or elsewhere." Furthermore, Moulton points out that the sentences relating to Reed's trial and punishment are crossed out. No account of the episode appears in the narrative of the day in Biddle's History." About Reed's subsequent possible involvement in Newman's mutiny, Moulton notes that since Reed "had been dishonorably discharged, the captains may have doubted their legal authority to punish him."18

It seems evident from the above that the captains were knowingly steering through legal eddies and currents as treacherous as those encountered on the River! They had to maintain discipline and administer justice with no appropriate navigational aids adapted to the special needs of their voyage. They had to rely instead on dead reckoning without regard for possible challenges during or after their travels, either by superiors or subordinates who might be profoundly affected by their decisions. Had their voyage occurred a few years later, when times became more litigious, they could have been met on homecoming at the docks in St. Louis by grievance-seeking lawyers—"ambulance chasers" in today's parlance—who might already have latched on to the outcast Willard and Reed and would be looking as well for others in the party bearing scars of lashes on their backs inflicted by illegal courts and unauthorized orders. 19 Persuasive lawyer-talk with any such men who might be nursing grievances from the voyage could well have produced causes of actions in the courts, with unimaginable

But, as we shall see in the next segment of this study such lawyers would not have fared well with the men of the returning party.

NOTES

2. The Articles of War as discussed in this paper appear in "A Treatise on the Military Law of the United States" by Brigadier-General George B. Davis, Judge Advocate General, U.S.A., Second Edition Revised, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1906., hereinafter cited as Davis. Reference to the Articles as such will be cited for example as "AW §I, A1".


4. E.G. Chulnard, "The Court Martial of Ensign Meriwether Lewis." We Proceeded On November: 1982, p. 12, et seq. Dr. Chulnard's valuable article is essential reading as background for this subject, though there are two notes therein which require further comment: (1) It is suggested (p. 15) that if Lewis had been found guilty as charged he would have borne "the marks of lashes on his back from a military flogging." But Lewis as an officer could not have been flogged; his punishment as specifically designated in §VII, A 2, would have been "being cashiered," i.e. dishonorably dismissed from the service. (2) Dr. Chulnard cites (n. 25, p. 15) A Manual of Courts-Martial Practice and Appeal by Benjamin Field as specifying requirements for composition and "details" for courts. However, the provisions of this manual were not applicable at the time of the Expedition, as will be further discussed herein. For discussion of Lewis's court-martial see also Richard Dillon, Meriwether Lewis, a Biography, New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1965.

5. Moulton, Gary E., Editor. The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London: 2:196. (Hereinafter cited as Moulton.)


7. Ibid. Vol. 2:183. Editor Moulton notes with respect to this entry that it "is exceptionally hard to read, for it not only is crossed out but lies in a crease in the page. Apparently the captains anticipated some trouble with the men, either over the announcement of the verdict of the court-martial or over the stealing of goods from the supplies due to be delivered that evening. Clark may have crossed the passage out after the trouble failed to materialize. Osgood [FN], 29 n. 9."


10. Moulton. 2:187 et. seq.

11. Ibid. 2:370

12. Ibid. 2:170

13. Ibid. 2:488

14. Ibid. 2:339


16. Clark's Field Notes [ca., April 12, 1804]. Similarly, the orders of June 29, 1804, appointing a court to try Collins and Hall, refer to charges "agreeable to the Articles of War" (Moulton, 2:329). In the order recording Newman's trial, the "court" sentences him "agreeably to the rules and articles of war", also in this case the required reference to the specific section and article (under which the accused is tried) is conspicuously left blank. (Moulton, Vol. III p. 170).

17. Ibid. 2:490, n. 2, 5.

18. Ibid. 2:520


ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Foundation member Robert R. Hunt, who retired from Seattle Trust and Savings Bank in 1987, is no stranger to readers of WPO. His byline has appeared on several well-researched and intriguing articles relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S LETTER OF CREDIT: WHY SO MANY COPIES?

At least three copies of this letter of credit appear to have been made, all of them in Jefferson's handwriting. We follow, as stated, the manuscript in the Jefferson Papers—probably the original draft; another copy was found among the papers of Clark, and is now [1905] the property of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis, of New York City; another, "resurrected at Helena, Mont...scarcely with age, missshapen with numerous foldings, and 'dog-eared' from the treatment of not quite a century," was published first in the Seattle (Washington), *Post-Intelligencer*, and therefrom into *Lewisiana* (Guilford, Conn.) for September, 1895. The last named is facsimiled in Wheeler, *On the Trail of Lewis and Clark*, p. 41, and may have been the copy carried by Lewis.

Because there are several intriguing qualities about this unique letter of credit, Dr. Thwaites' footnote becomes worthy of further examination. The letter of credit was not merely written by President Jefferson, it happened to be written on a day that was very dear to him, July 4th. It was also written on the very day that the *National Intelligencer* announced to the nation the momentous news that the United States had purchased the Territory of Louisiana. Furthermore, this letter of credit was, as Elliott Coues wrote in 1893, "the most comprehensive letter of credit ever handed to any individuals." 2 Olin D. Wheeler, writing in 1904, called it a "far-sighted action" by the President. Wheeler added: "...it might have proved of untold benefit. As a credential, simply, what could have been better, and certainly a paper of this nature in the handwriting of the President of the United States was a very proper document for the expedition to possess."

But Dr. Thwaites declared in his footnote that there were "at least three copies of this letter of credit." Why three copies? It doesn't seem like President Jefferson would chance having copies of this extraordinary carte blanche in such numbers as to risk

BY BOB SAINDON

There is an interesting footnote by Rueben G. Thwaites in volume seven of the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. The reference is to President Jefferson's letter of credit to Meriwether Lewis. A document upon which Lewis could draw an unlimited amount of credit on the United States Government, should he need it once he reached the West coast and found ships that could be hired to return all or part of the Expedition members to the U.S. The footnote reads:

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it being seen by his political adversaries.

In identifying three copies of the letter of credit, Thwaites is not counting the rough draft which is also in the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress (it varies slightly from the final draft and has interlineations and erasures). What Thwaites seems to be saying is that there are at least two "press" copies in addition to the original final draft. We can assume that the original was given to Captain Lewis.

In 1962, Dr. Donald Jackson published Jefferson's letter of credit with a footnote stating that there exists three "press" copies of the letter in addition to the rough draft and the original final draft. Besides the copies referred to by Thwaites, Jackson states that there is a "press" copy at the Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H.

In the May/June 1970 issue of Montana Post, the newsletter of the Montana Historical Society, we find an article titled "In Port Townsend, Washington Library: Jefferson's Letter of Credit to His Captain." The article contends that the Port Townsend Library has "at least a 'press' copy," and maybe the original.

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**Letter:**

Dear Sir,

Washington, D.C., America, July 6, 1803.

In the journey which you are about to undertake for the discovery of the sources and sources of the Mississippi and of the most convenient water communication from hence to the Pacific Ocean, your party being small, it is to be expected that you will encounter considerable dangers from the Indian inhabitants, should you escape those dangers and reach the Pacific Ocean, you may find it inconvenient to hazard a return the same way, and be forced to seek a refuge round by sea in such vessels as you may find on the Western coast, but you will be without money, without clothes and other necessaries; as no sufficient supply can be carried with you from hence, your resources in that case can only be in the credit of the U.S. for which purpose I hereby authorize you to draw on the Secretary of State, of the Treasury, of War, or the Navy of the U.S., according as you may need your draughts will be most acceptable, for the purpose of obtaining money or necessaries for yourself and your men: and I solemnly pledge the faith of the United States that these draughts shall be paid punctually at the date they are made payable. I also ask of the council agents merchants merchants, and merchants of any nation with whom we have intercourse or immunity to furnish you with these supplies which your necessities may call for, assuring them, I honorable and prompt restitution, and our own Council in foreign posts where you may happen to be, and hereby instruct you required to be aiding and assisting you in whatsoever may be necessary for providing your return back to the United States. And to give you the entire satisfaction and confidence to them. This may be directed to aid you, I Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, have written this letter of general credit with my own hand, and signed it with my name.

To Capt. Meriwether Lewis.

[Signature]

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carried by Lewis on the Expedition.

Wow! This certainly gets one wondering... just how many copies did Jefferson crank out, and why?

It is well known that Thomas Jefferson used a polygraph machine when writing letters so that he could be producing one or more copies at the same time he was writing the original. My first thought was that Jefferson had made copies of the letter of credit with his polygraph. However, Donald Jackson points out that Jefferson did not begin to use his famous polygraph machine until 1804—the year after the letter of credit was written.

Jackson describes President Jefferson's method of reproducing his letters prior to 1804 as follows: "Jefferson's file copies before 1804 are letterpress copies, made by transferring the image under pressure to a sheet of dampened tissue. They often are badly blurred."5

In an attempt to solve the mystery of all the copies of President Jefferson's famous letter of credit, I first went to the Montana Historical Society and met with archivist Sue Jackson. She graciously showed me the file containing their material on Jefferson's letter of credit. What was there was a photographic negative of the letter, a couple of photos made from the negative, and a copy that looks like it was done using the blueprint process once used by architects. It was quite obvious to me that there was no original or "press" copy of Jefferson's letter of credit at the Montana Historical Society. Ms. Jackson told me that the Society had no record showing who donated the material or when it was donated. She also said she had no knowledge of the Society ever claiming to own an original or "press" copy of Jefferson's letter of credit.

I next went to Brian Cockhill, former archivist at the Society, who also told me that he was never under the impression that the Society possessed the original or even a "press" copy of Lewis's letter of credit.

In his footnote, Thwaites declared that the letter of credit in the Montana Historical Society is "fac-similied" in Wheeler's On the Trail of Lewis and Clark. Since Wheeler and Thwaites were colleagues and communicated with regard to material relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, one can only assume that Thwaites knew what he was talking about. However, Wheeler didn't credit the Montana Historical Society for anything in his two-volume publication, nor did he mention in that publication that he believed the Montana Historical Society had the original letter of credit, or even a "press" copy.

Thwaites's reference to an article in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer leads one to believe that he was misled by inaccurate information. The article which appeared in the July 4, 1895, issue of that newspaper was picked up and printed by many newspapers around the country. In short, the article rather dramatically relates, with more form than fact, how a "commercial traveler" came to Helena, Montana, and while in the First National Bank showed a dilapidated letter which he had found among some old papers. "How it got there he did not know." The letter was recognized by T. H. Kleinschmidt, one of the cashiers, as an important Lewis and Clark document, and he tried to buy it from the stranger. The fanciful newspaper article went on to say that the stranger asked permission to leave his papers at the bank while he went to get

The July 4th was an important day in the life of Thomas Jefferson. It was on this day that his Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776; the Louisiana Purchase was announced to the public on this day in 1803; he wrote an unprecedented letter of credit for Meriwether Lewis also on this day in 1803; and he died on this day in 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.
some lunch. Kleinschmidt took advantage of the situation, according to the article, and as soon as the stranger was out of sight he grabbed the document and ran to a local photographer to have it photographed. The story states that only two photos were made from the negative—one of which was on display in the office of the Post-Intelligencer.

When this curious article was brought to the attention of T. H. Kleinschmidt, he wrote a more accurate account for the Seattle newspaper. It was published on September 1, 1895. (Thwaites probably never saw this version of the story.) Kleinschmidt took a great deal of drama out of the original story, and in the process ruined a perfectly good mystery.

It seems that the "commercial traveler" was no less than a "relative of the original Clark [i.e., Captain William Clark], a gentleman who on a visit at Helena left the same [the letter] in my charge during lunch hour. Mr. Clarke was a guest of Mr. Hauser [ex-governor], and a little before the noon meal time Mr. Clarke showed me this letter, and knowing its value I requested liberty to get a copy, which was granted."

It is very possible that the photo negative and photographs now at the Montana Historical Society are those taken from "Mr. Clarke's" original.

The letter of credit story, at least the Helena aspect, becomes clearer when one understands that upon the death of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark took possession of all the Expedition papers. When Clark turned the job of preparing the narrative of the Expedition over to Nicholas Biddle, he gave Biddle only those journals that would be needed to write the narrative and scientific aspect of the Expedition. Clark kept all other journals and documents. It is most likely that the letter of credit that "Mr. Clarke" had in Helena, Montana, in 1895 was Lewis's original letter of credit, which was part of the surplus papers Captain Clark had withheld. It is no doubt also the letter of credit that is in the Clark papers at the Missouri Historical Society today.

The mysterious letter in the Port Townsend Library has been checked for authenticity since the article appeared in Montana Post, and it too was found to be no more than a mere copy.

Finally, there was the copy in the Dartmouth College Library in Hampton, New Hampshire to be checked. A phone call to the special collections librarian revealed that the copy there is merely a photograph of the original that the library obtained from the Missouri Historical Society.

The circulation of Jefferson's unique and unprecedented letter of credit was, therefore, very restricted. It was never in any danger of falling into the hands of political adversaries who were opposed not only to the meager $2500 which Congress appropriated for Expedition, but were opposed to the very concept of a Corps of Western Discovery.

At least for now, it appears that Jefferson saved the original rough draft of his letter of credit, made only one "press" copy of the final draft for his own file, and gave the original to Meriwether Lewis.

REFERENCES

5. Jackson. 1x.
THE MUSES SPEAK OF LEWIS & CLARK

BY WALTER MARX

With the same lovable genius thy Lewis ascended;
And tearing the car of the sun,
Over the thy-propping hills of high waters he bounds,
And gives the proud earth a new zone.

Potomac, Ohio; Missouri had felt
Half her globe in one ribbon compressed;
His long curving course has completed the belt,
And turned the last tide of the west.

Within four months of his return to the United States from his historic trans-Mississippi expedition, Meriwether Lewis was immortalized in the poetry of a renowned American litterateur, a poet who himself played a significant role in American history. He earned the respect of Thomas Jefferson, and served as a Minister to France under President James Madison. Although he cherished his tribute to Meriwether Lewis, the poem unfortunately became hidden from the public — until now.

If one looks into the subject of our infant nation’s war with the Barbary States of North Africa (an item too easily dismissed in history books despite its parallels with the current hostage problem) he comes upon the name of a Connecticut Yankee, Joel Barlow, a confident American in a young America. Barlow had been appointed U. S. Consul to Algiers in 1795 and spent the next ten years in striking treaties with the states of Barbary via diplomacy or naval force. When not doing this, he was occupied in arranging payments for freeing hostages taken off commercial ships by the Barbary pirates for ransom.

In looking further into this person one comes upon an extraordinary author. His most personal poem is a merry mock epic in praise of the Yankee dish of corn meal and molasses known as Hasty Pudding, written in 368 verses in 1793 and published in 1796. It was inspired when the homesick Barlow was served a similar dish in the southeastern corner of France while standing as a deputy to the French Convention from Savoy. He did not win but stayed on as an eyewitness to the French Revolution, and his poem was reprinted into the 1850s.

Barlow’s masterpiece was his massive Columbiad in nearly 8000 couplets, published in 1807, and was a reworking of his earlier Vision of Columbus, a panegyric of America in 5000-plus lines, first published in 1787. When not joined officially to the destinies of his young country, this idealistic and romantic Yankee lived by his pen on items of the day, even joining with steamboat inventor Fulton on a poem for the Erie Canal. Barlow knew he was living in times that were making exciting history and he was part of them.

When Napoleon began his advance into Russia, Barlow penned his Advice To a Raven in Russia. Fulton was to have published Barlow’s complete works, but they have never seen light together and are scattered.

This eyewitness to history was born in the farming community of Redding, Connecticut, in 1753 and interrupted his college career at Yale to fight on Long Island in 1776. At his graduation two years later he read his first long poem and broke out into diverse activities: managing business, teaching school, practicing law, and being chaplain to the Fourth Massachusetts Brigade. He became associated with the noted “Connecticut Wits” of early American literature but soon after the establishment of the United States went to Europe for the Ohio Company.

When that failed, he turned to a living with his pen and became famous in France and England. Because of efforts of a fellow Connecticut wit, David Humphry, he got his Algerian appointment and managed all tasks masterfully. With the Barbary question
settled and with a keen knowledge of Europe, he returned to the Washington of Jefferson and Madison from 1805 to 1811. At Jefferson's suggestion he began to write a prose history of the new republic just as President Madison appointed him Minister to France and asked him to intercede with Napoleon about American commerce. Barlow was to meet the First Emperor at Wilna, Poland, late in 1812, but after news of the famed French retreat from Moscow he turned back to Warsaw en route to Paris. Outside Cracow he fell seriously ill and died on Christmas Eve 1812. Despite efforts to bring him home he still lies buried in Poland.

Readers will surmise that Barlow had something to say poetically about the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Not surprisingly, Barlow was up-to-date about the post-Expedition fallout, and on January 12, 1807, wrote President Jefferson a letter urging the renaming of the Columbia River after Lewis and "one of its principal branches" after Clark, just as Canada's great western stream had been named after her transcontinental discoverer, Alexander MacKenzie. This action, he suggested, could be taken in a Congressional resolution that would also grant "a reward to these meritorious discoverers" and thus there would be less geographical confusion.

The two-page letter in the Jonathan Smith Papers in the Library of Congress is on thin paper with corrections and will eventually be published with annotations in the Papers of Thomas Jefferson series being done under the auspices of the Princeton University Press since 1950. However, there is no infringement of copyright in quoting the entire two-page poem which Barlow enclosed with the letter to Jefferson. It is the first time that it has seen print as far as this writer knows.

NOTES
2. First published by T. & S. Green, New Haven, 1788
3. The first canto is often found in anthologies, e. g., The Oxford Book of American Verse, ed. P. O. Mathiessen, Oxford, 1932, pp. 41-47.
7. The series is now up to the year 1792 in its 22nd volume (1986).
8. V. L.Paddington, op. cit., p. 331

ABOUT THE AUTHOR
Walter Marx is a Foundation member on the East Coast. He has written for WPO on the Expedition's materials in Boston (August 1986); as a classicist, he wrote on the Latin portions of the 1814 Biddle edition of the Expedition narrative (October 1985); and he also wrote an article for WPO on the Greek connection of Thomas Jefferson's tombstone (July 1805). Here again he has turned to the Expedition's East Coast echoes.

ON THE DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN LEWIS

BY JOEL BARLOW

Let the Nile cloak his head in the clouds and defy the researches of science and time;
Let the Niger escape the keen traveller's eye
by plunging or changing his clime.

Columbus! not so shall thy boundless domain
defraud thy brave sons of their right:
Streams, midlands, and shorelands illude us in vain;
we shall drag their dark regions to light.

Look down, sainted sage, from thy synod of gods;
see, inspired by thy venturous soul,
MacKenzie roll northward his earth-draining floods
and surge the broad waves to the Pole.

With the same soaring genius thy Lewis ascends,
and, seizing the car of the sun,
O'er the sky-propping hills & high waters he bends
and gives the proud earth a new zone.

Potomac, Ohio, Missouri had felt
half her globe in one ribbon compress;
His long-curving course has completed the belt
and famed the last Tide of the West.

Then hear the loud voice of the nation proclaim,
and all ages resound the decree!
Let our occident stream bear the hero's name
who taught him his path to the sea!

These four brother floods like a garland of flowers
shall entwine all our states in a band,
Conform & confederate their wide-spreading powers
and their wealth & their wisdom expand.

From Darien to Davis one garden shall bloom,
where war's wearied banners are furl'd;
And the far-scenting breezes that waft its perfume
shall settle the storms of the world.
THE PHANTOM FARMER

LEWIS AND THE AMERICAN BOARD OF AGRICULTURE

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

"I wish thee to request a meeting," wrote Isaac Briggs, a politely persistent Quaker, to Secretary of State James Madison on the first day of the new year 1803. Briggs asked Madison to convene the meeting "in the Representatives chamber, or some other convenient apartment, of those members of both houses of Congress who have zeal for the improvement of American Agriculture..."

So it was on February 25, 1803, the National Intelligencer in Washington reported "a number of respectable and patriotic citizens" had met three days earlier at the unfinished Capitol building to organize something called the American Board of Agriculture.

The newspaper listed 45 members, ostensibly a private group not part of the Federal government. It was an odd bunch of soft-handed political celebrities including three future U.S. Presidents and three drafters of the Constitution. Madison was the Board's president, and instigator Briggs was...
secretary. A "Committee of Correspondence" was made up generally of one Senator and one Representative from each state, plus two territorial governors.

But the name that really leaps off the page is that of Meriwether Lewis, representing the "Territory of Columbia."

True, Lewis was a qualified resident of that Federal district, living with President Thomas Jefferson in a big mansion on Pennsylvania Avenue. But as the President's private secretary, the 28-year-old Army captain wasn't in the same league with the political heavyweights on the new board, and his mind right then certainly wasn't on scientific tillage. On the very same day as Madison's meeting, Congress voted final approval of the $2,500 appropriation needed to launch Lewis's Western expedition. Just 21 days later the District of Columbia's agriculture correspondent quietly left town for a three-month shopping trip to Harpers Ferry and Philadelphia—his first step to eventual glory on the shores of the Pacific.

Despite the do-good hopes of its distinguished sponsors, the American Board of Agriculture never amounted to much. The curious story of Lewis's phantom membership is noteworthy mainly for the light it throws on his two-year, pre-expedition job as Jefferson's secretary. Today the White House staff numbers in the hundreds; in 1803, the staff was Lewis alone. He had to be a utility player of varied talents and interests, especially in working for a boss who liked to dabble in everything.

As owner of a working plantation and inventor of a new plow, Jefferson envied the British Board of Agriculture, which served as a national clearinghouse for innovations in seed varieties, fertilizers and livestock management. At dinner one evening in March, 1802, the President leaned toward Representative Samuel Latham Mitchill of New York with a suggestion for emulating the British farm board. According to Mitchill, Jefferson said it would be "highly desirable" if all existing state agricultural societies could have representation at the national level; "this he conceived might be done without expense by appointing one or more of the members of Congress to this general society."

So the President himself was one of the farm board's early ringleaders. The idea appealed to Mitchill, who admired Jefferson
as a fellow Renaissance man. An Edinburgh-schooled physician, Mitchill was an expert on the chemistry of soils and practically everything else: meteors, steamboats, minerals, fish, Indians, Western American geography. The New Yorker's reputation as a ready talker on any subject sometimes drew ridicule: “Tap the Doctor at any time, and he will flow.” Mitchill knew Lewis from Jefferson's dinner parties, and held him in awe after the Expedition's return. "They achieved so much," said Mitchill, "that I told Lewis one day shortly after his return to Washington, when he dined with me, I looked upon him almost as a man arrived from another planet.”

In early 1803, Mitchill began rounding up his fellow legislators to serve on the new farm board. Meanwhile, Isaac Briggs, a Maryland farmer and surveyor, was booming the same idea to Madison. Now that Princeton-educated, much-absent owner of a 1,200-acre Virginia plantation might have seemed only nominally a son of the soil, more a cultivator of Constitutions than cotton. But in fact Madison and Briggs were both members of the Farmers' Society of Sandy Springs, Maryland, and in 1817 (after his own turn in the White House) Madison became president of his neighborhood Albemarle Agricultural Society. Perhaps extravagantly, Jefferson called his Secretary of State "the best farmer in the world."

Madison, then, agreed to preside at the February 22, 1803, organizing meeting at the Capitol. Representative Mitchill was one of the vice presidents; Senator George Logan of Pennsylvania, an author of pamphlets on scientific farming, was the other. The treasurer was Joseph Nourse, a Treasury Department bureaucrat.

Politically, the officers were all good Jeffersonians. Was the American Board of Agriculture just a Republican party front to promote an ideology of agrarianism? Some may have hoped so, but it should be remembered that most American voters of that day were farmers, and not even the declining Federalists could ignore them. Among the 10-or-so Federalists listed on the Committee of Correspondence were two Senators who had been with Madison during that steamy 1787 summer of Constitution-writing in Philadelphia: Abraham Baldwin of Georgia, and Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, the youngest signer.

But perhaps the most prominent Federalist token of bipartisanship was John Quincy Adams, the ex-president’s son, freshly elected to the U.S. Senate by the Massachusetts legislature. Like many gentleman-farmer members of the new board, this future President was more gentleman than farmer. During one Congressional recess Adams went home to attempt “agricultural pursuits,” but confessed to his diary: “I soon found they lost their relish, and that they never would repay the labor they require.” Nor was there much dirt under the fingernails of William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory and something of a full-time officeholder until his death in the White House in 1841. (The National Intelligencer evidently botched Harrison’s initials, rendering them “E,” H.)

And what of Meriwether Lewis, soldier? In his late teens Lewis had capably managed the family farms for a couple of years, but “yielding to the ardour of youth” (as Jefferson put it) at age 20 he forever chucked farm chores for a more exciting life in the Virginia militia. As an explorer of the West, he did not reveal a plowman’s mind. Of course, Lewis gave his tobacco-growing chief a detailed description of Arikara methods of cultivating and curing tobacco. He observantly reported the broad plains of northeastern Montana consisted of a “dark rich mellow looking lome,” but leaped to no eager speculation about what kind of crops it might grow. In line with government policy of the time, he visualized a trans-Mississippi landscape dotted with Indian trading posts, not wheatfields.

In his known writings Lewis never explained
his glancing contact with the American Board of Agriculture, but there can be little doubt he was doing Jefferson's bidding as a conspicuous Presidential stand-in. Lewis was well known in the small government town of Washington as a subordinate host at Jefferson's dinners and a carrier of Jefferson's messages to the chambers of Congress. (To this day, House and Senate floor proceedings are interrupted when a White House messenger enters, bows ceremonially to the presiding officer and hands over his package.)

So when Lewis's name appeared in a loyal Republican newspaper as one of the farm board's organizers, it was an easy-to-read signal that the board had the President's blessing and protection. Lewis's usefulness to the project essentially ended with that newspaper listing, and he was then free to turn to his great mission Westward.

And the new Board itself soon vanished from history's view. Its main ramrod was Secretary Briggs, who outlined initial plans in an "Address" published in the National Intelligencer on March 2, 1803. Briggs invited Americans everywhere to send to the new clearinghouse information about local improvements in farm machinery, seeds, fences, livestock breeds and fertilizer. The board then would publish ideas deemed worthy of national circulation. At the first meeting it was agreed that the board would next convene "near the commencement of the ensuing session of Congress, when a general election will take place." That would be some time the following autumn.

Sad to say, the board proved vulnerable to the problems of any letterhead group whose celebrity-members merely lend their names to a good cause. Jefferson himself soon contributed to the board's unraveling by appointing ramrod Briggs to a distant job as Federal "Surveyor of the land south of Tennessee." In a June 30 letter to Sir John Sinclair, founder of the British Board of Agriculture, Jefferson said Madison's group "was formed the last winter only, so that it will be some time before they get under way." Perhaps he had the Briggs vacancy in mind as well. On his way to Natchez, incidentally, surveyor Briggs conferred on May 10 in Philadelphia with Lewis, his fellow farm board truant, on techniques of celestial navigation.

The first session of the new 8th Congress assembled on October 17, 1803, but from then until adjournment on March 27, 1804, there wasn't a whisper about the board's promised second meeting either in the National Intelligencer or the Philadelphia Aurora, its biggest outside cheerleaders. Standard reference works on early American farm societies, such as the Agriculture Department's 1929 survey, A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925, do not mention the board at all. The board apparently published no findings, and left no institutional descendants. The government itself continued to resist a major plunge into farming until Congress established the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1862.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Arlen J. Large of Washington, D.C. is a Foundation past president (1983-1984), and a frequent contributor to WPO. He is a retired correspondent of the Wall Street Journal. He serves on the editorial board of WPO.

THIS THIRD-GRADE MEDAL, MINTED DURING WASHINGTON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, DEPICTS THE IMPORTANCE OF FARMING IN AMERICA. IT WAS ONE OF THE MEDALLIONS CARRIED BY LEWIS AND CLARK AND GIVEN TO THE LESSER CHIEFS OF THE VARIOUS INDIAN TRIBES.
Proposed Development of Lewis & Clark Historic Site

for

Lewis & Clark Society of America, Inc.
Wood River, Illinois 62095

For the first time since the Expedition began 185 years ago, we have a plan for an interpretive center on flood-free land. The Lewis and Clark Society is buying 39 acres on the dry side of the levee, up front alongside busy Route 3 near the electric stop sign; they also have a place up front for Camp DuBois. While this center will have ample parking space, rest rooms, a bookstore and a sandwich shop for the pleasure of the tourists, the lower part of the site near the river will be left in virgin timber to provide the same atmosphere as existed in 1803-04 when the courageous company camped here to prepare for the arduous journey. A footpath is in the plans to allow the tourists to walk from the center down to the river bank.
Proposed Interpretive Center
Lewis & Clark Historic Site

FUND RAISER HELD FOR L&C VISITOR CENTER

The Lewis and Clark Historical Society of America, Inc., sponsored a "Fiddlers' Dinner" at Sunset Hills Country Club, Edwardsville, Illinois, May 5, 1989, to raise money for the proposed development of the Lewis and Clark Historic Site near Hartford, Illinois. State Senator Sam Vadalabene of Edwardsville, who has been a proponent of the project from the outset, hosted the dinner; and Jeanne Simon, author and lawyer from Washington, D.C., was master of ceremonies.

Guest speakers for the $70 per plate dinner were Tom Gilbert of Omaha, coordinator of the Lewis and Clark National Historical Trail for the National Park Service; and Winnie George of St. Louis, second vice president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.

No particulars on the success of the fund raiser were available at WPO press time.

The Lewis and Clark Historical Society of America, Inc., is seeking donations for the proposed historic site. (See related articles in WPO, May 1988 and February 1989.) Contributions are tax deductible (IRS No. 37-1137741). The names of those contributing $1,000 or more will appear in bronze at the interpretive center. Send donations to Lucille Rich, Treasurer, Lewis and Clark Society, 1815 Esic Drive Edwardsville, IL 62025.

MAY 1989
WE PROCEEDED ON 21
FOUNDATION PURCHASES
DESKTOP PUBLISHING
EQUIPMENT

The Editor's Corner — the office of WPO, showing (on the right) the new desk-top publishing equipment recently purchased for the Foundation with funds from the late Robert B. Betts of Manhattan, New York. The new equipment should greatly reduce Foundation publication costs.

Thanks to the interest and generosity of the late Robert B. Betts of Manhattan, New York, the Foundation now has state-of-the-art desk-top publishing equipment.

Betts, who died March 10, 1989 (see related article on page 27), had a special interest in the Foundation and especially in We Proceeded On, to which he twice contributed feature articles. He set up a fund several years ago which he earmarked for materials and equipment for WPO.

Only a couple of months before his death, Bob donated the money for the purchase of a Macintosh SE/30 with a 40 megabyte hard drive, a LaserWriter II, and the appropriate software that enables the editor to do all of the typesetting and layout of the magazine, as well as other Foundation publications.

This new equipment should save the Foundation better than $500 per issue on WPO beginning with the August 1989 issue. In addition, there will be savings on the typesetting and layout of other Foundation publications.

The spirit of Bob Betts — his interest, enthusiasm and generosity — will be ever present with the future publication of WPO.

DRAWING CREDITS INDIANS' CONTRIBUTION TO L&C EXPEDITION

The line drawing on the right, titled "Indian Draws Map for Lewis and Clark," was commissioned by the Fort Vancouver Historical Society for display at the Clark County Historical Museum last October. It is part of an exhibition celebrating the Washington State Centennial.

The original drawing was done in pencil by Shirley Granholm of Vancouver and the pen and ink rendering for the museum display was done by artist Jerry Ustoski.

The purpose of the artwork, according to Gus Norwood, president of the Historical Society, was to "Give that deserved credit to the Indians which has been long delayed."

Anyone interested in purchasing a 17" x 22" copy of the sketch may do so by sending $10 to Fort Vancouver Historical Society, P.O. Box 1834, Vancouver, WA 98668.
GROUP MEETS TO PLAN GREAT FALLS LEWIS AND CLARK CENTER

On March 4, 1989, thirty-four people showed up at Quality Inn in Great Falls, Montana, for the first planning meeting for the Lewis and Clark Visitor Center which was approved last fall by President Reagan (Public Law 100-552).

The Forest Service, federal agency in charge of the proposed center, is being helped in the planning stages by the National Park Service, which has many such historical visitor centers around the country. Montana Department of Fish Wildlife and Parks has agreed to donate up to 50 acres of land near Giant Springs for the project, and so far the Forest Service has set aside $50,000 to begin the 1989 initial planning.

It is anticipated that in 1990 the Forest Service will need $450,000 to complete the plans that are required before Congress will appropriate the necessary $3.5 million for the construction of the Center. The target date for completing the visitor center is 1992.

The purposes of the day-long session March 4th were: 1) to understand the sideboards presented in the authorizing legislation for developing the interpretive center plan; 2) to understand the roles and coordination needed for the planning phases of the interpretive center; 3) to begin defining the function of the interpretive center; 4) to begin outlining the interpretive themes.

Twelve different businesses, organizations, and city, state and federal agencies were identified as being key to the development of the center — each considered a "team member." The role of each and the interaction of all the team members was outlined.

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., was identified as follows: "This international organization is comprised of Lewis and Clark scholars who support activities, research, and enrich others through education on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In 1984, the Foundation adopted a resolution in support of the effort to establish an interpretive center midway along the trail. The Foundation provided funding for the publication of the National Park Service map of the National Historical Trail." Robert Doerk of Great Falls, first vice president of the Foundation was there as the Foundation's representative.

The requirements of the bill authorizing the center were discussed by Jane Weber of the Lewis and Clark National Forest, who is coordinator of the project. Ms. Weber presented the requirements in the following outline:

1. The intent of the Center is to provide recognition and interpretation of the historic significance of the travels of Lewis and Clark on the high plains and their portage around Great Falls.
2. Up to 50 acres are to be donated by the State of Montana for the site.
3. The Center is to be planned and administered by the Forest Service.
4. Donation of money, property or services from individuals and foundations can be accepted.
5. Cooperative agreements with the State of Montana and other federal agencies for the development/operation of the facilities are to be formalized.
6. A cooperating association for the sales of education materials can be established between the Portage Route Chapter or similar organization. In developing the vision statement it is important to remember direction stressed in the Bill: high plains, portage around Great Falls, explorers, fur traders, High Plains Indians.
7. There is a target date of October 1990 to submit to Congress for approval a design plan for the building architecture and the exhibits. Construction monies will be appropriated upon approval of the plans. The Bill indicates that the plan should include:
   a. interpretation of historic resources, documents and artifacts associated with the Expedition;
   b. development of facilities for public use and enjoyment of the area;
   c. enhancement of the public's opportunity to use and enjoy the Center as well as nearby historic sites, and other state and federal lands.
8. Congress will appropriate $3.5 million construction monies upon approval of the Center plans.

The following "Vision Statement" was drafted and approved by the group:

"THE LEWIS AND CLARK INTERPRETIVE CENTER will impart to the public a personal sense of Jefferson's vision; to inspire awe and awaken curiosity toward the challenges of the portage and the unknown; to bring to life the daily experiences of the Expedition; its impact upon the environment and native culture; and to celebrate the indomitable human spirit of discovery."

The Forest Service will be contacting local organizations and asking them to appoint representatives to the Citizen's Steering Committee. The first task for the Steering Committee, along with the Forest Service's In-House Planning Committee, will be to begin defining evaluation criteria for selecting a site for the Center.
HISTORICAL PAGEANT SEEKS FUNDS

The Lewis and Clark Historical Pageant, Inc. of Seaside, Oregon reports a successful first year. Over 4,000 people attended the pageant, which was performed every Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings, and Sunday afternoons between July 14 and August 27, 1988. (See "Oregon L&C Pageant called "Big Success" in the November 1988 issue of WPO.)

The stated purpose of the group is "to make more prominent in history the epic journey of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Ocean."

The Pageant has established various membership categories in order to help raise the necessary funds needed to keep the summer pageant going. These memberships are expected to account for 16 percent of this year's $90,700 Pageant budget. The membership categories are: Individual - $10; Pioneer Family - $25; Trader - $50; Salt Maker - $100; Path Finder - $250; Explorer - $500; Corps of Discovery - $1,000. Each category has its own special benefits.

If you are interested in supporting the Pageant and want information on the benefits that accompany each membership category, or if you simply want more information about the organization, write: Lewis and Clark Historic Pageant, inc.: P.O. Box 1070; Seaside, OR 97138.

L&C EXPEDITION TO BE HEART OF STUDY

The Nebraska Committee for the Humanities (NCH) has received $10,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to plan a project on the Lewis and Clark Expedition that will coincide with the 500th anniversary, in 1992, of Columbus discovering America.

About 20 scholars from all eleven of the Lewis and Clark Trail states met in Omaha April 22-23 in the first step of planning the project.

According to an Associated Press report, Jane Renner Hood, executive director for the NCH, said the group intends to use the Lewis and Clark Expedition as a way to study the lasting implications of exploration and discovery on the lives of 20th century American Society.

Beaverhead Rock is a landmark in present southwestern Montana. From a distance the rock resembles a beaver's head. The valley in which it is located, and the river which runs by it, have also taken the name "Beaverhead."

On August 8, 1805, Sacagawea recognized the landmark and informed Lewis and Clark that they were nearing the summer camp of her people.

Beaverhead Rock will be one of the sites visited during the Foundation's annual meeting August 3-6.
Interested runners and joggers have been invited to celebrate Montana's centennial, commemorate the enduring 1900-mile trek of Lewis and Clark across the state, and join one of the most ambitious running events in the state's history. The "Lewis and Clark Run Across Montana," made possible by a grant from the Montana Centennial Office, will take place June 9-18, 1989.

The relay will cover more than 900 miles from the North Dakota border east of Wibaux, to Lolo Pass. A north/south branch of the relay will begin at Camp Disappointment, near Cut Bank, and join the east/west relay at Butte. Participants may choose to run three, six or nine-mile legs.

Runners will carry a replica 15-star, 15-stripe U.S. flag across the state to remind people of the role the Expedition played in Montana history. Lewis and Clark were first to carry the U.S. flag in what is today the state of Montana, as they carried out President Jefferson's dream of exploring the West and discovering a northwest passage. They were the first United States citizens to visit present Montana, and many of the state's landmarks still bear the names given by Lewis and Clark.

Although the Expedition primarily followed the rivers of Montana, the 1989 runners will follow the state's highways. Communities along the route will schedule Lewis and Clark celebrations to coincide with the Lewis and Clark Run. These celebrations may include fun runs, encampments featuring people in 1805 attire, picnics, etc.

Deadline for entry into the run was May 1, 1989.
LEWIS AND CLARK MUSICAL

Nine different reviews of Riversong, a drama about the Lewis and Clark Expedition, were sent to WPO from the states of Washington and Idaho during the months of January and February. Described by some as a "contemporary opera and by others simply as a "musical," playwright Tim Rarick and composer Tim Cooper want it made clear that the play is not another "historical pageant."

This 90-minute two-act production, with a cast of eleven men and one woman, begins as William Clark learns of the death of Meriwether Lewis. The epic journey to the ocean is then recalled in flashbacks. One review declared: "These shifts in time are always clear and work amazingly well."

A letter from Foundation member Robert Hunt of Seattle, who saw the production in Renton Civic Theatre, Renton, Washington, states, "My wife and I were very favorably impressed, indeed moved, by this event... This is not just the usual pageant or docudrama. The music is equal to the themes, and the script is poetic... altogether, a stimulating effort toward an arts presentation that does justice to our national epic."

The premier of the musical was held in Renton from January 6 through February 12, followed by February 17 and 18 performances at North Idaho College Communication Arts Auditorium in Coeur d 'Alene.

One reviewer reported that "the nicest thing of all about Riversong is its lyricism. The music by Tom Cooper flows with the swirling pulse of the river varied by occasional interludes of Indian dances and hunting rituals." Another reviewer found: "The most fascinating aspect of Riversong is Rarick's oblique approach to the storyline... Rarick's handling of the text is compelling, at times poetic."

Rarick has served as director as well as lyricist, while Cooper handles his own score at the piano.

In spite of all of the rave reviews, some of the critics were able to find fault: "... the show rather desperately needs a touch of levity," said one; and "the dancing is way below the level of the rest of the show"; another found the Indian costumes ineffective. But even the most critical reviewer was compelled to say: "...the show's concept is more than enough to overcome these problems."

The reviewers speak of "powerful scenes," "well-rehearsed and comfortable actors," "a musical worthy of its subject," "outstanding music," "beyond what we are used to calling amateur," and "Riversong is first rate."

With regard to the audiences' conclusions as to Meriwether Lewis's death — murder or suicide — Rarick says, "Evidently we don't really draw a conclusion in the play. We leave that up to the audience. I thought it was very clear what we thought, but that's not what audiences say."

The Idaho Centennial Committee has appropriated funds for the musical to tour Idaho in 1990.

WPO will keep readers in touch with the future performances of this "tribute to the spirit of exploration and lament for a friend," as one reviewer described the play.

ARCHIVES TO RECEIVE
GUS BUDDE PAPERS

At the February meeting of the Metro St. Louis Chapter, Irene Secner announced that the papers of her uncle, Gus Budde, will be shipped to the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation archives at the C.M. Russell Museum in Great Falls, Montana. Gus, known to most long-time Expedition enthusiasts, was an avid Lewis and Clark buff, and for several years published an informative Lewis and Clark quarterly newsletter. Over the years, he uncovered a great deal of Lewis and Clark-related material. The Budde papers will be a welcome addition to the Foundation archives.

ST. LOUIS CHAPTER TO HOST "HISTORY BOOTH"

At the St. Charles (Missouri) Lewis and Clark Rendezvous May 20-21, the Metro St. Louis Chapter will conduct a "History Booth." Emphasis of this year's Rendezvous will be on education, and members of the chapter will be there to inform the public about the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
ROBERT BETTS IS DEAD AT 66 FOUNDATION LOSES FRIEND, BENEFACOR, AND SCHOLAR

Robert B. Betts of Manhattan, New York, author of In Search of York, an award-winning biography of Captain William Clark's black servant, died of cancer March 10, 1989, at New York Hospital. He was 66 years old.

Readers will recall that Bob (as he was known to his many friends) contributed two fine articles to WPO: "We commenced writing &c." (Vol. 6, No. 4); and "The wrightingest explorers of their time': New Estimates of the Number of Words in the Published Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition" (Vol. 7, No. 3).

Bob was also a generous benefactor of the Foundation with a special interest in We Proceeded On. Besides a great deal of other equipment and materials purchased from money he donated over the years, just prior to his death he donated the funds necessary for the Foundation to purchase desk-top publishing equipment for the typesetting and layout of all its publications. (See related article on page 22.) The royalties from his book In Search of York were also donated to the Foundation.

Bob was born in Easton, Pennsylvania, served in the U.S. Army in World War II, and graduated from Harvard. He was an editor with Harcourt, Brace and a writer and producer of documentary films before entering the advertising business.

He was responsible for many major advertising campaigns in the 1950s and 1960s, and rose to become president and creative director of William Esty Advertising Agency in 1967.

After his retirement as chairman of the board of Esty Advertising, Bob turned to historical research, particularly the American West. In addition to his book on York, Bob wrote Among the Ramparts of the Tetons, a history of Jackson Hole, Wyoming, where he also had a home.

Bob is survived by his wife, Emmie, and three children, son Robert B. Betts of Dubois, Wyoming, and daughters D. Brooks Betts of Manhattan, New York, and Anne Charleston of Denver, along with two granddaughters.

PORTAGE ROUTE CHAPTER UPDATE

The Portage Route Chapter, Great Falls, Montana, continues to work toward including many Lewis and Clark-related activities in Montana's centennial celebration.

At noon on June 27, chapter member Bob Doerk (Foundation's first vice-president) will present a talk titled "The Literature Associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition" as part of the Great Falls Public Library Sack Lunch Book Review Program.

The Cascade County (Montana) 88ers have a town meeting planned for June 29, which will have a Lewis and Clark theme. Phil Whitehawk will perform an original song that he has composed on Lewis and Clark; a Lewis and Clark skit will be presented; and the local chapter will see to it that Seaman, York, Lewis and Clark will be present.

On July 1, from 11 am to 4 pm, the informative "Lewis and Clark on the Portage" will be sponsored by the Chapter along with the Kiwanis Club and the Ag Committee of the local Chamber of Commerce. There will be 12 spots along the land portage where guides will be available to answer questions and relate to what happened in the immediate vicinity of where they are posted. There will be a Volksmarch and other activities as well. At 7 pm at Giant Springs, there will be a pitch fork fondue, open to the public by advance ticket, which will be followed by an Indian dramatization of the Indian legends associated with Giant Springs prior to the time of Lewis and Clark.

On the morning of July 4, the third annual Meriwether Lewis Run will take place at West Bank Park. This is the site where Lewis was chased into the Missouri by a grizzly. Medals will be presented to the winners; and a distinctive T-shirt will be given to all participants.

The dedication of "Explorers at the Portage," the heroic-size bronze sculpted by Bob Scrivener, will be held on the afternoon of July 4. This bronze, which will stand on Overlook Hill, across from the mouth of Medicine River (present Sun River), will portray Lewis, Clark, Lewis's dog Seaman, and Clark's servant York.

It is also anticipated that on the 4th of July an announcement will be made by the U.S. Forest Service as to the exact location of the proposed Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center to be constructed in the Great Falls area. (See related article on page 23.)

NHS RECEIVES GRANT FOR L&C SIGNS

The National Park Service has signed an agreement with the Nebraska State Historical Society for the construction of 10 Lewis and Clark Interpretive signs which will mark all of the Expedition's campsites in that state.

The $22,000 grant provides for signs of the same design as those installed in North Dakota last year (See related article in WPO, May, 1988.).
SCHEDULE SET FOR L&C ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIG

Five 5-day sessions have been set for the summer 1989 archaeological dig at the historic Lewis and Clark Lower Portage Campsite. The dig, located in a remote area, is a few miles below the Great Falls of the Missouri. The five sessions are scheduled from June 12 to July 14.

The dig is being sponsored by the Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana. (See related article in WPO, February 1989.) A recent brochure from the museum explains:

“We have designed the Portage Creek Archaeological Field Camp to provide a chance for small groups to participate in a significant research effort. Experience is welcome but not necessary. Training will be provided on the site by a professional crew. The camp is remote. All food, water, gear, and equipment are brought in with four-wheel drive vehicles. Instruction and meals are included in the cost. You may arrange for your own transportation to and from Great Falls, Montana, if you wish.

The project will provide transportation from the Great Falls airport to the site. Your own personal gear should include a tent (with floor), sleeping bag and pad, and foul weather clothing.

Montana weather during the summer encompasses hot days, cold nights, rain showers, and occasional high winds. This site is generally hot at this time of the year with little shade. But the Missouri River is approximately 50 yards from the camp.”

The dates of the sessions are:

- Session 1 — June 12-16
- Session 2 — June 19-23
- Session 3 — June 26-30
- Session 4 — July 3-7
- Session 5 — July 10-14

The fee for a five-day session is $200. Enrollment for less than five days (or for additional days beyond a 5-day session) are $40 per day. Space is limited to 10 registrants per day. Early registrants have priority. Children under the age of 15 must be accompanied by an adult.

For more information call Dave Swingle, Museum of the Rockies (406) 994-5257.

LEWIS AND CLARK PEACE MEDAL IN DANGER OF BEING INTERRED

A bill (LB 340) in the Nebraska Senate would require the re-interment of all tribal skeleton and artifacts held by Nebraska state and city museums, the university, and the State Historical Society. Included among the many artifacts in jeopardy of being reburied is a Jefferson Peace Medal given to an Indian Chief by Lewis and Clark.

A group known as “Citizens to Save Nebraska’s History,” have sent out an appeal for Nebraskans to oppose the bill. In their letter, the group states that "The reburial of skeletal remains will exact a heavy toll on scientists, on Nebraska museums’ ability to tell the story of the state’s earliest inhabitants, and on everyone who seeks knowledge about the past." The letter goes on to pose the rhetorical question: "Must we also allow Nebraska’s most precious, irreplaceable historical artifacts to be seized and destroyed, erasing chapters of a history that belong to all of us?"

The executive board of the Nebraska State Historical Society has taken a middle ground which would represent a compromise between those supporting and those opposing the bill. The board has asked Nebraskans to encourage an amendment to the bill that would "insure that human remains excavated in Nebraska be reburied in Nebraska; allow three years for scientists to study existing collections; rebury skeletal remains with dignity; that irreplaceable artifacts important to Nebraska history and to American history be preserved to educate the public; and that the interest of science be served."
The Discovery Corps, headquartered in Council Bluffs, Iowa (See related article in WPO February 1989.) is currently pursuing a pattern for a blunderbus like those carried on the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The group, which prides itself on its accuracy with regard to dress and other accoutrements of the Expedition, reports that it has recently received valuable information regarding military dress of the era from the standing orders of the first U.S. Infantry, 1802, Colonel Hamilcar, Commanding.

On July 21-23, the anniversary of the Expedition's White Catfish encampment, the group will be camped at Long's Landing.

The members of the Corps are spending two weekends per month constructing a 16' by 22' trapper's cabin at Fort Atkinson. The cabin will have "a hip roof and a wattle and daub chimney and stone fireplace and hearth; dirt floor and probably rawhide windows with shutters."

The first part of June, the group will provide the flag ceremonies at the Lewis and Clark Festival, Lewis and Clark State Park, Onawa, Iowa.

From June 24 to July 2, the Corps will be at High Plains National Rendezvous, Cairo, Nebraska. Here they will establish a Lewis and Clark camp within the rendezvous and present a program on the Expedition.

For more information about the activities of Discovery Corps, write to Jack Schmidt, 1225 Crescent Drive, Council Bluffs, IA 51503; or call (712) 322-3037.


This article places the Lewis and Clark Expedition in the context of international expansion and the contest for empire. The William and Mary Quarterly is published by the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 220, Williamsburg, VA 23187. Single copy cost: $6


This is an excellent Lewis and Clark piece for the modern traveler. Accompanying the article are thirteen beautiful color photos of scenes along the Trail as well as scenes from "Journey to the Pacific" historical pageant (Seaside, Oregon), and Fort Clatsop historical reenactments (Astoria, Oregon). The front cover of the magazine also has a color photo of a reenactment scene of Lewis and Clark at Youngs River Falls in Oregon.

The author gives good, accurate information about the Lewis and Clark Expedition as he takes the reader to some of the more intriguing spots along the Trail. Each of the dozen or so historical sites discussed in the article are also identified on a handsome full-color map of the Lewis and Clark Trail.

In addition to taking the reader on an interpretive journey, the author gives directions, telephone numbers, dates, admission fees, and general information about historic sites and events.

Friendly Exchange is a quarterly publication of Farmers Insurance Group. A request for information about how you can receive a copy of the magazine should be sent to: Meredith Publishing Services, Locust at 17th, Des Moines, IA 50336. Telephone (515) 284-2007.
**Passage to the Pacific: Discover the Excitement of the Northwest Along Lewis and Clark's Fabled Path,** by Bruce Leonard, Jr.  

This is not truly a Lewis and Clark piece; rather it is a travel guide capitalizing on the name of the nationally recognized Lewis and Clark Trail. It, in fact, has very little to do with Lewis and Clark, and not totally accurate at that. Its primary purpose (and it seems to do it quite well) is to let the readers know about a variety of sites along the Lewis and Clark Trail from Great Falls, Montana, to the Pacific Coast—making a strange detour from Helena to Missoula.

The sites vary in interest from a few that pertain to Lewis and Clark, to a school for smoke-jumpers, a beautiful Victorian home, the Whitman mission, dams, art museums, etc.

For those planning to travel the Lewis and Clark Trail in the Northwest with an interest in more than Lewis and Clark, this may be an article of interest.

Single copies of the March 1989 issue of *Trailer Life* are available by sending $2.50 plus postage, with your request to *Trailer Life*, Trailer Life Publishing Company, 23901 Agoura Road, Agoura, CA 91301.

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Bergon’s brief introduction emphasizes the “dazzling epic quality” of the journals; there are a few good insights (and a few mistakes). Documents include Thomas Jefferson’s instructions to Lewis of June 20, 1803: Clark’s inquiries of Indians; and Lewis’s estimated expenses and list of articles purchased. The text is abridged from R. G. Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (6 vols., 1904-05). Bergon “includes much of the natural-history material omitted in earlier edited editions,” like Bernard DeVoto’s in 1953, which emphasized “the geographical and political importance of the Expedition” in a running narrative that omitted much of the detailed description of animals, plants, and native peoples.” There are 341 original footnotes, mainly brief geographical locations; this is not an annotated edition. The text is longer than DeVoto, but the uninitiated reader may get lost without moorings. For the naturalist along the Trail, this is a handy accompaniment.

HARRY W. FRITZ  
Missoula, Montana


This new children’s book tells the story of the young Shoshone girl who was captured by the Hidatsa and transported into a world of unimaginied adventure.

Sacagawea was about 16 years old and married to French-Canadian trader Toussaint Charbonneau when Lewis and Clark arrived at the Mandan villages in the Fall of 1804. Soon she and her husband found themselves hired on as interpreters. The Captains believed Sacagawea would be helpful in their negotiations with the Shoshone for horses.

On the long trip west, and with the added burden of caring for a new baby, Sacagawea’s patience and pragmatic courage in the face of hardship and danger earned her the respect of the men. They also appreciated her knowledge of native food sources, such as camus and artichokes, which supplemented their all-meal diet.

Even though Sacagawea served primarily as an interpreter, she is given justifiable credit for those times when her recognition of the country did help guide the Expedition.

Basically an accurate retelling of Sacagawea’s story (there is the curious assertion that her baby was named for a Jean Baptiste Trudeau, a friend of Charbonneau’s, and that she called him Pomp, a Shoshone word for “first born”), this book includes several black and white illustrations, an index, and a chronology of world events from 1787 to 1812, the years of Sacagawea’s life.

Children will enjoy reading about this Shoshone woman who was such an important part of American history.

Marilyn Clark  
Helena, Montana  
Young Adults Committee


This epic tale, told by a master storyteller and buttressed by extensive research that draws on the massive scholarship of the past quarter-century in an imaginative and sensible way, bids fare to become the book you will recommend to your friends who want to learn about our beloved Expedition — although you should still tell them to read the De Voto edition of the Journals first.
David Lavender is one of our most prolific writers on western history, with nearly two dozen solid books to his credit. He is also one of the best. His strengths as a writer are many and varied; the one that stands out is a sense of place. When he describes a place, you know that he has been there, seen it with his own eyes, breathed its air, suffered through its wind or rain or snow, exulted in its sunshine, tasted its plants, floated its river, pitched his tent beside its waterfall.

The glories, achievements, and importance of the Expedition itself were many and varied, but the one that stands out is that the Corps of Discovery saw so much, and for the first time. There is scarcely a spot along the scenes Lewis and Clark saw, that Lavender is most familiar with. He offers proof of this personal risk Lewis took during the Expedition, such as forging ahead with only two companions to find the Shoshone Indians "although he had no idea how the tribe would receive the first white man it had ever seen."

That seems to me to have been more prudent on Lewis's part than risk-taking. First of all, a larger party might well have frightened the Shoshones into flight, taking their critically-necessary horses with them. Second, Clark needed every hand he could get to move those canoes up the Jefferson.

On Sacagawea, Lavender is sympathetic towards her, and describes well some of the incidents forever associated with her name. And he is quite right in decrying the "overblown legend of Sacagawea the pathfinder." But he sees her as a passive object (he praises her "patient fortitude as a person") and ignores her really vital contributions. It was Sacagawea who helped keep spirits up, Sacagawea who on a number of occasions showed the men where to find roots, without which they might well have starved, Sacagawea who saved the scientific instruments when her husband tipped the canoe, Sacagawea who simply by her presence convinced potentially hostile Indians that the Expedition was not a war party. Had Cameahwait not been Sacagawea's brother, it can well be doubted that the Expedition would have gotten over the Rocky Mountains.

So this is not quite a perfect work, nor is it definitive. But it is the narrative for our generation. Not incidentally, regular readers of We Proceeded On will be delighted to see what extensive use Lavender has made of the magazine.

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE
Alumni Distinguished Professor of History,
University of New Orleans

LIKED FIDDL Article

I feel I simply must comment on the article by Robert R. Hunt in the November, '88 publication. I have been involved in a traditional dance for just over fifty years and active in the Lloyd Shaw Foundation since it began almost 25 years ago. During this time I have of course seen many, many articles on traditional dance, and even authored a few myself.

However, I sincerely feel that Bob Hunt's presentation of "Merry to the Fiddle" is among the best I have ever seen! Not only is it accurate and superbly written and researched, but it is delightfully entertaining as well. I thoroughly enjoyed it, and will share it with many of my friends and associates!

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
DON ARMSTRONG
Canyon City, CO
GATES OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS