We Proceeded On

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"THE BEAVER'S HEAD"
EXECUTIVE
We Proceeded On

THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.
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ABOUT THE FOUNDATION

The purpose of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. is to stimulate public interest in matters relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the contributions to American history made by the Expedition members, and events of time and place concerning the expedition which are of historical import to our nation. The Foundation recognizes the value of tourist-oriented programs, and supports activities which enhance the enjoyment and understanding of the Lewis and Clark story. The scope of the activities of the Foundation is broad and diverse, and includes involvement in pursuits which, in the judgment of the directors, are of historical worth or contemporary social value, and commensurate with the heritage of Lewis and Clark. The activities of the National Foundation are intended to complement and supplement those of state and local Lewis and Clark interest groups. The Foundation may appropriately recognize and honor individuals or groups for efforts of distinction, achievement in the broad field of Lewis and Clark historical research, writing, or deeds which promote the general purpose and scope of activities of the Foundation. Membership in the organization comprises a broad spectrum of Lewis and Clark enthusiasts including Federal, State, and local government officials, historians, scholars and others of wide-ranging Lewis and Clark interests. Officers of the Foundation are elected from the membership. The annual meeting of the Foundation is traditionally held during August, the birth month of both Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The meeting place is rotated among the states, and tours generally are arranged to visit sites in the area of the annual meeting which have historic association with the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

We Proceeded On is the official publication of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. The publication's name is derived from the phrase which appears repeatedly in the collective journals of the famous Expedition.

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MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT NELL

As the honor and privilege of serving as your President draws to a close, it’s time for me to reflect on the condition of the Foundation:

The interest in this country’s greatest land expedition is growing. Indications are that this growth will continue as we approach the year 2004, the Expedition’s bicentennial. With the ongoing interest of the eleven Trail states, several national agencies, and the preparations being made by the directors of the Foundation, the 15 years will go by quickly.

Our video cassette is now complete; excellent state and local maps and information about the Trail are now becoming available to the general public. Our speakers bureau is just getting off the ground and somebody is talking Lewis and Clark to groups almost daily. Excellent books and articles are appearing constantly with more accurate information than ever before. Rare books are being reprinted in paperback at affordable prices, creating more exposure to this great epoch.

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 3434; Great Falls, MT 59403.

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

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES*

| General | $15.00 (3 years: $45.00) |
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AUGUST 1989
We are currently investigating the possibility of placing all aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition on a computer that will allow us to call up information in print as well as in sound and illustration. This would be a tremendous educational tool for schools and libraries.

With the national Lewis and Clark interpretive center soon to be built near Great Falls, Montana, we will finally have a permanent headquarters for the Foundation. From the estate of former Foundation director Robert Taylor, our archives and lending library has recently received a gigantic boost of 474 volumes of Western Americana – including many Lewis-Clark-related books. We will soon begin cataloging these items.

I have enjoyed the honor of serving the Foundation as its president. I am pleased to pass the gavel to the very capable hands of Robert Doerk, an excellent historian, organizer, and leader. Please see him during the annual meeting and offer your services in helping to promote the heritage of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Donald F. Nell
President

MANUSCRIPTS AND PHOTOS WELCOME

“We have encouraged our men to keep journals, and seven of them do so, to whom in this respect we give every assistance in our power.” – [Lewis to Jefferson, April 7, 1805]

Four of the journals, in addition to the officer’s, are extant. At least one man from each squad was keeping a journal, so all events were being well covered. This overwhelming amount of primary information about the Expedition gives rise to interpretation – the more they wrote, the more they whetted the reader’s appetite for more information. This is what makes the study of Lewis and Clark so enjoyable – volumes of adventure and intrigue covering such a wide variety of topics that there is something of interest for almost everybody.

However, there is more to the Lewis and Clark Expedition than is found in their journals. A great deal of research has already been done and some excellent interpretations have been made with regard to things that are not clear from the journals. The field is wide open for more interpretation, for improvement on past interpretation, and on presenting a clearer picture of some of the people places and events described in the journals.

To interpret and elaborate on aspects of the journals is the primary purpose of the feature articles of WPO. We welcome your submissions. Good, documented research is primarily what we’re looking for. Ability to write is important, but in the tradition of Captain Lewis, “we give every assistance in our power.”

We prefer to use the Chicago Manual of Style. A WPO writer’s guide is being prepared and will be available upon request after August. For the present, we simply ask that manuscripts be typewritten and double spaced.

There is no monetary compensation for articles published in WPO at this time. Persons contributing feature articles receive 10 copies of the issue in which their articles appear.

In addition to feature articles, we encourage submissions of Lewis-and-Clark-related activities, and information about recent books and articles published about the Expedition.

We also need photos for the cover of the magazine. These have to be transparencies with rich colors. Except for the November issue, which can be any Lewis and Clark Trail scene, we try to use cover photos.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 27)

ABOUT THE COVER...

"the Indian woman recognized the point of a high plain to our right which she informed us was not very distant from the summer retreat of her nation on a river beyond the mountains which runs to the west. this hill she says her nation calls the beaver's head from a conceived resemblance of it's figure to the head of that animal. she assures us that we shall either find her people on this river or on the river immediately west of its source; which from its size cannot be very distant." (Capt. M. Lewis, Aug. 8, 1805).

The Expedition was on the Jefferson River just south of present Twin Bridges, Montana (approximately at the distance from the Beaver's Head from which this photo was taken) when Sacagawea recognized the landmark in the distance. The resemblance of the beaver's head seen in the center of the photo is silhouetted by the lighter colored Tendoy Mountains in the background.

Beaverhead Rock was designated a National Historic site, primarily through the efforts of E.E. "Boo" MacGillvra (1893 to 1979). Boo was a director, honorary past president, and generous benefactor of the Foundation.

Beaverhead Rock is one of the sites to be visited during the Foundation’s twenty-first annual meeting August 3-6, 1989.

(1981 photo by Bob Saindon)
Captains Lewis and Clark had to take it upon themselves to modify the Articles of War in order to maintain discipline and administer justice. This they did without regard for possible challenges during or after their travels, either by superiors or subordinates who might be profoundly affected by their decisions. Persuasive lawyer-talk with any such men who might be nursing grievances from their treatment on the voyage, could well produce causes of actions in the courts with unimaginable personal consequences for the captains.

Lewis and Clark were not the first to be confronted with the inappropriate aspects of the Articles of War. Military and government officials were becoming more and more aware of the need for modifying and revising the Articles of 1776. Alexander Hamilton in a letter to Secretary of War McHenry, December 1799, spoke of the need for amendment “in many particulars.”1 Hamilton especially referred to the obscurity of the Articles on the power to appoint general courts-martial. He suggested the President be given a “discretionary authority to empower other officers than those described in the Articles of War to appoint courts-martial...”

Unfortunately, no revisions were made until 1806, too late to exonerate Lewis and Clark of their particular dilemmas. And even the 1806 revisions would not have helped the captains. It was not until the Civil War that the “Field Officers’ Court” was created. It was composed of a single officer and given exclusive jurisdiction over cases formerly tried by regimental and garrison courts.2 This type of tribunal could have enabled the captains individually to try soldiers for minor offenses, but would have been no help in the case of capital offenses.

We could say that the captains, by taking the law into their own hands and constituting courts with sergeants and private soldiers, were, as John E. Bakeless notes: “anticipating a ‘reform’ of courts-martial.” They just happened to be 143 years ahead of such reform.

The contrast between the literal provisions of the Articles and the real demands encountered in the field by Lewis and Clark is dramatized in a case of desertion.

EDITOR’S NOTE:
Taking up from where we left off in the May issue of WPO, we continue to follow Robert Hunt’s intriguing treatise on the manner in which Lewis and Clark administered the Articles of War in cases of courts-martial. Were the courts-martial legally filed? Was Patrick Gass properly promoted to the rank of sergeant? Were there court-martial offenses overlooked after the Expedition left Fort Mandan? In this part we’ll take a look at these and other issues.
Clark’s journal entry for August 6, 1804, reports: “We have every reason to believe that one man has Deserted Moses B. Reed he has been absent three Days...” Let us suppose that Clark “envisioned an infantry company with all the regulations dictated by the Articles of War.” On hearing of Reed’s possible desertion, Clark would get out his copy of the Articles and turn to the applicable provisions, and read:

Resolved, that the commanding officer of any of the forces in the service of the United States, shall, upon report made to him of any desertions in the troops under his orders, cause the most immediate and vigorous search to be made after the deserter or deserters, which may be conducted by a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, as the case shall require. That, if such search should prove ineffectual, the officer commanding the regiment or corps to which the deserter or deserters belonged, shall insert, in the nearest gazette or newspaper, an advertisement, descriptive of the deserter or deserters, and offering a reward, not exceeding ten dollars, for each deserter, who shall be apprehended and secured in any of the gaols in the neighboring states. That the charges of advertising deserters, the reasonable extra expenses incurred by the person conducting the pursuit, and the reward, shall be paid by the secretary of war, on the certificate of the commanding officer of the troops.

Agreeable to the above, Clark literally did “cause the most immediate and vigorous search to be made after the deserter.” He records on August 7, 1804: “at 1 o’clock dispatched George Drewyer, R. Fields, Wm. Bratten & Wm. Lubieche back after the Deserter reid with order if he did not give up Peaceibly to put him to death etc...” But did the above quoted Articles envision a search so vigorous as to justify a conditional death warrant?

Clark may have had second thoughts about such vigor, perhaps as the above regulation reverberated in his mind at a later date. He was with Nicholas Biddle in 1810 when the latter was preparing the Expedition’s journals for publication in narrative form. Elliott Coues pointed out over 80 years later: “Biddle apparently crossed out two lines of this entry in red, covering the words from “reid” to “Death.” In his History, Biddle did not mention that the detachment had orders to kill Reed if they could not take him alive. Probably the passage was crossed out because either Clark or Biddle did not care to mention this aspect of the affair.”

The Captains possibly also did not care to mention one further aspect of their disciplinary experiences, viz., the “formal” proceedings of the various courts-martial which they conducted. Section XVIII, Article 2 reads in part:

That every judge-advocate, or person officiating as such, at any general courts-martial, do, and he is hereby required to transmit, with as much expedition as the opportunity of time and distance of place can admit, the original proceedings and sentence of such court-martial to the secretary of war, which said original proceedings and sentence shall be carefully kept and preserved in the office of said secretary, to the end that the persons entitled thereto may be enabled, upon application to said office, to obtain copies thereof.
That the party tried by any general court-martial, shall be entitled to a copy of the sentence and proceedings of such court-martial, upon demand thereof made by himself, or by any other person or persons, on his behalf, whether such sentence be approved or not.

Capt. Lewis certainly did comply with the intent of the requirement concerning Private John Newman's court-martial for mutiny. In his letter of January 15, 1807, to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn transmitting "the roll of the men who accompanied me on my late tour to the Pacific Ocean," Lewis reports the Newman episode in some detail. He specifically notes that Newman was "tried by a Court Martial formed of his peers," and recites the sentence imposed. Whether the original proceedings and sentence of such court martial were formally filed with the Secretary of War as required by Section XVII, Art. 3, we do not know.

Newman's trial was the only one specifically designated as a "general" court-martial. The other trials for capital offenses would have also required general courts, and therefore filings of the formal proceedings with the Secretary of War. It's doubtful that any such filings were ever made. The only records which have surfaced to date are those set forth in the Journals, Orderly Books, and Detachment Orders.

The significance about Lewis's informal report to Secretary Dearborn regarding Newman's court-martial is twofold: 1.) It is a clear statement and disclosure to the highest authority of the military arm of the government that a court-martial, obviously ordered and constituted outside the scope of governing law, was held and that punitive action by such an irregular body was imposed. 2.) It provides a clue as to the main principle motivating the captains in the unique system of administering military justice which they devised for the peculiar circumstances of their assignment.

The key phrase in Lewis's report is that Newman was "tried by a Court Martial formed of his peers." The captains had chosen not to rely upon their implicit authority as officers in command of troops sworn absolutely to obey their orders. They chose instead to set up their own special adaptation of the Articles of War. They resorted to "tribunals" composed of enlisted men - the "peers" of any man accused of an offense as listed in the Articles of War. Knowing that it would be impossible to compose courts as required by the Articles, the Captains fell back upon the peer concept. All of their courts-martial were based on this principle, except in the case against Private Alexander Willard who was tried for sleeping on his post. The two captains themselves composed that court.

This concept was a matter of lively discussion in military circles at the time. Major Alexander Macomb, who had been "late Judge-Advocate on several Special Trials" prior to 1809 reflects on the matter:

The mode of trial by Courts-Martial possesses all the benefit of trial by jury...It has been frivolously urged, that...the Articles of War declare, that no member shall be under the degree of a commissioned officer. But in truth, this objection is founded entirely in a misunderstanding of the meaning of the words "trial by peers." By this expression it is not meant that the persons who compose the court should be, in every respect, of the same rank and station in life with the party who is to be tried...The true meaning of a trial by peers is, that those who compose the jury are men, who, from their rank in life, have no privileges beyond what are enjoyed by the criminal whom they are to try; who are subject to the same laws with himself, and are therefore under no bias or temptation to stretch them to his prejudice.

One wonders whether Macomb may have known of the trials conducted by Lewis and Clark. The captains had already concluded that, regardless of whether the required number of commissioned officers was available to serve on courts, the "true meaning of a trial by
peers" could still be preserved in their command. So they plunged straight into these murky waters and took two risks by placing disciplinary decisions in the collective hands of their subordinates: 1) they might be acting outside the law, and 2) the enlisted men's courts might come up with verdicts and/or sentences which could be entirely unacceptable from their viewpoint as commanding officers responsible for the success of their mission.

What embarrassment and possible damage to their command would have occurred had they found it necessary to override or veto any acts of these courts? Did they not also undertake similar risks when they turned to peer governance in choosing a new sergeant to replace the deceased Sgt. Floyd? Is Sgt. Gass the only sergeant in the U.S. Army ever elected to wear his stripes by the men in his unit?

That the courts of the Expedition had no legal authority becomes especially poignant when we consider the sentences which they ordered and the punishments which were executed. Five men bore permanent scars on their backs from whip lashes, three of whom remained with the party for the entire journey (Collins, Hall, and Willard). The other two (Newman and Reed) were disbanded in addition to being marked by the whip. At least six others of the permanent party - Shields, R. Field, Colter, Frazier, Warner, and Howard - were formally reprimanded, subjected to confinement, or sentenced to lashes which were remitted. Each of them was judged guilty by his peers of committing offenses of the most serious nature in a military unit - all "tending to the probable destruction (the Solution) of the party." Yet it gives us pause to consider that the stigmas borne by these men, regardless of the underlying merits, were the results of extra-legal proceedings which could possibly be rendered null and void, and would thereby have been wrongfully imposed.

Furthermore, the status of the two men (Reed and Newman) who were removed from the permanent party must remain equivocal in light of §XIV, Article 13 of the Articles, which reads:

No commissioned officer shall be cashiered, or dismissed from the service, excepting by order of Congress, or by the sentence of a general court-martial; and no non-commissioned officer or soldier shall be discharged from the service, but by the order of Congress, the secretary of war, the commander-in-chief, or commanding officer of a department, or by the sentence of a general court-martial.

**EXCOMMUNICATION**

Numerous references in the literature about the Expedition suggest that Newman and Reed were "discharged" from service. Editor Gary Moulton says that Reed and Newman had been "dishonorably discharged." In view of Article 13, however, it does not seem picayune to question whether these men were in fact actually "dismissed" or "discharged" from the service. They were indeed kicked out of the party, but were they still subject to the Articles of War until the term of their enlistment had expired?

The actual entries in the journals do not say that the culprits were "discharged." Clark records (August 18, 1804) that Reed is "not to be considered in the future as one of the Pemonent Party." On October 13, 1804, the Journals state that Newman was "disbanded the party." The record of the court states that Newman is "to be henceforth discarded from the permanent party..." No indication here that these men had been "discharged" from the military service of the United States. They were simply "excommunicated" or disassociated from this "best of families."

The question remains as to what later disposition of their cases was made after they were shipped back to St. Louis. Neither of the courts disbanding these men was a general court properly convened or composed in accord with the above quoted article. Therefore, their status as soldiers may have continued until the expira-
tion of their terms of enlistment. The only clue we have with regard to any military discharge is that all the members of the permanent party appear to have been discharge from the service in St. Louis on November 10, 1806. Except for John Colter who was discharged in August of that same year at the Mandan villages. So the question hinges upon whether the enlistments taken by the captains were in some way “open-ended” under some special authority of the Secretary of War, to expire on termination of the voyage or on order of Captain Lewis.

SENTENCES CARRIED OUT

The most dramatic episodes in the “crime and punishment” annals of the Expedition are those where the guilty are sentenced to lashes and such sentences actually executed. These were as follows:

1. Collins, May 17, 1804: Guilty of AWOL (§VI, Art. 2) misconduct (§XVIII, Art. 5) and disrespect to orders of the commanding officer (§II, Art. 2?). Sentenced to 50 lashes on his naked back. (non-capital offense).

2. Collins and Hall, June 29, 1804: Collins guilty of drunkenness on post (§XIII, Art. 5), and permitting Hall to draw whiskey without authority (§XVIII, Art. 5). (non-capital offenses). Collins sentenced to 100 lashes, Hall 50 lashes. Clark notes the party was always “found very ready to punish such crimes.”

3. Willard, July 12, 1804: guilty of sleeping on post (§XIII, Art. 6). (capital offense) Sentenced to 100 lashes “on his bear back, at four different times in equal proportions.”

4. Reed, August 18, 1804: guilty of desertion (§VI, Art. 1). (capital offense) Sentenced to “run the ganelet four times thro: the Detachment & party, and not to be considered in the future as one of the Permanent Party, after the Punishment of about [500?] lashes.”

5. Newman, October 13, 1804: guilty of mutiny, i.e., “repeated expressions of a highly criminal and mutinous nature.” (§II, Art. 3). (capital offense) This was described by Macomb as “the highest crime of which a soldier is capable, because it strikes immediately at the foundation of all military subordination and by necessary consequence at the destruction of the State...”

Other men were sentenced to receive lashes which were remitted: Warner and Hall, 25 each for AWOL (May 17, 1804); and Howard, 50 lashes for violating security at Fort Mandan (February 9, 1805).

FLOGGING

The modern-day reader may view flogging as an unacceptable form of punishment, and indeed it was later abolished by the Act of August 5, 1861. Our reactions are perhaps like those of “the three principal Chiefs” who witnessed the whipping of Reed and “petitioned for Pardon for this man,” or of the chief present at Newman’s whipping which caused the chief “to cry until the thing was explained to him...” For the thing to be explained to us, we turn again to Macomb’s text of 1809: “As whipping...is a military punishment which is often inflicted for small failures in duty...[it] is to be looked upon rather in the light of a wholesome chastisement than an infamous punishment...”

The Journal reader strains to visualize what actually happened at these dramatic events out there on a sandbar or some open prairie. One such visual effort is available through the artist Richard Schlect who depicts the punishment of Reed running a gauntlet of the permanent party. But we must not assume that all whippings were via the gauntlet. Reed’s punishment is the only one thus described in the Journals. Clark’s
entry about this scene says that the court "only sentenced him to run the Gantlet four times" — inferring that punishments of the other culprits by "lashes on the bear back" were more severe. So we must try to visualize two different situations—the gauntlet, and the lashings.

Any mode of formal punishment resulting from a court-martial, true to military tradition, would have been preceded by the usual solemnities. For example, Clark recites March 30, 1804 (pursuant to the court-martial of Shields, Colter, and Frazer for misconduct) that he "red the orders on parade this evening" announcing the court's findings and sentence. Assuming that the lashes on the bare back were administered in the manner typical in the Army until the early 1860s, we have a vivid portrayal of such proceedings by Captain William C. De Hart. In his treatise on court-martial published in 1864, De Hart notes that the object is to impress the soldiery with the moral effect of punishment; the sentence is executed "with seriousness and awe." He further describes the occasion:

When the sentence is corporal punishment, the troops of the regiment or garrison are drawn up to receive the prisoner, usually in some retired spot, as the ditch of a outwork, to which place he is conducted by a guard or escort. Upon his arrival at the place of punishment, the adjutant, or other staff officer, reads the sentence of the court, and its approval; the prisoner, during the time occupied in reading, standing uncovered, and advanced a couple of paces in front of the escort. He is then ordered to strip to the waist, and is tied to a machine called a triangle, which is formed of three legs, connected by a bolt at the top, and separated about four feet at the bottom. A bar is fastened at a proper height to two of the legs, against which the prisoner may lean his breast, who is tied by the ankles to the legs of the machine, and his hands secured above. Sometimes the prisoner is lashed to a gunwheel. The strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails are delivered upon the bare shoulders, by the drummer or trumpeter. The drum or trumpet-major counts each lash, giving sufficient time for the executioner to pause between the strokes; equal induration to three paces in slow time, which is marked by taps of the drum. A medical officer is invariably required to attend, to superintend the punishment.20

The issue of a medical officer present at the time of the flogging is addressed by Dr. E.G. Chuinard in his splendid treatise on the medical aspects of the Expedition: "There is no mention by Lewis and Clark or by any

of the other men who kept journals, about the suffering and the care of these men following the floggings. Certainly with 75 lashes, the back would be raw and bleeding. Presumably these men assumed their routine duties, with no mention of pain, medication, or protection from weather and insects..." 21

**CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS**

To understand such punishment the reader must realize the exact makeup of a cat-o'-nine-tails. This instrument was referred to by Clark in the Reed ordeal when he wrote: "each man with 9 switches should punish him..." 22 This device was used in both the lashing and gauntlet ceremonies. Captain De Hart provides us with detailed specifications for these "Cats":

The cat-o'-nine-tails, the usual instrument for flogging, is composed, as its name imports, of nine lashes of whip cord, each knotted in three places, one knot being near the end; the lashes are sixteen to eighteen inches long, and fastened to a handle of wood, of about a drumstick's length. Common whip cord is the thickness allowed; a larger description would too much bruise and lacerate the flesh by its weight.23

From Clark's reference to "9 Swiches" we can reasonably expect that the Expedition's switches approximately met the above specifications.

In the case of the gauntlet formalities, if we are to rely upon the testimony in The History of Corporal Punishment by George Ryley Scott, the culprit did not literally run the gauntlet. "Run" in this case meant of necessity to march slowly. Scott writes:

"...troops were arranged in two rows, facing each other, each soldier holding a whip or switch. Stripped to the waist, his hands tied securely to the muzzle of his musket, the butt of which was held by a soldier in such fashion that the bayonet point faced the stomach of the culprit, he was ready for the revolting ordeal. Each of his arms was then held by a soldier, and in this fashion he was slowly marched between the two files of waiting troops, who beat him with their whips as he passed. He could not hurry, he could not stop or fall; he was just helpless under the rain of blows.24

Because the journals are so reticent as to this incident, we will never know whether he had to "march
slowly" with the above restraints. Whether running or walking, Reed fades away down stream from Fort Mandan with the returning party of Corporal Warfington, and disappears from the record into everlasting ignominy.

"A MOST PERFECT HARMONY"

So too, with the departure to St. Louis of the dismissed party, the disciplinary problems of the Corps fade away like a nightmare, and the "most perfect harmony" settles upon the Expedition. From then on the group proceeds upstream more like a family than an infantry company regulated by the Articles of War.

There most certainly were later occasions fraught with potential need for disciplining. Think of the nervous uncertainty of the party at the Marias River, trying to determine whether the north or the south fork was the Missouri. The entire party, except for the captains, wanted to take the north fork. At this crucial moment, did the commanders simply order the men, like soldiers, to pack up and follow? Not at all. Lewis says he "indevoured to impress on the minds of the party" that the south fork was the true route. Then comes that marvelous line: "they said very cheerfully that they were ready to follow us any where we thought proper to direct..." An undisciplined bunch of brawling and insubordinate rowdies could have been ripe at this juncture for mutinous baiting by a Reed or a Newman.

Lewis responds to their concern by himself, leading a small party for further reconnaissance to remove all doubt; and soon they were to hear the joyful music of the Great Falls, confirming their trust in their leaders.

Consider the hazards of lax conduct with the natives. At Fort Clatsop McNeal is almost murdered, and Lewis laments: "we find it difficult to impress on their minds the necessity of always being on their guard." Would stronger disciplinary measures have helped impress this on their minds? And when the native women "lay close siege" to the fort, offering plaisirs d'amour, Lewis observes that "the men preserved their constancy to the vow of celibacy which they made on this occasion to Capt. C. and myself." Are we hearing from an infantry captain or a Dutch uncle?

One other startling glimpse of a changed disciplinary outlook is on the return journey when Lewis's small party is near the headwaters of the Marias. They were nearly decimated by the hostile Blackfeet encamped with them. Lewis's words at Clatsop urging the "necessity of always being on guard" must have thundered back at him because of the lax conduct at this encounter. As Bernard DeVoto notes: Lewis "ought to have stayed awake and on the alert. Furthermore, he ought to have foreseen just such an attempt...and ought to have impressed the necessity of vigilance on his men..."

Had Lewis completely forgotten about the Articles of War so uppermost in his mind from Camp Dubois to Fort Mandan? DeVoto's indictment reads like a specification of charges under §XVIII, Art. 5:

All crimes not capital, and all disorders and neglects which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the above articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by a general or regimental court-martial, according to the nature and degree of the offence, and be punished at their discretion.

Not only Lewis but Private Reuben Field also might be chargeable under this Article. Field, while on watch had carelessly left his rifle within grasp of the Blackfeet who promptly grabbed it; whence ensued the scuffle and fight which placed the party (and the entire mission) in extreme jeopardy. This was perhaps the most dramatic case of faulty discipline on the Expedition, salvaged only by quick reaction, and a huge chunk of luck. Had military discipline become too relaxed in
this "best of families"?

Despite these lapses, nobody today would dare prefer charges, in retrospect, under the Articles of War. The "book," if it ever was on board, was thrown into the river somewhere west of Mandan. When they set out from Fort Mandan in the spring of 1805, the captains knew that their mission (and their lives) would depend on teamwork. The official rule book, though monkeyed with to meet their needs, had had a major role in shaping the team; once beyond Mandan, neither switches, nor confinements, nor any kind of brass knucks would have a place. The captains would rely only on leadership, example and professional skill, not on any book. History and a grateful nation have recorded how well they succeeded.

We wonder how the rank and file of the party regarded their commanding officers. Paul Russell Curtright, in addressing this question, refers to Private Whitehouse's Journal as "our only on-the-spot appraisal of Lewis and Clark." We may presume that Whitehouse speaks for the entire Corps of Discovery:

I cannot in justice to myself omit saying, that the manly, and soldier-like behavior; and enterprising abilities; of both Captain Lewis and Captain Clark, claim my utmost gratitude; and the humanity shown at all times by them, to those under their command, on this perilous and important Voyage of discovery; I hope will ever fill the breasts of men who were under their command with the same..."

The two captains had mystical qualities which won a respect and loyalty from their men that transcends what was required by mere rules and regulations. They had the instinct to make law operative in spirit when it could not be operative by the letter.

NOTES


2. Ibid, p. 25.

3. John Edwin Bakeless, Lewis and Clark, Partners in Discovery, William Morrow & Co., New York, 1947, p. 107. Bakeless was referring, I believe, to Congressional hearings and other discussions after World War II when the Uniform Code of Military Justice (which would enable enlisted personnel to sit on courts-martial) was under consideration.


10. Moulton, 2:2, 520.

11. Jackson, 1:365. Lewis's report to Secretary Dearborn relates that Newman was "to be discharged from the permanent party," but requests that because of his good conduct he be given the remaining third of the gratuity awarded to party members.

12. The specific citations of the Articles of War appearing in the list published here are not designated in the Expedition records, but have been identified by the author of this paper as the pertinent references, based on the description of the charges appearing in the journals.

13. Moulton, 2:452-456. Probably not 500 lashes since §XIV, A 24 states: "...nor shall more than 100 lashes be inflicted on an offender at the discretion of a court-martial."


18. Macomb, p 120.

19. An illustration appearing in Gerald S. Snyder's In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark, National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 65; reproduced also in We Proceeded On, Vol. 14, No. 4, November 1988, p. 5. In the latter, the caption on the illustration incorrectly refers to Willard's punishment. Schloet's drawing actually depicts Reed's punishment.


22. Moulton, 2:482.


27. Ibid, p. 325.


Thomas Jefferson loved secrecy. In his dining room at the President's House, a sort of Lazy Susan of circular shelves could be rotated right through the wall, so that servants isolated in the next room could pass dishes to the diners without overhearing any juicy government gossip.

It was in character, then, for Jefferson to conceal selectively his plans for a government scouting trip overland to the Pacific Ocean. Because he needed public money for it, he had to take Congress into his confidence, but only under a stamp of "CONFIDENTIAL." Even some close associates were given a false cover story about the explorers' true destination. In sensitive matters the scouting party was to talk to headquarters in code. All that stealth may look overly cautious, but it fit an era prone to intrigue. After all, the top U.S. Army general was then in the pay of a foreign king, and giving secret advice on how to stop the Lewis and Clark Expedition in its tracks.

People still argue whether there's too much or too little government secrecy today. But what was it like in the early 19th century? What exactly did "confidential" mean in Jefferson's time, and how much did that muzzle Congress? Despite the cover stories, what leaked to the newspapers? How good was the cipher system that Jefferson gave to Meriwether Lewis, and was it ever used? Did anybody suspect General James Wilkinson's Spanish payroll connection? Many of the answers are known, but even now others can only be guessed at.
On January 18, 1803, the Senate's Executive Journal recorded the delivery of a confidential message from the President "by Mr. Lewis, his Secretary." The 32 Senators were meeting in the first completed section of the Capitol, a boxy sandstone-walled unit just north of today's center dome. Lewis took another copy to the 105 Representatives assembled in the "oven," a temporary oval structure standing where the sandstone House wing would go up the following year. There, arrival of the President's message caused the Speaker to clear the spectators' galleries; after a ten-minute reading of the text, the public was re-admitted.

Lewis's role as courier was especially fitting, for this message was crucial to his next assignment of leading the proposed expedition to the Pacific. The message had two parts, the first dealing with government-run trading houses for Indians east of the Mississippi. Second, Jefferson said he wanted to send a small exploring party up "the whole line" of the Missouri River "even to the Western ocean." In talks with the local Indians, the explorers would tout the advantages of dealing with a coming network of American traders. The President predicted this new transcontinental network would offer hot competition "to the trade of another nation, carried on in a high latitude..." (He didn't name that nation, but anyone could have shouted "Great Britain!") The President added there would be a scientific bonus from gaining "geographical knowledge of our own continent," and concluded: "The appropriation of $2,500 'for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the U.S.,' while understood and considered by the Executive as giving the legislative sanction, would cover the undertaking from notice, and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise previously prepare in it's way."2

Some historians have asked whether Jefferson fully leveled with Congress on his reasons for the expedition. But if it's true he was mainly responding to Alexander Mackenzie's 1801 book urging expansion of Britain's fur trade to the Pacific Northwest, then the American sortie to thwart Mackenzie's plan was quite accurately explained to Congress: let's take away their business. Who Jefferson didn't fully level with were the diplomats of Britain, France and Spain. From them he sought passports for the American explorers, explaining in pseudo-confidence that he really wanted only a "literary," or scientific, operation, but that the Constitution made him give it a commercial gloss to sneak it past Congress.

Since the President plainly told the diplomats his scouts would aim for the Pacific via the Missouri, who was all the secrecy directed at? Donald Jackson, the Expedition's respected chronicler, thought Jefferson "feared the intervention of his political enemies."3 Yet Congress was the last national redoubt of his political enemies, harboring a loud minority of 50 Federalists, and Congress got the true story. Jefferson more likely wanted to hide his message's anti-British strategy specifically from Edward Thornton, King George's temporary envoy to America. Just then Jefferson was worried about a possible war over New Orleans with France, its new owner, in which case he would want Britain on his side.

Thornton apparently bought it. To their lordships in Whitehall he passed along unskeptically Jefferson's story about a strictly literary venture. Thornton not...
GIRL SCOUTS TASTE LIFE ON THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL

We may never know how Sacagawea earned her name, but we do know how one of her modern-day followers painfully became entitled to the name "Horse-Stepping-On-Foot." The victim, Danette Sherman of Babbit, Minnesota, was one of fourteen Girl Scouts, ages 12 to 17, who spent two trying weeks along the Lewis and Clark Trail in North Dakota (June 21 to July 6). Girls from North Dakota, Minnesota, and Saskatchewan, Canada took part in the unique and educational journey into history. The participants from the U.S. were Cadettes and Senior Girl Scouts, and the Canadians were Pathfinders.

Co-sponsored by the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. and the Sakakawea* Girl Scout Council, the outing was conducted under the direction of Foundation Director Patti A. Thomsen of Waukesha, Wisconsin, and Sandi Talkington of Mandan, North Dakota. The two were assisted by Scout leaders Heather Stevenson and Tracy Thomson from Regina, Saskatchewan.

Danette was not the only one requiring the medical attention of "Doctor Thomsen," who reported that medical supplies such as aloe vera gel for sunburns and insect bites, Tylenol, and lots of Band-Aids were in high demand. In addition to the horse-stepping-on-foot incident, the "doctor" treated a case of heat stroke.

Their first camp was at Camp Sakakawea, overlooking Lake Sakakawea a few miles west of Pick City, North Dakota. Here the modern explorers had the good fortune of learning about prairie turnips, which were growing on the hills near their camp.

Patti took the opportunity to acquaint the girls with this staple food of the plains Indians. She told them how Sacagawea had introduced this and other edible plants to Lewis and Clark; and explained how the turnip is peeled, dried and pounded into flour. They learned that the nomadic Assiniboine Indians used to trade one unit of prairie turnip flour to the Mandans for four units of corn flour.

While camped at Camp Sakakawea, the group spent two days at the Knife River Indian Village (National Historic Site) near Stanton. Here the park staff provided the girls with lessons on native American tribes, legends, crafts, tepees and earth-lodges, native American dance and games. The girls were also taken on archaeological tours of the area, and fed venison stew.

In the spirit of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, notebooks and pens were given to each of the girls so they could make daily journal entries of their experiences along the Trail.

Just as Captain Clark drilled his men at Wood River Camp to determine their strengths and weaknesses, the first full day was spent testing the girls (as well as their adult supervisors) on their canoe skills. Everyone was eventually accepted as a canoeing member of the "expedition."

On the fifth day, they boarded their canoes on the Missouri River below...
The Expedition's experiences in manufacturing moccasins was impressed upon the girls as well. Each was set to the task of making her own pair "from scratch." However, the demands of each day allowed only a few to complete their projects before the two weeks had ended. They were impressed with the fact that the men of the Expedition, in spite of their daily routine, were able to make such a great number of moccasins during their winter at Fort Clatsop on the Northwest coast.

The first night out they camped just downstream from the mouth of Knife River. Patti had brought along her Atlas of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and, while relating Expedition events, showed the girls where they were on the maps that had been drawn by Captain Clark. The second night was spent at the replica of Lewis and Clark's Fort Mandan near Washburn. The following morning the Scouts were visited by a group of Daisies and Brownies — what you might call "junior Girls Scouts." Attired in her leather dress and ornamented with Indian trinkets, Patti talked to the group about Lewis and Clark and the Indians they met in that area 185 years earlier.

Although the girls did not find the "Mussquetors very troublesome," the wood ticks were out in force. Daily "tick patrols" ensued, but a few of the ticks managed to "dig in" (at least partially) before they were detected and forced to surrender.

Following their stay at Fort Mandan, the girls headed to Carson to don pioneer clothes and join the North Dakota Centennial Wagon Train. It was during this event that the horse and Danette decided that in the whole, wide world they both wanted to stand on the very same spot at the very same time. Unfortunately Danette was first to the spot.

After the wagon train, life became easier. The group spent the rest of their time participating in the various activities of the North Dakota Centennial celebration.

When asked if any of them would volunteer for the Lewis and Clark Expedition, having had a small taste of what it must have been like, no one came forward.

*This variant of the spelling of "Sacagawea" is commonly used by the people of North Dakota.*
only gave the expedition a passport, but also is believed to have let Lewis copy a valuable map of the upper Missouri River, as drawn by British surveyor David Thompson.

Congress, meanwhile, split the two topics of Jefferson's January 19 message into separate legislative bills, and passed the Indian trading house measure routinely. The other bill granting $2,500 for the Pacific expedition temporarily sank from sight. Lobbyists of that day didn't have the luxury of televised floor proceedings, or a verbatim account in a thick Congressional Record available the following morning. Legislative developments had to be tracked in the major newspapers, which hired stenographers to sit in the galleries and take everything down word-for-word.

Under Senate rules, Presidential messages labeled "confidential" were to be "kept inviolably secret." Rumors, of course, could always filter out, and one of them fooled the Spanish ambassador. On January 31 he reported to his superiors that the expedition's $2,500 appropriation was in trouble in the Senate, "and consequently it is very probable that the project will not proceed."4

However, on February 22, the Senate passed the bill without even bothering with a roll-call vote—a sign of...
harmony – and sent it to the House. This closed-door action escaped notice by the Washington National Intelligencer, but at the end of its account of House proceedings for the same day, the newspaper printed this terse sentence: "The galleries were cleared to take up two bills of a confidential nature received from the Senate." One was the expedition's appropriation, which the House then passed. Having been approved by both houses in identical form on February 22, the $2,500 appropriation "for the purpose extending the external commerce of the United States" was signed by the President on February 28. The Intelligencer printed the bill's inscrutably brief text, with no hint of a Pacific expedition, on March 14. Today, incidentally, Congress no longer passes secret bills in secret, though it regularly hides money for the CIA within routing appropriations for other agencies.

If the President had an arguable case for misleading Britain, there was one other tight secret justifiably guarded during the expedition's planning stage. In his June 19, 1803, letter to Louisville, Kentucky, inviting William Clark to be co-leader, Lewis told Clark to keep mum about the whole plan, and then doubly swore him to secrecy about the government's "very sanguine expectations" of soon buying all of Louisiana from France.

This was hot stuff, fresh off the boat from Paris. All winter Robert Livingston, the American ambassador to France, had been trying to get Napoleon to sell the port of New Orleans. Then on April 11 the French foreign minister abruptly asked Livingston whether he'd take the whole of Louisiana. Livingston's report of this offer arrived in Washington on June 9, and Lewis learned of it just before composing his invitation to Clark. The secret was preserved, more or less, for about three weeks only. Word of the Louisiana treaty's actual signing reached Jefferson on July 3, and the next day's National Intelligencer broke the news under a headline of "OFFICIAL."

The impulse for secrecy seemed excessive in other respects, however. Lewis's invitation to Clark also suggested a nonsensical cover story about the expedition's destination. In recruiting men for the party, Clark was to fib that "the direction of this expedition is up the Mississippi to its source, and thence to the lake of the Woods." That whopper originated with Jefferson, who gloated that "it satisfies public curiosity and masks sufficiently the real destination." Why? The governments of Britain, France and Spain already knew the real destination, if not the real purpose, and the Federalists in Congress knew everything. Moreover, Jefferson spread the cover story haphazardly, telling the Missouri truth to scientific cronies in Philadelphia and Paris, and the Mississippi fib to James Monroe and others who might actually need to know the "secret." Picked as a special envoy to head the New Orleans negotiations in Paris, Monroe could have expected the President's full trust. Yet on February 25, Jefferson sent Monroe the misleading news that "Congress has given authority for exploring the Mississippi, which however is ordered to be secret."

At best, the cover just caused confusion. A month after Congress acted, the Philadelphia Aurora ran a rather garbled version of the Mississippi cover story: "It is reported that captain Lewis, the president's private secretary, is to proceed in a few weeks on a journey towards our south western frontier, and that its object is of a political nature." The story speculated that his political business "merely concerns our own territory, to which it is believed the journey of captain Lewis will be confined."

Newspapers of that day freely reprinted each other's news, so that March 23 story in Philadelphia may have circulated on the Western frontier. In his July 18 letter accepting Lewis's invitation, Clark said that as a
replacer he was "holding out the Idea as stated in your letter – The subject of which has been mentioned in Louisville several weeks ago." From that, however, it's hard to know what destination Louisville was gossiping about.

On August 29, as Lewis was about to head down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh, a Louisville paper reported: "An expedition is expected to leave this place shortly, under the direction of Capt. William Clark and Mr. Lewis, (private secretary to the President) to proceed through the immense wilderness of Louisiana to the Southern Ocean." The story's source could only have been Clark, who by that time felt free to talk more openly.

By October Lewis had joined Clark in Louisville, and it was clear the President's secretary now was doing the talking. In mid-November the Aurora printed this story without other attributions:

"LOUISVILLE (Ken.) October 29. Captain Clark and Mr. Lewis left this place on Wednesday last, on their expedition to the Westward. We have not been enabled to ascertain to what length this route will extend – as when it was first set on foot by the President, the Louisiana country was not ceded to the United States, it is likely it will be considerably extended – they are to receive further instructions at Kahokia. It is, however, certain that they will ascend the main branch of the Mississippi as far as possible; and it is probable they will then direct their course to the Missouri, and ascend it. They have the iron frame of a boat, intended to be covered with skins, which can, by screws, be formed into one or four, as may best suit their purposes. About 60 men will compose the party."

In talking to the Kentuckians, Lewis perhaps was trying to save the government's credibility: in telling our original Mississippi story, we merely neglected to say we would also go up the Missouri. The reference to Lewis's cherished iron boat was a dead giveaway to the story's source.

II - "ARTICHOKES"

Jefferson instructed Lewis to encipher any messages that "might do injury if betrayed." Here, the President was showing something more than a melodramatic bent for whispered conspiracies; he was a real expert on ciphers. Cipher systems allowing a sender to substitute one alphabetical letter for another had been around since the Greeks and Romans. As Secretary of State in 1790, Jefferson raised diplomatic communications to a new level of sophistication by inventing a cipher machine composed of 26 moveable alphabet wheels.

But such a machine had no place on a wilderness expedition, where it could be captured or damaged. Needed instead was a system that could be carried around entirely in the head. The President therefore told Lewis to memorize a double-substitution cipher attributed to Robert Patterson, a University of Pennsylvania mathematician. Actually, this method dated all the way back to a 1585 book by French diplomat Blaise de Vigenere. "Vigenere claimed that his cipher was unbreakable," notes a modern writer on cryptography. "It was not, but most people thought it was, and it remained intact for almost 200 years."

If he had to send a secret message, Lewis was to write out the alphabet's 26 letters, plus the ampersand, in the form of a 27 by 28-space matrix (as shown on the facing page). Jefferson kept an identical matrix at home, labeled "Cypher estabbd. with Captain Lewis. Key. Artichokes."

The President demonstrated to Lewis the use of a key word in the Vigenere-Patterson system by enciphering a fanciful expedition: "I am at the head of the Missouri, all well, and the Indians so far friendly." In his own hand, Jefferson arranged the letters thus:

```
I am at the head of the Missouri, all...
art ic h ok ear t ic h ok ear t ick o ke
j sf jw awp nfsx xi awp rjjxxz pwq
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Picking a clear-text letter from the vertical column on the left, the sender then went to its companion key word letter on the horizontal top line, and found the cipher-text letter where the columns intersected within
the matrix. A message recipient would work the process in reverse. Jefferson's exercise itself showed one hazard of the system to a forgetful user. The agreed ten-letter key word was "artichokes," plural, but the example's singular form would have thrown the deciphering off after the ninth letter of the message. And in apparent haste, the teacher failed to line up a key word letter with the final "i" in Missouri, also derailing the deciphering sequence at that point.

Assuming proper execution, how secure was such a system? The rolling alphabets in the matrix introduced more randomness than a single letter-for-letter substitution partly smearing out any cipher-breaker's attempt to identify such high-frequency letters as "E," "T," and "A" in the underlying message. Note that in the first few words of Jefferson's example, the letter "E" was enciphered as "K," then "A," and again "K," because of a coincidental repetition of the nine-letter key word. A cryptanalyst looking at a stack of long messages all keyed to "artichoke" might begin to spot such patterns of repetition. However, a short single specimen of Vigenere-Patterson cipher would be tough to break.

Historians have found no "artichokes" messages, long or short, that were actually written by Lewis or Jefferson during the Pacific expedition. Of course, that doesn't rule out the possibility that enciphered messages were sent, deciphered and then destroyed.\(^4\)
More likely, the cloak-and-dagger romance of secret messages seemed a little foolish once Lewis and Clark began traveling under open Western skies. Possibly everyone concluded the explorers needn't fear interference by foreign governments after France sold Louisiana. From the outset Jefferson dismissed any chance that empire-weary Spain would bother to contest territory it had already given up.

III – "NUMBER 13"

But Jefferson badly underestimated Spain's nervousness about American encroachments on its rich colony of Mexico. In March 1804, with Lewis and Clark poised to begin their trip up the Missouri, a cry of alarm went from New Orleans to the Spanish Captain-General of Cuba. Spain's acceptance of the U.S. purchase of the Mississippi's west bank, warned the message, "would cause the daring Americans of the western settlements, under the impulse of an insatiable avarice, to overthrow almost in a moment the two empires of Mexico and Peru, and would dispossess Spain of its most precious inheritances..."

As one proof of Yankee aggression, the message reported: "Orders have been given to the president's private secretary and the Infantry Captain Lewis to ascend the Missouri River with a military command, and supplied with the articles necessary to make the proper observations at different points, and if circumstances favor the extension of the enterprise, they are to proceed as far as the Pacific Ocean... An express ought immediately to be sent to the governor of Santa Fe, and another to the captain-general of Chihuaga [i.e., Chihuahua], in order that they may detach a sufficient body of chasseurs to intercept Captain Lewis and his party, who are on the Missouri River, and force them to retire or take them prisoners."

This message to Cuba, forwarded to the court of King Carlos IV in Madrid, was signed by Vincent Folch, the Spanish governor of West Florida. In reality, Folch was only the translator. The original version was written in English by James Wilkinson, Commanding General of the U.S. Army. For this covert advice, and a promise of more to come, the Spanish paid Brigadier General Wilkinson $12,000 in newly minted Mexican silver. Forwarding the message to the Marquis of Casa Calvo, his paymaster in New Orleans, Wilkinson wrote on March 12, 1804: "The Memorial which accompanies this Letter has its origin in the anxious solicitude which I feel for the prosperity of the two Powers, which I love equally..." He also gave instructions on how future contacts should be made: "My name or condition shall never be written, and always shall be designated by the number 13. All our correspondence must be carried on in cypher; in general it shall be with Your Excellence alone, or in case that is impracticable, with Governor Folch..."

This wasn't Wilkinson's first sellout to Spain. In fact, Number 13 claimed Madrid owed him an additional $8,000 in back pay for previous services, which stretched all the way back to a 1787 plot to convert Kentucky into an independent ally of Spain. Wilkinson kept finding ways to live well on a soldier's pay. An officer in America's Revolutionary army, he later fought In-
diants in Ohio and through seniority rose in the Adams administration to one-star rank, the highest then authorized by Congress. Both business and military duties made him a frequent visitor to New Orleans, where a French official tagged him as "an illogical fellow, full of queer whims and often drunk..." As one painfully balanced biography put it: "His important services as a soldier, Indian administrator, pioneer trader, and Western expansionist were frequently forgotten in the opposition caused by his tricky unscrupulousness."17

In the small world of Federal service, both Lewis and Clark were well acquainted with Wilkinson. During the army's 1793-95 Ohio campaigns against Chief Little Turtle, Lieutenant Clark was one of the junior officers who admired the flashy Wilkinson more than the top commander, General Mad Anthony Wayne. In 1807, Wilkinson had made himself so unpopular as governor of Upper Louisiana that Jefferson decided to replace him with Meriwether Lewis, the returned hero of the Rockies.

Of course, Lewis and Clark knew nothing of Number 13's specific treachery of urging Spain to intercept their expedition in 1804. At least partly in response, Spanish officials tried to find the American explorers with Indian surrogates or Mexican troops, but were foiled by the immensity of the Western plains.

Suspicion about a cozy tie with Spain actually had swirled around Wilkinson for years. In 1797, a tip about the general's seeming involvement in the Kentucky plot came to Washington from a Federal boundary surveyor in Natchez, Andrew Ellicott, who later coached Lewis on celestial navigation.19 In 1810, during a House of Representatives inquiry into charges that Wilkinson "corruptly received money from the government of Spain or its agents," surveyor Isaac Briggs (another of Lewis's astronomy teachers) said the general admitted receiving "about" $10,000 from Spain back in 1804.20

But nobody could ever quite corner the slippery general. Jefferson had heard all the rumors, but seemed eternally grateful to Wilkinson for his role in blowing the whistle on the murky Western intrigues of former Vice President Aaron Burr. Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin conceded in 1806 that the rumors should "induce caution" about Wilkinson, but added: "Of betraying his [country] to a foreign country I believe him to be altogether incapable."21

Not until a century later did the smoking-gun documents showing the depth of Wilkinson's guilt turn up in the archives of Madrid and Seville. There, American historian Isaac Cox and others found a letter from Don Vincente Folch identifying Wilkinson as the true author of the 1804 "Reflections on Louisiana," and the "Number 13" cover letter from Wilkinson to the Marquis de Casa Calvo. Cox disclosed his findings in a paper read at a meeting of the the American Historical Association on December 30, 1913, and published the following year in the American Historical Review.22

Had Spain actually stopped Lewis and Clark, history's verdict on Wilkinson's role doubtless would be harsh indeed. But as things turned out, his spying merely produced the kind of irrelevant fizzle that so often plague undercover intrigues by governments. "We may doubt if the Spanish got their money's worth," concluded Jefferson biographer Dumas Malone. "He seems to have told them little they did not know already or could not have easily ascertained, and he may have suggested little or nothing they would not have thought of anyway."23

NOTES
6. Thwaites. 7:228.
7. Rumors of expanded negotiations for Louisiana were current in America before any official announcements. On June 22, 1803, The Guardian of Freedom newspaper in Frankfort, Ky., printed part of "a letter from Bordeaux, dated April 24," stating: "It is even said there is no doubt about the cession of Louisiana to the U. States, on condition that the latter settle all claims of their individuals against the French Republic, and pay 3 millions of dollars in the bargain."
8. Thwaites. 7:219.

Here is an interesting 1000-word article relating the impressions the journalists of the Lewis and Clark Expedition had with regard to the prairies of Missouri. Illustrated with a full-page sketch of the captains standing in the tall grass on a prairie "as handsome...as ever any man saw."

The author concludes her article with the claim that "the prairie can be saved as a living link to our past and a resource for the future."

Ann Rogers is a member of the Foundation, author of the book Lewis and Clark in Missouri, and along with her husband Joseph has produced the half-hour video Lewis and Clark: The Great Journey (See WPO, February 1989, p. 29).

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MISSOULA CHAPTER MEETS TO REORGANIZE

The Traveller's Rest Chapter (Missoula, Montana) held a reorganizational meeting on Thursday, June 29 at the Montana Power Building in Missoula. The Chapter became inactive about a year ago when its president's job required that he transfer to another area. There have been several requests lately from Chapter members that the group reorganize and become active.

Six members attended the reorganizational meeting, and a number of others who were unable to be there indicated their interest in getting the chapter moving again. Those present agreed to act as a temporary ad hoc committee for the purpose of reorganizing the Chapter. Another meeting of the group and all interested parties, is scheduled for July 20 at 7:30 p.m. at Collector's Showcase, 1139 W. Broadway, Missoula. At this meeting they will assess the results of a recent survey sent out to determine if there's sufficient interest for the Chapter to continue. Plans for an August 27 field trip up the Blackfoot River ("The River on the Road to the Buffalo") will be discussed at that time.

Persons interested in supporting the efforts of the Traveller's Rest Chapter, and participating in their meetings and field trips, should write to Chuck Mead, P.O. Box 9412, Missoula, MT 59807.
"LEWIS AND CLARK AT THE PORTAGE" UNVEILED

A crowd estimated at about 700 endured the sunny, 89-degree afternoon heat to attend the Fourth of July unveiling ceremony of the heroic-size statue "Lewis and Clark at the Portage." The 14-foot, $250,000 statue, by internationally recognized sculptor Bob Scriver of Browning, Montana, is located in Broadwater Overlook Park, Great Falls, Montana. It stands directly across the Missouri from the mouth of Sun River (the "Medicine River" of Lewis and Clark).

Master of ceremonies for the event was Dick Martin (alias Meriwether Lewis) treasurer of the Portage Route Chapter, and chairman of the Cascade County 89ers, a group organized to coordinate Montana centennial activities in the Great Falls community. Referring not to the heat of the day, but to the many Lewis and Clark activities of the week, Martin said: "Lewis and Clark have really hit this city like a fever."

Among those taking part in the ceremony was Leo Ellingson, chairman of the Montana Centennial Com-

mission. He referred to the statue as one of the "lasting legacies of Montana's centennial."

Guest speaker Bob Saindon of Helena, editor of WPO, pointed out that the day's ceremony was reminiscent of the unveiling of Scriver's heroic-size Lewis and Clark statue 13 years ago in Fort Benton, Montana during our nation's bicentennial celebration. In his prepared remarks, Saindon talked about Lewis's "enchanted" first day at Medicine River, the significance of the Great Falls area to Lewis and Clark's concept of the Northwest Passage, and the varied activities taking place in the "Great Falls Community" of 1805.

Speaking privately after the unveiling, Scriver said he would like to see the Clark's Lookout project completed. He was referring to a project which was begun in 1981. At that time Scriver designed a statue of Captain Clark to stand atop a limestone monolith in the Beaverhead Valley near Dillon, Montana. The rock known today as "Clark's Lookout" (climbed by Clark to survey the valley) was purchased for a park by Montana Department of Fish Wildlife and Parks. Unfortunately, the Dillon person promoting the statue was transferred out of state and the project came to a standstill.
ANNUAL L&C RENDEZVOUS - ENJOYABLE HISTORY LESSON

The Lewis and Clark Rendezvous, now an annual event in St. Charles (Missouri), took place the weekend of May 20-21. The Rendezvous commemorated the 185th anniversary of the Expedition's five-day visit to St. Charles in the first stage of the "voyage of discovery."

The organizers of this year's event worked to make it as historically informative as possible. One new feature was a history booth staffed by members of the Metro St. Louis Chapter, who were present throughout the weekend to answer questions about the explorers and their epic journey.

When the Metro Chapter volunteers arrived, they received a hospitable welcome from fellow chapter members Mimi and Darold Jackson. Darold had constructed a willow-canopied history booth, and Mimi supplied colonial costumes for chapter members, since authentic dress was required for all those working within the festival area.

Another feature new to this year's Rendezvous was an area where children (perhaps more familiar with video games) could learn how children played at the time of Lewis and Clark.

A variety of 19th century foods and crafts was available at the encampment along the Missouri River, and there were reenactments of events associated with the Expedition's stay in St. Charles, some staged against the backdrop of a keelboat replica.

A fife and drum muster of six units from five states provided colorful pageantry.

For its many participants, the Rendezvous was an enjoyable history lesson on American life in 1804.

Submitted by ANN ROGERS
Metro St. Louis Chapter

DISCOVERY CORPS VOTES TO AFFILIATE WITH FOUNDATION

According to information in their May 9, 1989, newsletter, Discovery Corps of Council Bluffs, Iowa, at their April meeting decided to affiliate with the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. The five-year-old Corps, (which has been a continuous part-time unit since March 1988) is dedicated to the preservation and sharing of the Lewis and Clark heritage through public presentations, especially living history reenactments. The group seeks to portray the Expedition and its individual members in as accurate a manner as possible. Each active reenactment member provides his own clothing, arms and accouterments, paying close attention to period accuracy. They are invited to participate in numerous historical events throughout the mid-west.

Jack Schmidt, the Sgt. Ordway of the group, and editor of their newsletter, states that it was decided that the Corps would affiliate with the Foundation as soon as the required number of voting members (i.e., 10) joined the Foundation.

The May newsletter reports that the foundation for a 16' x 22' trapper's cabin northeast of the Council House at Fort Atkinson has been completed. The cabin is a project the Corps agreed to undertake. Members volunteer time two weekends per month. When complete, 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.

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.
PORTAGE ROUTE CHAPTER HOLDS 3RD ANNUAL L&C RUN

The third annual Meriwether Lewis Run was the first in a full day of Lewis and Clark events sponsored by the Portage Route Chapter, Great Falls, Montana on the Fourth of July. One hundred sixty-five runners competed in the two distances. Arrangements for the event, which is held at West Bank Park along the Missouri River in Great Falls, were made by Chapter members Ella Mae Howard and Ben Rangel.

A new record was set in the men’s division of the three-and-a-half-mile run. Former University of Montana track star Doug Darko ran the distance in 18:24. Patricia George of Great Falls won the women’s division, running the course in 22:19. Jason Steicher and Elly Driggers, both of Great Falls, were the winners of the one-mile run.

The Lewis and Clark Run Across Montana (June 9-18), also sponsored by the Portage Route Chapter, under the direction of Ella Mae, has been described as a "great success." Ella Mae’s reaction: "I never dreamed that we would get such a good response." This event will be covered as a photo feature in the November issue of WPO.

CAN YOU TOP THIS?

Foundation member Ron Laycock of Benson, Minnesota sends a copy of the April 1989 issue of *Session Weekly,* published by the Minnesota House of Representatives Public Information Office. On the front cover, along with a photo of the sculpture of Sacagawea, is the following erroneous article:

*It’s a fact!*

Sacagawea, a Native American woman, is included in the five-figure statuary, "Minnesota, Spirit of Government." It has been on display in the House of Representatives since 1938.

Italian-American sculptor, Charles Brloschi, included Sacagawea in the statuary because she contributed to the settlement of Minnesota.

Sacagawea and her French husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, were guides of the Lewis and Clark expedition. She mediated between wavy tribes and the explorers during the expedition. She has been credited with many acts of courage.

Sacagawea, born in the southern Rocky Mountain region about 1784, was a member of the Shoshone tribe. She died in Wyoming on the Shoshone reservation in 1894.

L&C PUBLICATION PRICE LIST AVAILABLE

A list of 38 titles with descriptions for each can be found in the new price list of Lewis and Clark publications. The list has been produced as a joint effort of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and the Jefferson National Expansion Historical Association. The introduction to the price lists states:

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation was established to educate about and preserve the interest in the great trail west along the Missouri River blazed by the Corps of Discovery under the leadership of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The Jefferson Expansion Historical Association cooperating with the National Park Service contributes to the interpretation of the westward movements of the United States. The Association focuses on the heritage of Thomas Jefferson, particularly the Louisiana Purchase, and is associated with numerous western American history and heritage organizations. The following list of books and publications encourages those interested in the expedition to learn about its historic significance and visit its many locations of interest.

For a copy of the list, or to order a book, write:
Jefferson National Historical Assoc.
11 N. 4th Street
St. Louis, MO 63102
Or call: 1-800-537-7962.
If you’re in St. Louis, call: 231-5474

BOB LANGE RECEIVES SPECIAL HONOR FROM OHS

WPO Editor Emeritus Robert E. Lange of Portland, Oregon has received word from the Oregon Historical Society that he has been appointed a lifetime member of its prestigious Honorary Council, a group of individuals “who by virtue of a career of exceptional contributions has enriched the quality of our lives in the Oregon Country.”

In extending the honor, Executive Director Thomas Vaughan pointed out that the Society “seldom grants this recognition; and when it does the award invariably embraces a recognition of scholarship or commensurate service.”
GROUND BROKEN FOR L & C VISITOR CENTER

A crowd of about 250 people attended the Fourth of July ceremonial ground breaking for the planned Lewis and Clark visitor center near Great Falls, Montana. The planning, development and supervision of the center, which was authorized by Congress and signed into law by President Reagan on October 28, 1988, is the responsibility of the National Forest Service. (See WPO article May 1989, p. 23)

Since the ground testing for an appropriate site near Giant Springs was not yet complete, the Portage Route Chapter and the National Forest Service, hosts for the ceremony, decided to hold the 11 a.m. ground breaking about a mile east of Giant Springs at Lewis and Clark Overlook near Rainbow Falls.

Among the many dignitaries present was Montana U.S. Representative Ron Marlenee who was instrumental in getting the bill for the center through Congress and signed by the President. Letters from the three other Montana Congressmen were read. In his brief remarks, Congressman Marlenee said he was proud of his “small part” in bringing the visitor center project to its present status. He told the crowd: “I’m happy that I was able to be the key that was turned to open the door for the project.”

Marcia Staigmiller of Great Falls was also recognized for the important role she has played in getting the visitor center bill passed and the project moving.

Rick Clark of the National Park Service and Assistant Coordinator of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, referred to the planned center as one of the three anchor points on the Lewis and Clark Trail— the Arch in St. Louis and Fort Clatsop in Oregon being the other two. Clark pledged that the National Park Service will work with the Forest Service in any way it can to help develop the center.

The guest speaker was John Carl, vice president and secretary of Montana Power Company and Montana Power Foundation. The two organizations are partners in the expansion of Heritage Park at Giant Springs. Carl praised those who work to make Lewis and Clark “real people” for us today. In doing so, he said, they connect the past with the present and the future. After relating some of the Expedition’s trying experiences at the Great Falls, he said “the area illustrates the kind of spirit they brought to the opening of the West...They had the spirit to move on yet to appreciate the good things.” In conclusion Carl predicted: “The center will not only show what we were in the old days, but what we are now.”
"THE EXPLORERS AT THE PORTAGE"
MAP/BROCHURE ALLOWS SELF-GUIDED TOUR

The Portage Route Chapter, Great Falls, Montana has produced an outstanding, large-scale map (1" = 1 mile) of the Missouri River at the Great Falls. The 16" X 20" map, drawn by Ken Sievert of Great Falls, identifies a number of Lewis and Clark points of interest, as well as Lewis and Clark interpretive sites along the portage. It also explains the significance and current status of each, along with access information.

The new map/brochure enables a traveler to carry out an historically accurate self-guided tour of a fascinating 25-mile section of the Lewis and Clark Trail. Here the Expedition spent an action-packed month from mid-June to mid-July, 1805, and again for several days in July on their return from the ocean the following year.

In addition to the new brochure, you would want to bring along your copy of the Lewis and Clark Journals to obtain more detailed information about the area and the events which took place while the Expedition was there. With these two items in hand, you should be able to spend at least two enjoyable days touring the Lewis and Clark sites of the Great Falls area.

Funds for printing “The Explorers at the Portage” were provided by the Great Falls Chamber of Commerce and the Portage Route Chapter.

For information about how to obtain a copy of "The Explorers at the Portage" write to: Portage Route Chapter, P.O. Box 2424, Great Falls, MT 59403.

MANUSCRIPTS AND PHOTOS (FROM PAGE 3)

that relate in some way to the Foundation's upcoming annual meeting. If you have any such photos, we would appreciate the opportunity to consider using them. Photographers whose photos are used for the cover will receive a credit line and 10 copies of the issue in which the photo appears.

WPO publication months are February, May, August, and November. Submissions must be to the editor by the first day of the month preceding publication. Send to: Bob Saindon, Editor, 172 Briarwood, Helena, MT 59601.

BOB SAINDON
EDITOR

AUDUBON GROUP HEARS ABOUT LEWIS AND CLARK

Many groups are taking advantage of this year's good supply of water to boat through the Wild and Scenic section of the Missouri River in central Montana – 149 miles of the most spectacular scenery of the entire Lewis and Clark Trail.

The Montana Audubon Council was no exception. It offered a unique six-day, 107-mile canoe trip from Coal Banks Landing to James Kipp Park June 26 to July 1. The extraordinary tour included six lecturers delivering a total of 30 addresses, five of which were specifically on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The tour was billed as a "Montana Centennial Missouri River Float Trip."

It was virtually a university on water. The lectures, included slide and movie presentations at night, "float talks," chart talks, water testing materials, electronic game tracking devices, and fish shocking equipment. The lectures were presented at night camps, as well as at sites of historic and scientific significance.

Subjects ranged from the geography of the area to the Indians, their practices, wars and ceremonies; the fur trade, military activities, fish and wildlife, bird watching, homesteading, and astronomy.

In addition to the six speakers, there were an equal number of registrants and three camp attendants.

Although other talks touched on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the major Lewis and Clark addresses were given by Ken Walcheck, Information Officer for the Montana Fish Wildlife and Parks, Miles City, Montana; and Bob Saindon, of Helena, Montana, editor of We Proceeded On.

Ken Walcheck presents an address on the "Arms of the Lewis and Clark Expedition." Afterwards, individuals were given an opportunity to shoot the flintlock rifle.

Walcheck spoke about the extinct Audubon Big Horn Sheep which was discovered by Lewis and Clark (they killed their first in the area of the float trip). He spoke about the "Arms of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," using his own flintlock rifle for a hands-on demonstration. He also talked about the "Wildlife observed by Lewis and Clark in Montana."

Bob Saindon gave a presentation on the ever-popular Sacagawea, the "The Boats of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," and "The Story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition – Told through Their Own Journal Drawings."
Foundation director Patti Thomsen talks to a group of young girls about the Lewis and Clark Expedition during a two-week Girl Scout field trip June 21 to July 6, 1989. Patti represented the Foundation, which co-sponsored the fascinating and educational journey into history along with the Sakakawea Girl Scout Council of North Dakota. (See story on pages 14 and 15).