THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.

Incorporated 1969 under Missouri General Not-For-Profit Corporation Act IRS Exemption Certificate No. 501(C)(3) — identification No. 51-0187715

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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 art works 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.

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: $42.50)
Sustaining: $25.00
Supporting: $50.00
Contributing: $100.00
Student**: $7.50

* 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

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT DOERK

Meriwether Lewis, while in Pittsburgh in the late summer of 1803, had a keelboat designed and built by simply going ahead and doing it. William Clark did the same when he had winter quarters erected alongside Wood River in 1803. This ability to act at a local level is part of the Lewis and Clark heritage we can celebrate in today's world. Several examples come to mind:

Bob Lund, among others, working through a Billings, Montana Chamber of Commerce sub-committee on tourism, made appropriate contacts to establish an ad hoc committee to energize a citizens' drive to acquire and manage the site of Pompeys Pillar, 28 miles east of Billings. An organizational meeting was held in December with outgoing Mayor Jim Van Arsdale and State Senator Al Bishop serving as co-chairmen. It was about fifty degrees below zero when they had the meeting, and Lee Kerr from Hysham, Montana, representing "Custer Country" had to start a fire under his vehicle to get it going...but he did, and got to the meeting. With that kind of persistence, we can rest assured that Pompeys Pillar will remain a properly protected and publicly-accessible portion of our Lewis and Clark heritage.

In Idaho, many Foundation members and non-members are working hard to make the 1990 Annual Meeting in Lewiston (July 29-August 2) a resounding success. This is a grass roots effort at its best, and an example of how a group of people with diverse backgrounds can get together and make something happen. And those Foundation members who attend will reap the rewards. Look over the enclosed schedule, and make plans to extend your stay in Idaho in order to take in one or more of the pre- and post-meeting events. You will have a memorable week reliving a part of the Lewis and Clark heritage in the midst of Idaho country as Lewis and Clark knew it.

ROBERT K. DOERK, JR.
President
IDAHO CHAPTER TO SPONSOR FOUNDATION'S 22ND ANNUAL MEETING

What better time than Idaho's Centennial to visit the Gem State and see first-hand some of the finest national treasures related to the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The Idaho Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is planning what promises to be one of the most exciting national meetings ever held, and the Idaho contingent sends out an invitation for all Foundation members to attend.

"As we made plans," Chapter President James Fazio writes, "it became apparent that there is far too much to see and do in northern Idaho than can be tapped during three summer days. Therefore, the Chapter has made arrangements for many unique opportunities to extend your vacation by coming a day early or staying after the meeting."

With the meeting program information and registration form, which are enclosed in the mailing of this issue of WPO, you will find brief descriptions of the pre- and post-meeting events. If you select one of these special events on the registration form, your name and address will be passed along promptly to the event sponsor. "It will be a great way to make an exciting national meeting even better," Fazio says.

"The bad news this summer," according to the Chapter president, "is that even though the convention facilities are excellent, they are limited." Consequently, the Chapter will be strictly adhering to a limit of 350 registrants on a first-come, first-served basis. To avoid disappointment, complete and send in your enclosed registration form right away. Also, you are advised to make your own lodging arrangements as soon as possible. Information on nearby motels can be found on page 31.

"We look forward to being your hosts, and seeing you in the land of troublesome mountains and friendly Nez Perce," Fazio writes.

PROGRAM OUTLINE
22nd Annual Meeting
Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation
Ramada Inn, Lewiston, Idaho
July 29-August 2, 1990

SUNDAY (JULY 29)
All day - Pre-Meeting Events (See registration booklet enclosed with this issue of WPO.)
1:00-9:00 Registration at Ramada Inn
4:00-5:00 Finish of Idaho's L & C Centennial Event
6:00-9:00 Reception and Exhibit Night
8:30 Options:
Cowboy Poetry Reading
Lewis and Clark - Hollywood Style
Washington's Centennial Run

Monday (July 30)
7:00-10:00 Registration Continues
8:00-10:30 Annual Business Meeting and Welcome

11:00-5:30 Field Trip: Overlook of Lewis's and KoosKoosKee rivers
Chief Timothy State Park & Visitor Center
Three Trails Crossing
The Appaloosa - Horse of the Nez Perce Indians

7:00 An Evening at Lewis and Clark State College

(Continued on page 31)

THE COVER PHOTO...

"The Sinque Hole" was photographed by Foundation Second Vice President James R. Fazio of Moscow, ID. The site is located in present-day Clearwater National Forest, and is the site of the Lewis and Clark Expedition's September 17, 1805, camp. Private Joseph Whitehouse wrote in his journal: "camped at a small banch on the mountain near a round sink hole full of water." Captain Clark wrote: "we encamped on the top of a high knob of mountain at a run passing to the left." According to the Clearwater National Forest brochure, "Following Lewis and Clark Across the Clearwater National Forest," these two descriptions "fit this sinkhole location perfectly."

The Lolo Motorway (Forest Road #500) passes by the "Sinque Hole." According the the Clearwater Forest Brochure, the road was "constructed in the 1930s by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) on or adjacent to much of the original [Lewis and Clark] trail. The road provides access to points where it is possible to see and hike remnants of the original trail."
In January, 1803, President Jefferson assured Congress that an overland expedition to the Pacific could be pulled off by “an intelligent officer with ten or twelve chosen men.” Yet when that expedition left its North Dakota winter quarters in April, 1805, it was led by two officers, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Their whole party numbered 33 people, more than double the force originally planned. And that was the “permanent” corps of explorers that actually went to the Pacific; there had been 45 or more travelers on the journey’s first leg from St. Louis.

The story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition’s seemingly runaway growth is a hard one to piece together. The leading participants didn’t say much about it on the record that has survived. The main unanswered question is whether anyone in Washington authorized the expansion or, as seems quite likely, the leaders did it on their own without much fear of official censure if they returned in triumph.

What clearly comes through any close examination of how, when and why the Expedition ballooned in size is a sense of improvisation: the numbers changed as the magnitude of the effort gradually became apparent. And that, in turn, required more improvisation, such as a scramble for extra supplies for the extra people.

Picking the right number of explorers was a matter of cut-and-dry, because there were no rules stating how big a North American wilderness expedition should be. Early ideas for exploring the West were colored by the colonial practice of sneaking small groups past hostile Indians in the Eastern woodlands. When Congressman Jefferson, in 1783, sounded out George Rogers Clark on leading a California expedition, the Revolutionary War hero cautioned against “large parties” that would “alarm the Indian Nations they pass through.” Three or four young men would be enough, the General thought.

What seems to have attracted later imitators was Alexander Mackenzie’s brilliantly successful 1793 dash to the Pacific across Canada’s Rockies. Including Mackenzie, that party numbered 10 lightly armed civilians. Mackenzie’s 1801 account of this adventure did more than stir President Jefferson into launching his own Pacific expedition. Lewis and Jefferson also used Mackenzie’s detailed journal as a “handbook” for planning the size and equipage of the American exploring party, according to persuasive speculation by David Freeman Hawke in Those Tremendous Mountains, a nonfiction account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

An American force of an officer and 10 or 12 soldiers was the understanding on which Congress voted the expedition’s initial $2,500 appropriation on February
22, 1803. A week later Jefferson began informing his scientific friends in Philadelphia that Lewis, designated to lead “a party of about ten” to the West, would soon be calling on them for advice. As late as June 20, Jefferson’s formal instructions to Lewis placed the number of “attendants” at 10 to 12.

In fact, however, the roster was already creeping higher. Lewis was authorized to recruit another officer as his backup. Lewis spent all of April and May in Harpers Ferry and Philadelphia, acquiring enough supplies to equip a party of 15. He obtained 15 new Army rifles from the Harpers Ferry arsenal, 15 powder horns from the Army depot in Philadelphia, 15 blankets, 15 scalping knives, 15 knapsacks.

His original plan was to commandeer a core group of soldier-explorers from the Army post at South West Point, near present Kingston in east Tennessee, and march them to Nashville. There, Lewis and the soldiers would pick up a previously ordered keelboat and large canoe and float them down the Cumberland River to its junction with the Ohio.

But toward the end of his stay in Philadelphia, Lewis had to junk this plan and improvise a new one. He learned there were too few good men at South West Point, and that no boat would be waiting in Nashville. So from Philadelphia he sent specifications to a boatbuilder in Pittsburgh for another custom-made vessel. No longer counting on an initial force of soldiers from Tennessee, Lewis asked the Army to send some substitutes to Pittsburgh just to help him take his new keelboat directly down the Ohio River later that summer.

For the first time Lewis was dividing his manpower needs into two categories: a “permanent” party of subordinates who would go with him all the way to the Pacific, and temporary groups of people who would do specific jobs and then peel away. The eight men sent by the Army to Pittsburgh were new recruits awaiting transfer to Fort Adams in Mississippi Territory; after taking Lewis’s boat nearly to the mouth of the Ohio, they would go on to their new post.

Lewis returned to Washington on June 17 and plunged into a final round of planning with Jefferson and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn. There was an exciting new development: word from Ambassador Robert Livingston in Paris that Napoleon wanted to sell the whole of Louisiana to the United States. If the deal materialized the explorers would be exploring their own territory, with less worry about European sensitivities.

There would be no diplomatic need to skimp on manpower during the first season’s travel up the Missouri. Dearborn thus issued orders to the Army post at Kaskaskia, in Illinois, to pick out “one Sergeant & Eight good Men who understand rowing a boat.” The men were to accompany Lewis with “the best boat at the Post,” and plan on returning to Kaskaskia before winter ice locked up the Missouri.

The Expedition’s planners in Washington possibly had in mind the powerful Sioux bands known to live...
high up the Missouri. Besides carrying expedition baggage, the boatload of Kaskaskia soldiers could act as an escort for the keelboat until an intimidating military force was no longer needed, and then come home. That idea kept changing, but Dearborn’s order helped shape Lewis’s eventual strategy for getting his expedition launched. Abandoned was the old notion of crossing the continent with a single contingent. Instead, the expedition would function in modern terms like a two-stage rocket, with an initial booster that falls away when spent while the payload goes on alone.

Dearborn also gave the departing Lewis an order dated July 2, 1803, that seemed to limit his permanent “payload” party to the now-accepted total number of 15 men: Lewis himself, another officer, 12 Army enlisted men and a hired interpreter. These soldiers also were to be obtained at Kaskaskia and other Illinois Army posts, or newly recruited into the Army from “suitable Men” encountered by Lewis along the way. “The whole number of non-commissioned officers and privates should not exceed twelve,” said Dearborn, setting a ceiling that would seem to apply to all the enlisted explorers, whether old soldiers or new recruits.

Yet here’s the way Lewis interpreted his authority in his June 19 letter inviting Clark in Louisville to join the expedition as co-captain:

“I am instructed to select from any corps in the army a number of noncommissioned officers and privates not exceeding 12, who may be disposed voluntarily to enter into this service; and am also authorized to engage any other man not soldiers that I may think useful in promoting the objects of success of this expedition.” (italics added)

From this it would appear that Lewis decided the 12-man ceiling applied just to soldiers already serving, and that he could bring aboard as many additional civilians as he wanted. Lewis planned on his way down the Ohio to “engage some good hunters, stout, healthy, unmarried men, accustomed to the woods...” He suggested that Clark start a similar talent search around Louisville. The 12 soldiers would be picked up later, in Illinois.

Lewis left Washington for Pittsburgh on July 5, just having learned that the Louisiana treaty actually had been signed in Paris. His purchased cargo arrived in Pittsburgh on time, as did the temporary boat crew of seven Army recruits (one deserted), but tardy completion of the keelboat delayed his departure until August 31. Lewis headed down the Ohio with his seven soldiers, a river pilot and “three young men on trial” who wanted to go exploring. Several historians think one of them was George Shannon, who became the permanent party’s youngest member.

John Colter jumped aboard the keelboat as a permanent party volunteer at Maysville, Kentucky, according to Colter family tradition. Thus, when Lewis arrived at Cincinnati on September 28, he wrote ahead to Clark that he now had just two young men on trial – presumably Shannon and Colter – who Lewis thought would “answer tolerably well.”

The keelboat arrived at the Falls of the Ohio on October 14, and pulled into Clarksville, Indiana, across the river from Louisville, the next day. Clark was waiting with seven woodsmen he had picked for the expedition. In an interview with Nicholas Biddle seven years later, Clark referred to this group – plus Shannon and Colter – as a distinct cluster within the eventual permanent party, calling them the “young men who joined at Clarksville.” When writing his 1814 narrative of the Expedition, Biddle used the expression “nine young men from Kentucky” – the label that has stuck to them ever since.

Clark also greeted Lewis by saying he would take a slave, York, to be his wilderness valet for the whole trip.

The leaders started laying their plans in detail. If Lewis ever thought of roaming the West with a split party of soldiers and civilian auxiliary hunters, the idea died right there: discipline would be impossible to maintain. Except for the authorized interpreter and York, everyone would have to be in the Army, equally subject to military orders. The Kentucky Nine were
enlisted into the service on the spot... But that, in turn, almost filled the Expedition's authorized strength under Dearborn's 12-soldier quota. Judging by their later actions, it must have been in Louisville that Lewis and Clark decided to keep adding more men, the quota and brother George's advice notwithstanding. A locally written newspaper story attempting to describe the Expedition said "about 60 men will compose the party." While exaggerated, that was an indication the captains were already thinking big.

The keelboat left Louisville on October 26 and on November 11 came to its next stop, Fort Massac, on the Illinois side of the Ohio River. The post was garrisoned by Captain Daniel Bissell's company of infantry, on which Lewis was authorized to draw volunteers. He came at a time of hectic turmoil for the American frontier Army, then preparing to send occupation troops westward into newly-acquired Louisiana. The temporary boat crew from Pittsburgh, which dropped off here, was part of that movement. As far as is known, Lewis obtained only two privates from the Massac garrison. Worse, six to eight soldiers supposedly sent from South West Point weren't waiting for him at Massac, as expected. To find them he dispatched George Drouillard, a locally renowned woodsman hired at Massac as the Expedition's civilian interpreter.

At the mouth of the Ohio, Lewis and Clark turned northward into the Mississippi. Now the soldiers got their first taste of trying to make the big keelboat go upstream, which may have nixed the captains' conviction that a small crew wouldn't do. On November 28, they pulled into the big Army post at Kaskaskia, on the Illinois shore. It was home to Captain Russell Bissell's infantry company, plus an artillery company commanded by Captain Amos Stoddard, who was waiting to occupy St. Louis when the old owners moved out. Lewis wrote Jefferson that at Kaskaskia "I made a selection of a sufficient number of men from the troops of that place to complete my party." He didn't say how many, but it probably was something more than a dozen, including the small-boat escort group plus men for the permanent party.

Clark took the keelboat to the Mississippi-Missouri junction to set up a winter camp, while Lewis went to see the local authorities in St. Louis. Carlos Delassus, the Spanish commandant there, reported to his superiors that Lewis was accompanied by a "committee" of 25 men. Delassus said he got this number from Lewis himself, but he didn't explain how Lewis was counting. In fact, from this point until the following April it's impossible to keep precise track of the Expedition's roster.

People kept drifting in. On December 22, Drouillard arrived at Clark's Camp Dubois with the eight lost soldiers from South West Point. They were a disappointing lot, except for Corporal Richard Warfington. At some point two local experts on Missouri River travel, Pierre Cruzatte and Francois Labiche, agreed to help manage the keelboat.

People kept drifting out. Four of the sad sacks from South West Point proved too sorry to keep. An individual name Leakens, recruited from somewhere, was discharged for theft. A local legend even had it that two men died and were buried in a nearby cemetery, but that tale is confirmed nowhere else.

In the winter of 1803-1804, the officers began serious evaluation of the manpower that would be needed. As a freezing January wind blew outside his hut, Clark juggled options for an initial party of 25 men, or 30, or 37, or 50. "Those Numbers," Clark noted in his journal, "will depend on the probability of an opposition from roving Parties of Bad Indians which it is probable may be on the [river]." For some reason he later crossed that remark out, but the captains were indeed getting some alarming intelligence about the power of the upriver Sioux. One Missouri trader reported they had between 30,000 and 60,000 men, "and abound in fire-arms."

Not surprisingly, the captains opted for a big group. On April 1 they posted a list of 25 soldiers who would make up the "permanent Detachment." (Cruzatte and Labiche would be formally added as permanent-party soldiers later, at St. Charles.) Also, four soldiers (plus two later) were assigned to the escort boat, to return before winter. In St. Louis, Lewis hired eight civilian boatmen who consented to go only as far as the Mandan villages (another may have joined later). The two officers, Drouillard and York would bring the total departing force to 45 men. "Those additions to the party," Clark told interviewer Biddle in 1810, "were for carrying the stores as well as for protection in case of hostilities from the Indians who were most to be
To Lewis it must have seemed ages since he acquired enough equipment for just 15 people. After arriving in St. Louis he started buying new supplies. When the keelboat and two open boats called pirogues left Camp Dubois on May 14, they carried 30 blankets instead of the original 15, and 63 pairs of socks instead of 36. More mouths to feed would require more hunting, so there was an augmented stock of flints and gunpowder. Added to the original 15 Harpers Ferry rifles were the regulation-issue weapons that each of the transferred soldiers probably brought from their previous units.

There was no reason for Jefferson to mislead Dunbar, one of his closest scientific pen-pals. Elsewhere in that letter, the President asked the Natchez surveyor and astronomer to draw up plans for a new U.S. expedition up the Arkansas River by—what else?—an officer and “10 or 12 picked soldiers.” If Jefferson knew Lewis had already broken the old Mackenzie mold, he might have given Dunbar more flexibility.

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<th>L&amp;C EXPEDITION PERSONNEL FROM DEPARTURE AT CAMP DUBOIS, ILLINOIS</th>
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<td>Reenlisted Soldiers and Civilians and Where Recruited</td>
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<td>Clarksville</td>
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<td>*John Colter</td>
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<td>*Joseph Field</td>
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<td>Richard Warfington</td>
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| Previous Army units, if any, are unknown for *Robert Frazer, *Silas Goodrich, *Hugh McNeal, Moses Reed, *John Thompson, and *William Werner. Also, the departing group included eight or nine French boatmen who went as far as Fort Mandan.

*Permanent party members who journeyed from Fort Mandan to the Pacific and back.

Under way on the Missouri, Lewis and Clark divided the crews of their three boats according to job status. The permanent party was segregated on the big keelboat, probably to build its team spirit for the perilous future. Corporal Warfington commanded the white pirogue’s escort party of five other soldiers, while the eight (or nine) French watermen paddled the red pirogue. Here was the Expedition’s first-stage booster at full thrust; both
pirogues, then, were essentially cargo vessels, helping carry the initial burden of such store-bought consumables as pork and flour until the party reached big game country on the plains.

The Expedition lost its first man within a month. On June 12, the party encountered some fur-laden canoes headed for St. Louis. "Sent One of Our Men Belonging to the white pierouge back," reported Joseph Whitehouse, a private on the keelboat, who gave neither the escort soldier's name nor the reason for his departure. Whitehouse said only that the man dumped into a downriver fur canoe had belonged to Stoddard's artillery company, so it might have been either Ebenezer Tuttle or Isaac White. The explorers actually made a swap with the canoeists, picking up Pierre Dorion, the first of a series of Indian-trading oldtimers who acted as temporary interpreters.

By August the Expedition had passed the mouth of the Platte River, and more men were lost. Moses Reed deserted his permanent party comrades on the keelboat, and a hired boatman named La Liberte left the red pirogue. La Liberte got away, but deserter Reed was punished by the gauntlet and fired from the permanent party. The captains later promoted Robert Frazer, one of the escort soldiers, to fill Reed's vacancy on the keelboat. On August 20, the Expedition was saddened by the death of Sergeant Charles Floyd at present-day Council Bluffs, Iowa, probably of a burst appendix.

Wherever the old notion of a squad of Army cornplanters originated, it allowed Jefferson to use some creative accounting to shrink the reported 48-man mob to a final party of just 12 — the familiar number planned.

It's unlikely that Lewis and Clark were trying to deceive Washington by floating such an untrue story. All along, they had planned to make a first-hand official accounting of this leg of the trip, by means of a
pirogue sent back with the escort soldiers from Kas­
pirogue. After passing the Platte the captains started preparing a map and “despatches” about the journey thus far, work that continued until the boats reached modern South Dakota. But there, the plan changed again. The heavily loaded keelboat kept bumping its bottom on sandbars, slowing the whole fleet. On September 16, the captains decided both pirogues were needed to carry cargo transferred from the laboring keelboat, meaning that the escort soldiers would have to stay with the Expedition all winter. Curiously, Clark’s journal justified this switch solely in boathandling terms, with no hint the captains anticipated the following week’s dangerous encounter with the Teton Sioux – supposedly a major reason for taking the escort’s extra guns in the first place.

It was beyond the Tetons that another permanent-party explorer was lost. John Newman, a keelboat man, was “discarded” to the red pirogue for talking mutiny. When the Expedition stopped at the Mandan villages for five months of North Dakota winter, the captains enrolled in the Army a resident Canadian, Jean Baptiste Lepage, to fill Newman’s slot. Because Floyd hadn’t been replaced, the permanent party’s roster of enlisted men was still one shy of the 27 that had begun the trip. A replacement in fact was at hand. Hanging around Fort Mandan was Francois-Antoine Larocque, a clerk for Britain’s North West Company, who asked to join the Expedition. One big purpose of the trip was to lure Western Indians away from their trade connections with Larocque’s company, so the captains not surprisingly turned him down.

And yet the Expedition kept growing. Montreal-born Toussaint Charbonneau, hired as a temporary Hidatsa interpreter at Fort Mandan, agreed to go the whole way to the Pacific. With Drouillard, that gave the party two civilian interpreters. The captains also thought Charbonneau’s Shoshone wife, Sacagawea, could do some useful interpreting once the explorers reached her tribe’s country in the Rockies. And if you took Sacagawea, you also had to take her new-born son Jean Baptiste.

In April, 1805, the Expedition’s two-stage rocket separated. The Pacific-bound payload party, numbering 33 souls, continued up the Missouri in the two pirogues and six newly hewn dug-out canoes. The keelboat fell away to St. Louis with Corporal Warfington’s escort soldiers (now including deserter Reed and mutineer Newman) and the French watermen. The trustworthy Warfington carried a Lewis letter to Jefferson that, perhaps at long last, gave the government an official count of the party’s final size. Lewis also sent Dearborn a now-missing muster roll of his 26 soldiers.

Jefferson received Lewis’s letter on July 13, but waited until the following February to include it in a report to Congress, three years after it had authorized a tour by one officer and 10 or 12 men.

In his letter Lewis also promised to send back three or four men in a canoe, with updated journals, once the party reached the Missouri’s head of navigation. But by early July, having completed the tough portage around the river’s falls in Montana, the officers once again decided not to risk a reduction in strength. Lewis believed the worst part of the trip was now beginning, with nobody knowing whether the Indians ahead would be friends or enemies. “We have conceived our party sufficiently small and therefore have concluded not to dispatch a canoe with a part of our men to St. Louis as we had intended early in the spring,” Lewis wrote on July 4.

A conviction that every man was needed again kept the captains from reducing the group as it prepared to head home from the mouth of the Columbia in March, 1806. Finding no slips there, the captains might have left two men behind anyway to wait for a vessel to take them and a copy of the records home by sea, as Jefferson contemplated. “Our party are too small to think of leaveing any of them,” said Clark on March 18. Less than a month later, with the explorers menaced by crowds of insolent Columbia River Indians, Clark thanked his stars for keeping a force big enough to deter real trouble: “Nothing but the strength of our party has prevented our being rob'd before this time.”

The documentary gaps in the story of the Expedition's expansion may never be filled. Even if no messages were deliberately destroyed, some Army records were lost forever when British troops set fire to the War Department in 1814. The available evidence points to a mixture of reasons for abandoning the Mackenzie precedent. Lewis first underestimated the number of men needed to manage his keelboat, whether from Nashville or Pittsburgh. Everyone eventually realized it would be too risky for a small group to brazen its way past the Sioux. Once the permanent party was fairly on the road from Fort Mandan, the leaders felt they had struck an equilibrium level of
ideal strength for their mission, and resisted any idea of cutting it back. And it finally made little difference whether headquarters authorized a bigger party or merely acquiesced later; in the end the government honored its payroll obligations to all the men, and the officers apparently got into no trouble. What counted was the determination of the field commanders to take control of the Expedition’s size, showing at the very outset the kind of bold leadership that arched a continent.

2 Hawke, David Freeman, Those Tremendous Mountains. (W.W. Norton, N.Y., 1985 paperback ed.) p. 11.
3 Jackson. 1:103.
6 Appleman. p. 51.
7 Jackson. 2:534.
8 Dates of enlistment for soldiers of the entire party are shown in Thwaites, 7:360. For the Kentucky Nine, enlistment was completed by Oct. 20, 1803, six days before the Expedition left Louisville.
10 Jackson. 1:145.
11 Jackson. 1:143.
15 Jackson. 2:534.
17 Thwaites. 7:35.
18 Another probable transfer from Capt. Stoddard’s company, Corporal John Robinson, was assigned to the escort squad in the April 1 roster posted at Camp Dubois. Thereafter his name vanishes from the Expedition’s records, including a list of boat crews posted just beyond St. Charles on May 26 (Moulton 2:254-256). He may have washed out before departure.
19 Jackson. 1:216.
20 Jackson. 1:232. In numbering his total party at 33 for Jefferson, Lewis included a Mandan Indian who soon dropped off, but omitted Sacagawea’s infant, leaving no net change for the Pacific-bound group.

About the author...

Arlen J. Large of Washington, D.C. is a former Foundation president (1983-84), and a frequent contributor to WPO. He is a retired correspondent of the Wall Street Journal. He serves on the editorial board of WPO. Other articles which have appeared in WPO by Large may be found in Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 3; Vol. X, No. 4; Vol. XI, No. 3; Vol. XII, No. 2; Vol. XIII, Nos. 1 and 4; Vol. XIV, No. 3; Vol. XV, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.
THE ESPONTOON: CAPTAIN LEWIS’S MAGIC STICK

BY ROBERT R. HUNT

When Lewis and Clark crossed the Mississippi in 1804, they were acting out the manifest destiny of a “westering people.” There were moments on this journey, however, when destiny was not quite so “manifest.” Particularly on a few close calls when the life of Meriwether Lewis was left swaying in the balance and thereby also the fate of the Expedition. Several of these anxious moments were associated with an implement which Lewis referred to in his journal as an “espontoon,” i.e., a half pike commonly carried by an eighteenth century infantry officer.¹

“Espontoon” is also the term used to describe the policeman’s night stick in Baltimore, Maryland.² Just how the Baltimore night stick came to be identified with a halfpike, such as used by Lewis, remains a mystery. Suffice to say that the city authorities of Baltimore regard their version of the espontoon just as Meriwether Lewis regarded the infantry version—as an essential piece of equipment on the officer’s “beat,” carried to protect and save life.

On Lewis’s “beat” to the Pacific and back, the espontoon may have been as omnipresent as the night stick is today with the Baltimore police. It seems to have served Lewis as a comforting “rod and staff” while he walked along some of the darker pathways of his journey. So much so that the espontoon may be considered his “trademark” or symbol, just as the surveyor’s transit is a trademark for Clark, the mapmaker. This identification has been “monumentalized” in Bob Scriver’s heroic-size statue, unveiled July 4, 1989, at Great Falls, Montana. Lewis is presented there as the party leader, grasping his espontoon, looking out across the Missouri above the Falls where his espontoon had served him so well on June 14, 1805.
In Scriver's setting, the implement may come as a surprise to the modern-day viewer who may not be familiar with the lore of the Expedition. What is Captain Lewis of the First Infantry, USA, doing up there carrying an ancient spear? Is this really the progressive-minded American officer of the early nineteenth century, the Infantry captain so intent on providing himself and his party with the best field equipment of the time, standing there, seemingly dependent upon a primitive weapon of another age? Why indeed did Lewis take the espontoon on his journey? A partial answer is that he was probably conditioned to rely on it during his first tour of duty as a young ensign. Both Lewis and Clark had served under General Anthony Wayne earlier in their careers, in the Ohio Valley campaigns of the 1790’s. Wayne was a strict disciplinarian who required intensive training of his junior officers; he was also a champion of the espontoon. One of the most vivid images of him in the Revolution is at the capture of Stoney Point, July 15, 1779. He is reported to have charged “with espontoon in hand up the rocky slopes of the Point.”

Webster’s New Twentieth Century Dictionary (second ed., New York, 1971) states that the espontoon’s use was “for signaling orders to the regiment” – an echo of Wayne’s own words about Stony Point:

...I myself continued to direct it [the battle] even after I had rec’d my wound – & that at the point of my Spear – I at least helpt to direct the greater part of the Column over the Abatis and into the Works...

But the espontoon had a much wider use than as a mere signaling device; it was both an offensive and defensive weapon. General Wayne took care to requisition enough of these weapons for each of his junior officers prior to starting his offensive.

A spectacular use of the weapon in attack occurred at the Battle of Cowpens January 17, 1781. Colonel Howard, commanding part of Daniel Morgan’s main line against the British, observed an enemy artillery battery a short distance in front. He ordered one of his officers, a Captain Ewing, to take it. Howard then relates that another nearby officer, Captain Anderson, “hearing the order, also pushed for the same object; both being emulous for the prize kept pace until near the first piece, when Anderson, by putting the end of his spontoon forward into the ground, made a long leap which brought him upon the gun and gave him the honor of the prize.” Here is a weapon not just for defensive parry and thrust or for signaling, but also for pole vaulting directly onto the enemy.

Wayne’s insistence on the weapon was shared by the Commander-in-Chief. In his general-orders, Washington referred to the espontoon. These orders roll across Wayne’s ranks and throughout the Continental Armies. They provide a bill of particulars about the weapon which helps us understand why Lewis carried one westward a generation later:

“SPONTOON—a pole arm carried by all officers on foot duty. Many were the shapes of the spear head. In 1778, the spontoon was standardized to a staff six feet long and one and one-quarter inches in diameter. The iron part was to be one foot long.

“Spontoons were preferred to muskets, for there was no loading and firing to detract attention from the troops.” (Picture Book of the Continental Soldier by Keith Wilbur. Stackpole Co., Harrisburg, PA 1969. p. 49.)

(Valley Forge, December 22, 1777)

...As the proper arming of the officers would add considerable strength to the army, and the officers themselves derive great confidence from being armed in time of action, the General orders every one of them to provide himself with a half-pike or spear, as soon as possible; firearms when made use of with drawing their attention too much from the men; and to be without either, has a very awkward and unofficerlike appearance. That these half-pikes may be of one length and uniformly made, the Brigadiers are to meet at General Maxwell’s quarters to morrow at 10 o’clock in the forenoon and direct their size and form...

(Valley Forge: January 17, 1778)

...The Brigadiers and Officers commanding Brigades are to meet this evening at Genl. Varnum’s Quarters to...critically review and examine into the State and condition of the Arms in their respective Brigades; ...The General desires that they will...agree upon the most proper and speedy measure to have all the Officers in the Brigades furnish’d with half Pikes agreeable to the General Order of the 22nd. of December last...
...That the Quarter Master General be directed to cause Espontoons or Pikes made for the Officers, the Staff six feet and one half in length, and one inch and a quarter in diameter in the largest part and that the iron part be one foot long.

The Commander in Chief accepts and approves the above Report and orders it to take place in every respect.8

(Moore's House, October 12, 1779)

Such officers of the line whose duty it is to act on foot in time of an engagement and who are not already provided with Espontoons are to use their utmost exertions to get them, and it is expected from commanding officers of Corps that they will use every means in their power to complete them with bayonets; In a word, they will take care that their corps are in the most perfect order for actual service.9

(Morristown, April 4, 1780)

...ALL Battalion officers, to captains inclusively are, without loss of time, to provide themselves with Espontoons, they are to apply in the first instance to the Quarter Master General for such as may be in his possession, and if not furnished there, to the Field Commissary of Military Stores. Those who have been already supplied by the public, and are now destitute, are to provide themselves.

None are to mount guard or go on detachment without being armed with Espontoons, to which the officers of the day will be particularly attentive; nor after a reasonable time being allowed to procure them, is any officer to appear with his regiment under arms, without an Espontoon, unless he can shew that he has not been able to obtain one...10

Washington, like Lewis under Wayne, must have had the importance of the espontoon ingrained in him during his earlier years as a younger military officer. He was then subject to the orders of King George, and would have been responsible for knowledge of regulations established by His Majesty's "War Office," July 27, 1764. These regulations specified requirements "for the colours, clothing, etc. of Our marching regiments of foot."11 Orders were issued under these regulations February 19, 1766, requiring "the battalion officers to have espontoons." Thomas Simes, author of The Military Guide for Young Officers 1772, and The Military Medley 1768, tabulates a list, with which Washington would have been familiar (and perhaps Lewis also at a later date) of all "things necessary for a Gentleman to be furnished with, upon obtaining his first commission in the Infantry[:...regimentals, shoes, stockings, boots, spat­teredashes" and, prominently listed among other necessaries, an espontoon.12

The weapon was thus an integral part of a legacy from the British and Colonial Armies of the Revolution, passed on through Wayne and his peers to the Lewis and Clark generation—then regarded throughout the military as the "distinguishing arm of an officer" and a "symbol of authority." As such, the weapon must have been much in evidence in 1804 at Camp Dubois when the Corps of Discovery was being assembled and trained, and also on the voyage up river to Fort Mandan. These were the days of the Expedition when military protocol was prominently featured; records during the period mention parade ceremonies, courts-martial, disciplinary training, drill, etc.—occasions when officer-authority would be solemnized. Both captains carried an espontoon and would have displayed it according to custom whenever the Corps was in formation under arms, as well as in other ways noted later in the journals.

Curiously, there is no mention of the espontoon in Expedition records until they reached winter quarters at the Mandans in present central North Dakota. There the implementation is first noted as a reference in describing the Indian battle axe. On February 5, 1805, Lewis records the dimensions and shape of such an axe and makes a drawing, noting that the blade of the weapon "is somewhat in the form of the blade of an Espontoon."13

All later mentions of the espontoon occur in the crucial six-week period from early May to mid-June 1805; these references with one notable exception are all associated with "beastly" encounters. Porcupines, bears, a rattlesnake, wolves, a "tyger cat," buffaloes - a series of potentially fatal incidents, "curious adventures," as Lewis described them.

That the espontoon figures in each of these "curious adventures" makes it a kind of fateful medicine stick, reminding us of climactic times in Lewis's life. Generally these events occurred when Lewis walked by himself in the wilderness. The espontoon gave him confidence alone in
the field heading into the dangers and hazards ahead. Lewis reveals this in his journal entry of May 12, 1805:

I walked on shore this morning for the benefit of exercise which I much wanted, and also to examine the country and its productions, in these excursions I most generally went alone armed with my rifle and espontoon; thus equipped I feel myself more than an equal match for a brown bear provided I get him in open woods or near the water, but I feel myself a little deficient with respect to an attack in the open plains...

This entry sounds like a reverberation of Washington's orders of December 22, 1777: “officers themselves derive great confidence from being armed [with the espontoon] in time of action.”

Concerning actual encounters where the espontoon is brought into play, each journal entry provides its own drama, great or small:

(Lewis: May 5, 1805 – near 2000-Mile Creek in present northeastern Montana)
I walked out a little distance and met with 2 porcupines which were feeding on the young willow which grow in great abundance on all the sandbars; this animal is exceedingly clumsy and not very watchful; I approached so near one of them before it perceived me that I touched it with my espontoon.

(Lewis: May 26, 1805 – on one of his solitary walks after dark in present central Montana)
On my return to camp I trod within five inches of a rattle snake but being in motion I passed before he could probably put himself in a striking attitude and fortunately escaped his bite, I struck about with my espontoon being directed in some measure by his noise until I killed him.

On May 29, 1805, near Slaughter River (present Arrow Creek), also in present central Montana, we get our first record of Captain Clark’s use of his espontoon. Lewis writes: “we saw a great many wolves in the neighbourhood of these mangled [buffalo] carcases they were fat and extremely gentle, Capt. C. who was on shore killed one of them with his espontoon.”

On June 14, 1805, at the falls of the Missouri, Lewis sets out alone at ten o’clock in the morning with his gun and espontoon to scout a series of rapids and the “Crooked Falls.” Realizing after a long walk that he may not have time to get back to camp, he ponders the need for food and shelter alone in the wilderness at night. Then follows one of the most vivid scenes in the records of the Expedition when Lewis did indeed do a “great sign” with his spear:

...a large white, or rather brown bear, had perceived and crept on me within 20 steps before I discovered him; in the first moment I drew up my gun to shoot, but at the same instant recolected that she was not loaded and that he was too near for me to hope to perform this operation before he reached me, as he was then briskly advancing on me; it was an open level plain, not a bush within miles nor a tree within less than three hundred yards of me; the river bank was sloping and not more than three feet above the level of the water; in short there was no place by means of which I could conceal myself from this monster until I could charge my rifle; in this situation I thought of retreating in a brisk walk as fast as he was advancing until I could reach a tree about 300 yards below me, but I had no sooner turned myself about but he pitched at me, open mouthed and full speed, I ran about 80 yards and found he gained on me fast; I then ran into the water the idea struck me to get into the water to such depth that I could stand and he would be obliged to swim, and that I could in that situation defend myself with my espontoon; accordingly I ran hastily into the water about waist deep, and faced about and presented the point of my espontoon, at this instant he arrived at the edge of the water within about 20 feet of me; the moment I put myself in this attitude of defence he suddenly wheeled about as if frightened, declined the combat on such unequal grounds, and retreated with quite as great precipitation as he had just before pur-
sued me...I now began to reflect on this novel occurrence and endeavoured to account for this sudden retreat of the bear. I at first thought that perhaps he had not smelt me before he arrived at the waters edge so near me, but I then reflected that he had pursued me for about 80 or 90 yards before I took the water and on examination saw the ground torn with his tawls and immediately on the impression of my steps; and the cause of his allarm still remains with me misterious and unaccountable...

Proceeding this far through the Journals with Lewis and his walking stick, the reader is tempted to scoff at Lewis's finding the sudden withdrawl of the bear as "misterious and unaccountable." The reason is apparent and "to the point:" The bear simply could not confront such powerful medicine — Lewis was saved by the magic of his rod.

During the same day this wondrous implement again performs, and again it confronts a beast:

I now determined to return, having by my estimate about 12 miles to walk...about 200 yards distant from the Missouri, my direction led me directly to an animal that I at first supposed was a wolf; but on nearer approach or about sixty paces distant I discovered that it was not, it's colour was a brownish yellow; it was standing near it's burrow, and when I approached it thus nearly, it couched itself down like a cat looking immediately at me as if it designed to spring on me. I took aim at it and fired, it instantly disappeared in it's burrow; I loaded my gun and examined the place which was dusty and saw the track from which I am still further convinced that it was of the tiger kind. whether I struck it or not I could not determine, but I am almost confident that I did; my gun is true and I had a steady rest by means of my espontoon, which I have found very serviceable to me in this way in the open plains.

"Serviceable" indeed! It had been an ever-present source of strength in this series of brushes with death, when "all the beasts of the neighborhood" were conspiring his destruction. But not just the beasts. The very earth itself, the river and its banks, seemed at times to be in league against Lewis, as we find in his June 7, 1805, journal entry. The incident took place on an abrupt cliff near the Marias River after an incessant rain. Here again we find the espontoon saving the Captain:

"...not withstanding the rain that has now fallen[,] the earth of these bluffs is not wet to a greater depth than 2 inches; in it's present state it is precisely like walking over frozen ground which is thawed to small depth and slips equally as bad. In passing along the face of one of these bluffs today I slipped at a narrow pass of about 30 yards in length and but for a quick and fortunate recovery by means of my espontoon I should have precipitated into the river down a craggy pricipice of about ninety feet. I had scarcely reached a place on which I could stand with tolerable safety even with the assistance of my espontoon."

Lewis goes on to explain that immediately after his misfortune he had to come to the rescue of Private Windsor who was a hairbreadth from slipping to his death off the same cliff. Windsor, therefore, became a symbolic proxy for the entire Expedition. For if Lewis had fallen to his death from those heights not only would his and Windsor's lives been lost, but the mission of the Corps of Discovery would no doubt have been aborted. In that event, American claims to the Oregon country would have been greatly diminished, and Jefferson's grand strategy for the West would have had a terrible setback.

Aware of all that was riding on that halfpike as Lewis jammed it into the slippery bank, the reader ponders what could have happened if it had failed to hold. One's mind turns to the fable in Poor Richard's Almanac:

For the want of a nail the shoe was lost,
For the want of a shoe the horse was lost,
For the want of a horse the rider was lost,
For the want of a rider the battle was lost,
For the want of a battle the kingdom was lost –
And all for the want of a horseshoe nail.

There is no further reference to the espontoon in the journals after June 1805. Was this because Lewis did notably less writing for the record after these events? Perhaps the espontoons were buried in the caches at the Great Falls of the Missouri or before crossing the Divide. Lewis could possibility have had it with him on that famous walk approaching the Shoshone brave near Lemhi Pass. He may have used it to signal Drewyer and Shields who were on his flanks as they walked toward the wary Indian.

In any case, the captains tell us nothing more of this symbol of their authority. There is, nevertheless, one final, melancholy note about it. The records of Lewis's estate include a "Memorandum of Articles Contained in two Trunks the property of Governor Lewis of Upper Louisiana." This "memorandum" was prepared following Lewis's tragic death, November 23, 1809, and included a "...Pike blade & part of the Handle." At last report (May 8,
1810), the trunks were in Charlottesville, and had been delivered there by William Douglas Meriwether, a man active in settling Lewis's post-death affairs.15

Was this the espontoon with which Lewis confronted the hostile league, the implement which he carried and leaned upon in so many solitary walks through the wilderness? If so (and it seems that it must have been) what has happened to it? Where is it? Wherever it may be, this pike with broken handle is a singularly important relic of the Expedition, a lifesaaver. It is the special talisman of Meriwether Lewis, a reminder of his traumatic encounters, both physical and emotional, as he turned the key which opened the door to the American West.

NOTES


2 Random House Dictionary of the English Language, New York, 1967. See also Helmut Nickel, Warriors and Worthies, Arms and Armor Through the Ages, New York, Atheneum, 1969. glossary, p. 119: “SPONTOON: a polearm developed from the partizan (a polearm with a wide double-edged blade and short parrying hooks); worn by eighteenth century officers as a badge of rank.”


7 Ibid., p. 147.


9 Ibid., 16:458.


12 Ibid., p. 370.


14 Ibid., 4:294.


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 with several well-researched and intriguing articles relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Articles by Hunt appeared in Vol. XIII, No. 2; Vol. XIV, No. 4; and Vol. XV, No. 2.

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The Espontoons of Captains Lewis and Clark

From Information Submitted by Howard Hoovestol, Bismarck, North Dakota

To aid us in better understanding the type of espontoon (also spelled “spontoon”) carried on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, it might be helpful to look at two different types carried by American Infantry officers in the late 18th century. George C. Neumann in his book *The History of Weapons of the American Revolution* (Harper and Row, New York) illustrates some American espontoons of the Revolutionary War Period. The following are two typical examples:

**AMERICAN SPONTOON** (circa 1750-1780)

“The thin tip of this halberd is a type seen on many polearms in the mid-1700s. Of additional interest are the lateral projections, which have been shaped like bird heads and wings. A slight median ridge appears on the blade, while three ornamental rings circle the rounded base. Its straps were shortened at one time; the head and base are 13 7/8” long.”

(Colonial Williamsburg Collection)

**AMERICAN SPONTOON** (circa 1775-1780)

“The shape of this piece is very similar to the British sergeant’s pike at the end of the eighteenth century. Yet, the fact that similar blades and crossbars are found on other Revolutionary War polearms, plus the crude American workmanship, indicate that it could easily be a product of the 1770s. The head extends for 16 1/4” to the lowest band; its straps are 9 1/2” long (four rivets each).”

(George C. Neumann Collection)

Another possible design for the blade of the espontoons carried by Lewis and Clark is the espontoon-shaped blade the Expedition’s blacksmiths made at Fort Mandan during the winter of 1805. It is described in Lewis’s February 5, 1805, journal entry:

...visited by many of the natives who brought a considerable quanity of corn in payment for the work which the blacksmith had done for them...they are peculiarly attached to a battle ax formed in a very inconvenient manner in my opinion. It is fabricated of iron only, the blade is extremely thin from 7 to nine inches in length and from 4 3/4, to 6 inches on its edge, from whence the sides proceed nearly in a straight line to the eye is round & about one inch in diameter, the handle seldom more than fourteen inches in length, the whole weighing about one pound the great length of the blade of this ax, added to the small size of the handle renders a stroke uncertain and easily avoided, while the shortness of the handle must render a blow much less forceable if even well directed, and still more inconvenient as they uniformly use this instrument in action on horseback. The oalder fassion is still more inconvenient, it is somewhat in the form of the blade of an Espontoon but is attached to a helve of the demen­tions before described the blade is sometimes by way of ornament purforated with two three or more small circular holes the follow­ing is the general figure it is from 12 to 15 inches in length.

The Mandans had previously procured these spon­toon-shaped tomahawks from traders from Canada. A typical one is illustrated by Harold L. Peterson in *American Indian Tomahawks* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1965):

"Spontoon axe of the type found among the Mandans by Lewis and Clark in 1805 and described by them as the ‘oalder fassion.’ The huge blade is forged from one piece of wrought iron, bent around to form the eye and welded at the base of the blade. The two basal processes were cut from the circular piercings. Because of these typical piercings, the round eye, and the great length of this form of blade (12 to 15 inches in height), they are often mistaken for door hinges. As weapons they must have been extremely unwieldy especially since the haft was only about 14 inches long, approximately equal to the height of the blade. The present specimen bears a maker’s mark in the form of a capital L stamped at the base of the blade just below the weld. (H: 14 1/2", W: 3 1/4")

(Donald Baird Collection)

So, were the blades of Lewis and Clark’s espontoons made in the style of the “oald Fassion” tomahawk blades described at Fort Mandan, and provided to the Indians by the French and English traders from Canada, or were they of a more streamlined style like the “American Spontoon 1775-1780”? The latter is the style chosen by renowned sculptor Bob Scriver of Browning, MT in his heroic-size sculpture, “Explorers at the Portage,” which overlooks the Missouri River in Great Falls, Montana. At least for now, the style selected by Scriver is probably our best guess.
NEZ PERCE CLAIM TO HAVE LEWIS AND CLARK ARTIFACTS
ITEMS NOW PROPERTY OF IDAHO MUSEUMS

In the files of *We Proceeded On* is an interesting set of photos relating to artifacts believed to have belonged to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Two letters accompany these photos. Both are addressed to the late Lewis and Clark scholar Paul Cutright of Jenkintown, Pennsylvania. One is from Ralph Space of Orofino, Idaho, and the other from Marcus Ware of Lewiston. Both men are well respected authorities on the Lewis and Clark Expedition in Idaho as well as on the Nez Perce Indians. Ware’s letter is dated June 19, 1967, and Space’s, November 24, 1969.

In presenting Paul Cutright with the photo shown below, Marcus Ware wrote: “...I am enclosing a photograph of the adz and cap together with a general statement relative to the same which we used when it was exhibited in the Society” (i.e., the Luna House Historical Society, Lewiston). The legends for the two artifacts read:

**WASHKIN’S CAP**

This *Lits-kow* was worn by Washkin, a Nez Perce Indian, who, as a six-year-old girl, was taken by her mother to see the explorers, Lewis and Clark, at the Weippe encampment in 1805. Washkin lived to be over 100 years of age. Throughout her lifetime this cap was her most treasured possession. The cap is a part of the collection of Clinton Terry Stranahan (1861-1952), who was Indian Agent at Lapwai from 1898 to 1904. It was given to the Society by his grandson Floyd Everett Stranahan of Spokane.

**LEWIS AND CLARK ADZ**

This hand adz was one of the tools used by members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in the fall of 1805 to hew out the dugout canoes that took them to the mouth of the Columbia River. The campsite on the Clearwater River near Ahsahka, where the canoes were made, is now known as the Canoe Camp. This adz was given by Lewis or Clark to The Twisted Hair, famous Nez Perce Chief who befriended the explorers. It was acquired by Charles Adams, a Nez Perce Indian, who sold it to John Paxton Harlan (1866-1951) of Orofino. His son, George Harlan, of Lewiston, presented it to the Society.

(Continued on page 20)
The four photos on this and the facing page were sent to Paul Cutright by Ralph Space with the following information describing the artifacts:

"The pictures show articles that have, according to Nez Perce Indians, quite a history.

"The descendants of Twisted Hair claim that Lewis and Clark left an adz and an axe with Twisted Hair. This picture is of the axe. The adz is now owned by the Luna House Historical Society in Lewiston.

"The elk horn wedge shows two axe cuts near the base, which, the Indians say, were made by one of the L & C party to demonstrate the superiority of iron tools. This done while building the boats."
"Capt. Lewis lost a saddle at Canoe Camp. This is in the Journal. The Indians claim this is the saddle. Found after Lewis and Clark went East.

"As pay for guiding them over the Lolo Trail, Lewis and Clark gave the Indians two guns. The Indians say that powder measures were included with the guns. Also that one of the guides was a son of Twisted Hair and that this old powder measure came down thru the family.

"The old gun was buried with Twisted Hair's son when he died and has been partly recovered, but it is in very poor condition.

"The Clearwater Historical Society now has the articles pictured."
EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article was written with the intention of possibly running it in this issue of WPO. A draft copy was sent to Bob Bergantino for his comments. In his customary manner, Bergantino approached the matter carefully and logically, and explained his research and reasoning in a letter to the editor. Unfortunately, neither time nor space allows us to print his three maps, aerial photo, and seven single-spaced pages of explanation. His response, however, was the determining factor in running the article. With a few excerpts from his explanation as a postscript, I feel the article serves as an example of what can be involved in interpreting a Lewis and Clark site.

Locating a Lewis and Clark campsite and then preparing an interpretive sign can become a major project. And when the research is all in, the signing agency may still be in a dilemma. This was recently demonstrated when a rancher in the Toston, Montana area, questioned information on a Bureau of Land Management (BLM) interpretive sign recently placed near Lewis’s July 25, 1805 campsite. The wording on the sign, erected in the summer of 1989, had come from information given to the Montana Department of Natural Resources in 1980 by Bob Saindon, who was then President of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

The rancher, Maurice Ferrat, said he had taken a number of people, including author Daton Duncan, to a location on his property which he identified as Lewis’s July 25, 1805 campsite. With the new BLM sign in place identifying a different location, his credibility was at stake.

In 1988, BLM official Gary Leppart (also a former president of the Foundation) contacted Saindon about interpretation for the sign that was to be placed at the newly developed Toston Dam recreation area. That is when the 1980 information was dug out and given to Leppart for use in wording the interpretive sign.

Ferrat contacted Leppart about the interpretive information. Familiar with the Toston Dam area and The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, being edited by Gary Moulton of the University of Nebraska, Farret courteously suggested that the Journals describe a site further up river from where Clark's map and Lewis's "Courses and Distances" place the camp. Leppart agreed to have the wording of the sign changed if Farret could substantiate his claim.

To be on the safe side, Leppart again contacted Saindon for assurance that the information on the sign was accurate. Clark’s map was rechecked and the original information seemed to be accurate. The respected Lewis and Clark cartographical work done by Bob Bergantino of Butte, Montana in 1988 was then reviewed. Now it was found that Bergantino’s research did in fact move the campsite up river from where Clark’s map had it placed. Maybe both Captain Clark’s cartography, and Captain Lewis’s “Courses and Distances” were erroneous for this site. If Bergantino was correct, which is usually the case, the wording on the interpretive sign would probably need to be changed.

But Farret was not comfortable with Bergantino’s camp-
site location either—it just didn't jibe with his understanding of the area. Still willing to be proven wrong, Farret offered to take Saindon into the area and explain his reasons for placing the campsite further up river.

The area in question falls between the Gates of the Mountains and the Three Forks of the Missouri, within a canyon named “Little Gates of the Mountains” by Lewis. Clark had been walking overland several miles away from the river, and Lewis was with the eight dug-out canoes. There does not exist a map of the area drawn by Lewis, but it is assumed that the map drawn later by Clark was done from information recorded by Lewis, from his “Courses and Distances” and/or from a field map.

In any case, there are some obvious errors in Clark’s final map of this area: First of all, Clark identifies Lewis’s July 25, 1805 campsite as the “July 24, 1805” campsite; secondly, Clark places the campsite slightly down stream from a “large springs” whereas Lewis’s “Courses and Distances” places it one mile above the springs.

But, one mile above the springs (the site identified by Bergantino) still does not put the campsite at the location identified by Farret. His proposed site is about two miles above the springs. Would it be reasonable to double Lewis’s recorded distance between two points?

Lewis’s mileage was estimated. At Fort Mandan the previous winter, Lewis described the Expedition’s method of establishing courses and distances as follows: “A Circumferentor, circle 6 Inches diameter, on the common construction...has been employed in taking the traverse of the river—from the courses thus obtained, together with the distances estimated from point to point, the chart of the Missouri has been formed...” (Thwaites Vol. VI, page 232). It was not an exact science, but the captains did extremely well.

Sergeant Patrick Gass said they entered the Little Gates at 2 o’clock, took dinner there, and went on. He said that at about four miles they observed six very fine springs. This is obviously an exaggeration, since four miles would have put them far beyond the springs. Sergeant John Ordway and Private Joseph Whitehouse identify bad rapids, and shallow rocks sticking up all the way across the river at the entrance of the Little Gates.

According to Lewis’s “Courses and Distances,” the “large springs” were one mile beyond the entrance of the Little Gates, he indicates that they entered the Little Gates “late in the evening,” (as opposed to Gass’s “2 o’clock”). “Soon after entering these hills or low mountains,” Lewis wrote, “we passed a number of fine bold springs which burst out underneath the Lar[board] clifts near the edge of the water.” Today a railroad bridge covers the view seen by the explorers at this springs.

It doesn’t seem likely that they would have gone as far as two miles beyond the large springs if it was “late in the evening,” especially if the rapids were threatening. However, Gass leads us to believe travel wasn’t all that bad, and that it wasn’t quite as late as Lewis indicated when they entered the Little Gates: Gass wrote: “...we found some difficult rapids, but good water between them;” also, while on the move, the Expedition’s common practice was to set out at sunrise, eat breakfast about 8 a.m. and have “dinner” around noon. Nothing was cooked at either of these meals. “Supper” was their evening meal. At this time they cooked the food which would be used until the next evening. It would seem strange if, as Lewis indicates, they ate dinner “late in the evening.” Perhaps Gass’s estimation of time was more accurate than Lewis’s, and if that’s the case, there would have been plenty of time to travel the three miles necessary to reach the site identified by Farret.

The “Courses and Distances” for the following day indicate that the July 25 campsite was 3 3/4 miles below a creek the explorers were to name Howard’s Creek (present Sixteen-mile Creek). If we measure back down river from the mouth of Sixteenmile Creek, we find that we land at the site (i.e., Devil's Bottom) identified by Ferrat.

In his journal for July 25, it appears that Lewis may have
described a geological formation across the river from the site suggested by Farret. It was a formation "obliquely depressed on the side next the river as if they [the stratas] had sunk down to fill the cavity which had been formed by the washing and wearing of the river." There seems to be no other place in the canyon today that fits this description. However, it was not uncommon for the men walking on shore to go beyond the site chosen for the night's camp, and then backtrack to the campsite in the evening. It is possible that Lewis did walk as far as this geological formation, note the information, and then rejoin the rest of the party at the campsite below.

The terrain near the campsite, as described by Lewis was "a Cliff of rocks on a Larbd. bend; opst. to which we encamped for the night under a high bluff." The sites identified by Bergantino and Ferrat are both across the river from a "Cliff of rocks," and both sites are beneath 400-foot-high bluffs.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine conclusively which of the two sites, if either, is the correct site of Lewis's July 25, 1805, camp. Farret presents a good argument which seems to be supported by Lewis's "courses and distances" when we measure down river from Howard's Creek. On the other hand, Bergantino presents a good argument if we use Lewis's distances measuring up river from the "large springs."

What about the interpretive sign? How should the wording be handled? The campsite in question is definitely not across from the large springs, as indicated on Clark's map. That statement should be deleted from the sign. The campsite is almost certainly not "down river" from the location of the sign, and therefore that statement should be changed. It is up to BLM to determine if the sign should say the explorers camped "at this place," as Bergantino seems to contend, or if it should read that the campsite is "just up river from this place," as Farret contends.

**POSTSCRIPT:**

In Bob Bergantino's response to the copy for the above article, we find words of wisdom regarding the interpretation and re-interpretation of Lewis and Clark sites. Excerpts from his response follow:

"Re-evaluating sites previously determined is an important part of historic work—especially when new techniques or information (including maps and aerial photographs) become available or when new interpretations are presented. The input of ideas from other people sometimes can help resolve the most conspicuous of these difficulties and may help to re-determine a site with a greater degree of accuracy.

"Although Lewis had some trouble at times with his bearings and distances while surveying, especially while traveling through the sloughs and channels of the river now inundated by Canyon Ferry Lake, he would have had to have been completely inept at surveying to have made such a number of successive major errors between Big Spring and the end of Course 2 for 25 July 1805. There is no doubt that errors are present, but the probability of making so many major, sequential errors is extremely low. The number of major errors can be reduced to two bearings and one distance if the site [at or near the sign] is correct. The number of major errors Lewis would have had to have made to put the site at...

...Devil's Bottom is four bearings, three distances, one unnecessary course, and identifying a 50-foot bank as a cliff in this area of 400-foot-high cliffs. This series of difficulties makes the probability extremely low that the site at (Devil's Bottom) could have been Lewis's campsite for the evening of 25 July 1805.

"As for the wording of the sign, regardless of where the site may have been, I hope that it never reads, 'at this place.' Despite the high degree of probability that the campsite was about 1 mile upstream from the springs, I would hope that the sign would read, 'near this place' or 'in this general area' or something like that. We all do our best to interpret the journals and the maps with respect to the present topography, but rivers change—even landscapes can change somewhat in 200 years, and Lewis and Clark were trying to provide a general map of the river—not a precise register of their campsites for posterity. The importance of the location of their campsites seems highly overrated. I find them especially useful because they are the starting place or an ending place of a day's observations. If a campsite can be located precisely, so much the better. If it can't then there's no reason to pretend otherwise. Historical signs should not only reflect the location of the site, but give some indication of the probable accuracy of its location. For most Lewis and Clark campsites, 'near this place' is the best anyone can do—despite large-scale maps, aerial photos or detailed maps from the 1800s. The important thing is that people be made aware of the historical import of the area, the Expedition, and the people who took part in it."

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**FEBRUARY 1990**
WHERE THE MOUNTAINS COME CLOSE TO THE RIVERS
A MODERN LOOK AT THE ROUTE OF CLARK'S SALMON RIVER RECONNAISSANCE

J. WILMER RIGBY—SALMON, IDAHO

On the morning of August 22, 1805, Captain William Clark with a detachment of eleven men, three horses, and his Shoshone guide, "Old Toby," on a reconnaissance to find a practicable water route to the Pacific, left their campsite under the bluffs near the mouth of Tower Creek. They were now at the end of the broad expanse of scenic Lemhi Valley. Patrick Gass describes this location as "a place where the mountains come close to the river." A fitting description. Here the explorers discovered how these mountains could resist any intrusion. The Salmon River, however, had prevailed.

The men observed their course carefully and thoroughly, then chose to detour. This setting, located adjacent to present U.S. Highway 93 about 10 miles north of Salmon, Idaho, marks the beginning of an eye-opening adventure for the man who would not accept—without seeing for himself—the Indians' advice that the Salmon River route to the Pacific was not possible. Clark and his party were hoping to view the age-old dream of a Northwest Passage and it proved to be a nightmare.

Few people traveling through the area today realize the significance of this place, even though better than 90% of Clark's reconnaissance trail can be seen from the comfort of an automobile. Yes, sections of an old Indian trail are still indentifiable and can easily be seen and appreciated even by the physically handicapped.

Clark's journal reads, "We set out early passed a Small creek [present Tower Creek] on the right at 1 mile and the points of four mountains verry Steep high & rockey, the assent of three was So Steep that it is incrediable to describe[,] the rocks in maney places loose & Sliped from those mountains and is a (Solid) bed of rugid loose white and dark brown rock for miles. the Indians horses pass over those Cliffs, hills Sids & rocks as fast as a man..."

These mountain spurs described by Clark reached so close to the river with their sheer rocky cliffs that passage around them was too hazardous to venture. The ridge immediately north of Tower Creek presents an easy ascent, and a passage route can generally be determined. Although Clark's actual trail has not been identified, it represents a two-mile crossing to the mouth of Kriley Gulch.

It was at the spur, which divides present Kriley Gulch and Fourth of July Creek, that their challenge began. On the southern exposure, the spur presents mostly abrupt, rock walls covered with talus aprons at the base. Today the Salmon River and U.S. Highway 93 make close, sweeping curves parallel through this barrier. What appears to be an old footpath begins on the eastern part of the base of the ridge. The path ascends sharply up a very abrupt face that's strewn with jagged rocks and, in some places, over talus aprons until it reaches the summit next to an imposing crag. Upon surmounting the pass, the downriver descent is gradual, the path being very obvious, and following just below the ridge for some distance. The view is breathtaking.

The third slope, below Fourth of July Creek, is not quite so high, but it is steep, and the trail passes through some patches of slide rock. This path is easily discernible from the road. Again, the downriver side is an easy descent.

According to the dotted trail on Clark's map, the reconnaissance group was able to pass directly to the mouth of present Wagnerhammer Creek before having to climb again. The dots on the map go briefly up the creek before pushing up a very challenging slope on the left. The crossing of this spur brought the party to an Indian encampment at Fish Creek (today, the North Fork of the Salmon River). Here they rested, befriended the natives, and bartered for fish before proceeding on.

This section of the trail between Tower Creek and North Fork deserves more public awareness. Local Foundation members are striving to have signs placed, and access sites available at key

U.S. Highway 93 shoulders its way between the Salmon River and the second of the four mountain spurs mentioned by Clark. This view is just below Kriley Gulch.

A trail can be seen directly down the highway, highlighted by patches of snow. This passage over Clark's ridge number three is just below Fourth of July Creek.
spots. The following reasons for such a project have been identified.

1. The trail is readily accessible and can be viewed from a well-traveled highway.

2. The country is more open than the lower reaches of the river, and the view of the surrounding mountains and the river from the tops of the ridges is spectacular.

3. Part of an ancient trail is readily identifiable, and it appears that with more effort, additional evidence could be discovered.

4. There is a growing national awareness of this trail; and there is increasing public interest in hiking parts of it. There should be development for this purpose.

5. Much of this part of the trail crosses public lands.

6. Failure to take action now could result in a regrettable loss of opportunity later.

7. Efforts to enhance this national heritage would result in an educational experience in the areas of history, geography, biology, native American culture, conservation, ecology, etc.

8. This section of the Trail is easily recognized on Clark's map, whereas the portion of his map depicting the area below North Fork was apparently drawn from memory, since it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to relate some of the actual landmarks to those indicated on the map.

At the request of the U.S. Forest Service, a slide/audio presentation of this area is being developed as a Centennial educational project commemorating Idaho's Statehood. It will be shown throughout the Centennial year—1990. Hopefully this will not only help to educate the public, but will serve as a fitting tribute to these brave explorers who were the first white men to enter the land that is now Idaho. A special tour package is being prepared as part of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation in Lewiston, Idaho July 29—August 2, 1990, for those who wish to explore Clark's reconnaissance trip even more.


![Image of Stephen Blomly and a National Park Service employee standing in front of a replica of Fort Clatsop, near Astoria, Oregon.](image)

Stephen Blomly, a high school freshman, from Eatonville, Washington was assigned Lewis and Clark's Fort Clatsop as the subject of his state Centennial project. The small town of Eastonville had limited resources from which to do his research, so with his mother and brother, Stephen took a trip to Fort Clatsop National Historical Site near Astoria, Oregon—150 miles away.

According to Stephen's father, they were so impressed with the history involved with Fort Clatsop that work began on a model of the fort. "This turned into a ten-week project in order to satisfy Stephen's demand for accuracy and detail. Most of the logs were hand formed and the pictures taken at Fort Clatsop used as references," Stephen's father said.

The rooms were made to scale with furnishings; the fires glow, the roofs are hinged, and several figures are at work in the model. A thirty-second tape accompanies the model, which has a model of the Expedition's salt cairn, and a dug-out canoe under construction in the foreground.

Stephen's report and model of Fort Clatsop brought a good deal of interest at the school. After displaying the model locally, it was displayed at the Western Washington Fair in Puyallup for two weeks. Here thousands of viewers learned about Fort Clatsop.

In October, Stephen donated the model to the National Park Service at Fort Clatsop. Stephen's father recently bought him a membership in the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation with the hope of keeping alive Stephen's interest in Fort Clatsop and history in general.
ST. CHARLES L&C CENTER CONTINUES ACTIVE SCHEDULE

According to the Journal, the quarterly newsletter of the Lewis and Clark Center in St. Charles, Missouri, the National Park Service has recognized the Center as a site on the Lewis and Clark Historic Trail worthy of certification. This is the first private museum in Missouri to receive this special certification. The unveiling of the NPS plaque took place on September 23 as part of the celebration commemorating the return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, September 23, 1806.

The Missouri River diorama by Museum artist Evangeline Groth is now finished at the Center. The diorama captures the beauty of the Missouri River wilderness, and the adventures of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The exhibit was made possible through the generosity of private donations and the Southwestern Bell Foundation.

The education classes at the museum reached 10,000 students and scouts this past year. The most popular programs, according to the Journal are "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," "The Plains Indians," and "Sacagawea."

The Center is now working on a Mandan earth-lodge. This exhibit will show many interesting cultural aspects of the Indians who were so friendly and helpful to the men of the Expedition during the winter of 1804-1805.

For more information about the Center and its activities write: The Lewis and Clark Center, 701 Riverside Drive, St. Charles, MO 63301.

IDAHO CHAPTER BUSY WITH ANNUAL MEETING PROGRAM DETAILS

In the January newsletter of the Idaho Chapter of the Foundation, president and newsletter editor, Jim Fazio, has listed the many individual assignments for the Foundation's annual meeting program which will be held in Lewiston, July 29-August 2, 1990.

It appears to be an ambitious program, but with the excellent caliber of people involved in its planning, it should prove to be one of the Foundation's finest meetings ever.

At their November meeting, member Bob Boston reported that the donation of historic property on the Weippe Prairie is in progress, with the United States Forest Service and National Park Service working with the current landowner. Dedication of the site is planned as part of the Foundation's annual meeting program.
METRO ST. LOUIS CHAPTER PLANS L&C ACTIVITIES

The Metro St. Louis Chapter plans to do an "in depth" study of the various Lewis and Clark sites in the immediate St. Louis area in preparation for a bus tour to those places. Plans are still being made, and no date has been set for the tour.

At its December meeting, the Chapter members voted to purchase a set of The Journals of Lewis and Clark by Bernard DeVoto on audio tape. The set will then be available to members on a rental basis.

Also at the December meeting, members learned about the progress of the proposed Interpretive Center at the Lewis and Clark State Park in Wood River, Illinois. Several important meetings preparatory to submission of plans for the development of the area have been held so that work can be ready for bids early in 1990. They hope to have a replica of Camp Dubois reconstructed, along with two pirogues and a replica of the keelboat by the 200th anniversary of the Expedition—2004.

According to the KATY COUNTY FLYER: "The 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled July 5 that a lower court was correct in upholding the state's right to use the abandoned right-of-way of the Missouri Kansas and Texas Railroad for a recreational trail. The court said the federal railbanking law under which Missouri took control of the right-of-way, serves two purposes in preserving the corridor for future railroad use and, in the interim, public recreational use." The 200-mile corridor of the former railroad right-of-way parallels the Lewis and Clark Trail along the north side of the Missouri River in Missouri.

PORTAGE ROUTE CHAPTER A POSSIBLE COOPERATING INTERPRETIVE ASSOCIATION

Once the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center at Great Falls, Montana has been completed, the Portage Route Chapter will have first rights to serve as the center's cooperative interpretive association. Jane Weber, project coordinator for the center, explained that the minimal level of activity for the association would be to gather materials for the sales shop and to run the shop. She indicated that she hopes the association becomes much more than this. Activities could include tours, educational seminars, course work, and package tours of the Lewis and Clark portage route. She also explained that the association would not be involved in fund raising. A "Friends of the Association" is being planned, and it will handle this aspect.

The Chapter has agreed to host an annual "Lewis and Clark Festival" in Great Falls around the Fourth of July of each year. Included in the events will be "The Meriwether Lewis Run," "Day on the Portage," "Encampment," "Pull the Dug-out Canoes," and a play.

A report from a soil scientist has indicated that the archaeological excavating done last summer at Lower Portage campsite may have hit the edge of the Lewis and Clark cache. More digging needs to be done to confirm or disprove that the cache has been found.
MUZZLELOADER RENDEZVOUS TO BE HELD AT FORT MANDAN

A High Plains National Rendezvous, sanctioned by the National Muzzle Loaders Rendezvous Association (NMLRA), will be held at Fort Mandan and adjoining Fahlgren Pioneer Park west of Washburn, North Dakota the last week in June. The official Rendezvous will run from June 24 through July 1, 1990. The location has been described by an NMLRA member as the best site for a rendezvous they have ever had. It will be located in virgin Missouri River timberland—heavy cottonwoods.

Those who attended the Foundation’s 1988 annual meeting in Bismarck, will recall the luncheon at Fort Mandan, and the three members of the Minot MLRA who, along with three Foundation members, demonstrated muzzleloader shooting.

Participants at this summer’s rendezvous will be required to show proof of, or purchase, a current NMLRA membership (one membership per camp). Pre-rendezvous camp fees will be $20 per family unit. Fees at the gate will be more.

The muzzleloaders are expecting 150 to 200 camps, each consisting of three or four persons. It is estimated that there will be thirty-five to forty trade tables with items for sale to the public.

Some of the special events will include daily muzzleloader shooting competitions, tomahawk and knife competitions, seminars on beadwork, trade silver, area history, flintnapping, bull-boat building and racing, and canoe races.

Visitors are welcome at the encampment, but only on Saturdays and Sundays before and after the official gathering.

For more information, write to Mark “Rooster” Roster, Booshway, 1024 Monte Carlo, Fargo, ND 58102; or telephone (701) 237-4388.

The present Fort Mandan is a replica of the 1804-1805 winter encampment of Lewis and Clark. Constructed out of cottonwood logs, the original fort was named in honor of the nearby farming Indians who lived in villages made up of earth-lodges.

1860 VIRGINIA CENSUS HAS SPECIAL NOTE ABOUT GASS

Former Foundation president, Don Nell, has sent WPO a number of interesting pieces of Lewis and Clark-related information he has uncovered in his many hours of research in the libraries and archives across the nation. Recently he sent a copy of the June 1860 census for District 2, Brooks County, Virginia. The post office is listed as Wellsburg. In the columns of the census form we find the name "Patrick Gass." He is listed as being 89 years old; he was born in Pennsylvania; the value of his real estate at the time was $100. In the same household were Anne [?] J. Gass, 18; James W. Gass, 1; and James W. Gass, 19.

There is a note at the bottom of the page, which is not totally legible on the xerox copy received at WPO.

According to Don Nell the note reads: "Patrick Gass is the Sole Survivor of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Mouth of the Columbia River in 1806—Served in war of 1812 under Col Willard Has all his faculties —He walks to Wellsburg once a...[?]"

PATRICK GASS
(A reproduction of an Am·brotype by E.F. Moore, Wellsburg, VA. It appeared in The Life and Times of Patrick Gass by J. G. Jacob, published by Jacob and Smith, Wellsburg, VA. 1859.)
ROY CRAFT, 
FORMER DIRECTOR, DIES AT 81

Former Foundation director, Roy Craft, of Stevenson, Washington, died on Christmas day, 1989, in Hood River Memorial Hospital at the age of 81.

Roy was dubbed as the Foundation’s “official press photographer” when he received the Foundation’s Award of Meritorious Achievement in 1987. He and his wife, Gracie, attended every annual meeting of the Foundation from 1974 until his illness in 1988. Readers of We Proceeded On will recall his many annual meeting photographs which appeared in the magazine. Those who attended the meetings during those years will also recall receiving special tabloid photo-stories about the annual meetings published by Roy. Until the attendance of the Foundation’s meetings grew to what it has been lately, Roy always had the attendees gather for a group photo.

Roy was born November 12, 1908, in McCleary, Washington. He began in the newspaper business as the co-publisher of the McCleary Stimulation at the young age of 16. It was a legitimate newspaper, a positive addition to the small town. Roy, his twin brother, Ray, and a friend started the paper, which continued to be published until the boys went off to college.

In 1932, after graduating from the University of Oregon, Roy was commissioned in the U.S. Army as Second Lieutenant in Military Intelligence (he eventually rose to the rank of Lt. Colonel). He began several newspapers at various duty posts, and became editor of Stars and Stripes in Europe. He worked as a correspondent for Life magazine after the war, and later served as publicist for several motion picture studios. At Twentieth Century Fox, he served five years in charge of publicity for Marilyn Monroe.

Roy and Gracie returned to Washington in 1958, and purchased the Skamania County Pioneer. The couple retired in 1974, but Roy continued to write a weekly column (the last of which was published after his death), and served as editor emeritus of the Pioneer. It was on the Pioneer press that the photo-story tabloids about the Foundation’s annual meetings were published.

Due to Roy’s health problems, he and Gracie were unable to attend the 1988 and 1989 Foundation meetings. In a January 16, 1990, letter to WPO, Gracie wrote: “We hated to miss the meetings in Bismarck and Bozeman.”

Roy’s interest in the Foundation and the Lewis and Clark Expedition will always be remembered and appreciated. Gracie explained: “Roy wanted to do a story on Our Majestic Whistling Swans (he never went for the name ‘Tundra Swans’), as described by Lewis and Clark, for WPO. After almost disappearing, they are returning to Franz Lake, near Beacon Rock, and this winter there were several hundred. Time ran out, but the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation was near and dear to his heart to the end.”

NEW BOOK ON CLEARWATER COUNTRY AVAILABLE

Note: For those planning to attend the Foundation’s annual meeting in Idaho July 30-August 1, 1990, the following press release issued by Mountain Meadow Press may be of interest.

“Few special places lie hidden in America...” declares the cover of a new book recently released by Mountain Meadow Press [P.O. Box 447, Kooskia, ID 83539]. “Among them are the wilderness, mountains and streams of Clearwater Country.” Thus begins an invitation for visitor and resident alike to experience a geographical region unique in its untrammeled environment and historical richness.

Clearwater Country! The Travelers’ Historical and Recreational Guide: Lewiston, Idaho—Missoula, Montana leads the traveler on a mile-by-mile tour along U.S. 12, where “the hoof-beats of history bear witness to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, trappers and traders, miners and missionaries, soldiers and settlers, dancing Nez Perce, fleeing outlaws and pursuing vigilantes...” Included are flora and fauna, early settlements, place name origins, and a wealth of related information. The book also contains an introduction to the many outdoor recreational opportunities of the region, from birding to whitewater kayaking, and six chapters of historical background, covering such topics as the Clearwater gold rush and the Nez Perce War. Historical Photographs, original line art, and three foldout maps further enhance the book’s appeal and usefulness. Longtime Clearwater Country residents and authors, Borg Hendrickson and Linwood Laughy, serve as able tour guides to “a journey for a day, a week...or two hundred years.”

Clearwater Country! is available at bookstores throughout the region and in many businesses that serve area visitors along the Clearwater Country route from Missoula to Lewiston. 168 pages; illustrated; $8.95.

BOOKLET IDENTIFIES L&C ROUTE BETWEEN BITTERROOT VALLEY AND THE COLUMBIA RIVER

A twenty-page booklet, titled Lewis and Clark Routes Between the Bitterroot Valley and the Columbia River, has been published by Robert J. Hoyle, Jr. of Lewiston, ID. The booklet contains five detailed maps, identifying the Expedition routes, rivers and creeks, secondary roads, geographical features, and Lewis and Clark campsites. A day-by-day account of the Expedition’s time in the area accompanies the maps.

To order copies, send $1.50 for each booklet to Robert J. Hoyle, Jr., 611 19th Avenue, Lewiston, ID 83501.
Tuesday (July 31)

7:30–9:00 Field Trip: Long Camp
Heart of the Monster (Nez Perce NHP)
Campsites on lower Lolo
(Nee-Me-Poo) Trail
Mussleshell Meadows, Camas
Ecology/Culture
Weippe Prairie
Canoe Camp

Wednesday (August 1)

8:30–9:30 Business Meeting
10:00 Field Trip: Nez Perce National Historical Park
Nez Perce Pow-wow/Cultural Interpretation
Traditional Foods of the Nez Perce
1:30 Options: 1. Pow-wow Continued (Return at 5:30)
2. Whitebird Battlefield (Return at 5:30)
3. Clearwater River Float (Extra Cost of $25; Return Approx. 5:00)
6:00–7:00 Social Hour (Ramada Inn)
7:00 Clark’s Birthday/Idaho Centennial Banquet

Thursday (August 2)

Post-Meeting Events (See registration booklet enclosed with this issue of WPO.)

Lodging Facilities

The Ramada Inn is headquarters for the Foundation’s 22nd Annual Meeting. There are many fine motels in Lewiston, but the following are within two to three blocks of the Ramada:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotel</th>
<th>Phone Number</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Double</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ramada Inn</td>
<td>(800) 272-6232</td>
<td>Single: $48</td>
<td>Double: $53</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(208) 799-1000</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacajawea Motor Inn</td>
<td>(800) 333-1393</td>
<td>$30–$33</td>
<td>$36–$39</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pony Soldier Motor Inn</td>
<td>(208) 743-9526</td>
<td>$38.25</td>
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</tbody>
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Camping is available at nearby Hell’s Gate State Park. For commercial campgrounds and other local information, contact Lewiston Chamber of Commerce, 2207 E. Main, Lewiston, ID 83501. (telephone: (208) 743-3531)

Air Transportation

Lewiston Regional Airport is served by Horizon Air and Empire Airways, connecting with Boise, Spokane, Seattle, and other cities. Auto rentals at the airport include Budget, Hertz, and National.

Register Early!

Remember, 1990 Annual Meeting registrations are limited to 350.
Captain Clark's Field-book, showing Course and Camping places, September 20—October, 1805. This map, charting land in present-day Idaho, shows the Expedition's September 20 and 23 camp among the "Perceid Nose" Indians, and their "25 Sept. to Oct. 1805" Canoe Camp.